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THE MEDIEVAL AND LATE MEDIEVAL FUNERARY
SCULPTURE OF GALWAY CITY, 12th – 17th CENTURIES

Volume 1

TEXT

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Department of Archaeology
School of Geography and Archaeology
N.U.I. Galway

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology to the National University of Ireland, Galway, 2011.
The Medieval and Late Medieval Funerary Sculpture of Galway City, 12th – 17th centuries

Volume 1

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Jim Higgins, M.A.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION, AIMS, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The object of this work is to provide as full a corpus of the medieval and late medieval funerary monuments of Galway City as possible. These are catalogued, described, and recorded in some detail and the corpus is copiously and comprehensively illustrated. The monuments are discussed under a wide variety of headings and are also explored in the context of other Irish funerary monuments as well as in the broader European context. The work is the first attempt to provide a corpus of these monuments and to analyse them in detail. The distribution, survival rate, sculptors and workshops, their palaeography, symbolism, iconography, heraldry as well as their history are also discussed. Their art history, decoration and the motifs used are dealt with too. A chronologically and typologically-based analysis of the monuments is included and the objects themselves are classified on the basis of their type and function.

Volume 1 comprises the Text (discussion) volume while Volume 2 contains the Descriptive Catalogue of the Monuments along with the Plates. In this work by medieval is meant the 12th – 15th and by late medieval is meant the 16th – 17th century monuments. The medieval and late medieval funerary monuments of Galway City are relatively few in number but comprise a corpus of widely varied monuments dating, at earliest, to the end of the 13th down to the beginning of the second-half of the 17th century. No 12th century funerary monument is, as yet, known from the city. Then there is a hiatus and from then on relatively few monuments survive and what comes later is in a different milieu and style.

Only one definite and two possible recumbent slabs from early medieval period between the late 13th and late 14th centuries survive and, of these, the two possible examples are totally plain. The form of one of these stones (from St. Nicholas’) allows a general 13th century or even early 14th century date to be ascribed to it solely on the basis of its basic form. While it was hoped that monuments which could be ascribed to the 12th century would be identified in the
course of fieldwork, no definite monuments earlier than the 13th or early 14th century were, in fact, identified. The majority of the monuments belong to the late medieval period, that is the 15th – 17th centuries. Most of these monuments are of Irish Late Gothic style and many of the undated examples, though they look to be of late 15th early 16th century date, can be dated well into the 16th and early 17th centuries as we shall see.

By the early 17th century there is some stylistic overlap between monuments in the Irish Late Gothic style and Renaissance features while some monuments with purely insular Late Gothic features alone continue to be made. In the decades between circa 1610 and 1630 a group of Renaissance monuments which survive, mainly as isolated fragments, were made in Galway and their Renaissance-influenced style is paralleled in contemporary Galwegian doorways which include some of the finest in the country. It is the doorways and fireplaces, as well as some surviving tombs at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo as well as Kilkenny City, in fact, which help one to reconstruct the features of some of the Galwegian funerary monuments which are now very fragmentary.

By the latter half of the 17th century the tradition of sculpting in stone in Galway was interrupted as a result of political changes generated by the Cromwellian and Williamite Wars of the 1650s and 1690s respectively. The main sponsors of such sculpture prior to the 1650s were, in the main, the ‘Fourteen Tribes of Galway’ (or at least some of them). These were mainly Anglo-Norman settlers who dominated the economy and politics of the town for most of the medieval and late medieval period. The Fourteen Tribes of Galway were as follows: Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, Darcy, Deane, Font, French, Joyce, Kirwin, Lynch, Martin, Morris and Skerrett with various alternative spellings (D’Arcy, Dorsie, Ffrench and so on) being used. (Hereafter these alternative spellings are not used except where they occur in a quotation.)

With the Parliamentarian (Cromwellian) takeover in the 1650s the power of those families within Galway was dissipated and few later monuments associated with that group occur. The later monuments to British planter families (like the Eyres for example) are very different from what has gone before. By the
time of the Restoration in the 1660s and later few monuments of note were being created in the city but by 18th century some of the Fourteen Tribes had begun to repair their family tombs in the city cemeteries, few of which now survive intact.

By the 1660s both very simple headstones and more elaborate English-style and Renaissance style monuments begin to occur, but in small numbers only. By the 1720s and 1730s there are a few heraldic monuments of which only a small number show any similarities with the pre-1650s, mainly Tribal, sculptures. (That is, related to the fourteen Tribal families mentioned above.) The vast majority of the (mainly heraldic) monuments dating to the post-medieval period represent a break with the later medieval Galwegian monuments. Some of the later, post-medieval monuments are illustrated here for the sake of completeness and to allow a contrast to be made with those of the late medieval period in particular.

Though relatively few in number, the range and quality of the Galwegian funerary monuments is highly significant. It is clear that unlike centres like Kilkenny City for example, Galway does not possess large numbers of early medieval monuments nor does it possess quantities of Irish Late Gothic figure tomb-panels or box tombs with effigies of the type found in the mid-south and south-east and represented by the works of the O’Tunney and Kerin workshops (Phelan 1996, 167-181; Phelan 1996A, 40-44; and Harris 2000, 123-130). What Galway does possess, however, is a wide variety of late medieval clerical effigies, elaborate, traceried tomb niches which can be closely paralleled in the west of Ireland generally, and a large number of heraldically decorated funerary monuments with arms and merchants’ marks (which are rare elsewhere). Vocational symbolism too, is common on the Galwegian monuments, as it is in the western counties of Ireland generally, towards the end of the period of study. Galway also possesses a relatively large number of monuments on which Gaelic Renaissance Celtic motifs, (often in combination with Renaissance-influenced patterns, are common) and, more than anything, the City also possesses one of the largest corpora of other (non-funerary) sculpture including late medieval domestic sculpture which survives in greater amounts in Galway than elsewhere.
(apart perhaps from Kilkenny City). The motifs, patterns and style of carving, the heraldry with its unusual features, the richness of the sculptural tradition of say 1450 to 1650, most especially of the period 1580 to 1650, form the highpoint of Galwegian sculptural tradition. A corpus of carved items such as armorial plaques, windows and doorways, fireplaces, corbels, mortars and a host of other items, which is broader in its variety and scope than the range of late medieval sculpture from any other Irish urban centre, provides a background and context to, and a range of comparanda for, the funerary monuments (See Higgins 2003, 2004 and 2006 for catalogues of Galwegian and Medieval and Late Medieval sculpture which provide parallels for the material discussed here).

**Medieval Burial in Galway**

Few descriptions of early burials occur in the historical record through one record of 1462 mentions Edmund Lynch, a burgher of Galway and a benefactor of the Monastery of Athenry. In the Regestrum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatororum de Athenry (Coleman 1912, 211) a reference is made to his burial in Galway ‘...in tumba sua quam sibi et suis fabricari fiut in capella Beatae Virginis Ecclesia parrochiali ipsus villae de Galway anno Domini 1462’. Of this tomb ‘which he had made for himself in the Chapel of St. Mary Major in the Parish Church of the town of Galway Anno Domini 1462’ there is now no trace. It is most probable that it was in what is described in the index to the Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s as the ‘Chapel of St. Mary Major’. This contained ‘the altar of St. Mary Major, in the ancient chapel of the Lynches’. The church also contained the ‘Altar of Blessed Mary, on the south wing of the church under the title of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God’ according to the Pictorial Map of Galway of the late 17th century (The index to the Pictorial Map of the 1660s is translated from the Latin into English in Hardiman 1820, 246, f.n.Z.).

The likelihood is that the tomb was erected somewhere on the southern side of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church but nothing of it now remains. There are numerous references in wills to burial in family tombs at the main Galwegian
cemeteries but the monuments themselves are not described. Most of the extant references are to burial at the Franciscan Cemetery or at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

Early obituary books survive from the Franciscan Cemetery and one of these has been published by Blake (1907-8, 222-35). No monuments belonging to any of the medieval personages mentioned in this document now survive at the Franciscan Cemetery however.

The Main Burial Places and Burial Practices

St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, the Franciscan, Augustinian and Dominican cemeteries were always the main burial places in the town until the 17th century. As the Reformation proceeded apace (some Galwegians had conformed by July 1538 when a visit by the Lord Deputy confirmed that some of the population had accepted Royal Supremacy), the citizens of Galway decided to conform in order to protect their main church, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and its various possessions. Having distributed the altar plate and furnishings of St. Nicholas’ for safe keeping among trusted individuals, they wrote to Henry VIII, surrendered the church and its possessions to the crown and asked for a new charter for the town and its church which had effectively been run previously by the Corporation. The death of Henry VIII in 1547 however meant that the Galwegians had to wait until 1551 when the new supreme head of the Church, Edward VI, came to power. The Church and town then got its charters and the Collegiate Church became the Royal College of Galway and continued to remain subject to the Mayor and Corporation of Galway.

Technically, Galway’s ruling citizens became part of the Reformed Church in the mid 16th century. The Master of the Rolls and the Lord Chancellors’ visit of 1551 however confirmed that the Roman Catholic mass continued to be celebrated openly in the town and, in 1553 when Queen Mary reinitiated fealty to Rome the Galwegians were able to reassure her commissioner that they were still loyal to the papacy. In 1554 Elizabeth I took power and the Warden and Vicars of St. Nicholas’ seeing the writing on the wall,
alienated much of the property of the college and, by about 1570, had accepted in theory, the Reformed Church. The majority of the rest of the population remained loyal to Roman Catholicism however.

The rectories and vicarages attached to St. Nicholas’ along with the cemeteries of Galway’s three dissolved monasteries were granted again to the corporation.

‘Under the grant’…(according to Hardiman 1820, 241, f.n.p) ‘the wardens have ever since retained possession of these burial grounds which they generally farmed out to undertakers whose charges for interment were as follows:’

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<tr>
<td>Body of the Abbey…</td>
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‘For any interment in the church of St. Nicholas usually applied to the use of the parish…’ 10 0 0

‘It is said that the following families only have privileges of burial in the church, viz.: the Lynches, D’Arcys, Brownes and Frenches: according to some the Kirwan family is also entitled; but, according to others, their claim has been always disputed.’

The requests to the King (Edward VI) for restatement of privileges regarding St. Nicholas’ also shed an interesting sidelight on burial practices: ‘they further stated, that the rest of the O’Flaherties and other Irishry claimed a right to bury their dead in the church, under pretence where of they often tumultuously entered the town, endangering the lives of the inhabitants, and destroying the place: they, therefore, also prayed his majesty to grant them, for this purpose, the churches and burial places outside the walls, belonging to the
dissolved monasteries of St. Francis, St. Dominick and St. Augustine’ (Original Transcript of Memorial quoted in Hardiman 1820, 240, f.n. N.).

The tumult that the townspeople disliked probably included the practice of keening which was so common at Irish funerals and several later by-laws of Galway Corporation of the early 17th century are clearly aimed at outlawing the caoineadh or funeral lament.

The use of the Irish language was probably the object of this attempted prohibition as much as anything else. By the 18th century many such laments were bilingual, that is in English as well as Irish. Such praise songs for the deceased often mentioned prayers for the soul of the deceased and certainly from the late 16th and 17th century onwards there would be doctrinal and religious objections by Protestants to such laments. While burial practices or traditions rarely receive mention in the extant written sources the by-laws of the Corporation have several prohibitions against the Irish ‘Caoineadh’ or practice of keening in other words laments in praise of the dead made at funerals (Lysaght 1997, 65-82 and also Ó Cruílaoich 1998, 173-200). This Irish tradition was obviously widely practiced if the Corporation felt they had to ban it. Hardiman (1820, 211) quotes the Corporation records under the by-laws enacted in the year 1604 as follows:

‘That no woman shall make no open noise of an unreasonable chree, after the Irishrie, either before, ne yet after, the death of any corpes, moche less in the house, streete, and before all in the church, the house ne in the fieldes; we meane ther singing songs, songe, to the praise of men, both deade and also alive, and not to God ever lyvinge.’

This by-law seems to have been ineffective as in 1625 another was enacted which read as follows:

‘That no outrage, howlings or shoutings, be made in or out of the streets of this towne, at the burial of any deceased person; but that all such barbarous courses be given over on payne of 5s for each abuse; whereby all and every corpes here be carried to his grave in a sivell orderly fashione, according to the form in all good places observed’ (quoted in Hardiman 1820, 213).
Of the other major cemeteries, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinian graveyards of the religious orders are among the few to survive. The Augustinian Cemetery at Forthill has no surviving pre-1700 memorials despite the long history of the site (Hardiman 1820, 272-3). The Franciscan Friary burial area was extensive but despite the long history of that site (Hardiman 1820, 264-271; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 250-251) little remains. The cemetery seems to have dwindled and the main monuments which now survive are in the façade of the Franciscan Church, St. Francis Street, or are among the collection most of which was inserted in the 1970s into a boundary wall between the Franciscan Cemetery and the grounds of the Convent of Mercy School to the rear of the Franciscan Priory and extending as far as Newtownsmith. Most of the cemetery was levelled in the 1970s and the post-medieval monuments were re-erected near the boundary walls, the box tombs dissembled and the earlier carvings set into the boundary walls.

The same pattern of burial of many and rearrangement of a selection of upright monuments against a boundary wall occurred at the Dominican cemetery where only one pre-1700 crucifixion panel now survives. The site has a long history and the Premonstratensian foundation of St. Mary on the Hill seems also to have been here though no evidence of it remains (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 351; Hardiman 1820, 270-271).

There is now no trace of any cemeteries of the Carmelites (Hardiman 1820, 273; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 285) or Capuchins (Hardiman 1820, 273-4) or of any graveyards associated with the Poor House or Leper House of St. Brigid at Prospect Hill (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 351).

Of the foundation of the Knights Templars which lay somewhere in Eyre Square there is now no trace. This foundation was granted in 1312 to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem after the Knights Templar were disbanded. The circular foundation or ‘earthwork’ shown on the Pictorial Map of the 1660s marks its site (Hardiman 1820, 274). Interestingly some of the burials found in Eyre Square during archaeological monitoring for Broadband cables and for the re-development of Eyre Square in 2008-9 were found to be of 13th century date.
It seems possible that these burials were associated with the Templar/Hospitaller site as they were discovered at the same end of the Square where the earthwork depicting the site is shown on the Pictorial Map of the 1660s (Text Fig. 4). However, there were also groups of medieval to post-medieval burials found elsewhere in the Square in recent years. Unfortunately, the full data on these burials is not yet published. None of the 13th century burials were associated with any finds, nor have any funerary monuments been discovered (Billy Quinn and Declan Moore *pers comm*). The Reformation and Counter Reformation brought changes in burial practice which had political repercussions too. The traditional burial place of many of the Tribal families had been St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Some of the tribal families (or branches of them) who remained Roman Catholic moved their burial place to the Franciscan Cemetery. In 1685, after the Franciscans had temporarily returned to their foundation, a dispute arose regarding burial fees and the rights of precedancy among the clergy attending funerals ‘and emoluments thence arising’. The dispute was brought to the Council of Trent which determined that ‘…the right belonged to the Parish priest’ (Hardiman 1820, 266). This suggests the cemetery was still functioning.

According to Hardiman (1820, 266, f.n.g) ‘The Friars were scarcely reinstated, when the most violent contentions again broke out between them and the warden concerning the right of ‘mortuary money’ which proceeded so far, that the corporation was at length obliged to interfere to compose their differences. It is with pleasure that we are enabled to state, that no similar occurrence has ever since taken place, though it is assented that the right to this miserable tax on mortality still remains undecided’.

As the worst affects of the Penal Laws (1691-1829) waned in the late 18th century the rediscovery of the funerary monuments and their importance as historical and religious artifacts was already taking place. In June 1779, the monument to William Liath de Burgos’ ‘tomb’ was rediscovered by the Franciscans along with other monuments according to *Finn’s Leinster Express* of July 24th-28th, 1779 and to Hardiman (1820, 267). The monument was discovered upwards of four feet under ground. The latter writer thought that the
A slab was ‘repaired and beautified in 1645’ but it is obvious that the entire monument was made in 1645. Besides this William Liath de Burgo was buried at Athenry, Co. Galway and not in Galway at all. It would seem that the manufacturing of a monument to him was done not just to commemorate him but to strengthen the Franciscan’s claim to the land they occupied by having a monument made to its founder, and in memory of him. The monument was made for the enhancement of the claims of the living as much as for the glorification of the dead.

Aims and Scope

The aim of this work is to provide, for the first time, a comprehensive study and catalogue of the Galwegian medieval funerary and related monuments down to circa 1700, an analysis and as complete a catalogue as possible of the existing funerary monuments and related monuments of medieval and late medieval date from Galway City. Lost carvings which have been recorded in published and unpublished sources, photographs or other illustrations are also described and catalogued.

It has been an aim of this work to illustrate as many of the carvings as possible and wherever an illustration could be made or already exists (in the case of lost stones) it is reproduced here. A full set of references and an extensive bibliography is provided and it is hoped that the Catalogue will provide a useful source of parallels for further research on other Irish sculpture. Reference to items in the catalogue are given in bold and preceded by the letter C (C1, C27 and so on).

The geographical scope of this work is as follows: all funerary carvings of medieval and late medieval date located within Galway City Borough and carvings known to have come from that area are dealt with. The extent of the City and its cemeteries with pre-1700 monuments is indicated in Text Fig. 1.

The chronological scope of this work is wide, from the 13th to the late 17th century. The reason for such a wide span becomes more obvious from a study of the material itself. Little survives from the earlier period (13th to 14th
centuries), most of the surviving carvings date to the late 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.

**Methodology**

The surviving monuments and records of some lost monuments were recorded in detail with the help of a Monument Recording Sheet (Text Figs. 2-3). This was based on a recording sheet devised by the writer for the recording of Early Christian monuments during the course of an M.A. Thesis in 1983-84 (later published, Higgins 1987) and subsequently modified and adapted for the recording of stone carvings of all types and dates and used to record the monuments of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in 1991. The Recording Sheet allowed all of the monuments to be recorded quickly, comprehensively and in detail, and to be sorted into their typological and stylistic categories with ease. A file was opened for each monument and photocopies of all the previous accounts or mentions of the monuments along with copies of previous sketches, drawings and photographs were filed along with new drawings and photographs as they became available. The material was augmented by extensive records, notes and photographs gathered by the writer (but not published) during the course of the Galway Quincentennial Heritage Survey which, in the course of its work, recorded some of the earlier monuments at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, the Dominican Cemetery, Fairhill, the Franciscan Cemetery, Newtownsmith and the Augustinian Cemetery, Forthill. This material was also augmented by new fieldwork and research.

The compilation of a file on each stone allowed the details of previous work on the monuments to be checked easily against the actual monument in the field (except where the monument was lost). The following ecclesiastical buildings, sites and cemeteries were then visited and/or searched, many on several occasions:
1. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and its cemetery.
2. The New Cathedral, where there are carvings from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
3. The grounds of the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street, where there are monuments from the Franciscan foundation.
4. The Franciscan Cemetery, Church and Priory Buildings (Newtownsmith and Francis Street), along with the Abbey Church, Francis Street.
5. The Dominican Cemetery, Church and Priory located between Fairhill and Claddagh.
6. The Augustinian Cemetery, Forthill, Lough Atalia Road.
7. Rahoon Old Cemetery (to the rear of Cruachan Park), Rahoon.
8. St. James’ Cemetery (Teampall), Gleninagh Heights, Ballybane.
9. The purported site of the Dominican Nunnery, Kirwan’s Lane.
10. The purported site of the Jesuit foundation between High Street and Middle Street (and including the King’s Head Pub and adjoining buildings).
11. The purported site of a Jesuit house of Refuge during the Penal Laws, Powell’s (The Four Corners) on the corner of William Street and Abbeygate Street Lower.
12. The former Old Pro-Cathedral between Abbeygate Street Lower and Middle Street (where stones from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and now at the New Cathedral were previously housed).
13. The vicinity of a site of St. Bridget’s Hospital (marked on the Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s) in the area of Prospect Hill where late medieval stonework previously occurred in walls locally.
14. Walls in the vicinity of the former site of the Capuchin foundation, and the surviving portion of a dove-cot related to it between Rosemary Lane and Wood Quay.
15. The area to the rear of the site of St. Bridget’s Hospital and its church and the former walling between Prospect Hill and St. Patrick’s Lane
including walling of a building known locally as ‘The Lepers’ at St. Patrick’s Lane.

16. The site of Barna Church, Co. Galway, to where stonework is reported to have been brought from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate church early in the 19th century.

17. Roscam Cemetery, Roscam.

18. Merlin Park Hospital Grounds.

19. Sandy Road Bridge.

In so far as possible the sites or vicinities of the sites of all the religious foundations marked on the Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s and listed in the Index to that map were examined (Text Fig. 4). Some of these like the Capuchin and Carmelite foundations are now completely built over but wherever stone walls survived in the vicinity of sites like these, they have been examined for architectural and funerary monument fragments.\(^1\) Other sites such as the medieval and late medieval churches of St. James at Gleninagh Heights (Higgins 1993A, Higgins and O’Grady 1995 and Higgins 1997) as well as the buried site

\(^{1}\) The following religious sites or related sites as listed in the Index to the mid-17th century Pictorial Map as translated and listed by Hardiman 1820, 26-30, were, where possible, also taken into account when compiling the Catalogue. ‘A Besides the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas’, there are fourteen communities or residences of sacred persons; B. The College of the Priests and Pastors, C. The Community or Residence of the Friars Minors, D. The Community of Residence of the Friars Preachers, E. The Community or Residence of the Augustinian Preachers, F. The Community or Residence of the Society of Jesus, G. The Community or Residence of the Brothers Carmelites, H. The Community or Residence of the Capuchins, I. The Community or Residence of the Sisters of the Rich Clares, K. The Community or Residence of the Poor Clares, L. The Community or Residence of the Third Order of St. Francis, M. The Community or Residence of the Order of St. Dominick, N. The Community or Residence of the Order of Saint Augustine, O. The Community or Residence of the Community of Carmelites, P. Various Retreats of Devout Females. (Footnote, 28) and ‘On the East’: ‘2. The Monastery of St. Augustine, surrounded by the fort, 3. St. Augustine’s Well on the south side of the hill, 4. St. Augustine’s hill, 4’. The King’s fort, surrounding the monastery, 5. St. Bridget’s Hill, on the right and left of the highway, 6. St. Bridget’s Chapel, 7. The house of lepers, under the title of St. Bridget, 8. The house of the Capuchins, 24. The plague house, with the garden annexed, 29. The old stream by which water formerly ran to the monastery or Abbey Bridge, called in Turre or Leaim Teige, 30. The Abbey Bridge, 31. Several mills, viz., St. Francis’ Mill, 34a. St. Michael’s Mill, 35b. The Bridge Mill, 35c. The Littlegate Mill, 32. The Friars’ Stream, by which wood was formerly brought to the abbey, called Scuicinna b’mrather, 33. The Abbey of St. Francis or the Friar’s Minors, 34. The Abbey Churchyard, 35. The gate of the inner enclosure of the Abbey and the dormitory, 36. The refectory, called Halla na b’mrather, 37. Several gardens laid out by the friars, 38. The wood strand or quay and a cross or water mark in the river.’
of St. James’ Church at Newcastle are not shown in the Pictorial Map of the 1660s. The two sites dedicated to St. James at Rahoon and Gleninagh Heights produced early architectural fragments of the 13th – 14th century onwards but from Rahoon Old Cemetery only one later 18th century monument occurs here, while from St. James’ Church, Gleninagh Heights, there is a fragment of a late wayside-cross or church-yard cross but no other medieval or late medieval funerary monuments were found (Higgins 1996).

The site of St. James’ Chapel at Newcastle has long been buried beneath the present National University of Ireland, Galway, campus and only a few features – a traceried window and an arch – survive from it (Walsh 1989-90, 150-155). All the medieval ecclesiastical sites in Galway City referred to by Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 432) have, where any remnants of them survive, been examined for this work.

Having examined the sites and their vicinities, a few later monuments including a cross-inscribed stone from between Prospect Hill and St. Patrick’s Lane, another from the junction of St. Anthony’s Place and McDonagh’s Terrace, a further cross-inscribed stone from St. Bridget’s Terrace on Forster Street and a fourth stone with an IHS and cross from the Dublin Road along with an inscription in Latin from Middle Street were all dismissed either because these were found to be outside the chronological scope of this study or because they proved to be of non-funerary significance or both (all are of 17th to early 19th century date). These rejected stones are listed in the list of Dismissed Monuments at the end of the Catalogue. Some possible monuments were included for the sake of completeness and for a variety of other reasons, notably because of the possibility that some of the later post-medieval monuments like C77 to C78 and C81 for instance, could contain elements of earlier medieval and late medieval fragments and features.

In recording the stones it has been found that many of the inscriptions are very badly worn and damaged. A wide variety of methods were used to try to retrieve or reconstruct such inscriptions and other ornamental detail including the use of photography, rubbings, squeezes, casts and so on. Various types of
rubbings were made using pencil, charcoal, crayon and heelball used on plain newspaper print, rice-paper, tracing-paper, art-paper, and cloth (including calico, cotton and linen). Some monuments were considered far too fragile to do rubbings of (like C47(a) ‘The Empty Frame’) and such monuments were simply measured, sketched and photographed.

Squeezes were made from plain, unbleached tissue and wood-pulp paper. None were made which involved the use of paper with potentially damaging chemical compounds. Casts in Plaster of Paris were made of some of the stones, especially those in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, to help to decipher inscriptions.

Photography using slides, film (colour and black and white prints), infra-red film were used under a wide variety of lighting conditions to elucidate some of the inscriptions. Flash photography done in low light and at night helped to clarify many points of details. Some monuments like C12 which is beneath the organ in St. Patrick’s Chapel in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church proved impossible to photograph properly. Both SLR and Digital cameras were used.

Where monuments are lost an attempt has been made to trace some illustration of the monument from a previously published or recorded source. No illustrations of C21, C24, C25, C26 and C27, nor of C66, C67, C68, C75, C76, C78, C79 or C80 have, however, been traced and it is uncertain as to how many of those monuments were medieval to late medieval in date (or how much of them were 18th and 19th century monuments built into, above or on the sites of earlier monuments. It is also now impossible to know to what extent original stones were reused in the later monuments). In the case of C17 the original stone was recut and a 19th century inscription was added (Plate 5G). The stone was set upright to form a side panel, obliterating the original decoration but leaving the 17th century inscription around the edge of the original recumbent slab intact. A similar treatment may have been given to the following monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery: C78, the O’Nolan tomb, and C79, the Penrise tomb. Only the 18th century portion, a long heraldic panel of the Quin tomb (C77) survives. (Plate 88A) Whether there was any other earlier elements of this tomb surviving
before it was taken apart (apparently in the early 1970s) or not we cannot be certain. However, Hardiman’s (1820, 269, f.n.1, no. 10) record of the inscription implies that it may have been a composite monument. The tomb is said to have been ‘...first erected in the year 1649...’ and to have been ‘...entirely repaired and ornamented...’ by James Quin in 1762.

C38 and C39 are not now available to scholarship. C38, which was formerly in Kirwan’s Lane, is now lost, while C39 is now covered in render. Both of these are possible recumbent funerary monuments and their status as definite funerary monuments is uncertain.
Fig. 1. Location Map of known cemeteries (circled) in Galway City
### MONUMENT RECORDING SHEET

**Name of Site**

(A) **Site Location:**
- TD OS 6” sh. – no. Plan. Trace
- BAR. Co-Ords. N.G.R.

(B) **Site Type:**
- I Ecclesiastical, II secular, III neither, IV unknown, V other.

(C) **Monument Location**
- (a) *in situ*
- (b) In Museum, institution, file/reg. no.
- (c) Private possession.

(D) **Orientation**

(E) **Monument type**

(F) **Dimensions**
- Length:
- Width:
- Average thickness:
- Length of cross:
- Width of cross
- Depth of carving:

(G) **Method(s) of Execution**
- (a) (I) incised (II) pocked (III) scored
- (IV) in relief (V) false relief
- (b) Tool marks (if any)
- (c) Layout marks
- (d) Stone prepared or dressed
- (e) Unprepared surface
- (f) Re-used stone
- (g) Any other features, hole, grooves, reworking.

(H) **Inscription**

(I) **Lettering**

(J) **Evidence of re-use and subsequent use.**

(K) **Present location, position**

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Fig. 2. Monument Recording Sheet (front).
### Chapter 1
**Introduction, Aims, Scope and Methodology**

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Fig. 3. Monument Recording Sheet (back).
Fig. 4. The Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s (T.C.D.Ms. 1209.73). (After Walsh 2001).
Fig. 5. Map of Galway made by Michael Logan in 1818 for James Hardiman’s *History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* which was published in 1820 with main medieval-cemeteries superimposed. (A) St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (B) The general area of the site of the Franciscan Friary and its ancillary buildings, (C) The Early 19th century Franciscan Church including (around it) the Franciscan Cemetery and parts of ancillary Franciscan lands and buildings, (D) Forthill Cemetery and the site of the Augustinian foundation, (E) Claddagh Church and Cemetery. The site of the Dominican Foundation between Claddagh and Fairhill. Many of the medieval to late medieval fortifications were still extant on this map.
CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:
A BRIEF HISTORY OF GALWAY

The Historiography of Galway City

The history of Galway City has been more than adequately treated by many writers including the two great historians of Galway – James Hardiman (1820) and M.D. O’Sullivan (1942). Since these two large and comprehensive studies (which dealt with the history and evolution of the city from two very different perspectives) were published, there have been no major attempts to produce such an all-embracing, modern, detailed study. Many recent writers have continued to base much of their work on these two great sources.

M.J. Blake also made a valuable contribution to the study of Galwegian history in a series of books and articles in which aspects of the genealogy and heraldry of many of the Galwegian families (previously explored, though in lesser detail by Hardiman) are referred to (Blake 1902, Vol.1; 1905, Vol.2). His work on genealogy and aspects of Galwegian ecclesiastical history was wide-ranging and is under-appreciated (See Bibliography for his more pertinent articles).

Two important and general papers on the history of medieval and late medieval Galway by MacNiocaill and Canny respectively were published in a collection of historical essays under the title Galway Town and Gown 1484-1984 edited by Ó’Cearbhaill (1984).

Since 1984 further general overviews have been published and include the succinct but comprehensive summaries by MacNiocaill (1995) and by Ó Tuathaigh (1995) in Howard Clarke’s volume on Irish Cities in the Thomas Davis Lecture Series. Several articles by Mitchell (1966-71 and 1981-2), and Walsh (1985-6) have reassessed some of Hardiman’s sources and their significance.

In a Galway volume in the Geography Publication’s County series (Moran and Gillespie 1996) several papers have contributed much to the study of
the early and late medieval history and topography of the city. Those by Walsh (1996) and Cunningham (1996) are of particular relevance. Many of the medieval and late medieval religious houses within the city are referred to by Walsh in his article and the same writer has also, for instance, reviewed the historical sources for the foundation of the Augustinian Friars at Galway.

A major publication entitled *Archaeological Investigation in Galway City, 1987-1998* edited by Elizabeth FitzPatrick, Madeline O’Brien and Paul Walsh (2004) features a number of detailed articles on the city which provide thematic overviews of the archaeology, history, the port and its historic infrastructure, trade and commodities, the town walls and fortifications along with Galway’s buildings and architecture. Galwegian funerary monuments are not examined however.

**Galway City – a brief history**

This brief history is based on the sources cited above. Of the earliest origins of Galway we know very little. It may seem strange to many Galwegians, but the first specific reference to the city in the annals does not occur until 1124, when, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters* (O’Donovan 1851 sub anno 1124), a castle (dún) was built at Galway by the Connacht men. The area around Galway was owned by the local Irish O’Flaherty and O’Halloran septs. The annals record the castle at Bun Gaillimhe was burned by a fleet of the men of Mumhan (Munster). In fact it was to be burnt again in 1132, 1149 and 1161 (Walsh 2004, 273).

By the time of the Anglo-Norman attempted conquest of Connacht between 1232 and 1243, the area’s potential was again recognized and a castle was built by the de Burgos near a ford on the river at Galway in 1236. Galway’s hinterland was still ruled at the time by the O’Flahertys and the O’Hallorans, along with smaller Irish tribes and septs (Walsh 2001, 9-11). De Burgo and his fellow mercenaries brought with them some of the early settlers, some of whom were later (in the 17th century) to become known to the Cromwellians as the ‘Tribes of Galway’ (Hardiman 1820, 7-21 and O’Neill 1984, 1-15).
It was under Richard de Burgo (or the Red Earl), that Galway grew to importance as a centre of trade and population. The settlement must have been strongly defended against Irish attack.

In 1280 there are mentions of walls and, at this time, new areas of land on the seaward side of Galway were being enclosed. By this stage also, taxes were being collected on wine, salt, cloth, leather and other items (Walsh 2004, 273-4). This is indicative of the amount of trade which was going on, both with the continent and in the Irish hinterland. Few architectural remains of this period, however, survive.

In 1333 the town became independent of the de Burgos and in 1361 the citizens were given permission to erect further defensive town walls (Hardiman 1820, 54-58). In 1396 Galway was made a royal borough (Hardiman 1820, 61). The power of the de Burgos, who had adopted Irish traits, was curbed by the crown and some of the future ‘Fourteen Tribes’ took control of the town. (For the ‘Tribes’ see Hardiman 1820, 7-21 and O’Neill 1984, 2-15.) The de Burgos were expelled but retained vast tracts of land in Connacht. Galway became, more and more, a loyal bastion of English domination. In 1270 a Murage Charter was granted by Edward I (Walsh 2001, 11). The walls, however, were not built and the charter lapsed. In 1351 Edward III was petitioned by the townsmen for another Murage Charter and their request was granted (Walsh 2004, 274).

Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, Galway became an expanding trading port and Galway, at this stage, was dominated by wealthy ‘merchant princes’ many of whom were members of ‘Tribes’.

In 1320, St. Nicholas’s one of the two most splendid of Galway’s buildings to survive to this day, was built (Hardiman 1820, 233-264; Leask 1936A, 1-23; and McKeon 2009, 95-113). At first, this church was a dependency of the Cistercians of Abbeyknockmoy in the Dioceses of Annaghdown but in 1484 it got Collegiate status. The building is of many phases and only a few 14th century features remain among the mass of 15th, 16th and 17th century additions, rebuildings and later restorations.
By the 14th and 15th centuries the areas of English influence had declined in parts of Ireland due to the re-possession of their lands by the Irish, but like the Pale around Dublin, the town of Galway continued to be a centre of loyalty to the English crown (Walsh 2001, 12-13). After a fire in 1473 Galway seems to have made a fairly rapid recovery with much rebuilding taking place, so much so that in 1484 the town was in a strong enough position to obtain a form of civic independence which was, at this time, unique in Europe. Galway throughout the 14th and 15th centuries was rewarded for its loyalty (Hardiman 1820, 60-62). The wealthy merchants of the town wished to have the sort of respectability which a town governed by its own mayor and corporation would afford them. Richard II’s Murage Charter of 1396 gave them some protection (Hardiman 1820, 67-69). (The King’s ‘liege people were received, saved, comforted and relieved, despite being, exposed on all sides to Irish enemies and English rebels’). They could now afford to press Richard II and Richard III for more in return for their continued loyalty. At first a Charter of Incorporation was gained, but this was limited in its effects because it did not give mayoral status. That status was eventually given by Richard III in 1484. Galway was also granted its own Corporation in that year and from then on had independence from external influences (Walsh 2001, 16-19). The Mac William Burkes, descendants of the original de Burgo founders of the town, were banished from 1484 onwards, the Lynch family dominated the mayorship for centuries. Also when, in that year, St. Nicholas’ became a Collegiate Church, it was given the right to have a college with a warden and eight priests to be elected by the Corporation. This favour was later endorsed by a Papal Bull of Pope Innocent VIII (Hardiman 1820, 254-6).

During the 15th and 16th centuries, Galway’s power and wealth continued to grow. The wealth is perhaps reflected in the many fine houses of stone which were erected then. Maps of Galway of 1584, and especially those of 1610, and above all, and the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of the 1660s, give ‘views’ of Galway showing many fine edifices of all sorts, and a strong system of defensive walls, towers and gates. Though this detailed map (Text Fig. 4) is
undoubtedly stylised in its minutiae, it shows many fine structures and a town plan or layout which hardly altered until the 19th and 20th centuries (Walsh 2004, 275-6).

Galway was burned in 1412 but does not seem to have been badly damaged by the fire of that year. In the 15th century Galway had become prosperous through trade (Walsh 2001, 15-16). The town was, however, severely damaged by a major fire in 1473. Many buildings, may, up until then, have been of wood or have been thatched, but from the 16th, and into the 17th century, the houses which replaced them were often of stone. This is not to say that building in wood or the use of thatch for roofs died out completely (Walsh 2004, 275). It is clear from the maps of the 16th and 17th century that many of the houses in the suburbs (those of the less well-off) were flimsy structures. It is from the 15th century (to some extent) but especially from the 16th and 17th century architectural fragments, fireplaces, and such like come. It is to this period that some of Galway’s finest remains date (See Higgins 2003 and 2004 for the stone sculpture). The present remains of Lynch’s Castle (though its origin is earlier – it was burnt in the great fire of 1473) date mainly from the 16th and 17th century (Higgins 1996-7, 175-191 and Higgins 1997-8, 87-89). Many 18th and 19th century houses, and other buildings with ‘modern’ facades, have structural phases originating in the 16th and 17th centuries. Though there are some exceptional, earlier pre-16th century pieces (notable examples survive at St. Nicholas’ for instance), most of the ornamented door cases, window-hoods, fireplaces and so on date from the 16th and 17th centuries. It is to this period that such items as the Browne Doorway now in Eyre Square (1627), and the Athy doorway (1577) – formerly in Abbeygate Street, and now in Galway City Museum, belong. The dated examples of fireplaces, which often bear one or more elaborately carved coats of arms, are mainly from the 17th century, though a few examples dated earlier also occur. From this period we have some hundreds of carvings as can be seen in the walls of Lynch’s Castle (Higgins 1996-7, 175-191 and 1997-8, 87-89) and in collections in Lynch’s Restaurant in Shop Street, in the Galway City Museum / Músaem Cathrach na Gaillimhe and
on buildings everywhere in the older part of the city. Few places in Ireland have comparable ranges of material for the student of heraldry. Kilkenny has the next largest collection of similar carvings and there are a few survivals at Kilmallock and a few in Cork but, by and large, the largest number survive in Galway. In some cases, the ‘merchant princes’ or the ‘Tribes’ and some allied families appropriated heraldic devices and supporters, which they were not entitled to, in order to add to the ostentation of the premises, and prestige of their name.

By the 17th century, Galway trade had reached a high point and the ‘Tribes’ and a few related families prospered (to the exclusion of all others). The tribes held a monopoly on trade and on most of the important offices in the administration of the town (O’Neill 1984, 1). Evidence of trade is clearly visible, not only in the written records of the time, but also in the archaeological evidence (Hartnell 2004, 292-308).

By the second half of the 17th century Galway saw a decline which continued into the 18th and 19th century. In the 1640s the town provided legal advisors for the Confederation of Kilkenny. The Great Irish Rebellion of 1641, however, did not have much of a damaging effect on the growth of the city. The ‘Tribes’ continued to lend money, deal in trade and add to their land holdings outside the city. The Reformation did not, at first, have much effect on prosperity either but Galway eventually started a down-hill descent with the sacking of the town by the Cromwellians in 1652 and again by the Williamites in 1691 (Walsh 2004, 280-81).

Royalist townspeople fortified the town against the Parliamentarians in 1642. Throughout the mid-1640s various bastions and other fortifications were built and strengthened. The Cromwellians confiscations meant that a new set of rulers ruled in Galway (O’Neill 1984, 19, 21). Among these were the Smiths (of whom Erasmus Smith was most well-known in Galway), the Meyricks or Merricks (after whom Meyrick Square, later Eyre Square, was once named), and the Eyres, one of whom, Edward Eyre, presented the square to the Corporation and people of Galway in 1710 and also presented Galway’s Civic Mace to the Corporation in that year (Hayes McCoy, 1960-61, 43-65).
The Cromwellian plantations and confiscations did not mean the end of the ‘Tribes’ completely. The families, in fact, continued to expand outside Galway and to gain more land from the native Irish (Walsh 2001, 24-33). Thus, the Martins got most of the O’Flaherty land and the Lynches, Frenches, Blakes, Martins and Brownes moved to large estates at various places in Co. Galway. The Lynch estates at Lavally, those of the Frenches at Monivea, the Brownes at Castlemagarrett and the Blakes at Ardfry and Ballyglunin are just some examples. Some families like the Martins managed to retain not only their country estates but their town houses as well. Humanity Dick Martin is one such example (Walsh 2001, 42-3). His fine 16th/17th century residence, with a beautiful oriel window in stone, still survives at the junction of Cross Street/High Street. Many of the ‘Tribes’ changed religion during the Penal Laws to retain their lands (Walsh 2004, 280-282).

Throughout the 18th century no major expansion involving the building of large numbers of Georgian houses occurred, such as took place in Cork and Dublin (Walsh 2001, 43-47). Few elaborate 18th century buildings in fact survive, with the exception perhaps of Mayorality House, whose fine façade alone, survives in Flood Street. Many houses in the old city area, with original fabric dating to the 16th and 17th centuries, continued to be occupied and altered throughout the 18th and 19th century. By this stage the town walls had decayed and were being demolished. The fortifications had been badly damaged after the Cromwellian and Williamite wars and were subsequently reduced further. Trade too declined, especially after 1750 when the number of ships owned by Galway merchants had fallen from fourteen or fifteen in the 1730s to three or four in 1762 when the population of the town was estimated at 1,400 (Walsh 2004, 283-4).

With the relaxation of the Penal Laws in the early 19th century it became possible for Catholics again to build churches (Walsh 2004, 285). The Pro-Cathedral in Abbeygate Street was built with the aid of subscriptions from several of the old Tribes whose crests decorate its façade (Walsh 2001, 44-5). Its foundation stone was laid on July 1st 1816 by Hyacinth Daly, Mayor of the
Protestant Corporation. The revival of the Roman Catholic Churches led to the recovery of monuments hidden during the period of the Penal Laws (1691-1828) (Walsh 2001, 46-7). Examples are C48-C50 which came from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and were hidden in the Claddagh in penal times and were later incorporated in the fabric of the Pro-Cathedral when it was built. There was renewed interest in the monuments after Catholic Emancipation in 1829, when many Roman Catholic families rediscovered or re-erected earlier monuments to their families or incorporated parts of them into modern monuments.
In Britain, the study of medieval funerary monuments began in the 18th century (Gough 1786), and throughout the 19th century there was a steady stream of important works, many of which (though now out of date) are useful for the illustrations and description of comparative material which they supply. The work of Boutell (1854) and of Cutts (1849) in particular provides excellent illustrations of medieval monuments with a wide variety of symbolism and decoration and illustrates an interesting range of continental examples.

Despite the fact that several important works on medieval funerary monuments had been produced from the mid 19th century onwards, Britain in general is not much better served in terms of detailed local or regional corpora than Ireland. The various Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments volumes for Britain did however tend to supply a good cross-section of monuments before their material was subdivided in more recent years into fascicules at the expense of more comprehensive, broadly-based regional archaeological (and architectural) inventories.

Styan’s general study of cross-slabs (Styan 1902) was also useful. Crossley’s *English Church Monuments* (1921) continues to be so. A wide range of funerary monuments of all periods were dealt with by Crossley and that writer, along with Gardner’s more general book on *English Medieval Sculpture* (1935), provide a good series of photographic illustrations of sculpture including funerary monuments.

Regional and local groups of stones have frequently been published in British journals. The work of L.A.S. Butler (1958, 1964 and 1987) provide good examples. But the largest and most comprehensive studies are monographs by Gresham (1968) on the Northern Welsh Medieval monuments and by Steer and Bannerman (1977) on the funerary sculpture of the West Highlands of Scotland. The County Durham cross-slabs have recently been the subject of a corpus by Ryder (1985) though the subject had been dealt with to a lesser extent by
Charlton as early as 1848 (Charlton 1848). Journal articles by Rodger (1912) have dealt with the stone cross slabs of South Wales and Monmouthshire and several other, shorter, more regional studies, also occur in both book form and journal articles (Paul 1882 for example). One of the most important modern international corpora has been Greenhill’s Incised Effigial Slabs of 1976. The Irish incised effigial slabs have been studied by Roe (1977) in a review of Greenhill’s work. Many of the British Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments Inventory Volumes and the Victorian County History volumes for various areas have included examples of funerary monuments of various dates including medieval and post-medieval examples. This sometimes provides useful comparative material for Irish and other funerary sculpture.

Several important works have been published on various aspects of British funerary monuments in recent years. The most notable and relevant of these include Gray’s Images of Piety (2000), a study of Welsh late medieval traditional religion and iconography provides some very useful parallels for the Irish symbolism. Cockerham’s (2006) Continuity and change Memorialisation and the Cornish funeral monument industry 1497-1600, offers an excellent detailed analysis of Cornish monuments, their makers, manufacture and business methods with useful chapters on memorialisation in Cornwall, Ireland and Brittany.


In Ireland, the work of the various writers who, with Lord Walter Fitzgerald at their helm, contributed to the Journal of the Association for the Preservation of Memorials to the Dead [in] Ireland was most useful as some of
the monuments recorded during the late 19th and early 20th century have since disappeared or suffered damage and weathering. It was also important work and partly lead to an increase in contributions on funerary monuments in the pages of *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, as well as in local parish histories.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, made several strong appeals for volunteers to help to record Irish funerary monuments before many of them became lost. A further appeal for the study of Irish medieval art was made by Duport (1934) in a short article.

The *Archaeological Survey of Northern Ireland* volume for Co. Down (Jope 1966) also includes a fairly comprehensive section and a good selection of plates illustrating the early medieval cross-slabs in that county. Many of the cross-slabs described in that work had however previously been discussed by Davies and George (1946).

In her by now oft-quoted presidential address of 1966 to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (Roe 1966) and in her own writings on the Irish depictions of the Trinity (Roe 1979 and Roe 1980), on cadaveral effigies (Roe 1969 and Roe 1981), Helen Roe has contributed greatly to our understanding of medieval and late medieval funerary and non-funerary sculpture alike, as has Margaret Phelan (See Phelan 1987, 1993, 1996 for examples).

Harold G. Leask has made a significant contribution to the study of Irish ecclesiastical architecture and his three volume work on the subject includes some brief mention of some types of funerary monuments (Leask 1955, 1960 and 1966). Bradley has contributed considerably to the study of Irish funerary monuments, most especially recumbent slabs (1980, 1981, 1985) and sarcophagi (1988). A *corpus* of medieval grave-slabs with inscriptions in Norman-French by that writer is forthcoming (Bradley pers comm) and slabs of various dates from St. Canice’s Cathedral (Bradley 1985) and other Kilkenny City sites have been published by him. Recently O’Driscéoil has been adding substantially to the Kilkenny City *corpus* of monuments (O’Driscéoil 1995, 2006).
In an important series of articles written between 1969 and 1971, Rae has dealt with the Irish sepulchral monuments of the later Middle Age, as well as with a number of important individual monuments of late medieval date in some detail (Rae 1970, 1971) and has also written on the topic of other monumental tombs (Rae 1966A, 1970A, 1970B and 1972). John Hunt has contributed much to the study of Ireland’s medieval art history. His 1974 *magnum opus* on medieval Irish figurative sculpture is of immense value. Its massive catalogue and excellent plates as well as a comprehensive discussion make it an invaluable work on Irish medieval funerary (and other) sculpture.

Stalley has contributed both general books and more specific articles on Irish architecture and sculpture generally and these have included observations on some early funerary sculpture (Stalley 1987, 1987A, 2003 and 1971). His general booklet on *Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150-1350* (Stalley 1971) and a companion volume by Crookshank *Irish Sculpture from 1600 to the Present Day* (Crookshank 1984) contain some of the few general summaries of Irish medieval and post-medieval funerary and non-funerary sculpture published in recent times. King has studied of both funerary monuments and free standing medieval crosses (King 1984; 1987). Loeber (1981) has dealt with several aspects of the social and artistic aspects of some Irish post-medieval and medieval monuments; Gillespie (1994) has also dealt with the symbolic, social and status aspects of some of the later Irish post-medieval attitudes to death, social distinction and the heraldic pageantry of funerals.

Maher (1997) has published a *corpus* of the medieval recumbent grave-slabs of the period 1200 to 1600 from County Tipperary and several archaeologically excavated slabs from Derrynaflan (Maher 1990) and an unpublished M.A. thesis by Mulveen (1997) has focussed on the post-Reformation monuments bearing occupational symbols and tools in County Galway and Galway City (Mulveen 1997) and also Mulveen 1996 and 2000. Fry (1999) has published a general work on *Burial in Medieval Ireland 900-1500*. Several articles by Harris on medieval and late medieval monuments have been published in recent years (1996, 1998, 1999 and 2000) as has an important article

**Previous Work on the Galwegian Monuments**

The present work is one of the few national or regional *corpora* of Irish medieval funerary monuments, as noted others include Hunt’s 1974 *corpus* entitled *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600* (Hunt 1974), Maher’s *corpus* of County Tipperary recumbent stones of 1997 and Mulveen (1997) study based on his (unpublished) M.A. Thesis on the topic of Post-Reformation Cross-slabs with vocational motifs. A *corpus* of the Early Christian Monuments of County Galway has been published by Higgins (1987).

Some of the earliest references to Galwegian monuments were made for heraldic, genealogical and status reasons and were recorded in the records of Ulster King of Arms now in the Genealogical Office, Dublin (See Heraldry Chapter 6). Heralds and their officials had an obvious interest in ensuring that the proper heraldry was displayed on tombs (which were sometimes constructed before their owners died) and that they were entitled to be displayed among those whose arms are recorded in the *Funeral Entries*. Sir Peter French (whose arms are impaled with those of his wife Maria Browne) are prominently shown on
C32 and are for example recorded in the *Funeral Entries* (M.S. 64-79 Vols. 5, 10 and 17) in the Genealogical Office, now the Office of the Chief Herald of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin.

As early as the 1680s some of the monuments in the south transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church were being recorded by Fr. de Ayora for their general and genealogical interest even though some of the monuments were then little more than thirty years old. Fr de Ayora of the Dominican Order held an inquiry in Galway in 1674 in connection with the appointment of Fr. Dominic Lynch as regent of the College of St. Thomas at Seville. The enquiry included an examination of his Lynch ancestry. The original documents are not apparently now extant but in 1693 Dr. Lynch had an extract made and sent back to Ireland (Mitchell 1966-71 and 1981-2).

The 18th century saw the rediscovery of the cenotaph, the supposed ‘tomb’ of William Liath de Burgo (C18) recorded in 1779 in *Finn’s Leinster Express* (from July 24th-28th, 1779) which also recorded the disinterring of several monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery, Newtownsmith. By the end of the 18th century some of the monuments at that site including C44a-b and C45 I-III were noted briefly by a French visitor to Ireland, Coquebert de Montbret, who also sketched some parts of C44b (See Ní Chinnéide 1952). That writer also referred to the *memento mori* (C82) now in the ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ in Lombard Street. In his account of Galway, Archdall (1786) also made some references to some of the Franciscan graveyard monuments in passing as part of his treatment of that religious house in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

In the early 19th century the great historian of Galway City, James Hardiman author of *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (1820), recorded some of the early (as well as some of the 18th century) monuments at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, at the Dominican Graveyard and as well at the Franciscan Cemetery Newtownsmith. He has provided us with the earliest, largest and most comprehensive groups of transcriptions of Galwegian monuments which he recorded for their historical and antiquarian interest. Hardiman also illustrated several of the monuments which are now lost such as
Chapter 3
Previous Work on Funerary Monuments

C23, the slab with the arms of a goldsmith’s guild at the Franciscan Cemetery. Fortunately too, some of the carvings which he illustrated are still extant (C18, C43 and C71). Another fascinating carving is recorded among a group of Hardiman’s pen and ink drawings, some of which were used in his History of 1820, and is now in the archives at Galway County Library, Island House, Cathedral Square, Galway City, where it is numbered Ms. G.S. 01/Z of the Galway City Archives Collection. This is a drawing of C19 (See Plate 13A).

By contrast with James Hardiman (1820), that other historian of Galway City, M.D. O’Sullivan (1942), paid scant attention to the funerary monuments and concerned herself mainly with the political, economic and social history of the town, making just a passing reference to the importance of its architectural and sculptural heritage.

After Hardiman, little attention was paid to these monuments until the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century and even then they generally received no more than a line or two in publications which were not specifically devoted to funerary monuments. Lord Walter Fitzgerald, the founder of the Association for the Preservation of Memorials to the Dead in Ireland, had a particular interest in the preservation of monuments and personally recorded and published many hundreds of examples. Though it is unfortunate that he did not draw any of the Galwegian examples, he has left us with some good readings of the epitaphs of some of St. Nicholas’ and the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith in his publications (Fitzgerald 1893 and 1910).

Cooke (1895A and 1895B), like Fitzgerald, regretted the state into which the Franciscan Cemetery had lapsed. He recorded a number of inscriptions there and made brief references also to some of those in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Champneys (1910) in his wide ranging work on Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture makes only passing mention of several monuments as we shall see below. Blake (1905-6A) makes brief reference to the Franciscan Cemetery monuments while alluding to and illustrating the tomb of Sir Peter French.

Specific work on the ecclesiastical architecture has also led to several writers dealing with the funerary monuments in somewhat more detail than was
usual in the early part of this century. Fleetwood Berry’s work of 1912 is a
general guide to St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church but not one of exacting or novel
historical research (Fleetwood Berry 1912). Nevertheless several of the
monuments which were usefully drawn in that work had not previously been
illustrated. Fleetwood Berry, in his comments on C1 and on the walkway from
the north transept of St. Nicholas’ to the tower above the crossing, contributed
somewhat to the legends and misconceptions which subsequently grew up
around the so-called ‘Crusader’s Tomb’ (C1) and to the mythology of the so-
called ‘Leper’s Gallery’. This feature did not however have its reused tomb
panels taken from the south transept and added to its façade until sometime
during the 1958-1962 restoration of the building (See C34A-K).

An attempt was made by the present writer in a series of footnotes to
correct just some of the readings of the inscriptions recorded by Fleetwood Berry
when an edited second edition of Fleetwood Berry’s guide was printed in 1989,
but it was not until 1992 that all the readings of his and those of previous writers
were re-checked in greater detail and the entire corpus of the St. Nicholas’
Monuments, many of which had not been previously recorded, were published in
Higgins and Heringklee (1992). This work dealt with all the funerary monuments
of all periods in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

Apart from Fleetwood Berry’s guide to St. Nicholas’ several more
historically-based studies of the history of the Franciscan ecclesiastical site at
Galway by Jennings (1947) and by Concannon (1929) on the history of the Poor
Clares, have made reference to the several of effigial slabs with representations
of religious personages at the Franciscan Cemetery. As will be seen elsewhere it
is unlikely that some of the monuments are related to the Poor Clares as they pre-
date the arrival of that Order to Galway (C16 and C27). Both of these writers
have given readings of the inscriptions on some of the Franciscan graveyard
monuments and have mainly relied on Hardiman (1820).

It is of interest to note that some of the monuments which Concannon
and Jennings mention had been numbered in the past, for ease of identification,
but that the only surviving stone bearing a number is C16 which is marked with
the engraved number ‘4’. The stones must have been numbered for their antiquarian interest at some time in the late 18th or in the 19th centuries. Perhaps they were numbered with reference to an archival list of some sort which is now lost. Certainly there is none in the present Franciscan archives, nor in the Franciscan’s Archives in Killiney, Co. Dublin.

Champneys (1910) in one of the first modern wide-ranging discussions of Irish ecclesiastical architecture, makes passing reference to just a few of the St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church monuments, perhaps the two most attractive monuments in the entire church, C6, the O’Tiernagh recumbent slab of 1580 and C55, the Lynch traceried and canopied tomb in the South Transept. C6 is referred to in the text and in the index of this book, as a ‘coffin lid’ though there is no evidence that it ever covered a stone coffin or sarcophagus as Champneys supposed it did. C55 and the parallels for its tracery are discussed briefly and is illustrated by a photograph. He also mentions the ‘Reader’s Desk’ or confessional in the ‘North Aisle’.

Leask (1936A) in his very fine and detailed architectural description of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church concentrated on the architecture and to an extent on those historical sources which he considered useful in relation to the dating of the main architectural features and phases. He paid little attention to the funerary monuments although he does comment briefly on the Flamboyant (Lynch) tomb in the south transept (C55). Leask (1971) also makes only a single passing reference (in the third of his three volume work on Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings) to one of the Galwegian monuments again to the flamboyant Lynch tomb just mentioned.

Later writers on the history of the Franciscan foundation at Galway including MacDonnacha (1971) have illustrated some of the monuments and have alluded to them briefly in passing but have not described them. In most cases MacDonnacha and others have incorrectly presumed that C44 (a and b), the Sir Peter French tomb, and C45 (I-III), the panels bearing Apostles, other Saints and the Crucifixion, come from the same monument. This too has been the case with most of the more recent writers of general guide books to Galway
and to Ireland by writers like Craig and the Knight of Glin (1970) and Killanin and Duignan (1962 and 1967). The latter writers, in both editions of their *Shell Guide to Ireland*, make reference to some of the monuments in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and they illustrate some of the monuments at both sites. This is true also of Harbison’s updated and edited version of the *Shell Guide* published in 1989. They also make reference to the carvings formerly at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and now at Galway Cathedral, officially referred to as The Cathedral of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven and St. Nicholas. The latter carvings (C48-C50) have been referred to and illustrated by Bishop Michael Browne (Browne 1967) in a general guide to the Cathedral. The Trinity Scene (C49) has been dealt with by Roe (1979 and 1980) as we have seen.

Ó Héideáin (1991) in his history of the Dominicans in Galway gives a comprehensive account of the Dominican foundation but does not deal with any of the funerary monuments which occurred or still occur there (like C75 and C76). The history of Galwegian Dominican Nuns by O’Neill (1994) likewise does not deal with any of the monuments cited above or those associated with the Dominican foundation at the Claddagh.

Very general architectural guides notably that by William Garner (1985) in the series of Architectural summaries on Irish towns published by An Foras Forbartha, (*Galway Architectural Heritage*, in the National Architectural Inventory Series) have alluded in passing to some of the monuments at the Franciscan graveyard.

Several of the monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery, the Convent of Mercy, Old Pro-Cathedral and now at Galway Cathedral and St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church are referred to by Hayward (1952) and some of the St. Nicholas’ and Franciscan Cemetery monuments are illustrated by Raymond Piper in Hayward’s book. Significantly some of the Franciscan Cemetery stones which are illustrated in that publication are now lost.

Popular historical guides including those by O’Dowd (1985) and Rynne (1977 and subsequent editions) have alluded briefly to some of the more
prominent monuments at St. Nicholas’, the Franciscan Cemetery, Convent of Mercy and the Abbey Church as well as at Galway Cathedral.

A combined map and guide with an accompanying historical and descriptive text by Korff, O’Connell and Higgins (1990 and 1992) and subsequent editions has briefly described in passing and illustrated some of the Galwegian funerary and related monuments among others with line drawings. Some of those at the Franciscan Cemetery and the Convent of Mercy are illustrated.

Some of the monuments have been illustrated in a series of books of old photographs of Galway by Semple (1973 and 1988) and various subsequent editions, some of those at the Franciscan Cemetery and some others which were formerly at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, later at the Old Pro-Cathedral in Abbeygate Street Upper and now in the New Cathedral. Semple’s books illustrate several of the monuments from old photographs but provide no description of them other than a simple caption.

A series of articles by Mitchell (1981-2, 1985-6) have done much to de-mystify some of the more imaginative theories on the so-called ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ and the so-called ‘Empty Frame’. Mitchell (1985-6A) has also explored the various mistakes by a series of writers which have led to the Lynch Flamboyant Traceried Tomb (C55) in the south transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church being misinterpreted as a Joyce tomb (most recently by Hunt 1974).

The ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ and its skull and cross-bones (C82 Plate 35A and B) has been the subject of much debate notably by Rabbitte (1919-20) and more especially by Mitchell (1966-71 and 1981-2, with extensive references therein). More recently that monument and various carved fragments in it have been described from an archaeological and architectural view point by Higgins (in Higgins and Heringklee 1992, Appendix I).

Hunt (1974) in his corpus of Irish Medieval Funerary Monuments 1200-1600 included just two of the Galwegian funerary monuments (C54 and C55). He mistitles C54 as an ‘Archer’ tomb whereas in fact the arms on it are clearly
those of Lynch. He also attributes the Flamboyant Traceried Tomb (C55 which is a Lynch tomb) to the Joyce family. The tomb is in the segment of the South Transept which was extended by the Lynch family in the 16th century. Writing on the Tribal Families the late Professor T.P. O’Neill’s (1984) booklet on that topic referred in passing to the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a-b) as did Quinn (1962) and Kavanagh (1965 and 2000) in both editions of her most useful Bibliography of County Galway.

Roe (1979) in her article on the Holy Trinity in Ireland has discussed C48 (now at Galway Cathedral) and C44 (a-b) at the Franciscan Cemetery. Higgins (1989-90) has suggested that a fragment at the Convent of Mercy (C66) may have come from another Trinity Panel. Walsh (1991) has argued that it did not. Higgins has published the corpus of funerary and other monuments at the Convent of Mercy (Higgins 1989d). Many of the funerary elements come originally from the Franciscan foundation the grounds of which extended across the present grounds of the Convent of Mercy. The Convent of Mercy publication was the first detailed illustrated corpus of some of the Galwegian monuments to be published (Higgins 1989d). The entire corpus of funerary monuments of all periods at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church by Higgins and Heringklee (1992) was the first complete catalogue of funerary monuments of any of the Galwegian religious sites to be published. The second is that for St. James’s Church (Higgins 1996) where all the monuments are post-medieval but where a fragment of a wayside-type cross of late medieval type (C83) was found during conservation and excavation work at the site.

The merchants’ marks which occur on some of the funerary monuments catalogued in this corpus as well as on non-funerary monuments have been the subject of some recent work. Examples occur on C3, C47 and C47A. The topic has been the focus of some considerable study by Walsh 1993; Higgins 1993, 1994; Higgins and Heringklee 1992; Korff, O’Connell, and Higgins 1990. A new corpus of Galwegian Merchants’ marks on stone, wood, parchment and on tokens is forthcoming (Higgins 2011).
Since the 1970s in particular there has been a great revival of interest in the Galwegian stone carvings generally as the city changes and many of the late medieval buildings as well as later material is altered, destroyed and (in a few rare instances) enhanced and preserved. Popular guides like those of Fox, Leonard and O'Dowd (1979) mentioned some of the architectural and sculptured features of Galway in passing but not the funerary monuments specifically apart that is from the Lynch Window.

Rynne in his Tourist Trail of Old Galway, first published in 1977 refers briefly to some of the better-known funerary and related monuments including the Lynch Window, the Lynch Flamboyant tomb and C47, the remnants of the Lynch tomb on the corner of the South Transept popularly supposed to be that of James Lynch FitzStephen. He also refers to items such as C44 (a-b) and C45 (I-III) at the Franciscan Cemetery, which he links together as the same monument. He also notes in passing the presence of C53 and C67 which were still (until 1983) positioned above an arched entrance at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. In later editions the description of C55 is expanded upon) before they were moved to their present position in the cloister (Higgins 1989d). The three panels (C48, C49 and C50) now at the New Cathedral but originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church are also mentioned in passing in Rynne.

A number of funerary monuments were displayed and published in a catalogue of the first exhibition in the new Galway City Museum. The exhibition was entitled Conamar Cathrach Fragments of a City (Higgins 2006) and ran throughout summer to winter 2006. Casts of C1, C44(a) and C69 of the present Catalogue were displayed in that exhibition. Several collections of Galwegian sculpture have been published by the writer (Higgins 2003 and Higgins 2004).

In Susan Fry’s book Burial in Medieval Ireland 900-150 (Fry 1999) only one mention of a burial from a written source is alluded to, that of Edmund Lynch, a ‘burgher’ of Galway who was buried in a tomb he had made in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin in his parish church in Galway in 1462 (Fry 1999, 156, f.n.46). This tomb is long lost and we have no description or any other details of it. The mention of the Parochial Church in Galway, which did have a
Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, may suggest that the tomb was at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The tomb is referenced to as follows: “...in tumba sua quam sibi et suis fabricari fecit in capella Beatae Virginis Ecclesia, sarrochiali ipsus villae de Galway anno Domini 1462”. The text is to be found in the Registrum monasterii fratrum praedicatorum de Athenry (Coleman 1912, 211).

Ridge (2009) has dealt with modern folklore and funerary customs of the western Irish counties but none of her material relates to funerary monuments or to Galway City.
CHAPTER 4

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND DISTRIBUTION
OF THE MONUMENTS

Archaeological Context

Excavations in religious sites including churches and cemeteries have been relatively few in Galway City. No pre-1700 funerary monuments have been found in any archaeological interventions in the City. None of the Galwegian medieval and late medieval funerary monuments catalogued here have come from the context of an archaeological excavation, nor have the burial deposits within or below any of them been archaeologically excavated. Many of them have been moved over the last few centuries. Of the recumbent slabs, none can be shown to be in situ.

Monuments

Those at the Dominican Graveyard (one of which remains and two of which are now lost), seem to have been on the modern graveyard surface for some time. When the lost examples (C75-C76) were recorded in the early 19th century by Hardiman (1820), they would appear to have been at ground level. It is now clear however that in the early 20th century landscaping of the cemetery led to the deliberate removal and/or burial of numerous monuments. Some of these were uncovered in unlicensed digging by a Civic Trust F.Á.S. Team in 2001 but none of the 15 or so monuments uncovered then pre-dated the 18th century. These monuments were covered over after recording under the supervision of the Heritage Office, Galway City Council. No trace of C75 or C76 was found. Hardiman did not record the existence of C51, the Crucifixion Panel from the Dominican site (Plate 30B). It seems probable that the monuments to Maurice O’Ferrall (1588) and Thomas Linc (1627) (C75 and C76 respectively) were recumbent slabs, as seems likely from Hardiman’s (1820) description of them.
None of the many fine monuments, which are now visible at the Franciscan Cemetery, Newtownsmith (C14-C18 and C21-C27) is now *in situ*, all have been moved, mainly during the 1960s and 1970s when most of the box-tombs at the site were dismembered, buried or discarded in the canal nearby. Plate 96B shows the crowded cemetery as it was in the 19th century. In March 2008, digging for parking spaces in the Franciscan Cemetery, only some of which were authorised under the planning legislation, and all of which had later to be archaeologically resolved, resulted in the uncovering of six 18th century monuments and the base of an *in situ* box tomb of similar date. No earlier monuments were found. Drainage of the nearby canal to facilitate cleaning at various times between 2004 and 2008 led to the discovery of several panels from 18-19th century box-tombs but no inscribed stones.

Only at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church are there any monuments which are in or near their original positions. From the documentation and specifications relating to the 1958-63 restoration work, it is clear that all the floors of the church have been resurfaced and their levels seem to have been altered to a considerable degree (Anon. 1950, N.P.). It is unlikely then that any of the recumbent slabs, even those which are now set in floors (like C1-C3, C8-C11, C13 and C12) are *in situ*. Some may be near their original place of repose but all have been levelled-up at the very least, and many have been moved (See Plates 3, 7 and 8).

Most of the monuments in the cemetery around St. Nicholas’ were deliberately covered with rubble and soil during 20th century restoration work and grassed over. Some of those were uncovered by the St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church Library and Heritage Project in 1991 and 1992 but many others occur at depth and were not uncovered. None of the recumbent monuments at the Franciscan Abbey (C14-C18) or those at the Dominican Graveyard (C75 and C76) are now *in situ*.

It seems probable that with the exception of C55 the Flamboyant Traceried Tomb (Plate 51), the Lynch (and Athy?) Table Tomb (C47, Plates 26-28), and the related ‘Empty Frame’ Lynch Tomb (C47A, Plates 23 and 24B-D),
and the Lynch Tomb-cum-Window (C54, Plate 69), all of which are in the South transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, that very few of the monuments are in situ.

In the case of the Lynch family Flamboyant Traceried Wall-Tomb (C55, Plate 51) there seems to be no doubt that the monument is in situ. But whether the burial is directly below it or elsewhere is unknown. It could well be in a vault or tomb somewhere else in the South Transept.

With regards to the underworks of C47 (also in the South transept and associated with the Lynch family) it is obvious that the tomb is not complete but was part of a much larger monument. There is some evidence of partial rebuilding in this monument as exemplified in the plain, relatively crudely worked panel in the right-hand corner of the tomb (Plate 28B). The whole top of the tomb has been covered in a layer of modern (19th century) concrete (Plates 24A, 27C and 28B).

The Lynch Tomb-cum-Window in the South Transept (C54, Plate 69) is clearly a composite structure incorporating a 14th century-style window with simple tracery of the same type and with the same tooling as is found in the three windows of the early south-east wall of the nave as well as one window in the south-east wall of the South Transept, however, the feature itself, the tomb and its soffit-lining, frontal and mensa are all in situ and though it has never been excavated there is no reason to suppose that this tomb has been moved.

The post-medieval monument to Jane Eyre which is also found in the south wall of the South Aisle (Plate 76A) is also apparently in situ and again is a post-medieval insertion into earlier (16th century) fabric. The latter monument with its Pseudo-Classical ‘Etruscan pilasters’ and elaborate entablature is undated and, while it is 17th century in form, was erected after the end of our period for discussion. Another later funerary wall panel which is in situ is the Stannard inscribed panel with its elaborate and archaic lettering and heraldry and which bears the date 1729 (Plate 22A). These two monuments fall outside the chronological scope of the catalogue. It is of a type of monument which, where they are found elsewhere in Co. Galway, is dated earlier. A monument with
similar heraldry and lettering which is in the Franciscan Cemetery to Alderman Dominick Browne is dated 1596 (C81, Plate 22B). Another monument of similar type with the same sort of heraldry and lettering at St. Mary’s Cathedral, Tuam, to the Kirwan and Browne families is dated in the early 18th century (Higgins and Parsons 1995, 87, Cat. No. 62B) and would seem to suggest a later date for the Browne monument (which, as can be seen from its catalogue entry, was once part of a monument dating at least in part to the 18th century). The arms of Kirwan and Browne occur and the slab was erected to Martina and Michael Kirwan and bears the dates 1713 and 1732.

Though late in date the moulded frame around the 18th century Stannard monument in St. Nicholas’ (Plate 22A) and the so-called ‘Empty Frame’ (C47A) also in St. Nicholas’ remind one of many of the funerary heraldic panels found so frequently in Kilkenny, which when in situ are invariably surround by a moulded frame.

The vast majority of Galwegian funerary monuments of the period between the 13th and 17th centuries and which are now visible are not now in situ most have been dismembered, moved or repositioned at some time or other. Most of the monuments have been dislocated from their original funerary, archaeological or architectural contexts.

**Distribution**

The distribution of the Galwegian Funerary Monuments is fairly restricted (See Text Fig. 1). The vast majority of the monuments are located within the church and in the surrounding cemetery of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, where C1 to C13, C20, C30, C36-C37, C41-C43, C46A-K, C47, C47A, C54-C56, C60, C68 and C71 to C73 are found. Apart from these, C48, C49 and C50, which are now in the New Cathedral, are known to have come originally from St. Nicholas’ as well. The thirty-odd monuments which survive at St. Nicholas’ are probably just a fraction of what was once there. This low in situ survival rate applies also to other Galwegian sites with surviving funerary
monuments also where surprisingly few early (13th – 15th century) monuments survive.

The *Memento Mori* with the skull and cross-bones incorporated in the 19th century Lynch Memorial Window in the enclosing wall of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C82) (Plates 35A and B) was previously at the now demolished College House, roughly opposite where it is now (Plate 102A). Whether or not this stone can be linked to a funerary context in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church is uncertain, but this may well be the case. It is likely to have been positioned above the entrance gate to a cemetery.

The monuments from the Franciscan Graveyard (C14-C18, C21-C27, C44a and C44b, C45 I-III and C52) include some which are now lost. Others like C77-81 were probably included in later monuments which have since been dismantled and lost. The façade of the Abbey Church also contains elements of a funerary monument which, no doubt, also came from the once extensive Franciscan Cemetery (C63-65). It seems more than probable that all of the funerary monuments which are now in the Convent of Mercy (C53, C59, C62, C66, C67, C70 and C74) also came from the Franciscan Cemetery which adjoins that Convent.

The stone head on a key-block or console from the entablature of a funerary monument now in Mary Street (C61), is most likely to also have come from the Franciscan Graveyard (Plate 75A). This would not be surprising as it resembles closely C62, C63 and C64 which are reused in the façade of the Abbey Church. Several other non-funerary stones are also incorporated in buildings in the vicinity of the former Franciscan Abbey itself (Plates 74 and 75). These include a stone head of unknown function in Court House Square and window-heads which have been found reused as paving around the Courthouse, none of which form part of this corpus. The walls of the Abbey were found in the restructuring work carried out on the Courthouse and Town Hall in 1995 but unfortunately no archaeological excavations were carried out. Burials were found in the area of the Court House according to workmen labouring at the site. The
site also produced architectural fragments and a trough quern from its spoil heaps. The latter is now in Galway City Museum.

A slab (C19) with the *Memento Mori* of a skeleton and various symbols of earthly power, along with a gravedigger’s tools which are shown among an album of drawings by the historian James Hardiman (1814) is unprovenanced, but possibly also came from the Franciscan Graveyard, though this is impossible to prove (See Plate 13A). A small number of stones are known from the Dominican Graveyard (C51, C75 and C76) but of these, only the first is now visible at the site (Plate 30B), the other two being lost.

Among the ‘Related Monuments’ included here, the shaft of a putative Wayside Cross or Church Yard Cross at St. James’ Church, Gleninagh Heights (C83), is no doubt at its original location, though this fragment is not *in situ* (Plate 89 and Cat.Fig. 72). It was found reused as a grave-marker at the site. The existing fragment is not inscribed but given the frequency with which such crosses were associated with the commemoration of deceased members of families, it seems possible that this stone has a funerary or commemorative function.

The remaining monuments are possible monuments rather than definite ones. Two possible recumbent slabs also occur. One of these (C38) used to be in Kirwan’s Lane but is now gone. A further possible slab (C39) is incorporated in the jamb of the door of the former Pearls of Wisdom, No. 4 Quay Street. These two monuments are included for the sake of completeness. The former slab is now removed and its present location is unknown while the latter was only seen briefly by the writer as it was being plastered over in 1984. Another possible cross slab fragment (C40) is incorporated in a bridge at Sandy Road and its provenance is unknown (Plate 91C).

A key-block from Middle Street (C69) could be from a doorway, fireplace or a funerary monument to judge by examples which remain *in situ* and this applies also to C68 from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Plate 99).

The three finial fragments (C56 to C58) which are also included might equally have come from a doorway or window as from a wall tomb. One of these
from St. Nicholas’ (C56, Plate 98A) seems more likely, given its context, to be from a funerary monument. The two fragments of a finial incorporated in the arched entrance to Menlo Castle (C57 and C58) could equally well have come from a window, door or, indeed a wall-tomb (Plate 98B). These were probably brought there by one of the Baronet Blakes in the 19th century. They had a fine collection of stone carvings.

The vast majority of definite monuments of a funerary nature come from Galway’s most prominent medieval ecclesiastical sites: St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, the Franciscan Friary, the Franciscan Graveyard and the streets around it, and a small group of three monuments, two of which are now lost, from the Dominican Graveyard located between Fairhill and Claddagh. The early Christian and medieval site at Roscam some few miles outside the medieval town walls has produced a total of four monuments and another at Rosshill House nearby also came from that site (C31-C34 and C35). The small but highly significant group of relatively early monuments at Roscam (C31-35) are probably only a small proportion of what was originally visible at that rural site. These form a major outliers to the main distribution of monuments (Plates 92A, 92B, 93A and 93C).

Two other medieval Galwegian cemeteries, that at St. James’, Ballybane and Rahoon Old Cemetery (also St. James’) have recently been found to have architectural features and stonework of late 13th century date but neither of them has produced any other funerary monuments apart from an 18th century monument at the latter site. Limited archaeological excavations by the writer in 1998 at the Franciscan Priory, Francis Street, have produced no new funerary monuments nor have any of the lost medieval or late medieval monuments been rediscovered. Some dumped Transitional (late 12th or 13th century) moulded window, doors and other fragments along with a medieval tile and 17th century door fragments have been found, but this material seems to have been brought from elsewhere, possibly from the site of the medieval Franciscan Abbey nearby (Higgins 1998a, 69-71). Further excavations were conducted by Martin Fitzpatrick in 2008 where fragments of 18th or early 19th century funerary
monuments were found. These included headstones, ledgers and the *in situ* face of box-tombs which were removed or covered over in the 1970s (Fitzpatrick 1998, 12-14).

Some monuments survive *in situ* in unusual contexts in an area where no church is known, at as, for instance, Merlin Park where **C28** and **C29** occur side by side (Plate 90). These, like the Roscam monuments are significant outliers to the main distribution which is predominantly concentrated in the medieval town of Galway. Roscam Church was an Early Christian site which, in late medieval times, became a glebe of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 402).
Fig. 6. Galway City with extent of the medieval walled town and its main gates shown. (After Gosling 1992). The positions of the medieval religious foundations have been superimposed. (A) St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (B) The Franciscan Cemetery and site of the Franciscan Abbey, (C) The Abbey Church (1855), (D) The Site of Augustinian foundation, now Forthill Cemetery, (E) The Claddagh Church and Cemetery the site of the Dominican Foundation, (F) Galway Cathedral (present location of C48, C49 and C50).
The methods employed by the Irish masons in carving medieval sculpture have hardly been studied at all and there has been little discussion of what tools were used, how the masons were organised, or what their working conditions and rates of payment were. Higgins (1987) has discussed the tool types and methods used in the sculpting of early Christian monuments in County Galway and the masons’ marks and assembly numerals used by the Galwegian masons have been published by Higgins (2008, 28-37).

The contents of this Chapter are divided into eight sub-sections as follows:

I The Masons and their Work
II Masons’ Marks and Signatures
III Lay-out or Marking-out Lines
IV Setting-out Methods: The use of Dividers, Squares, Compass-Work and Templates
V Trial Pieces
VI Assembly Marks, Symbols, Letters and Numerals
VII Tools and Technology
VIII Schools and Workshops

Introduction

By contrast with continental Europe and Britain little is known from Irish sources about the craftsmen and sculptors who carved carvings, made the fine metalwork, illuminated the manuscripts and so on. In continental artwork there are numerous depictions of medieval masons at work, of which only a few need be cited here. The master builder had a carving of himself placed in the triforium of Prague Cathedral sometime after 1353 (Erlande-Brandenburg 1995, 66-7). At Chartres Cathedral in France for example among the stained glass windows of the northern apse (circa. 1225) are representations of two masons carving statues and such scenes are common in manuscripts, stained glass and, to a lesser
degree, sculpture, on the continent (Erlande-Brandenburg 1995, 36-9 illustrates representations of architects, as well as sculptors (ibid. 1995, 66-7 and 71), at work, as does Coldstream 1991, Plates 10, 14 and 15). Numerous other instances could be cited and many such examples are dealt with in some detail in Egbert (1967), Coldstream (1991), Harvey (1971) and Salzman (1967). (For stone sculpture in specific see Anderson (1935) and also Harvey (1984) and for methods of sculpting in wood see Blaxandall (1980)). The working methods of various craftsmen and artists were also described by contemporary medieval writers like Theophilus, during the early part of the 12th century (See Williamson (1987) and also Dodwell (1961) on Theophilus and his descriptions of various medieval crafts). In Ireland, Stalley (1987a) has been one of the few to try to identify individual masons (as distinct from general art historical ‘schools’) while Hourihane (2000) has produced a detailed study of masons’ marks. Both Stalley (1987a, 43) and Hourihan (2000, 5) have made mention of the few Irish medieval sculptors who can be named (and see also Kearns (2001, 23-4) for masons’ marks at Ennis Abbey).

I Masons and Their Work

About the working conditions, payment and social history of the masons who carved the stones under discussion, we know relatively little apart from what may be gleaned from family accounts, building records, church records and other such documents. Though the variety of possible sources for information on the Galwegian masons is wide, little work has been done on it. Even when these documents have been edited and published, however, specific information on the subject of the masons and their working conditions has not, at least for Ireland, been studied as a topic in its own right. This contrasts markedly with the situation in Britain where aspects of the social history, working methods, conditions and so on, of builders and stone masons have received a lot of attention from the 19th century onwards. A considerable body of work has been written on British masons and their guilds for example (Trevelyn 1973, 37-9; Coulton 1974, 555-72). The lives of the artists, craftsmen and masons have been
dealt with more generally by Salzman (1967) and for the French guilds and their craftsmanship see Icher (2000).

While much work has been done in Ireland on attempting to identify schools and styles of Late Gothic sculpture, we have relatively little information on the working conditions, rates of pay or work practices of the masons themselves, nor can we identify many individual masons (See for example Harbison 1976, 96-9; Stalley 1987, 179-198; Hunt 1974 Vol. 1, 112-116). For post-medieval schools of funerary sculpture see for example Longfield (1947-8, 147-162; 1943, 29-39; 1944, 63-72; 1945, 76-85; 1946, 81-88; 1947, 1-4; 1948, 170-174; 1954, 173-178). Few medieval tools have been recorded in the archaeological literature. Some Late Gothic sculpture is signed, especially some of the work of the O’Tunney and Kerin workshops, but for other means of identification we must rely on masons’ marks and on historical documentation and art-historical criteria. See Roe (1969, 62-71), Roe (1971, 1-40) and Hunt (1950, 22-8) for the O’Tunney atelier and for signed monuments of the Kerin and O’Tunney families of sculptors. Of the three chisels found at St. James’ Cemetery, Ballybane only one is from a medieval context (See Higgins 1996, 73, Fig. 13). A post-medieval chisel (a bolster) has also been found incorporated in a post-medieval boundary wall of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and is now in the library there.

In Galway what we know of the organisation of craftsmen who carved the stones comes to us mainly from non-specific, indirect sources, and little research has been done into the organization of Galwegian sculptors and masons as such, apart from Higgins (2008, 28-37) and Harris and Bayliss (2001, 120-126).

Craft Guilds were established at Galway after Richard III’s grant of a charter to the town in 1484 (Hardiman 1820, 229). According to the sources, the Corporation ‘Gave afterwards chapters unto tradesmen to their profession and calling’. Though they were no doubt members of guilds, there is no specific mention of any attempt by stone masons, sculptors or woodcarvers to organise themselves into guilds. In fact, there seems to be little evidence that the system
of guilds or any such tradesmen’s groups ever got very strong in Galway despite
the fact that the guild system is specifically referred to in the Charter which
Elizabeth I granted to Galway in 1575 (O’Sullivan 1942, 398, f.n.1). It is not
however surprising that so soon after this grant was made that we should find, at
Galway, two funerary monuments where the owners have adopted the arms of a
goldsmith and an iron worker’s (probably a blacksmith’s) guild arms. C23 (Plate
19 and 4B) is dated 1579 while C9 (Plates 4D, 7D and 8B) is dated 1641. (These
are discussed in greater detail in the Heraldy Chapter, and by Higgins (2007b,
15-27.)

Both carpenters and stonemasons are specifically mentioned in a number
of the Galway Corporation by-laws. At one stage in 1526 their wages were fixed
at 2d per day with food and drink and no mason or carpenter could employ a
workman except such as was skilled in that trade; ‘and if he be no good
workman, they to have accordings as the master of that occupation shall award
for the tymebeing’. Masons or carpenters could not claim holiday money unless
they were employed for at least a quarter or half-quarter of the year.

Strict by-laws were in force to govern the behaviour and even the dress of
apprentices in general. According to the by-law of 1585 it was laid down ‘That
no young man, prentiz or otherwise shall wear no gorgeous apparel, ne silks,
either within or without their garments, either weare no costlie long riffs thick
and started, but be contented with single riffs and that also they shall wear no
pant wofles, but rather be contented with showse. That generallie all thartifficers
in towne do exact and take for their wourke farr more than is allowed unto them
by the assizes of the towne and besides that ther exaction of money, they exact
and take aquavite, wyne, meate and drink, bread, brothe, fleash, candles and
flaxe, with many other things’ (Galway Corporation Manuscripts Liber A
fol.32:58, Rabbitt (ed.) 1919-20, 27-49 and O’Sullivan (1942, 399, f.n.3)).

These admonishments no doubt applied to sculptors and masons as well
as to pavers and other craftsmen in stone as much as to goldsmiths for example,
and to every other type of craftsmen who the corporation sought to retain some
control over. It applied not just from the point of view of payment in money and
in kind, but also from the points of view of clothing and the social status or moral status which clothing conferred to the skilled labourer.

To an extent guilds had to control their own members and the quality of their work, and there are records of the trades doing just that. A by-law of 1590 (Hardiman 1820, 209) commends the goldsmiths for their own new rules which they were implementing probably through their own guild as follows: ‘That the newe statut, made by the goldsmiths, concerning their owne facultie or arte, is commendable, so as they shall observe the same, and mend their former faults’.
Fig. 7. Simplified geological map of South Connemara showing the locations of the Connemara marble (1. Streamstown, 2. Creggs, 3. Barnaroraun, 4. Derryclare, 5. Lissoughter), Galway Granite (6. Costelloe) and Galway Limestone (7. Anglingham/Melough, 8. Merlin) quarries. (After Feely 2002). Galway City is located on the junction of the limestones and granites.

Fig. 8. Anglingham limestone quarries. (After Wilkinson 1845).
Fig. 9. Part of the agreement between Thomas Ward, mason and the French family for a monument at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway 1691. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Section, Kildare Street, Dublin.
Fig. 10. Part of the contract between Thomas Ward, mason and the French family for the erection of a funerary monument in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, 1691. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Section.
Fig. 11. Part of the agreement made between Thomas Ward and the French family for a monument at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, 1691. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Section, Dublin.
This by-law seems to suggest that at least some guilds were attempting to regulate themselves, and certainly the goldsmiths seem to have felt powerful enough to take onto themselves a similar coat of arms to that of the London Company of Goldsmiths which is shown on a recumbent slab (now missing) from the Franciscan Graveyard (C23, Plates 4B and 19).

Regulations were enforced under penalty of a fine of eleven shillings (O’Sullivan 1942, 398 f.n.1). A closed shop was also enforced in that the same by-laws forbade any town dweller … ‘to meddell nor interrupte nor occupie no mans occupation or science, on Payne of forfaiteign of XIId, but only his own scienc, and also to forfayte and losse all such parcel of works that is found within his house contrary to his occupation’ (Rabbitte 1919-20, fols 32, 58, O’Sullivan 1942, f.n.3.).

A by-law of 1526 in the Corporation states as follows: ‘That no carpenter nor mason shall not have hyre and wages but two pence naturallie every day with meate and drink’. A further by-law of 1553 mentions people being employed as masons to maintain the town walls and street paving: ‘That the mayor and bailiffs do sustain four masons annually to work on the murage and pavage of the town’.

Galwegian documentary evidence for information on working conditions and pay can be gleaned from a scattering of sources. One account which does survive is of great interest as it is a contract between the family of the deceased and a stone carver (Thomas Ward) for the cutting of an inscription at the rate of 3 pence per letter on a monument in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church Galway and for the making of a tomb there, the account is dated 1691 (Text Figs.9-11).

A certain Henry Rany, a mason, was killed by Dominick Browne who was at first convicted of felony and homicide at Athenry on the 29th of July 1620 but was later pardoned (See Oranmore and Browne 1907-8, 166-7, Harris and Bayliss 2001, 120-126 and Higgins 2007d, 19-24 for the Rany family of Galwegian masons). In the pardon granted in consideration of a fee of £5, the victim is described as a ‘mason of Galway’ (Patent Office Rolls of Chancery, James I., Roll 18, Jac. I, quoted in Oranmore and Browne 1907-8, 167, footnote).
The surname again suggests an Irish origin for this mason (like the M. Teige mentioned above who apparently carved a slab with Gaelic Revival or Renaissance patterns on C4 and C5, (Plate 12) for clients who also had fully Irish names). Several Rany, Raney and Rainey families including one with a long tradition at boat building were still working in Galway down to the mid-20th century. Unfortunately we know little about this individual either, and we do not know whether he ever carved stone in the city.

In the *Blake Family Records* (Blake 1902 and 1905) there are occasional mentions of the amounts paid to masons and carpenters for building and repairing a variety of structures but there is no specific reference to a mason or sculptor being paid to execute a piece of carving. These accounts refer to work done in general by masons. This also applies to the *Galway Corporation Records* (Edited by Blake 1908, 65-144 and Rabbitte 1919-20; 1921-22; 1926-27; 1928-29; 1930-33; 1934-5 and 1940-41) where, though the rates of pay and conditions of employment and treatment are sometimes alluded to, we have no specific references to carved sculpture.

Among the *Blake Family Records* there are some accounts of the prices paid to masons and carpenters which give an indication of the work done, its value and the rates of pay for materials and for doing the work. In an account of February 23rd 1639 rendered by Henry Skerrett for the paving of a cellar (‘Soller’ in the text) of Mr. John Blake FitzNicholas, the paver William Barrie was paid 2d per yard for his work and a workman who served him was paid 10d. Whether the paver and his assistant were masons or not is unknown.

In a further record entitled ‘The note of money paid and disbursed by John Blake FitzHarry for the reparation of Nicholas’ House’ which is dated June 24th 1587 five shillings and 3 pence is paid for lime, one shilling and four pence for sand, ten shillings is paid to the masons as wages, eight pence for boarding the masons and a further two shillings and eight pence is also paid to them. Among the other payments there is only one further one relating to stone-working – two pence is paid ‘for dressing a key’. What type of key was dressed or cut is not indicated but since other payments of a shilling are mentioned as
being ‘Paid for watells for the pinnacle of the kitchen’, and this presumably the woven wattle chimney hood of a kitchen fireplace, then the ‘key’ which was dressed might have been a keystone from the mantelpiece of a fireplace. Unfortunately no other details are given.

Other records of prices paid for fireplaces are found as incidental mentions in 17th century documents. According to ‘A Hearth Roll of the Town of Galway, 1666’, signed by ‘Jo Spencer, mayor’, previously preserved in the Records Office, Four Courts, Dublin, ‘Stephen Vines paid Vps for two hearths’ (Adams 1877, 184-5). This, according to Adams, can be interpreted as meaning that Stephen Vines paid four shillings for two fireplaces. We do not know either what size these fireplaces or ‘hearth-stones’ were, whether or not they were decorated or how expensive they were in relative terms. They may simply have been flat hearth-stones. Little is known about this Stephen Vines, though a tradesman’s token with this name was struck with the date 1664. Adams (1887) concluded that ‘he must have only been tenant of his premises, as his name does not occur in the ‘Book of Distribution’ or in other records of proprietors of that period…’ (Adams 1887, 184-5). It is also possible, however, that taxes on each hearth is what is referred to, rather than the price of cutting them.

Among the finest pieces of sculpture to have been commissioned in Galway during the early 17th century was the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a and C44b) who had been an important personage in the town. (For Sir Peter French see Blake 1905, 106-7, Higgins 2006, Cat. No. 30). His house, a sizeable mansion, is shown on the Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s. Two of the fireplaces from that house (Part of one is at National University of Ireland Galway, the other at Castle French House, County Galway). A very fine doorway from the French House (which used to be in Market street and is now buried beneath the Connacht Tribune building there) was, like his tomb, very finely sculpted. The destruction of his tomb which cost £500 to build is recorded in Trinity College, Dublin Ms. 886, 1aii (Account of the Town of Galway with Annals Thereof). It reads as follows: ‘The unruly crew broke down the coffins and monuments of the dead, and taking them from the winding sheets, as if some
treasure had been within the said coffins, nay, breaking down the crucifixes and such spiritual costly works engraven on fine gold. Sir Peter Trench’s [sic.] tomb guilt [sic.] with gild and all made of fine marble, being in St. Francis Abbey, the building of which cost £500, was along with the rest, demolished and converted by the Governor of the said town into a chimney, and the rest of the said grand stones or marbles of the Abbey were sold and sent beyond the sea, and the monuments left wide open for the dogs to drag out and eat the corpses interred there; and likewise they erased the King’s arms and converted the church and abbey to stables’.

We need not be surprised at the amount of money which is supposed to have been spent on Sir Peter French’s tomb (C44a and b) when we read other accounts of payments made for other elaborate funerary monuments. The tomb of the Earl of Cork (one of several which were built), erected in the 17th century, for example, cost £400 to build and not ‘above a thousand pounds sterling’ as Dingley (or Dineley), records (See Harris 1998, 70-86).

One of the few insights into the work of Galwegian funerary monument manufacturers of the late 17th century is afforded by an Agreement of 1691 in which the French family entered into a contract with Thomas Ward who is described as a ‘Masson’ (and ‘Mason’) for the refurbishing and rebuilding of the French monument in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The document is a quattro page folded in half and with text on three sides. It is in poor condition and difficult to read. It is inscribed on the back with the following ‘title’: ‘Agreement between Pat: French Roberts … of the family of Raharsan &. Thos. Ward Mason to build funeral place in the Church of Galway…’ and ‘1691 The Monument in Galway for Families Burial…’. It is tipped into a hard bound album which has no title on its binding but has the words ‘1600 MONAVEA’ along with the crest of French ‘a dolphin bowed’ on a coronet and two lions rampant without a shield. On the backing page there is an inscription in a 19th – early 20th century hand which reads as follows: ‘Agreement between the Ffrenchs of Monavea, Raha(rs)an … and Thomas Ward to rebuild family monuments in Galway, St. Nicholas Church. The one built 1584 at a cost of £5000 having been destroyed
by Cromwell’s soldiers under Colonel Stabber (sic.) A.D. – 1691.’ The date 1691 is the date of the agreement not the date of the Cromwellian destruction under Stubbers who was Mayor of Galway in 1652. The original tomb had been destroyed by Cromwellian forces in 1652. The agreement does not say how much of the original tomb was intact, if any, or how much of the original feature was to be reused in the new monument. No trace of it now survives.

While there is now no trace of this monument at St. Nicholas’ there are three receipts, all dated 1691, for various sums of money signed by the mason Thomas Ward (Fig. 9).

The Agreement stipulated that Thomas Ward was to be paid in three instalments of £3 6 shillings and 8 pence and that 3 pence be paid for the cutting of each letter.

The receipts signed by Thomas Ward are in the same album. Two occur on opposite sides of one piece of paper and a third occurs on a separate piece. These have also been tipped into the same hard-bound volume described above. The leaf is not paginated nor are the receipts labelled or given any title, they are simply pasted together on what should be numbered ‘p.35’ of the same album. Titles or captions are only given to documents in the first part of the album.

It is regrettable that we know nothing about this Thomas Ward and his sculpture. The Agreement indicates that the work should have been completed by ‘St. John’s Day’ 1691. St. John’s Day would have been around the 24th of June.

A monument of the 1690s to William Royne at the Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway, has the added name James Royan, which may be a mason’s signature. The name John Royen, or a similar name, occurs on the edge of a crucifixion plaque to Thomas O’Kelly and Mary Hynes at St. Bridget’s Church, Athenry. Both James Royan and John Royen may be related sculptors (Rynne 1999, 45-6).

Some idea of the rate of payment given to 17th century masons and painters elsewhere in Ireland for the sculpting and painting of heraldic plaques can be gleaned from contemporary accounts. An agreement between the Earl of Cork and a stone-carver for the execution of a mural plaque which was made on
the 12th of September 1634 and was recorded in the Earl’s diary as follows: ‘I agreed with Ffrances, the Tombe maker dwelling in the back lane near Kildare Hall, to finish the cutting of the Earle of Kildare’s and his ladies’ Armes over the owtward gate of maynooth; for which I am to pay his 45s or 50s if he deserves it, and I am also to give iiiis vid for every C or S skoar letters that he engraves in hardstone in the table or the subscription of those Armes and x 1s to the painter to put the arms into mettall and colowrs and the letters into gowld, he finding the materials’ (quoted in Robinson 1914). This heraldic panel is still in existence at Maynooth Castle, Co. Kildare.

From Churchwarden’s Accounts of St. Werburgh’s, Dublin we have information on the payments made for the making of statues, but it is not possible to say whether these were of wood or of stone. For example, under circa 1520 we read ‘Item payd for the making of saynt Martyn XS’. At the same time we also read ‘Item payd for the making of saint Martyns thron (throne) XIIIs’.

One can only assume that the payments were made to the sculptors who made the statue of Saint Martin and his throne.

In the accounts of the year 1512-13 we have the following item of work which was presumably carried out by a mason or his apprentice: ‘Item, for dressing of y steyrys of ye rode lofte Vd’. This was obviously a stairway to the rood loft (Robinson 1914). The rood beam or loft was also painted, but again we don’t know whether it was of stone or wood, though the latter seems more likely in this instance. Whatever the case, circa 1520 Ixs were paid for ‘...payntyng of Mary & John’, that is the figures of Saints Mary and John which flanked the rood or crucifix. In 1493-4 we have ‘Item for mendying off the paremenette in the chyrch ld’ (Robinson 1914, 132-142 and 135-6).

The repairs to the paving may have been the work of a mason’s apprentice but the task and the payment were obviously both small. The painting of carved wood or stone would undoubtedly not have to be done by the sculptor of stone or wood who created the sculpture, at least not in places where the guild system was strong. The division of trades would have been such that the
finishing of the carving would have to have been left to a professional of another trade.

We can only guess as to whether the depiction of the Royal arms in St. Werburgh’s was of wood or stone, but in 1591 IIIId was paid – ‘plasteringe under the quenes arms’ and a year later XIIIIs and IIIId was paid out ‘...for paintinge the quenes arms and the X commandments...’ (Robinson 1914, 135-6).

There are several other mentions of the provision of heraldic decoration in Irish buildings. In 1657, for example, £6 was paid for the provision of a coat of arms, presumably sculpted in stone for the King’s Inns at Dublin (Hamilton N.D., passim.).

II Masons’ Marks and Signatures

Masons’ Marks generally have rarely been studied in detail in Ireland apart from those of the Archbishoprics of Cashel and Dublin published by Hourihane (2000). One of the fine late 16th century slabs in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C6, plates 12B and 14A) has what at present appears to be the only late medieval signature of a mason to survive in Galway. The slab, to Moriertagh O’Tiernagh, his brother Teige Óg, and his wife Katerina, is dated 1580 and has an inscription M. TIEGE near the bottom right-hand corner of the stone. Beside this inscription is a small ‘S-shaped’ object which might well be a mason’s mark (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, Cat. No. 380, 208-9) and Higgins (2006) ‘The Life of the Worker’ section [not paginated]). Stylistically the carving on this slab is very close to some of the work on the Athy Doorway of 1577 (Plate 95A), the fireplace lintel of 1575 and also the fireplace lintel of 1575 which is now in Jury’s Hotel (Plate 95B). If this inscription on the St. Nicholas’ slab then gives us the name of one of Galway’s late medieval sculptors, we can be reasonably sure that he or his workshop was responsible for some of the finest pieces of medieval sculpture in Galway City.

The entire corpus of definite and probable Masons’ Marks and Signatures have been categorised and discussed in some detail in Higgins (2008, 30-37) where much marks and names as occur on Galwegian sculpture of all types have
been included. Suffice to say, that only two of the funerary monuments are
catalogued and these are C3 and C6 of the present corpus (which are catalogued
as C5 and C6 respectively in Higgins (2008, 30-37).

It has been argued below that this is possibly the name of the person who
sculpted the stone. Apart from this there is a small S-shaped motif near the name
which may be an example of a mason’s mark cut in low false relief.

A less likely example occurs on C3 of this corpus (Plates 3A and 3B)
which bears a pair of small motifs which closely resemble merchants’ marks and
are more likely to be merchants’ marks than masons’ marks. Both have a
cruciform shape with a P-shaped loop at the upper right side of the cross. Though
this motif probably does represent a merchant’s mark without a shield, whether it
is the personal mark of a person commemorated by the stone, or the mark of
someone who carved it, it is unclear though the former explanation seems to be
the most feasible one.

Only a few possible examples of masons’ signatures (funerary or
otherwise) then occur on the medieval and late medieval Galwegian sculpture.
The first of these has already been referred to under the heading of Masons’
Marks. It is the name M. TEIG found on the graveslab dated 1580 in St.
Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Plate 12B). The case for this part of the inscription
being a mason’s signature has been discussed by the writer elsewhere and the
small size of the lettering by comparison with that of the main inscription, along
with the use of a personal initial and surname (which is apparently of an
individual who is unrelated to those mentioned in the funerary epitaph) all seems
to provide grounds for this inscription being the signature of a mason. On non-
funerary monuments masons’ signatures are equally rare in Galway and there is
no signed piece of non-funerary medieval sculpture known to the writer from the
city though the work of a Galway mason with his name Richard Rany is known
from Gawsworth Hall in England (Harris and Bayliss 2001, 120-126).

Masons’ marks are a common feature on medieval and later sculpture but
relatively few are known from Galway City despite the survival of so much
medieval and late medieval stone carving here. The definite examples are
catalogued below and some further possible examples are also briefly discussed.

One of the difficulties in including or excluding potential examples has
been to be able to decide whether or not what *may* be a mason’s mark is in fact
one. Such a mark should be a recognizable mark, symbol or piece of ornament
which was deliberately intended to indicate that a specific mason was
responsible for a given piece or part of an item of stonework, ashlar, decorated
feature or whatever surface, or surfaces, the mark appears upon. Often it is easier
to be certain that small incised patterns (whether they be geometric or non-
geometric, floral or representational) were intended as masons’ marks though
occasionally some of the incised patterns too can take on an elaborate and
complex appearance. Where designs or patterns are carved in false relief or high
relief, however, they are occasionally simple, and are sometimes obviously
meant to represent masons’ marks. In other cases, however, they are more
elaborate and may just have a decorative function. It is sometimes more difficult
to be certain that they were meant simply as pieces of decoration rather than
elaborate masons’ marks. The arguments for and against some of the more
elaborate items described have been rehearsed elsewhere in Higgins (2008, 30-
37).
III Layout or Marking-Out lines

Narrow incised lines simply scored across the stone using a knife or a thin, wide-bladed chisel and some sort of ruler were frequently employed to measure the distance between lines of inscriptions and to keep them evenly spaced.
spaced and straight. Because these were only guidelines, like a pencil-mark on parchment, they were usually just barely scratched on the surface. In most cases the elements have completely eroded away all traces of these lines. Virtually all carvings with long inscriptions (or indeed, wording of any length) must have had such ruled lines on them.

Guidelines tend to survive best on funerary monuments in churches and fireplaces provided that they have remained in situ and have not been exposed to the weather. One of the finest and clearest examples is the post-medieval Stannard wall plaque in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plates 21B, 22A) On this fine example which retains its original crispness of carving, some gesso and some reddish-brown paint also still survives.

A long inscription on the fireplace keystone of KATLINE·FRENCH and her son ROBART (now in Galway City Museum) is another good example of the survival of layout lines (Higgins 2008, 30, Cat. Nos 30-33). Most inscribed inscriptions to be cut on stone and especially on funerary monuments of late medieval date in Galway were carefully laid out and measured with thin, incised guidelines before the mason cut the letters (most frequently in the case of Galway City by cutting away the background to leave the inscription in low false relief). This was also done on the other Galwegian carvings, which most frequently bear inscriptions of mid 16th to late 17th century date, heraldic and non-heraldic fireplaces. The layout lines are found as well on all the inscribed armorial panels and to a lesser extent on doorways which bear inscriptions.

Occasionally we find evidence that not only were the size and spacing of the letters regulated by horizontal lines and pairs of lines, but sometimes inscriptions had also an incised line across the middle to help to position mid-height features such as punctuation marks (lozenges or circular dots in most cases) as well as cross-bars of H’s and E’s.

In some instances the mason went to the trouble of ruling the inscription vertically also to help in the positioning of ascenders and punctuation marks as well as to ensure that spacing was regular. In a few late medieval (and post-medieval) inscriptions we also have the use of compasses, dividers and pierced
dots around which curves of O’s, U’s, C’s, P’s and S’s were laid out. It seems likely that this was done with a mason’s dividers in most cases though a set of shaped metal templates might also have been used to produce curves in a small number of instances. The earliest inscription on a Galwegian funerary monument is incised with a point or small sharp chisel without the benefit of layout lines though the regularity of the chamfer on this stone (C1, Plate 1C and 1D) probably made the use unnecessary in any case. The Adam Bure slab in St. Nicholas’ (C1) is clearly carefully laid out perhaps with rulers or measuring sticks to keep the width of the raised edges of a constant thickness. The curve of the u-shaped feature on the lower ‘arm’ has probably been laid out with a pair of mason’s dividers.

Even on slabs which are now very worn, like C2, C3 and C16 for example, the regularity of the letters and numerals clearly indicate that these were laid out using rulers and a sharp tool with which layout or guide lines were incised (Plates 3A, 3B, 3C, and 5B).

On many of the stones with inscriptions the layout lines which determined the height (and sometimes the width and curves) of the letters and numerals can still be seen either clearly or under good lighting conditions. This is particularly obvious in the cases of C4, C5, C6, C7, C8, C9, C10, C11, C12, C14, C15, C17, C18, C44a, C45(I-III), C52, C54, C60, C67, C72, C73 and C81 and this is also true of post-medieval monuments (See Plates 85-88). Engravings by Hardiman (1820) of C23 for example, tell us little as that writer invariably recorded in Gothic or Black Letter Script inscriptions which in reality are cut in Roman capitals. No Black Letter inscriptions have survived in the Galwegian corpus of funerary sculpture, though C23 is likely to have been an exceptionally fine and late example. In some cases two narrow incised lines were drawn across the top and a further two across the bottom of areas where inscriptions were to be cut. These provided for horizontal strokes of letters of an equal thickness to be cut without any difficulty.
IV Setting-out Methods. The Use of Dividers, Squares, Compass-work and Templates

It is clear that dividers have been used in laying out the circles which enclose the Maltese Crosses on C3 (Plate 3B) and curved templates or dividers were probably used to produce the wide arcs between the cross-arms on C10 and C11 (Plates 7C and 7B). This is also commonly applied elsewhere in Ireland in the 17th century. Such methods were widespread (See Plate 10E for example). When Gaelic Renaissance interlace was produced the use of the mason’s dividers is most clearly in evidence. The examples of such interlace found on C4 (Plate 12A and 14B) is unlikely to have been laid out as a pattern on paper or parchment without a compass and was probably laid out on the stone with the help of a set of dividers. This applies of course to the layout of the semi-circular and circular elements of the interlace on examples like C6 (Plate 14A) from St. Nicholas’ as well as to numerous other examples of Gaelic Renaissance interlace like those at Portumna Priory, Co. Galway (Plates 15A-B), Kilcorban, Co. Galway (Plate 15C) and Athenry, Co. Galway (Plates 12D and E) to cite just a few examples.

The calculation of angles and the width of borders and of lines must have been planned out using dividers, squares and rulers. This is particularly true in cases where the interlace was non-curved (See for example C5 and C6 (Plates 12D and A respectively) at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church). The combination of linear and curvilinear framework and interlaced loops on the late medieval altar mensa at Sligo Abbey must also have entailed a similar use of dividers, rulers, and, perhaps in the initial drawing of the design, the use of compass-work (Plate 14C).

The most obvious parallels in terms of the layout and design of panels of Gaelic Renaissance as well as such ornament combined with repeating S-curves of foliate and spiralling ornament can be seen, to a great extent, in the surviving Irish and Scottish late medieval leather work of satchels, targes, bags and other work and to a certain extent, though less commonly, in metalwork. In the leather-
work patterns in particular designs based on incised (and sometimes stamped, repeat-patterns) are, to a large extent, based on compass work.

The use of pattern books, earlier work and trial pieces may have had some influence. Copying from other art work in stone and in other media clearly had some influence. On C6 (Plate 14) at St. Nicholas’ for example, it is clear that the interlaced panel at the top of the stone was copied from elsewhere as it was designed to fit a rectangular panel rather than the trapezoidal space into which it has been inserted. The same applies to a 17th century slab at Athenry where a square panel has been set lozenge-wise on a trapezoidal stone (Plate 16B). Similarly, on C4 (Plate 14B) from the same church two closely similar panels of foliate ornament look as if they were inspired by smaller panels of something like die-stamped leather or gouge-carved woodwork.

Copying of patterns from one stone to another but juxtaposing the designs from the same notional ‘pattern book’ seems to have been common in the late medieval period particularly on Gaelic Renaissance funerary monuments. The same basic patterns on two stones of 1627 and 1631 at the Dominican foundation at Athenry, Co. Galway, have almost identical designs of eight-spoked, two-line interlacing arms interlocked with a double circle at the centre and tied together in semi-circular knots and at the extremities of the panel (Plates 17A-17C, 12D and 12E). This basic pattern was clearly designed to fill a rectangular space but has been used to fill spaces at the heads of a trapezoidal and a square-ended recumbent slab. On the latter (Plate 17C) the pattern fits comfortably whereas on the trapezoidal one (Plate 17B) it would not have fitted so well if it had not been placed lozenge-wise on the stone. The basic pattern (but with a more complex series of lines forming a lozenge also interlaced through it) is found at St. Nicholas’ on C6 dated 1580 (Plate 14A) but, as has been noted previously, the square panel was simply placed on to a trapezoidal space without any attempt to accommodate it to the shape of its surrounding panel. In other instances similar pieces of interlace on 16th-17th century slabs have been adapted to the shape of their surrounding areas without too much difficulty (See Plate 17D and G for examples). The same basic interlaced cross is to be found on
C6 and C4 at St. Nicholas’ is a variation on the interlace on a Panel at Sligo Abbey or a mason’s mark at Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary (See Plates 14 and 15).

On some of the later (post-medieval) monuments evidence for layout lines and templates being used for lettering is most obvious. The use of templates to form lettering has been alluded to briefly. It is clear that some sculptors went to a great degree of trouble to get the shapes of letters consistent, equal-sized and even. In some cases this could easily have been done using a compass or dividers to draw the curve, in which cases, one would expect to see some trace of ‘prick marks’ of the points of a set of dividers left on the stone. These cannot be traced in instances of lettering (as against panels of interlace for example). It is clear from the curves which have been laid out and which have been cut as close to the layout line as possible that a template rather than a compass or dividers was used in at least some cases. This is particularly clear from an examination of C81, the panel commemorating Alderman Dominick Browne, dated 1596 at the Franciscan Graveyard. This slab may be later than that date suggests as can be seen in the Catalogue entry. The stone (Plate 22B) may have formed part of the 18th century tomb of Andrew Browne of Gloves. The Stannard armorial plaque in St. Nicholas’ which is also 18th century (dated 1720), is closely similar in style to the Browne armorial funerary monument and a Kirwan and Browne panel also of 18th century date in St. Mary’s Cathedral, Tuam, Co. Galway (Higgins and Parsons 1995). The three stones and details of their closely similar letter-forms are shown on Plates 21-22 of the present work. All of them have been very carefully laid out in great detail before the sculptor carved them, layout lines survive everywhere, between the lines of the inscription, at mid-height along the letters and each individual letter has been marked out by incised lines before cutting began. The sloping strokes of M’s, N’s and A’s have been marked in with an incised line obviously made with a ruler and the serifs to the A’s and N’s and M’s are some of the very few things which have been cut freehand without guidelines especially on the post-medieval Stannard monument (Plate 22D).
The same sort of attention to detail is also shown in the cutting of the letters on the Browne monument at the Franciscan graveyard (C81, Plate 22B) though the stone is now far more weathered from being outside and some of the lay-out lines are only visible under very good lighting conditions.

Templates used by craftsmen could have been of a variety of forms but none are known to have survived. For lettering gaps, shapes and notches in a metal template much like those used until the present century by itinerant tin smiths for gauging the sizes to be used for various vessels and utensils might possibly have been used but whether templates cut to the shape of individual letters would have been used (or were even necessary) is unclear.

V Trial Pieces

Very few stones can be shown to have been masons’ or artists’ trial pieces with the exception of a decorated, Renaissance-style fragment of stone (not a funerary monument), from Flood Street. The stone was removed from its Flood Street find site to Oranmore Castle in the 1980s and is still there. The pattern on this stone has been clearly only partly worked and was drawn from some source such as a pattern-book, book illustration, fabric, item of engraved metal or some other carved stone but has never been finished. By analogy with some similarly decorated fragments and complete doors, fireplaces and wall tombs from Galway City and Tulira Castle, Co. Galway and St. Mary’s, Kilkenny, this uncompleted trial piece may have been intended as a pattern suitable for application to a Renaissance-style doorway or fireplace or even to the entablature of a funerary monument. Similar Renaissance-style ornament is found incised in low relief on 17th century funerary monuments at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary which bears a similar running ornament of opposed S-scrolls with Renaissance influences on the sides of a box-tomb of the O’Kennedy family dated in the early part of the 17th century (Plates 38A-C and 46A) and some of the early 17th century tombs in St. Mary’s, Kilkenny City, especially those which can be attributed to the Kerins workshops bear similar incised S-scrolls and foliage in various combinations (Plate 81A and B).
The Flood Street trial piece can be widely paralleled in Galway and elsewhere but is of a type of pattern which is equally commonly found on strips of stone between the moulded elements of the entablatures of chimney-pieces, doorways, as well as tombs and it is not now possible to be sure whether the Flood Street fragment was intended for a wall tomb, box tomb, doorway or a fireplace.

The closest parallels for the ornament occur on three dated Galwegian objects; the Athy Doorway of 1577 (Plates 95A), the chimney-piece lintel of 1575 in Jury’s Hotel (Plate 95B) and the very finely decorated O’Tiernagh monument (C6) in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church of 1580 (Plates 12B and 14A).

Closely related to the Flood Street fireplace is, as mentioned above, the elaborately decorated fireplace lintel (Plate 95B) which is now at Jury’s Hotel. This too seems never to have been completed but is not, of course, a trial piece. This stone has six distinct panels of ornament, two of which are conjoined. A diaper pattern of tracery with central rosettes occurs on the right, a large panel of tracery more elaborate in form and horizontal in emphasis occurs to the right of this. Two conjoined panels of tracery ‘daggers’ arranged in a ying-yang-type arrangement for an L-shaped area to the right of the second panel. The fifth panel bears shields and two merchants’ marks along with the date 1575 and at the extreme right hand side is a further rectangular panel with interlace and foliage.

The areas above and to the right of the merchants’ marks and date are devoid of ornament, yet, in such a cluttered grouping of pattern, one would expect the mason who seems to have a horreur vacui to have filled the remaining space with ornament. The overall effect of the heavy groupings of ornament is reminiscent of the front and side panels of Flemish and some English wooden chests which were invariably decorated over as much of their surfaces as possible. Even their iron or mild steel lock-plates frequently bore similar ornament to that on the chests themselves, often in chased or pierced metalwork. Later, definite examples of trial pieces for funerary monuments do occur on post-1700 monuments in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
VI  Assembly Marks, Symbols, Letters and Numerals

No assembly numerals have been found on any of the Galwegian funerary monuments to date. It is clear however that some monuments are so elaborate that some guide-marks, letters or numerals must have been used, especially in the case of elaborate tombs like C44, C45, C46, C47, C54 and C55. Some permanent or impermanent (paint or chalk) markings must have served as a guide to their assembly, though a drawing by the builder and carver of the monuments or made by an artist for the benefit of the patron might also have served as a guide to the assembly of monuments. None of these of course, now survive. It is possible that marks which are hidden on the joined parts of the stonework may yet remain. Generally speaking, there are few remaining symbols, numerals or other guides to assembly found on Galwegian sculpture apart from a group of Roman numerals used on the soffit of a late 16th – 17th century stone arch in Quay Street and another later series of Roman numerals are used on the joints between the voussoirs which comprise a lintel above a doorway of Century Buildings in Abbeygate Street Upper. 

Funerary monuments aside, Roman numerals are found on a number of stone features of medieval and late medieval date from Galway City but as it happens, most of these are not decorated or carved. A list of the objects is however provided below of the earlier objects. The use of numerals for this type of marking of stones is common down to the present day. No example of the use of Arabic or Roman letters rather than numerals has yet been identified on Galway stonework, though what might be a small cross or an X (as in the Roman numeral ‘10’) occurs on an early medieval soffit rib reused over a late medieval window of St. James’ Church, Gleninagh Heights.

A late medieval round-topped arch in Incorporated House (formerly the Nora Crub Restaurant and Delicatessen), Quay Street has assembly (or positioning numerals) on its soffit. Roman numerals which occur singly on each voussoir and which were obviously used as a guide to the assembly of the arch.
The numerals are found on the soffit and the tooling on the arch soffit and side stones would suggest a 16th or early 17th century date for the feature.

On the ashlar blocks of a circular pillar of the arcade dividing the Nave from the North Aisle of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church there are the incised Roman numerals ‘XVII’. There are lightly incised across two ashlar blocks and post-date the erection of the pier. Their date is uncertain.

A plain chamfered architectural fragment found dumped among building rubble on the shore of Lough Atalia, Lough Atalia Road, has the numeral IV incised on it. The tooling and chamfer on this stone would seem to suggest a late medieval (15th – 17th century) date for it but it is too fragmentary to allow for any closer dating. The stone is now lost.

Another moulded architectural fragment, part of a doorway of 13th to 14th century date, found in recent excavations at the Franciscan Priory, Francis Street. The fragment also bears a small cross or X like the fragment from St. James’ Church. A further, loose, architectural fragment with a similar moulding section from the Franciscan graveyard found in 1996 also bears either a mason’s mark or assembly numeral-like ‘4’.

Examples of the use of numerals on carpentry work are also found in Galway. A medieval or late medieval roof couple found reused in the structure of The Brasserie, Middle Street had Roman numerals cut into it. It was subsequently reused as a lintel in a fireplace in a house in Nun’s Island in 1984 but had fortunately been photographed by the Galway City Heritage Survey shortly after its discovery.

Another beam, a roof couple of late medieval date from a house on the corner of Cross Street and Kirwan’s Lane also bore numerals but this and many of the beams from the first floor of this house (now part of The Slate House) were removed in 1984. The remaining original timbers from this and most of the other late medieval buildings on the same side of the street as this building were removed and cut up or discarded between 1994 and 1995.

Perhaps the most complete set of a carpenter’s numbering system to survive in Galway occurs in a late medieval house on the corner of Flood Street
and the site of the Spanish Parade. The building which incorporates The Swans, Karma Indian Restaurant and various offices has an intact set of late medieval roof trusses and beams. The set of numbered roof timbers in the rear section of Kenny’s Bookshop, High Street, is also a remarkably complete one and these timbers of Tigh Uí Neachtain, on the corner of Quay Street and Cross Street Upper are also numbered.

VII Tools and Technology

Very few stone-working tools from any sort of archaeological context survive from Galway City. Tools of late type have been found in the grounds of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and the earliest of these is a boaster which was found built into a multi-period boundary wall dividing the cemetery from Church Lane. The tool came from between the lowermost courses of the wall which, at earliest, is of 18th century date and incorporated, reused, late medieval stonework.

One small chisel, a querk, has been excavated by the writer from a late 12th to 13th century context at St. James’ Cemetery, Gleninagh Heights. Three other chisels from the same site are of post-medieval and modern type and date (See Higgins 1996, Fig. 13, 92, Cat. Nos. 43, 44 and 45 and 72-3 and especially Cat. No. 72 for the medieval chisel and other finds from the excavations at St. James’ Cemetery). The chisel was found in Cutting 18 below the level of a late 12th or 13th century threshold.

The stone technology used in the carving of the sculpture in this corpus has hitherto received little attention. Evidence from the stones themselves show that a variety of chisels and punches were in use and there is some evidence for the use of layout lines, compasses and other guides to sculpting such as templates.

Individual stones or architectural features are rarely worked from beginning to completion with the same tools. An individual stone may have been roughly squared with a sledge hammer, trimming hammer or a bolster, or with a walling hammer or mason’s adze before being carved with the use of a point,
punch, pitcher, querk or claw chisel, or sometimes with more than one of these tools.

Certain tools became more commonly used throughout the 16th and 17th centuries but while pocked dressing made in various sizes with a pitcher and a point, and with a variety of sizes of pock-like tool marks produced, such tools might always have been used in Galway for different functions but not to produce the decorative or rough punch dressed tooling which became so common at that period. None of these however occur on Galwegian funerary monuments.

The limestone available in the vicinity of Galway had much to do with the high quality of the sculpture. The limestone is hard and blue to grey-blue in colour, it is ideal for crisply carved detail. Like the Kilkenny ‘marble’ Galway limestone can be carved so as to provide a degree of sharp detail. The Kilkenny stone used for sculpture could produce a darker polish through wear, but as at Galway much of it was intended to more for painting rather than polishing for which it was later more highly regarded in the 18th and 19th centuries. The term ‘marble’ is often applied to the Galwegian sculpture but the stone is invariably limestone in fact. The geological sources of limestone used for the Galwegian sculpture is discussed in Chapter 5.

The tools used to carve the Galwegian monuments include the usual range used to carve medieval, late medieval and early modern tool types. Little work has been done on the tools used in sculpting Irish carvings in stone of any date. The tool types which were used to carve early-Christian monuments of County Galway have been mentioned in the catalogue descriptions of those monuments by Higgins (1987) and they have been discussed briefly by type in the same volume. In the present work some of the tool types have been mentioned in passing in the catalogue entry where they can be clearly identified. It remains in this chapter to summarise the evidence for the tool types used in a general manner. Few actual tools have been found in any archaeological context in Galway city with the exception of one of the three found at St. James’ Church, Ballybane, Galway. A further post-medieval one has been found at St. Nicholas’
Collegiate Church (Higgins 1996, 25-6). Little work has been done to date on Irish stone working tools except for a few brief discussions (de Paor (1972, 14) and Higgins (1987, 48-74)).

The Mason’s Axe

Much of the surviving sculpture post-dates the period during which the mason’s axe was used for the production of diagonally tooled surfaces. This sort of tooling might also have been produced in any case by using other tools such as a broad-bladed chisel or a sharp boaster. CI has tool marks which may have been made with either a mason’s adze or a bolster (a wide bladed chisel) but the tool marks are too worn to determine which tool type was in fact used.

From within the area of the city (as defined above in Introduction, Aims, Scope and Methodology) very little late 12th to 13th century stonework or carving has survived. A plain, reused soffit-rib from a stone of a window on which a + or x, possibly an assembly numeral, or mason’s mark occurs at St. James’ Church (Higgins 1996, 25-6). A portion of a window head and side-stone also from St. James’ Church are of 13th century type and all bear diagonal tooling. None of these however have any sculpted decoration. Some architectural fragments with diagonal tooling of 13th – 14th century, but more likely of 14th century date, has recently been discovered at the Franciscan Priory, Galway, during the demolition of part of the 19th century Priory buildings. At Rahoon Old Cemetery (St. James’ Cemetery), the writer discovered and recorded a dozen or so fragments of a Transitional late 12th – 13th century window and half-a-dozen fragments from a doorway in well-cut limestone. One possible door fragment bears a small piece of foliage reminiscent of stone carving at Cong Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins forthcoming (D)).

The use of the mason’s axe or adze is, then, attested in Galway City at St. James’ Church and further afield at late 12th and 13th century to 14th century sites at Roscam, Drumacoo, Killora near Craughwell and further afield at places like Kilmacduagh to cite but some examples. No Galway City decorated carving however has examples of the occurrence of diagonal tooling made with a
mason’s axe or adze. Again, there is no evidence for its use on any of the Galwegian funerary monuments.

Some of the plain single light windows of the 14th century south west wall of the Chancel of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church bears carefully worked diagonal tooling which was probably made either with a mason’s adze or, less likely, a wide, sharp bolster chisel (See Leask 1936a, 5, 22 and McKeon 2009, 95-113 for these windows). The mason’s axe or adze is still used, the nearest equivalent being the walling hammer which has a broad flanged blade with a flat wide cutting edge. The cutting edge is frequently angled inwards slightly towards the lower side of the cutting edge though this is now always the case. Some walling hammers have a markedly crescentic cutting edge, others have straighter edges that are illustrated (Text Fig. 14, this volume p. 131). This sort of tool may correspond fairly closely to the modern walling hammer but may have differed substantially from the sort of mason’s hammer used in the working of ashlar on Irish churches of early-Christian type and on some of the Irish round towers. Some of the later round towers however have adze-dressed diagonal striations or tooling (de Paor 1972, 13).

Masons’ tool types generally remained consistently similar in form throughout the medieval period, though there have been some remarkable changes in usage early in the medieval period when hammer dressing suddenly gave way to the use of the masons’ axe or adze. This began to happen in the late 12th century and axe/adze tooling on stone became more or less typical of the 12th – 13th centuries, especially in good examples of Romanesque, Transitional and Early Gothic sculpture and mouldings. Whether the changeover came as a result of imitation of English or Continental masons is as yet unknown.

Wedges or Gads

Though wedges must have been used to split stone in medieval and late medieval Galway, physical evidence for them rarely survives on the stones themselves, as the marks which they left are very frequently later worked away with the further dressing of the stone. One definite piece of evidence for the use
of a wedge occurs on the back of the hood moulding of one of the window hoods on Lynch’s Castle which was temporarily visible in 1985 when the stonework of the castle was being underpinned. The Cloch an Loingsigh monument, a large piece of limestone in the Townland of Milestone, Galway City has at least four holes caused by gads (See McDonogh 1974-5, 94-5, for the stone though the tool marks are not mentioned). None has to date been found however on any of the Galwegian funerary monuments. The stone had half of a tapering wedge-shaped groove of the sort produced by the splitting of the stone with a large gad. The back of the stone is now covered over again. No evidence occurs on any of the funerary monuments for the use of a wedge but the under surfaces where one might expect such marks to survive are invariably covered. Rocks such as limestone with its well defined bedding planes are easily split with wooden wedges and water once small holes have been made with a chisel.

*The Mason’s Drill*

Indirect evidence suggests that some sort of mason’s drill was used for deep undercutting of stone and for the cutting of small circular dots and holes in stone carvings. Deep undercutting which may have required the use of a mason’s drill can be cited on several of the Galwegian carvings, but evidence for its use on funerary monuments is rare. Such a tool would have been useful in cutting the closely-spaced tracery of funerary monuments such as are found on the flamboyant tomb in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55, Plates 51A-C), though it is possible that such work could also be pierced by the careful use of a punch, point or querk and no definitive drill maps can be identified on any of the Galwegian monument.

*The Punch or Point*

The inscription on C1 (Plate 1C) was most likely carved with a narrow punch or a small point while a pitcher and some hammer dressing seem to have been employed in the general shaping of the same stone. The edge of a querk might have been used in the finishing of the general smoothing of the
background to the raised patterns but the stone is too worn to be certain about this. A fine narrow point or punch was also used to produce the lettering in C82 (Plate 35). A fine narrow point or a punch might equally well have been used to make the small dots between the words on C1 (Plate 1C).

Traces of small, pock-marks made by a point or punch are visible in the background to the lettering on C2 also, though much of the general smoothing of the surface was flattened using a querk.

The use of a small point to cut away the excess stone in the centres and background to lettering on many of the stones which bear inscriptions in false relief, at least for the rough work before the letters were finished (See C3, C4, C5, C6, C9, C10, C11, C14, C15, C16, C17 and C45). In some cases the finer finishing to the sides of the letters was done with a small flat-bladed chisel such as a querk (as is the case on the Stannard panel at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Plate 22E).

Querks

Querks of various sorts were used, as we have seen above in the cutting of, and more especially, in the finishing of the edges of and backgrounds to lettering such as is found on a post-medieval Stannard Monument of 1720 at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, as well as C54 for example (See Plates 22A and 69B respectively).

Querks were used to smooth and level off areas of ornament in and around many shields of arms as well as inscriptions (See C47 and C47A, Plates 23-24) and the tool was the commonest one used for finish both flat borders and expansive backgrounds to low relief carvings. Individual tool marks are often difficult to identify because of the general high quality of the flat finish but examples may be seen on C59 (Plate 73C) and C46A-K (Plates 55A-E and 56A-C) under good lighting conditions.

Bolsters
Wide-bladed bolster (or boasters) could also have been used along with smaller querks in finishing drapery such as that found on C44B, C48, C49 and C50 (Plate 33).

Such tools can vary greatly in width and, like querks, were used to finish large areas of recessed background to smooth dressed and mortared faces of ashlar or carved blocks of funerary monuments as well as to perform a variety of preliminary shaping.

It is frequently said that most diagonal tooling on 12th – 14th century ashlar and monuments was made with a mason’s adze, or a mason’s axe but it is frequently clear that the tooling is more likely to have been made with a widely-bladed bolster. Using such a tool well, in the writer’s experience, can produce tool-marks of greater evenness which are of almost the same depth across the width of the stroke or tool mark depending on the angle at which it is used. The mason’s adze, however, will leave a deeper indentation at one end of the stroke than at the other. An examination of rubbings of all the available ashlar of 13th – 14th century date in Galway City (at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, St. James’ Church at (Old) Rahoon Cemetery and at half of the Red Earl’s Castle at the Custom’s House, Flood Street and at the Franciscan Priory (between Newtownsmith at Francis Street)) would suggest that the bolster was used rather than the adze or axe for the final finishing of the stone.

Of all the Galwegian funerary monuments most likely to bear diagonal tooling, C1 has had too much wear on its more expansive surfaces for any definite traces to survive of tooling made by a bolster, axe or adze. The same also applies to the main surfaces of other, possibly early (pre-15th century), monuments such as C1, C36, C37, C38 and C39.

Pitchers

Though these sorts of heavy tools must have been used for roughly working up surfaces prior to finer finishing, the tool marks made by them are difficult to find unless the monument is dissembled. Often too, the rougher, preliminary tooling is smoothed away in the later sculpting of a monument. Only
on the unexposed, cruder surfaces or on the undersides of stones does such tooling usually survive. C46J and C46K for example have some crude pocked marks made by bolsters but some of these could also have been made using a blunted corner of a heavy bolster chisel. Definite marks made by a heavy pitcher were to be seen on the back of C39 when it was exposed and such tool marks also occur on the backs of C71 and C73.

VIII Identifying the Sculptural Workshops

A number of the Galwegian monuments can be classed together stylistically. In some cases they may tentatively be identified as belonging to the output of a single sculptor or, (but even more tentatively) to the same school or workshop of sculptors. Several groups can be identified as follows:

Group I: Stones from the ‘M.Teige Workshop’

The surname and initial M.TEIGE is the only definite sculptor’s signature (as distinct from a mason’s mark) to occur on any of the surviving Galwegian funerary monuments. The stone on which the name occurs (C6, Plate 14A) is dated 1580 and features which characterise it and the stones with which it can be grouped include the following – (1) A date-range in the 1570s to 1580s period. (2) The use of elaborate foliage with concave fronds carved in low false relief. (3) The combination of this Renaissance-inspired foliage with Gaelic Renaissance interlaced patterns. These patterns are usually based on geometric ornament. (4) The use, in some cases, of lettering and numerals with widely expanded serifs. Examples of funerary monuments which belong to this group include C4 (Plate 12A) dated 1577, C5 (Plate 12C) undated but probably late 16th century, C6 (Plate 12B), dated 1580. In the case of these recumbent funerary monuments, the epitaph occurs around the edge of the stone. The funerary status of this group seems to indicate (originally) exceptional symbolism (See Catalogue entries). The vocational motifs on C6 survive. C4 and C5 are fragmentary but might also originally have borne vocational motifs (as well as having some or all of the features described above).
The closest parallels for the features of this group of sculptures occur on three other non-funerary carvings, two of which are dated. The first of these parallels is a very small fragment (Plate 95C) of a carving of unknown function from Queen Street, Galway. This has the same sort of leafage with concavities in the centres of the fronds found on C6 and on the other parallels cited below.

The second close parallel for C6 and C5 are to be found on a large fireplace lintel now incorporated in the wall of the bar of Jury’s Hotel, Quay Lane (Plate 95B). The chimney-piece lintel bears all the stylistic features of this group – hollowed foliate fronds derived from Renaissance-style work in wood, stone, leather and other materials disposed in S-shaped configurations (as on C6) and combined with geometric-based Gaelic Renaissance-style interlaced patterns based on compass-drawn designs. The lintel is dated 1575 and is closely similar in its layout to the rectangular panel (set in a trapezoidal recess) found on the top of C5 (Plate 12C). The closest parallels for the sort of Gaelic Renaissance interlace found on C4, C5 and C6 (Plates 14B, D and A) are to be found over a wide area but are commonest in the west of Ireland. The best parallels for the ring-headed cross on C6 and C4 are to found on a carving from Sligo Abbey (Plate 14C) where an identical interlaced pattern (but with only one ring) occurs on what appears to be an altar stone.

The same basic motif occurs also on a false relief mason’s mark at Kilcooly Abbey, County Tipperary (Plate 15D). Variations on the ringed cross-forms but adopted crosses of equal-armed form and occupying circles, lozenges and rectangles at the tops of slabs can be found among early 17th century slabs dated 1615, 1631 and 1677 respectively are to be found at the Dominican Priory at Athenry. Variations on the ringed cross with several rings are also to be found on panels of late medieval slabs at Kilcorban and at Portumna, Co. Galway where some pseudo-interlace occurs (See Plate 15).

Many of the Gaelic Renaissance patterns found on the slabs of this group can also be paralleled in contemporary leatherwork, notably bags and satchels as well as on woodwork.
The same sort of formalised tracery and multiple recessed mouldings as occur on the Jury’s Hotel lintel is found on a late medieval slab at Sligo Abbey (Plate 20A) and very similar architectural tracery, often forming either niches or deeper patterns on wooden furniture, particularly on English and Continental coffers and chests.

_**Group 2: Slabs with Foliated, Double-Armed Crosses and Vocational Symbols**_

A small group of funerary monuments which have some features in common including the following – (1) very low false relief carving, (2) the reuse of large, elongated crosses, usually two arms and elaborate, multi-stepped bases, (3) vocational symbolism usually occurs beneath the arms of the cross, (4) the lettering has prominent serifs and is in Roman capitals and is cut in low false relief around the edge of the stone.

The stones range in date from the late 16th to the early 17th century but most date to the first few decades of the 17th century.

The following stones can be assigned to this group – C10 (Plate 7C) and C11 (Plate 8A). The stones which form this group have both been trimmed down to a rectangular shape but may have been slightly tapered originally, though at this stage in the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, the vast majority of the Galwegian recumbent slabs were rectangular or almost so.

While vocational symbols are also found on other Galwegian slabs (C8, C9 and C20 for example), these are incised and not carved in low false relief like C10 and C11 and those examples do not belong to the same stylistic group.

The hollow, concave swags which link the arms of the crosses are wide and non-symmetrical and are not always well matched. There are parallels for this feature among early 17th century slabs at the Old Farm Church, Moycullen, County Galway, the Dominican Abbey, Athenry (Plate 10E) and similar examples occur at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City (Plate 9B and 9C).

The use of incised rather than low relief ornament for these types of cross-forms is not common outside of Galway City where such crosses are usually carved in low false relief.
Group 3: Low-Relief Effigial Monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery

A small number of recumbent slabs at this site have clearly enough features in common to show that they are the work of the same sculptor or school. There were probably several other monuments which may have formed part of this group but they are lost and it would be useless to speculate on classification since illustrations or dimensions for them (C24 and C25) do not now survive.

The features of this small group are as follows – C14 (Plates 5C and 6B), C15 (Plates 5A, 5F and 6A), C16 (Plates 5B and 5E) All these monuments date to the first half of the 17th century and they exhibit the following features – (1) seventeenth century dates, (2) a rectangular or only slightly tapering shape in the case of C15, (3) low relief sculpting with the figures shown in profile and in very shallow relief, (4) the use of long, stiff, formalised areas of drapery, (5) inscriptions are carved in low false relief around the edges of the stones.

Among the Galwegian corpus there are several other stones which may well have formed part of this group but which are now lost. The first of these is C22 (Plate 5D) which bore an inscription ‘Mother Maria Gabriel (Alias Helen Martin)’. This slab was however somewhat late (dated 1672) and we have only a vague sketch by Raymond Piper (published in Hayward 1952) to rely upon for its details. The figures all show (apparently) low false relief and are depicted in profile. The garments appear to have been heavily pleated but there is not enough in the drawing to show this carving was a later variation on the theme and type of monument represented by Group 3. On balance it would seem that this is unlikely to be the case and only those slabs definitely assigned above to this group can be considered to be part of it.

Group 4: High Relief Angelic and Human Heads on Rectangular Blocks.

This small group of carvings represent Group H of the corpus and corresponds with the stones of that group which have been defined as ‘Stone Blocks with Busts and Heads (from wall or niche tombs)’. These are all of the same function, clearly formed blocks which projected as key blocks or as
dividing blocks above keyblocks and above pillars and which were left broken out slightly from the entablatures of wall tombs (See Plates 74 and 75).

While it is clear that C63, C64 and C65 are all the work of the same individual, the similarity of their function need not necessarily mean that all of C61 and C50 are also by the same person, though it must be said that the sculpting on the hair is very similar in the cases of C63, C64 and C65 to that of C61. C62 is clearly related but, like C66, it is too weathered to allow it to be replaced with full conviction within this group.

The definite examples of this group are then as follows – C63, Plate 74A; C64, Plate 74B; C65, Plate 74C, along, perhaps with C61 (Plate 75A), and C66 (Plate 75D) may, on present evidence, be related to the group but it still remains a matter of debate as to whether C66 came from a similar block.

The features of C61 to C65 (of which C61, C63, C64 and C65 form the main group and C62 is clearly related) can be defined as follows – (1) They are all fragmentary from the entablatures of wall tombs, (2) They are sculpted in unusually high relief and project markedly from the stone on which they are carved, (3) The main group (C61, C63, C64 and C65) have thick-stranded, ridged hair displayed in heavy styled curls. The effect could be said to be reminiscent of an ice-cream cone! Similar treatment of the hair occurs on the two complete Trinity Scenes from Galway C48 (Plate 33A) and its derived copy of C44b (Plate 33B), where in both cases the hair of God the Son forms heavy thick-stranded spirals. The treatment of the hair on the cherubs on the top and bottom of the last-mentioned Trinity Scene, seem also to be modelled on this heavy, early 17th century style coiffure. (4) The carvings all seem to date on a stylistic basis to the early 17th century and a date somewhere within the period 1600 to 1640 would provide a relatively broad date range. (5) The parallels for carvings of this group are widespread but occur mainly on wall-tombs. On the O’Connor tomb in Sligo Abbey, similar cherubs are to be found (Plate 77A).

Amongst the best parallels are examples at St. Mary’s Church of Ireland, Kilkenny City (Plate 81A) and on the tomb of the First Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins 2011, 103-116).
In some ways the pouting but unsmiling visage, the heavily lined eyes and the geometric rigid form of these carvings can be paralleled to an extent on C53 – the demi-effigy of early 17th century date at the Convent of Mercy, Galway, but the latter is cruder and less accomplished and not by the same sculptor as the others.

**Group 5: The Workshop of the St. Nicholas’ Tomb-Niche Master**

By this term the writer is referring to the carver of several of the Late Gothic tracery filled tomb niches which occur mainly in the West of Ireland but occur elsewhere at Dungiven Priory, Newtownards Priory, Athenry and Kilmallock. The examples which form the closest parallels for C55 (Plate 51) and which may be of the same workshop as tombs with very similar mouldings and other details however are those at Kilconnell and Ennis (Plates 58, A-C, and 39B and C, respectively). A stylistically earlier one is that at Strade, Co. Mayo where the mouldings are similar but where the figure sculpture is much more accomplished (and perhaps closer to an original prototype) than the figure of Christ showing the Five Wounds on the St. Nicholas’ example (Plates 52B and 52C).

It is more difficult to say definitively what the link, if any occurs between the Irish traceryed niche tombs because the tracery in each is so different from the others. While early traceryed topped wall tombs occur at Newtownards and at a pair of rectangular topped traceryed wall niches occur at Athenry, those examples do not typify the group.

**Evidence for copying from Galwegian and non-Galwegian prototypes**

It is clear that the Galwegian sculptors copied each other’s works frequently. The best example of a poor copy being made from a masterly exemplar, is the Franciscan Graveyard, Trinity Scene from the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44b, Plate 33B) which is clearly derived from the panels from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church now in the Galway Cathedral (C48, C49 and C50, Plate 33A). The latter carvings are clearly much more accomplished and the
former are folk-art versions by comparison. The beards of God the Father and God the Son on **C44b** have for example been reduced to a straight ‘curtain’ of hair by comparison with the wavy and curved curls of the prototype. The sculptor of **C44b** did not copy his immediate prototype slavishly however. He added a row of three cherubs heads at the base of the panel and a further two along with some other projecting piece of sculpture (which is now too damaged to interpret) at the top.

The cherubic heads shown here on **C44b** might also have been copied from other tomb fragments and they are, for example, stylistically close to a head with feathers about his neck (**C66**, Plate 75D). The other possible design source for the rows of cherubic heads on **C44b** may well have been the much more finely sculpted and more accomplished angelic head on **C64** (Plate 74C).

The traceried wall-tombs which include the very elaborate Lynch tomb (**C55**) have already been mentioned. Of these the best preserved and most closely related group are the St. Nicholas’ example (**C55**, Plate 51) those at Kilconnell (two examples, Plates 39B and C) Athenry (Plate 43B), Sligo Abbey (Plate 45A), Clare Island (Plate 45D), Ennis (Plate 53C and D) and Strade, Co. Mayo (Plate 48). In all cases the tracery used is very different and so are many of the other details but the St. Nicholas (**C55**) and Strade tombs both exhibit good depictions of Christ showing the Five Wounds. In the case of the St. Nicholas’ example (**C55**) it is clear that the figure sculpture is derived or copied, perhaps at several removes from a finer prototype. The Strade depiction, is, itself, probably copied from a prototype of its own, but in terms of accomplishment it is the finest of a series of five known examples of the Christ showing the Five Wounds theme.

Apart from the figure sculpture there are also other reasons for regarding the St. Nicholas tomb as a derivative of the Strade one. Both have the most flowing flamboyant tracery of the Irish group. Both (along with one of the Kilconnell examples, Plate 39C) have flame-like mouchettes above a low, wide arch with a triangular ope (divided in the case of the Strade example into two compartments with a trilobite cusped opening on either side). In all three there is
an upward emphasis in the design which moves inwards and upwards to the apex of the arch.

At Strade and at St. Nicholas’ too the outer moulded frame of the arch is blunt-pointed and relatively wide. Those who designed and carved the St. Nicholas’ canopied traceried tomb were not then the same person or people who designed that at Strade, but the Galwegian tomb might well have taken inspiration and influences from the Strade example (Plate 49).

Evidence for other Workshops
The Rany Workshop – a possible Group 6?

Though there are no funerary monuments belonging to this particular workshop several stone masons called Rany were working in Galway in the 16th century and it seems possible that some funerary monuments which can be attributed to the workshop of the Rany sculptors might yet be identified in the future.

In 1620 a certain Henry Rany described as ‘a mason of Galway’ was killed by Dominick Browne who was at first convicted of felony and homicide at Athenry, County Galway but was later pardoned in consideration of a fee of £5 on the 29th of July of that year.

This Henry Rany may be related to the Richard Rany who, in 1570, carved an armorial panel for Sir Edward Fitton ‘first Lord Thomond’. The carved panel is at Gawsworth Hall, Cheshire in England. The carving bears a prominent inscription in Latin underneath its heraldry which includes the words ‘This sculpture has been made in the town of Galway in Ireland by Richard Rany for Sir Edward Fitton first Lord President of the Whole Province of Connaught and Thomond in the year of Lord 1570’.

That the panel at Gawsworth Hall by Richard Rany, a mason of Galway, was able to be carved in Galway and exported to England, as the inscription indicates, is extremely interesting. The panel is published by Harris and Bayliss (2001, 120-126) and also Higgins (2007D, 19-24). It indicates a market for Irish stone sculpture in England. This is not as unusual as it might seem however
when one considers the export to England by the Cromwellian Governor of Galway, Peter Stubbers (for whom see Hardiman 1820, 134) of portions of the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a and b) of which only two panels seem to have remained in Galway, probably because they were not considered marketable. One of the two panels bear the arms of Sir Peter French and his wife (C44a) which would have been useless to anyone else especially as it was flanked prominently by high relief carvings of Saints Patrick and Nicholas (Plates 32A and 32C). In the political and religious situation of the time panels with saints would have been unsalable in Puritan in Protestant England. The same applies to the several surviving panels which bears a depiction of the Trinity (C44b). The disassembled tomb of Sir Peter French was sold for recycling as chimney pieces according to contemporary accounts. Unfortunately, it is not known to where in Britain the French tomb was exported.

Given the fact that the products of the Rany workshop extended on both sides of the Irish Sea, it would be interesting to be able to cite other definite examples of the work of either Richard or Henry Rany. One possible example of what would seem to be a Rany sculpture does however survive in Galway City. This consists of two elements of a Lynch and Martin heraldic fireplace which has been wrongly reconstructed and is now at Ross House, near Rosscabhill, Co. Galway (Higgins 2007d, 19-24). The two fireplace keystones have been reconstructed in a fireplace and do not quite match. The sculpture in the fireplace, which is stylistically closely similar to the workmanship of the Gawsworth Hall plaque, consists of the two central stones which formed the front of the mantel-piece bearing the arms of Lynch on the left and Martin on the right. It is clear that the mantling, especially the fine foliated details, the stiffly projecting tassels and the use of forwardly-facing helmets in the crests, are closely similar in each case, and these features and the entire quality of the work and the individualistic style of the ornament is in fact not closely paralleled in other Galwegian (or indeed Irish) late 16th or early 17th century stone carving. The Ross House fireplace has elements of Renaissance style scroll-work like that on the escutcheon through which the motto scroll of the Gawsworth Hall
heraldry is interlocked, and again the same scroll with rectangular recess occurs immediately below the helmets in this case too. The present fireplace jambs and corbel supports are modern. It is likely however that the keystone in the middle (rather than the overly long keystones) sidestones on the mantel are probably products of the Rany Workshop. Prior to the building being renovated there were several other fireplace fragments including keystones with the Martin arms at the house, at least one of these is at Galway City Museum (Higgins 2003, Cat. Nos. 22 and 29) and also Higgins (2007d, 19-24)).

**Evidence for Importation and Exportation of Stone**

There is ample evidence for the importation of foreign stone to Ireland throughout the centuries. Various Oolites, Dundry stone, Purbeck marble and other stones have been imported to Ireland and occur in funeral monuments and or architectural (Waterman 1970, 63-72; Gittos and Gittos 1998, 5-14).

Down to the late 15th century completed sculpture English alabasters were being imported to Ireland as well as all over western Europe and some examples survive in Irish ecclesiastical sites (Hunt 1975, 35-39; Hunt and Harbison 1976, 310-23 and also Cheetham 1973 for English alabasters more generally).

In Galway City and indeed in the County of Galway there is no evidence for the importation of completed funerary monuments or the materials to make them in the medieval period. All of the Galwegian funerary monuments are carved from local limestone.

Evidence for the export of stone for funerary monuments is not attested in the medieval period either and it is not until the 19th century that Connemara Marble, Granite or polished limestones were being exported from Co. Galway. We have however the evidence that the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a and C44b) which dated to the 1630s was felt to have good enough ornamental panels for Governor Peter Stubbers to have it dismembered and exported to England for the re-use of some, if not, much of its ornamental stonework (apart from the two panels bearing his arms and heraldry and the Trinity Panel which survives) (Plate
97). The marketability of such stonework is interesting and this fact (of its
dismembering within twenty or so years of its construction) along with its cost
(£200) are the facts most often mentioned about this tomb in contemporary
accounts of its building and destruction (See Catalogue entry and references
therein).

These people seem to have been operating between the 1570s and 1620s.
The Richard Rany who made the panel at Gawsworth Hall in England made it
‘...in Galway in Ireland’ and it was then exported by Sir Edward Fitton to
England for his house. The Henry Rany who was still working in Galway and
who is described as a ‘mason of Galway’ in 1620 might be a brother or son of the
Richard Rany mentioned above. We then have two Rany masons working in
Galway and a product of one of them exported to England in the 1570s. How
much other work of high quality was exported from Ireland one can only guess
at.

The Rany export product, from what we can see, was very much up to
date with prominent Renaissance patterns which were as well carved as any
contemporary work on the continent. Harris and Bayliss (2001, 121-126)
illustrate some close contemporary and near contemporary parallels in
Renaissance style book illustrations. We have speculated that the very high
quality Ross House fireplace, with its less prominent touches might, also have
been a product of the ‘Rany School’. The latter fireplace is likely to date from
the end of the 16th or 17th century. Whatever the extent of Galwegian sculpture
(funerary or otherwise) the quality of the exported items would seem to have
been high on the scanty evidence available. It is to be hoped that a signed Rany
funerary monument might yet be discovered which would shed further light in
the Galwegian trade in funerary sculpture in the medieval and late medieval
periods. It is clear that by the time Renaissance influences were at work in
Ireland (and the Gawsworth heraldic panel is a relatively early Irish use of the
style) Irish sculptors were well capable of producing very good contemporary
looking high quality work with up-to-date designs. It is clear that some stone
carvers did not work at funerary monuments alone but also worked on
architectural sculpture as well as the evidence of the Ranys’ suggest. The writer has elsewhere made the case that the tomb of Tiobbard na Long, 18th Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey could be the product of the same workshop as that which produced the Browne Doorway of 1627, now at Eyre Square, Galway but originally from the mansion of Dominick Browne in Abbeygate Street Lower, Galway (Higgins 2011, 103-116; Higgins 2012, 104-114).

Geological Considerations and Sources of Stone

The overwhelming majority of the medieval stone carvings of Galway are of local limestone, and all of the extant funerary monuments are also of limestone. Though a detailed programme of sampling and analysis might lead to the identification of the general areas from which the stone came, it is possible that the local quarries on the east side of the city at Merlin Park, Menlough and further along the River to the north east at Anglingham, could have provided virtually all the stone from which the carvings were made (Text Figs. 7-8). An examination was made by the writer of all the quarries marked on the first and subsequent editions of the O.S. 6” and 25” Sheets (various editions), which cover Galway City and its environs. In the course of this fieldwork no evidence for any ancient quarrying was discerned and it was found that many quarries used down to the 19th century had been filled in completely in recent times. It seems likely that even in the quarries which have been filled in since the 1970s that evidence of ancient working would have been entirely obliterated by later quarrying (Feely et al. 2002, passim).
CHAPTER 6
HERALDRY

Introduction

Given the popularity of heraldic sculpture in Galway generally, it is surprising that relatively few of the surviving funerary monuments bear achievements of arms, or even elements of heraldic achievements such as crests. Most of the heraldry which does survive, moreover, occurs on the later monuments with no coat pre-dating the end of the 15th or early 16th centuries, and with most of the heraldry dating to the late 16th and 17th centuries.

There is in fact no heraldry on any of the monuments which can be shown, on the basis of dated inscriptions, or the art-historical or historical evidence to pre-date the 16th century.

(A) The Background to Heraldry in Ireland

Irish heraldry in stone is rare before the 15th century. Some of the earliest heraldry occurs on recumbent graveslabs and seals in the 13th and 14th centuries. Early heraldry in stone occurs most commonly in the south and south-east of the country especially. Some groups of recumbent slabs at St. Canice’s Cathedral in Kilkenny City and Kells Priory in County Kilkenny have some fine examples of early Norman heraldry without any crests (For the St. Canice’s slabs see Bradley in Empey (ed.) (1985, 54-103) and references therein, and for the Kells Priory slabs see Higgins in Clyne (ed.) (2007, 453-467, Figs. 7.3:1 and 7.3:2). Early armorial slabs do not survive from Galway however and it is not until the late 15th or more especially the early 16th century that heraldic carvings begin to appear in Galway, at least on present evidence. Most of the heraldic sculpture of Galway in fact dates to the 16th and 17th centuries with a minor revival of interest in heraldry taking place in the 18th and early 19th centuries (See Plates 85 to 88).

By the time of the beginning of the Third Crusade which started in 1189 heraldry was already in use all over Europe. The Anglo-Norman invasion of
Ireland in 1169 would have firmly established heraldry in Ireland even if heraldic forms had already begun to permeate into the country before that (O’Comáin 1995, 13-14; Anon. N.D. (G)).

Despite its foreign origins, Irish heraldry developed its own characteristic features which set it apart, even from English heraldry (O’Comáin 1991, 13-14). The Office of Chief Herald is one of the oldest offices in the state (Mac Carthy Mór 1996, 25-43; Hood 2002, XIII-XXV; O’Comáin 1991, 21-28).

(B) Galwegian Heraldry and Pedigree

‘This year (1608) there came to Galway a gentlewoman called the Lady Jacob to look for her pedigree, she being repulsed in England. She had a good equipage, well attended, and much was made of her. She was daughter on one Ulick Lynch of Southampton in England, whither she returned with her genealogy’.  

The above quotation gives an idea of the great value of genealogy in the medieval and late medieval periods. Why the Lady Jacob had to come to Galway to look for her pedigree is uncertain, but perhaps it was because she was a widow and an heiress and needed to be able to prove her origins and pedigree. Her rights and entitlements would have depended upon the facts of her ancestry. To be able to claim or reclaim her status, rights, privileges and property entitlements such documentation may have been necessary. Her visit implies much about Galway at the time. Records of a genealogical and a heraldic nature (which were invariably linked together in the same documentation) must have been highly valued and records must have been kept up to date. Despite the lack of Heraldic Visitations in Ireland generally, both Gaelic society as well as Anglo-Irish society valued genealogy very highly.

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1 For the account of Lady Jacob’s visit to Galway see Genealogical Office Dublin, Ms. 44, 47 especially 69 Pedigree of Jacob of Tolpuddle and Bockhampton, Co. Dorset and of Sir Robert Jacob, H.M.’s Solicitor in Ireland impaling those of his wife Mary, daughter of William Lynch of Southampton and previously of Galway in Ireland. (This William Lynch was also known as Ulick), see Blake (1917-18). The original is in Trinity College, Dublin Ms. No. 886. The text is also quoted in Healy-Dutton (1824, 262).
Fig. 13. Receipts for work done by Thomas Ward, mason on a French family tomb at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Section, Dublin.
The importance of pedigree and heraldry in what was to an extent a semi-literate society cannot be underestimated. The learned people and those who could afford an education could read and write but heraldry with its coloured ‘pictures’ and recognisable symbolism was probably as immediately recognisable to the illiterate as it was to the literate. Shields with their symbols which could identify one person and his kin from another were probably as ‘readable’ and as recognisable to illiterate persons as was, say, an insigne or a mason’s mark or a merchant’s mark. Merchants’ marks themselves became ‘heraldised’ mainly for reasons of status and such personal marks had to be easily recognisable and ‘readable’ to as many people as possible.

In Galway an awareness of rank and of the various grades of nobility was well understood as is demonstrated in Galway Corporation by-laws of 1642 where ‘An order declaring the right of precedencie in station, and at public meetings, within the towne of Galway; wherein nevertheless, it is meant and intended, that baronets and knights shall holde and enjoy the places and precedencies to them of right due’ (Hardiman 1820, 215).

Pedigree and all the heraldic trappings which usually went with it were all important from the points of view of rank, social standing and precedence as an heir, or, for example, one’s position in the case of a dispute over property or a will. We don’t know whether Lady Jacob when she came to Galway in 1608 got her family tree and coat of arms on an illuminated scroll to take away with her, but it is certain that she would have seen the arms of her ancestors and those of various branches of the Lynch family everywhere in the streets and in any Lynch houses she had occasion to visit. The Lynch arms would have been painted and carved on fireplaces, on corbels holding up roofing beams, on window-hoods, doorcases and on many other objects. The items just mentioned all survive in stone but heraldry must also have decorated numerous other media of a more perishable and portable materials such as parchment, paper, cloth, wood, base metals and precious metals. These frequently do not survive.
Genealogy was highly valued in Irish society and Ireland has the largest body of ancient genealogies in Europe or perhaps in the world (Ó Muraíle 1996, 145-162).

Galway City has what one of the richest collection of heraldic sculpture in stone in the country. Many of the carvings are of 15th – 17th century date, the majority of the surviving examples, however date from mid 16th down to the late 17th century and many of these are actually dated (Higgins 2003, 35-6; 2004, 50). Earlier heraldry in wood, stone and other media must also have existed, but the earliest datable examples, (and these are usually dated on art-historical and historical grounds, not on the basis of dates carved upon them, which are usually lacking) belong to the latter half of the 15th century.

The Galway tradition in heraldic sculpture continued, or rather survived (and was, to an extent, revived) in the first half of the 18th century when a group of gravestones and plaques, (mainly funerary monuments by this stage), continued to be produced. Modifications in shield form, styles of mantling and use of certain forms of motto wreaths are clearly discernible (See Plates 85A, 85B, 85C and 87A respectively).

During the 19th century new types of heraldry undoubtedly spurred on by the revival of interest in that period by the upper and middle classes, especially among the ‘merchant princes’ and members of the lesser gentry. A new type of heraldry, more cosmopolitan, emerged in Galway which had few links with the styles and sculpting traditions of the earlier period. By then the Tribal families had mainly left the city and the Cromwellian planters who had succeeded them in the late 17th century had left little heraldry in the city – the traditional heraldry which had survived down to the first half of the 18th century in funerary sculpture was replaced in the 19th century by the heraldry of the upper middle class merchants who decorated the keystones of their warehouses and civic buildings and family tombs. The old Tribal families and some Irish continued sporadically to decorate their tombs with their coats of arms, but in the newer post-medieval style, for most that century.
Some three hundred items of heraldic sculpture and two in wood are now known to survive from Galway City (the writer’s estimate). New discoveries will undoubtedly continue to augment this body of material as building demolition and renovation continues.

Heraldry depicted in other media, like wood or on plaster-work, embroidered in gilt or in thread on cloth, in metal work, on arms and armour, in books, manuscripts and on leather and glass must once have been common. The portable and perishable items have disappeared. There is a record of stained glass erected in the windows of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church by James Lynch FitzStephens at the end of the 15th century\(^2\) and according to O’Sullivan (1942, 450) ‘...though until comparatively modern times a small remnant which displayed the Lynch Arms was to be seen in the window over the Communion Table’. This can no longer be traced.

Medieval and late medieval heraldic sculpture in wood hardly survives at all in Ireland. In Galway, again in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, however, there are two items which may have had some heraldic or pseudo-heraldic significance. Two are miters, the other is a crown, both carved from solid wood, both bear traces of gesso and paint. They are of late 17th or 18th century date.

The Galwegian heraldry in stone was undoubtedly once paralleled in an equally rich heritage in wood and other media, little of which survives apart from a possible merchant’s mark scratched crudely into a lost wooden beam from Kirwin’s Lane.

(C) The Heraldic Sources

\textit{The Pictorial Map of Galway of circa 1660}

We are lucky to have a contemporary heraldic record in the form of the very fine mid-17th century \textit{Pictorial Map of Galway} of which two copies survive, one at N.U.I. Galway and the other in the Library of Trinity College.

\(^2\) This manuscript was formerly in the British Museum, now in the British Library, \textit{(Egerton Mss, No. 115 fols. 73-82)} (See also Blake 1913-14A, 76-93, for a document previously in the possession of the Lynch family of Renmore House, Galway of which Egerton Ms. 115 was another copy).
Dublin. A facsimile edition of the latter map was produced by the Galway Archaeological Society in 1904. A re-engraved version of the central section of the map was reproduced in Hardiman (1820) is based on the Trinity College copy but it is by no means an exact facsimile of it and contains only the central section of the map with its decorated margins omitted.

The map (Text Fig. 4) which was possibly compiled by Reverend Walter Joyce for the Duke of Lorraine has an outstanding array of heraldic achievements arranged around its margins. Hardiman in his History of Galway (1820) ‘Postscript Concerning the Engravings’ cites some of the sources which he used as follows: ‘After gleaning considerably from the invaluable archives of Trinity College, the Record Tower (now comprising the former contents of Birmingham Tower, the parliamentary papers, and those of some of the offices of state) the Rolls, Auditor-general’s, Chief-remembrancer’s and other offices in Dublin, including through the kindness of Sir William Betham, that of the Herald of Arms, he personally visited and carefully explored the principal record repositories in England; and the rich and inexhaustible stores of the Bodlein Library at Oxford, the British Museum, and the Tower of London, have largely contributed to complete his undertaking’.

Hardiman also mentions the fact that ‘The armorial bearings, contained in plate II have been extracted from the old map of the town’. By this he clearly means the Pictorial Map under discussion though some of the arms used in his plate are not on the Pictorial Map and vice versa. Another interesting source which contains some incidental information on Galwegian heraldry is Ms. 886 in Trinity College Dublin. Walsh (1992, 47) has made the case that Ms. 886 is an imperfect copy of a manuscript account of Galway written in 1661 by Geoffry Lynch FitzDominick and that this copy was made in the first half of the 18th century. Trinity College Dublin Ms. 886 was derived from two exemplars; Galway Corporation Book A (now at NUI Galway) along with another

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3 For the Pictorial Map see Hardiman 1820, X and footnote, and Hardiman 1820, 23-30 (footnotes). His ‘Description of the Map of Galway’ begins on 24. He reproduces (in re-engraved form) the central section of the map without its elaborate heraldic border as a fold-out between his 30 and 31 where it is his Plate 4. See also McErlean (1905-6, 133-160) and Walsh (1992, 47) for the history and date of the map.
manuscript, the *Collegiate Ms.* from St. Nicholas’ Church in which were recorded notable events in the history of the town (Walsh 1992, 47-118).

*An Account of the Town of Galway* (Trinity College Dublin, Ms. 886) contains an interesting list of the main families associated with Galway. The manuscript, published by Walsh (1992) includes the following description of the families associated most prominently with the town and their heraldry.

The town of Galway was formerly inhabited by these sects or colonies here after following, who got their livelihood by cods and other sea fishes, drying them by the sun, but afterwards by new colonies made famous to the world by their trading, faithful discharging of credit, good education and hospitality both at home and abroad.

Elsewhere in the manuscript the most prominent features or at least an ‘explanation’ of some of the features of the arms of Tribes and of the Butlers are given.4

The features mentioned in the above quotation are certainly not proper blazons of the Tribal (and Butler) arms which they purport to describe, but they do mention some of the most prominent ordinaries and charges on those arms and attribute some arms to individual bearers of a particular coat. The features cited are generally accurate and are consistent with the heraldry of the mid-17th century Pictorial Map and with many of the coats shown on the contemporary stone carvings.5

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4 Walsh (1992, 47).
5 Hardiman (1820, 6) also provides a list of surnames associated with Galway at an earlier period. ‘Of the Inhabitants of Galway previously, to the invasion of Henry II, there are no accounts remaining, except by tradition, but some time after that event took place, the town appears to have been inhabited by a number of families, who were principally occupied in fishing of the lake and bay, and in making short voyages along the coast, their names are given as follows: Athy, Branegan, Blandell, Brut, Burdon, Cale, Calf, Coppiner or Coppinger, Develin, or Dilin, Fharty, Ffrihin, le Fickhill, Kellerie, Kerwick, Lang, Lawles, Moylin, Muneghan, Penrise, Sage, Kancaorach, Valley or Wallin, Verdon, Weider and White in the 15th century other families including “…Deane Ffont, Ffrency, Morris, Butler, Fallon, Nolan, Port, Coine or Quin and Tully are particularly noticed” according to Hardiman (1820, 65-6). There were many others, whose names are now buried in oblivion, Hardiman (1820, 5-6). In a footnote on page six Hardiman goes on to say ‘Several of these names are still to be found here, viz Athy, Ffarty, Ffrihin, Killery, Kirwick, (if, as supposed, it be the same name as Kirwan) and White: but the remainder are long since extinct’ (Hardiman 1820, 6, fn.n.). It is unfortunately that when Hardiman says that ‘their names are given as follows’ he does not give a source for this list. A full study of the surnames of Galway is deserving of a detailed publication.
(D) **Types of Heraldry which occur**

The heraldic material found in Galway City in general can be divided into the following categories based on the types of individuals, places and bodies which bore them –

I  Personal or ‘Family’ Heraldry  
II  Arms of Craftsmen’s or Tradesmen’s Guilds or Companies  
III  Merchants’ Marks and other pseudo-heraldic personal marks  
IV  Municipal Arms  
V  Pseudo-heraldic uses of the Symbols of the Passion of Christ or the *Arma Christi*  
VI  The Royal Arms  
VII  Royal Badge

Of these, Categories I, II, III and V occur on the extant Galwegian funerary monuments. A possible example of Category IV, the Arms of Galway also occurs but naturally no example of Category VI occurs on a funerary monument. A Royal badge, however, occurs on a window spandrel from Middle Street (Higgins 2006A, 31-39, 42).

(E) **Introduction to the Galwegian Armorial Catalogue**

In the Armorial Catalogue which follows, the arms of all the families, the royal arms and municipal arms, the arms of various guilds and finally the merchants’ marks are listed in that sequence. The municipal arms consist, in this case, of the arms of Galway City alone and these include elements of a metal workers guild and a goldsmiths’ guild are the only examples which occur. The personal heraldry of individuals and those members of a family entitled to bear arms are then dealt with. Finally, the merchants’ marks are discussed. In Galway where the largest number in the country survive, these are personal marks of individuals. These are, as we see below used by people of various professions, some of whom were definitely and others might possibly not have been entitled
to bear a coat of arms. In cases where a merchant’s mark can be linked by its associations or other evidence to an individual of a particular family, the mark is cross-referenced to the heraldry of that family or individual.

In the case of the coats of arms of a family, municipal and royal arms are listed and blazoned. The blazon is given in the following sequence (a) arms, (b) crest and (c) motto (that is where all of such elements occur). In the case of the Galwegian funerary monuments, no examples of war cries occur, though one does occur elsewhere in Galwegian heraldry. Mottoes, too, are scarce in Galwegian heraldic depictions in stone and rarely occur on funerary monuments until the 18th century.

(F) Previous Work on Galway Heraldry

The study of Galwegian heraldry is still in its infancy and much of what has previously been written is now out of date and in need of re-assessment. Most has been written by Hardiman (1820, 7-21).6 Blake (Vol. 1 in 1902, Vol. 2 in 1905) has, in a few instances, added some small amount of further heraldic information to that cited by Hardiman (mainly from the Pictorial Map and from seals). Later writers such as MacLysaght (1957, 1960, 1964, 1981)7 and O’Neill (1984) have tended to agree on the arms used without any detailed research into which arms were actually utilized on seals, documents, the 17th century Pictorial Map8 or other sources. Even this work by these writers has mainly been

6 Hardiman (1820) Plate opposite 7 entitled ‘The Armorial Ensigns of the Fourteen Ancient Families of Galway 1820’. The Plate is reproduced in Fig. 15 of the present work.
7 See in particular Irish Families (1957), More Irish Families (1960), Supplement to Irish Families (1964). In 1981 More Irish Families and Supplement to Irish Families were combined in a single volume. See also the Foreword by Rynne to the 1991 edition of Irish Families for the various writings by Edward MacLysaght on Irish genealogy and heraldry and also biographical references therein.
8 The Pictorial Map of Galway is usually dated to circa 1651 but probably dates to the 1660s and two definite copies survive, one in the James Hardiman Library NUIG and the other in Trinity College, Dublin. Of these, the Trinity College copy is by far the better preserved of the two. In 1904 a facsimile of the latter copy was reproduced by the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society. Hardiman (1820, X and footnotes 23 and especially 24-30) ‘Description of the Old Map of Galway’ describes the map in some detail and reproduces a fold-out, re-engraved version of it between pages 30 and 31 of his work. He describes how he thinks the map came to be made as follows: In the year 1651 the Marquis of Clanricarde, then Lord Deputy of the Kingdom, entered into a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, to obtain twenty thousand pounds for the king’s service in Ireland; for this sum he agreed to give the City of
genealogical and of a general historical nature and no in-depth study of Galwegian heraldry has previously been undertaken. No attempt has been made hitherto to compile a full Galwegian armorial, and rarely has there been any attempt to compare the variants and differenced arms, to consult the primary sources in the Genealogical Office or (rarer still) to compare or contrast the versions found in the above-mentioned sources and the Galwegian heraldic stone carvings except for example in Higgins (2003, 35-6; 2004, 50).

More detailed heraldic work on the Galwegian heraldry by the present writer has focussed on trying to identify the arms of various individuals and their historical contexts on structures like Lynch’s Castle for example (See Higgins 1984, 4-5; Higgins 1997-8; Higgins 1993d; Higgins 1996-7, 175-191; Higgins 1997-8; Higgins 2003; Higgins 2004 for works which include aspects of Galwegian heraldry).

Martin J. Blake’s two volume **Blake Family Records** of 1902 and 1905 not only provides extensive genealogical material on the Blake family and their written records but also provides, in two important appendices, some extra material on aspects of the Tribal families, their genealogy and (to an extent) their heraldic variations on their arms which are not mentioned by Hardiman (1820).

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*Limerick and town of Galway as security; and directed his Commissioners Lord Viscount Tiaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett. Hardiman described the map as a ‘...curious document of which there are but two copies now known with certainty to be extant’ (Hardiman 1820, 24). In a footnote on the same page he continues ‘t. One in perfect preservation is the MS.Lib.Trin.Col. Dublin, and the other in the possession of Dominick Geoffry Browne, of Castlemagarret, County Mayo, Esq. Descendant of the above named Geoffry Browne, one of the Commissioners of the Duke of Lorraine.’ De Burgo in his supplement says that he saw another of these maps in the College of St. Isadore in Rome. As to the third example, the present writer has not been able to trace any copy of the map in Rome despite extensive enquiries. It is usually taken for granted that the Castlemagarret copy is that which is now in the James Hardiman Library at NUI, Galway, though its gift to the University is not recorded. The Trinity College example is in remarkable good condition and the late Mr. William O’Sullivan (pers. comm.) former Keeper of Manuscripts at Trinity College was of the opinion that the engraving on the map is typical of the work of Antwerp cartographers. Hardiman’s interpretation of some aspects of the map is open to review. It seems unlikely to judge from the originals that the portrait medallions and inscriptions relating to Charles II and the Royal arms on the map could have been ‘finished’ or inserted in lieu of other features after the map had been engraved. The likelihood is however that the map is all of one period and dates entirely to the 1660s (See Walsh 1992, 47).*
Another important appendix on the corporate arms of Galway City is one of the few general, accurate pieces on that topic published to date.\(^9\)

The heraldic armoury as found on the funerary monuments is not as extensive as found on the Galwegian, non-funerary stone carvings generally where the armorial bearings of at least twenty-five families are represented. Few of the different arms and different merchants’ marks found on the funerary monuments are particularly elaborate, though some have fairly elaborate mantling and crests. No elaborate impalements occur, and mottoes are usually not given in Galway in any case, except on later, post-medieval stones. The very presence of merchants’ marks is, however, highly unusual and such marks are uncommon in Ireland except in Galway where the vast majority of those carved in stone survive. Merchant’s marks are also very rare on funerary monuments in Ireland except at St. Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick, Cashel Cathedral, Cashel, Co. Tipperary, St. Multose’s Cathedral, Youghal, and St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.

The following funerary monuments bear heraldry:

- **C3** Personal mark or merchant’s mark on Lynch slab-dated 1555.
- **C7** Arms of Richard Browne, 1635.
- **C9** Arms based on arms of a guild of goldsmiths.
- **C12** Arms of Edward Eyre and Cardon impaled, 1683.
- **C13** Arms of Beacher (17th – 18th century)
- **C18** Arms of William De Burgo (on a cenotaph). The arms purport to be those of William De Burgo who died in 1324 but the monument is dated 1645.

\(^9\) Blake 1902 and 1905. The full titles are worth giving in full for the insight they give into the range and scope of this extensive work. *Blake Family Records 1300-1600 A Chronological Catalogue with Copious Notes and Genealogies of many branches of the Blake Family illustrated with Photographs of Various Original Documents, First Series, London 1902 and 1905.* *Blake Family Records 1600-1700. A Chronological Catalogue with Notes, Appendices and the Genealogies of many branches of the Blake Family. Together with a Brief Account of the Fourteen Ancient Families or Tribes of the Town of Galway and a Description of the Corporate Arms used by that Town at Different Periods; with an index to the records in the First Part, Illustrated and Photographs of various Original Documents and Seals, Second Series, London, 1905.*
C27  Arms of Elizabeth Lynch, 1626 (now lost).
C44(a)  Arms of Sir Peter French and Maria Browne, *circa* 1631.
C47  Arms of Lynch and possibly Lynch and Athy impaled two different merchants’ marks and a blank shield. The rose in one spandrel might be taken as a Lynch badge crest. One Lynch arms on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map has a rose instead of the more usual ‘Lynx Passant’ as a crest.
C47A  Arms of Lynch, the same merchant’s marks as on C35 and blank shields.
C52  Arms of James Darcy 1603.
C54  Arms of Lynch (twice). The inscription is dated 1644 but much of the monument is earlier.
C59  Plaque with arms of Blake.
C81  An 18th century arms from the repair work to the Quin monument of 1649 bearing the arms and crest of Quin.
C69  Arms of Alderman Dominick Browne on a multi-period monument dated 1596.

**Recent Scholarship on Galwegian Heraldry**

It has become commonplace to accept without question the evidence presented by Hardiman (1820)\(^\text{10}\) and MacLysaght\(^\text{11}\) as reflecting all the Galwegian individuals who were entitled to bear arms, but the history of Galwegian heraldry is far more complex than is often supposed. This complexity

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\(^{10}\) Hardiman (1820, 7-20) Hardiman blazons of the arms of the Fourteen Tribes of Galway are generally accurate as are his drawings (opposite 7) showing them. (See Fig. 10 of the present work.) He also occasionally mentions some of the variations which occur on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway. He has also clearly used old documents which, like the variations just mentioned, he refers to in his footnotes.

\(^{11}\) Some of the families who came to Ireland after the Norman invasions of the 12th and 13th centuries and before the 16th century and who did not become ‘More Irish than the Irish’ but did become assimilated into the Irish nation, MacLysaght (4th edn. 1985, 187) has this to say of such families; ‘For the most part their names are associated with the towns and we do meet them as territorial magnates except where success in commerce or favourable marriages had enabled them to acquire country estates. In this class may be included twelve [sic.] of the celebrated ‘Tribes of Galway’ though most of the families in question were actually domiciled elsewhere in Ireland before migrating to Galway’.
is reflected in the range of heraldry and merchants’ marks found on the Galwegian funerary monuments, for example Blake’s notes on the heraldry of the Fourteen Tribes of Galway often sheds more light on the arms than Hardiman does. These notes and additional information which can be gleaned from them are extremely useful.

Chapter 6
Heraldry

CATALOGUE OF THE HERALDRY

(I) PERSONAL HERALDRY

ATHY AND LYNCH IMPALED

C47 (Plates 24A, 25F, 26A and 27B)

ARMS: Presumably ‘Chequy’\textsuperscript{12} Argent and gules, on a chevron of the last three estoiles\textsuperscript{13} or.

CRESTS: None shown.

MOTTO: None shown.

The tomb in the corner of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church bears a number of coats of arms and a number of blank shields. One of these shields which was until recently assumed to be blank actually bears a series of incised lines which look as if they formed a grid of squares. These squares presumably formed part of the chequered ‘chequy’ coat of the Athy family one.

It has been suggested elsewhere (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 218-222) that the arms is that of Athy may be represented by the incised lines and the tomb has been traditionally thought of as a Lynch-Athy Monument. The 19th century stained glass window above the tomb was donated by the Lynch-Athy family. The impaled arms of Lynch and Athy are also shown on a carving at the entrance to the South Transept which contains this tomb. The arms are impaled by dimidiation and are accompanied by a Merchant’s Mark which is found elsewhere in the Church and in Shop Street.

\textsuperscript{12} ‘Chequy’ or ‘Checky’ are two of the spellings used by various heraldic writers to refer to this type of grid pattern. Hardiman (1820, 7) uses the spelling ‘Checky’.

\textsuperscript{13} ‘Éstoiles’ or ‘étoiles’ are both used by heraldic writers to describe stars. Hardiman (1820) gives ‘étoiles’. Hardiman (1820, 7) gives the arms as follows ARMS: Checky, argent and gules, on a chevron of the last three estoiles, or CREST: A demi-lion rampant. MOTTO: Ductus non coactus.
Beacher (or ‘Becher’)

C13 (Plates 10C and 11C)

The arms of Beacher with a flat top or chief straight sides and a blunt, pointed base alone with another (?blank) shield on C13, a recumbent slab in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. They occur without mantling, crest or motto. They are very worn and the features of the upper right hand corner are not clearly discernible. Much of the surface has been pocked-over and is worn. This is the only instance of the occurrence of the Becher or Beacher arms found in Galway City. The family are associated through marriage with the Eyre and Hedges families.

The arms are shown as follows:

ARMS: Vair, argent and gules. On a canton or, a buck’s (or stag’s) head cabossed and attired14 (O’Kennedy 1816, 109).

CREST: None shown.

MOTTO: None shown.

One can be certain of the identification of the arms. In Kennedy’s Book of Arms the names Beacher and Hedges are shown together (with one added as a correction) above this arms. The Hedges family too have associations with the church and many of the Hedges and other families to whom they are linked, like the Eyres, are also buried there.

Blake C59 (Plate 73C)

The Blakes’ arms occurs on C59. An armorial panel which is in secondary position at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. The stone seems to have come from the adjacent Franciscan Friary. The arms shown are as follows:

ARMS: Argent, fretty gules, on an inscutcheon a dexter hand couped at the wrist gules. On the honour point a cross.

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14 Burke’s General Armory (1884, 61) gives a similar blazon as part of a quartering of a Beacher who was a Lord Mayor of London in 1720. That arms are cited as follows: ‘Quarterly 1st and 4th, Vair or gu. On a canton or a buck’s head cabossed; 2nd and 3rd a chev. Betw. the three lions pass. ar crests – out of a ducal coronet a demi-lion ramp. ppr.’

15 The arms are captioned as those of ‘Becher’ and the name of ‘Richard Hedges of Hollybrook, Co. Cork. Esq.’ also occurs around the achievement of arms.
CREST: A cat-a-mountain passant (on a helmet of nobility).

MOTTO: None shown.

The arms shown differ from the commoner version most frequently used and illustrated by Hardiman as those of the Galwegian Blakes. However, the fretty rather than a single fret also occurs along with the more usual arms (Argent a fret gules) on the Pictorial Map of Galway of circa 1660. The ‘fretty’ version as shown here is rarely depicted on stone carvings.

The inescutcheon (small shield) or the nombril or honour point of the shield is an additional charge or augmentation which indicates that the bearer of the arms held a baronetcy. The use of dexter hand couped on an inescutcheon indicates that the person represented is a Baronet.

The Baronetage grew out of the lower division of the ranks of Barons. While ‘Barones et Baronette’ occur as early as 1321 in its present form was restarted by James I in England in 1611 when it became a rank which was intermediate between the peerage proper and the knighthage.

BROWNE C7 (Plate 10B)

The arms of Browne occurs on several Galwegian funerary monuments (See also C81 Plate 22B). The present arms occurs on a slab, originally apparently recumbent but now set in the wall of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The slab has been partly covered by the render around its edges but may have had either a simple U-shaped or (less likely) an ogival base. The sides of the shield are straight and the chief or top is flat. No mantling, crests or motto scroll occurs. The arms are shown as follows:

ARMS: Or, an eagle displayed, with two heads, sable (Hardiman 1820, 10).

CREST: None shown.

MOTTO: None shown.

16 See Scott-Giles Boutell’s Heraldry (Revised edn.) London and New York, 1950, 200. The order of Baronets is a hereditary rank or degree below the peerage. Baronets were first created in 1611 by James I in connection with the colonization of Ulster, and Baronets of England and Ireland (or ‘of Ulster’) consequently bear an augmentation to their arms. An escutcheon Argent, a sinister hand erect, couped at the wrist and appaumé gules.

17 See Whitaker’s Peerage, Barontages, Knightage and Companionage, 1908, 50-52.
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BROWNE C81 (Plate 22B)

The Browne arms also occur on a fragment of a tomb at the Franciscan Cemetery, Newtownsmith. The panel may have come from a box or table-tomb. The arms is an elaborate one with arms crests and mantling shown. The shield has a straight chief and sides and a wide, V-shaped base.

The arms are as follows:

ARMS: Or, an eagle displayed, with two heads, sable.

CRESTS: Two (conjoined) eagles head addorsed.

MOTTO: None shown.

The Browne crest as shown by Hardiman (1820) is ‘an eagles head, erased’ but it is clear from the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway and from C69 as well as other carvings that various other differences were used to differentiate between the various branches of the family. One of the Browne crests shown on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway as ‘two eagle’s heads, addorsed’ as on the present carving.18

BURKE/DE BURGO C18 (Plates 4A and 4C)

The arms of Burke (or De Burgo) appear on a 17th century cenotaph in the form of a long, tapering slab of recumbent form (C18) at the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith.

The arms shown are as follows:

ARMS: Or, a cross gules, in the first quarter a lion rampant sable, in the 2nd a dexter hand couped at the wrist sable.

CREST: None shown.

MOTTO: None shown.

The coat is shown without mantling, crests or motto and is borne on a simple shield with a straight chief or top, straight sides and an ogival base. The coat incorporates both the lion rampant and the dexter hand. These are sometimes found together and sometimes alone in later mainly post-medieval

18 For the Pictorial Map of Galway and the arms on it see Armstrong 1913-14, 234-6 and Hardiman 1820, 10, footnote e, along with other references cited in footnote 4 above. Hardiman produced a re-engraved version of the map without its elaborate border in his Plate 4.
versions of the Burke coat found in counties Galway and Mayo in particular. In manuscript genealogies of the Burkes themselves (See for example History and Genealogy of the De Burgo Family (Ms. 1440, Trinity College), and Burke (1990, 8-10) in Trinity College, Dublin these two charges are frequently both shown.

The whole monument was obviously carved in the 17th century as a cenotaph for William Liath de Burgo who was not in fact buried in Galway at all, but in Athenry, Co. Galway.

William Liath de Burgo was one of the main subjugators of the Irish in Connacht in the early 14th century and it was he along with Baron Bermingham who defeated the Irish in the Battle of Athenry in 1316. He was son of William Mór de Burgo and died in 1326.

CARDEN

See under Eyre and Carden

DARCY [D’ARCY] C52 (Plates 96A)

The arms of Darcy are found infrequently on Galwegian sculpture but where they do occur they are not of the (relatively modern) form shown by Hardiman in his plate illustrating the arms of the Fourteen Tribal Families of Galway.¹⁹

Unfortunatley this important tomb at the Franciscan Cemetery is no longer visible but is known from a 19th century photograph (See Catalogue Entry for details).

¹⁹ Though the Darcy Arms as shown by Hardiman (‘Azure a semée of crosslets and three cinquefoils argent’) is now the only one used by the Galway Darcys (or D’Arcys) and though this arms was in use as early as the late 17th century it was rarely used in Galway. Instead the Darcy arms as depicted on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway, on the Darcy-Martin doorway of 1624 (now at the Convent of Mercy) and a 17th century chimney-piece listed in Kirwan’s Lane all show a cross between four crosslets, as are shown on the tomb, C52.
The arms are as follows:

ARMES: Argent, a cross pattée sable between four crosses sable or
alternatively Or, a cross between four crosses sable.

CREST: A cross (presumably sable).

MOTTO: Not visible in surviving photograph. The usual motto is ‘Un Dieu
Un Roy’.

The arms of Martin Darcy of Galway who died on June 3rd 1636 and
who was buried at St. Dominic’s Abbey, Galway is given in his funeral entry and
are the same as the first arms cited above.

**EYRE AND CARDEN**

The arms of this recumbent slab in the Chapel of St. Patrick (beneath the
organ at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church) shows the arms of Eyre and Carden
impaled on a plain shield with a flat top, straight sides and on ogival base. The
arms are clearly those of Edward Eyre and his wife. The first name of the wife is
uncertain but their surname was Carden.

The arms are as follows:

**EYRE ARMS:** Argent on a chevron sable, three quatrefoils or.\(^{20}\)

**CREST:** None shown.

**MOTTO:** None shown.

**CARDEN ARMS:** Between two pheons a sling.

**CREST:** None shown.

**MOTTO:** None shown.

These arms are unusual in several respects. The arms is that used by the
Cardens of Cheshire\(^{21}\) in England rather than that used later by them after they
had become resident in Ireland. It is only after this family settled in Ireland in the
17th century that two pheons between a lozenge is used by the Irish branch of the

\(^{20}\) These quatrefoils should in fact be cinquefoils rather than quatrefoils. Burke (1884) *The
General Armory*, 336, and Kennedy in his *Book of Arms* (1816) also show quatrefoils instead of
cinquefoils, but this too is a mistake. The Eyre arms should have cinquefoils (see Gantz 1975,
*Signpost to Eyrecourt* for the arms and pedigree of the Eyres).

\(^{21}\) Carden N.D. ‘Carden Arms’ (typescript).
family. The Cardens of Templemore, Barnane\textsuperscript{22} seem to have arrived in the later part of the 17th century but little detail of their arrival exists.\textsuperscript{23} It is known that a Jonathan Carden married a Bridget Bagot in Ireland in 1698 and bought the land at Barnane, Co. Tipperary on the 17th of June 1701 having in the meanwhile been disinherited by his father, John, for having married Bridget John Carden, would seem to have already been in Ireland for some time previously and to have lived in an ‘old keep’ at Templemore, Co. Tipperary.\textsuperscript{24}

The Cardons or Cardens of Cheshire died out, the last of the line being a John Cardon who was apparently born in or around 1600\textsuperscript{25} but who thereafter is not mentioned in the historical record.

Despite such research it has not been found possible to identify the Carden woman to whom the Edward Eyre of C12 was married. The impaling of the two arms at least suggests that the Carden arms were those of the father of a Carden woman to whom Edward Eyre was married.

Edward Eyre, his lineage and family history are better known and his relatives are well represented among the inscriptions on several of the monuments in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (See Gantz 1975, end-papers).

The impalement on this monument, like the heraldry on the Beacher Monument (C13), is an extremely plain one and together they provide good examples of 17th to early 18th centuries where an almost puritanical simplicity was becoming the norm. The Eyre-Carden monument is dated 1683 and the Beacher (or Becher) monument cannot be much later.

\textsuperscript{22} Carden N.D. Key Pedigree of Cheshire and Irish Cardens, (Typescript pedigree).
\textsuperscript{24} Mr. Michael Carden pers. comm. 5/7/1998 and 19/7/1998.
\textsuperscript{25} Writing of the Cardens of Barnane, Templemore, Co. Tipperary. Carden has this to say ‘regarding the earliest Irish Cardens \textit{circa} 1674 JOHNATHAN CARDEN, died 1703 Married \textit{circa} 1698. Bridget Bagot; issue John (1699) Jonathan purchased ‘Castletown and lands of Barnane’, June 17 (th) 1701 but had already been living there for some time. Said to have been disinherited by his father (whom he predeceased by 25 years for marrying Bridget Bagot without his father’s consent, but later reconciled. Will dated Jan 16 (th) 1702 left all property to his wife and son…Residence Barnane’, Carden N.D., 15.
The arms of French occurs on several Galwegian funerary monuments including this one to Sir Peter French and his wife, Mary Browne.

The monument to Sir Peter French and Mary Browne is one of the finest armorial panels in Galway, if not in Ireland. The arms are beautifully designed, proportioned, and carved.

The arms are as follows FRENCH impaling BROWNE.

ARMS: Ermine, a chevron sable for French, impaling argent, an eagle displayed sable for BROWNE.
CREST: A dolphin bowed proper.
MOTTO: None shown.

Burke (1884, 133) mistakenly gives Sir Peter’s wife’s name as Margaret, daughter of Alderman Geoffrey Browne.

The funeral entry of Maria Browne, who died 1631, in the Genealogical Office gives the arms of her father as ‘Argent an eagle displayed sable’.

The Funeral Entry of Sir Peter French gives his arms as they are represented here (Genealogical Office Ms. 64-79, Funeral Entries, Vol. 5, 10, 17, Mc Anlis 1994, F.47).

The arms of Sir Peter French and his wife is one of the finest pieces of heraldic sculpture in Galway and shows a marked similarity in style and proportion to the arms of Martin Browne and his wife, Mary Lynch, adorns the Browne Doorway which is now at Eyre Square.

The arms of LYNCH occurred on C27 but unfortunately the stone is now lost. The coat seems to have included of both arms and crest and occurred on the slab to Elizabeth Lynch at the Franciscan Cemetery. Presuming that the arms were the simpler and commonest form of the Lynch coat of arms they are likely to have been as follows:

ARMS: Azure, a chevron between three trefoils slipped or.
CREST: A lynx passant (if shown).
MOTTO: ‘Semper Fidelis’ (if shown).

According to FitzGerald (1910-12) a ‘Crest and Coat-of-arms’ of Lynch occurred on C27 which is now lost. The usual Galwegian Lynch arms is as follows. Azure, a chevron between three trefoils slipped or. The crest is ‘A lynx azure, collared or’. The commonest Lynch motto is ‘Semper Fidelis’. The Galway Lynches, however, differentiated between the various Galwegian families of Lynch and this is reflected in the variety of heraldic variations found in stone carvings throughout the City and on the Pictorial Map of Galway of the mid-17th century. The map in fact shows no less than five versions of the Lynch arms.

As this is the commonest Lynch arms found in Galway and it is likeliest to have occurred on the stone.

The four variations on the commonly found arms just cited are shown together in a decorated panel on the bottom of the map and are collectively captioned as follows:

‘Hic Lynchaeorum bene prima ab origine notas Diversas Stirpes nobilis cce Domus’.

Unfortunately, it is unknown which of these versions of the arms occurred on the stone.

**Lynch C54 (Plates 69A and 68B)**

The arms of Lynch occurs twice on the Altar-Tomb cum-Window in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The two shields and arms are almost identical and have a flat chief, straight sides and a curved base. The shield has a wide edge all the way around it but this is simply an edge, not a heraldic border or bordure. The arms alone occur, without a crest and are as follows:

**ARMS:** Azure, a chevron or between three trefoils slipped, or.

**CREST:** None shown.

**MOTTO:** None shown.
II  THE ARMS OF CRAFTSMEN OR TRADESMENS GUILDS (OR COMPANIES)  
(C9 AND C23)  (PLATES 4D AND 7D AND 4B AND 19)

Two devices occur on the Galwegian funerary monuments which can be classed as the heraldry of a trade or craft’s guild can be identified, C9, and C23 (Higgins 2007b, 15-27). The establishment of Guilds was officially sanctioned as a result of the Charter of Richard II (O’Sullivan 1942, 398). This Charter which was based on one granted to Drogheda. It was not until the granting of the later Charter of Richard III (O’Sullivan 1942, 398, f.n.1) in 1484 that craft guilds were established in Galway.

The three crowned hammers on C9 in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church which occur without a shield have frequently been mistakenly described as the arms of a goldsmith’s guild (Hayward 1952, 44, illus.45). They are clearly no such thing. They are elements of the arms of a Guild or Company of Blacksmiths. The fact that they occur without a shield does not invalidate this identification. They are not intended simply as vocational marks or trade symbols either (Mulveen 1994, 43-64, especially 46 and Fig. 3). Rather they are the combined changes which form parts of the arms of a guild or company of smiths. Whether or not they were used officially or whether they were even officially granted, they were certainly an indication that the person buried beneath the slab was a leading member of the iron-smiths’ guild. The three crowned hammers are a feature of the arms of the Worshipful Company of Blacksmiths of London, whose arms were granted in 1610 but seem to have been used long before the date. The same changes with some variations were used in the arms of several other British blacksmiths’ guilds too. In Ireland, the Dublin Blacksmiths’ Guild also used a markedly similar arms which also included the same sort of three crowned hammers. A map of Dublin of 1728 shows the arms with these and other changes, an elaborate crest and supporters as we shall see below.

26 No grant of any such arms to a Galwegian guild of Blacksmiths can be located in the Genealogical Office, Dublin. I am thankful to the former Chief Herald, Mr. Donal Begley, and to Mr. Gerald Crotty of the Heraldry Society of Ireland, for their help in researching the subject.
While the three crowned hammers of C9 might never have been officially granted and there is no evidence that they were, they were undoubtedly used as the arms of a guild of Galwegian Blacksmiths. They illustrate a good knowledge of heraldry and are probably slightly later in their usage than other Irish and British blacksmiths’ guild arms. They have all the essential elements of the arms of other Blacksmiths’ guild arms.

The arms of a guild of Galwegian goldsmiths also occur on C23. Again these are not vocational symbols, nor are they ‘crest’ as has been stated in print (Pace Mulveen 1994, 46). These are the arms of a Galway guild of goldsmiths and the changes on them are similar to those on the near contemporary arms of the London Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths as well as to various arms of Irish goldsmiths guilds as we shall see below. While they are unlikely to have ever been officially granted these arms like the arms of the blacksmiths’ guild on C9 are clearly well designed and illustrate first hand knowledge of the arms of companies and guilds of goldsmiths elsewhere in Ireland and in Britain.

They are captioned ‘GOLDSMET ARMAS’ on the stone and whether or not they were granted officially or not they were clearly used as such. They are almost as early in their apparent early usage on C23 as the first sure of closely similar arms by other goldsmiths guilds in Britain and Ireland.

In both cases, the same basic arms but with heraldic differences and a variety of changes (used deliberately to distinguish one arms from another) were used in Galway and in both instances as we shall see, they were adopted in Galway very soon after they had been officially granted or confirmed in Britain and in other parts of Ireland, notably Dublin and Cork. The Galwegian guilds were certainly well aware of the heraldic details and usage of their fellow craftsmen elsewhere, of the laws of heraldry and of the finest points of heraldic design. They were clearly in close touch with developments elsewhere and used arms which were based on the officially approved arms of their fellow craftsmen in other places. These arms of the Galwegian Blacksmiths and Goldsmiths and their parallels have been discussed in detail by the present writer elsewhere (Higgins 2007b, 15-27).
III A  **GOLDSMITH’S GUILD**  (C23)  (Plates 4B and 19)

The Arms of a Galwegian Goldsmiths Guild on the tomb of ‘Walter in Marcachaun’ Thomas and Margaret Davin. The first name on the stone is enigmatic. Among the patterns on the slab is a shield which is captioned ‘GOLDSMET ARMUS’. The arms shown on the shield are as follows:

**ARMS:** Quarterly, in first and fourth, three covered cups, in second, three buckles, in third, three escutcheons (small shields).

**CREST:** None shown.

**MOTTO:** None shown.

See Text Figs. 28-29 in this volume.

IIIB  **BLACKSMITH’S GUILD**  (C9)  (Plates 4D, 7D and 8B)

All other writers have described this stone as bearing the mark of a Goldsmith or the arms of a guild of Goldsmiths which it does not. The carvings are derived from the arms of a Guild of Blacksmiths. The arms of a Blacksmiths Guild or Company, without a shield, possibly those of the Galwegian Guild of Blacksmiths.

**ARMS:** Three crowned hammers, two and one.

**CREST:** None shown.

**MOTTO:** None shown.

The tinctures (colours) of the arms are not, of course, shown on the stone, though the monument may originally have been painted.

The crowned hammers are clearly elements of the arms of a guild or company of Blacksmiths and the person buried beneath this stone is likely to have been a high ranking member, or perhaps the Master of the Galway Guild.

One of the earliest Blacksmiths Guilds arms, with which C23 can be compared, is that of the Blacksmiths of London (See Text Fig. 27).
II MERCHANTS’ MARKS AND OTHER PSEUDO-HERALDIC PERSONAL MARKS

One of the more interesting side-lights of the heraldry of late medieval Ireland is the use of merchants’ marks by the emerging middle class in the 16th and early 17th centuries in particular. Some of the merchants’ marks which survive in stone sculpture may date as early as the final decades of the 15th century but the majority (where they can be dated mainly on art historical rather than on historical grounds, and with the help of some examples which are dated) can be ascribed mainly to the 16th and early 17th centuries. By far the largest collection of merchants’ marks, as many as thirty-five examples are from Galway City. Other Irish examples occur in Cashel, Co. Tipperary and in St. Mary’s Cathedral in Limerick, St. Multose Church, Youghal, and a single example of an Archer mark at Kilkenny City. Other possible examples also occur in stone-sculpture and on written documents and incised as graffiti on a wall-plaster (Higgins, forthcoming (A)).

Merchants’ marks, and personal monograms with or without shields occur on stone carvings, woodwork, furniture, personal items, document, public and private buildings all over Europe through the medieval period and become increasingly common from the 14th and 15th century onwards.

Many of these feature combinations of initials, sometimes interlaced, intertwined or combined along a common stem line.

In many cases the combinations of symbol numbers and letters are placed on shields in the manner of the more usual heraldic devices. In some instances the devices are placed on their own without shields.

UNIDENTIFIED MERCHANTS’ MARKS (OR PERSONAL MONOGRAMS?)

Plates 3A and 3B

Merchants’ marks or personal monogram of JOHN ROBT FITZTHEIG on his grave-slab and that of his wife ELYN LINCH.

Two badly damaged marks occur, both without shields, and both apparently similar in form. The mark is essentially a cross and the letter P
combined and it occurs in a rectangular recess in each instance. There is no shield. The terminals of each limb of the monogram has a wide serif or wedged ending like the letters of the inscription.

Sir Walter FitzGerald recorded the inscription on this stone in about 1895-7 and some time later made accommodations to his reading of it in his own copy of the *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of Memorials to the Dead in Ireland*. Into this copy (which is now in the possession of Dr. John Bradley, National University of Ireland, Maynooth) he added sketches and tracings which he made from rubbings. These indicate that the marks which were then in much better condition were both of the same form. A cross with a loop or ‘P’ at the top.

Merchants’ Marks are sometimes shown without shields. The monograms on a doorway dated 1600 now at N.U.I. Galway (unprovenanced but probably from Middle Street or St. Augustine Street) and an incised mark scratched into a wooden beam in Kirwan’s Lane, Galway (which is without doubt, now lost forever) bear no shields. A merchants’ marks incised in the plaster of the wall of Abbey of Abbeyknockmoy is also shieldless as are several merchants’ marks at St. Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick where several occur on the Budston sedelia or wall monument (See Westropp 1897, 489 and illustration opposite). The Sall monument in Cashel Cathedral bears both a shield of arms together with a merchant’s mark in a shield. The owner of the marks or monograms shown is presumably the male person mentioned in the inscription who is JOHN RO[B]T FITZTEIGE. This person is the husband of ELYN LINC (Lynch) but it is unclear whether the full name of the male commemorated is JOHN RO[B]ER[T FITZTEIGE LINC or simply FITZTEIGE. The common practice in Galwegian documents (like the Corporation Books for example) was to cite the Christian name of the father of many males in their name (while using FITZ to indicate SON OF) and then to give the surname. Whether his wife ELYN’S maiden name was LINCH (Lynch) or whether her marriage name was LINC / LYNCH is unclear from the inscription. Whatever the case, it is clear from a number of the Galwegian stone carvings that the Lynches frequently used merchants’ marks on
their own, accompanying their arms or their arms alone on a wide variety of sculpture and that several distinct merchant’s marks were used by members of the Lynch families who were also entitled to use coats of arms. Several Lynch and other Merchants’ marks occur on the Lynch Tomb and the associated Empty Frame (C47 and C47A respectively) in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church for example (See Plates 23A and 23B, 24B, C and D, and E for the latter monument).

The merchants’ marks which occur on some of the Funerary Monuments catalogued in this corpus as well as on non-funerary monuments have been the subject of some recent work. Examples occur on C3, C47 and C47A. The subject has been the subject of some considerable study (See Walsh 1993, 1-28; Higgins 1993D, 21-27; 1994C, 49-51; Higgins and Heringklee 1992; Korff, O’Connell and Higgins 1990, N.P. and 1992, N.P.; and Higgins 1996-7, 175; Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 218-222 and illus. on pages 218, 219 and 221; Higgins and Lenihan 1995, N.P.).

As has been mentioned above many of the Galwegian merchants’ marks must be seen in terms of personal monograms which have, in the vast majority of cases have been applied to heraldic shields. They seem to have been used in Galway by people who were already entitled to bear coats of arms, as well as by those who were not. The majority of them occur in association with the arms of Lynch, and a few occur in association with the Lynch and Athy arms together.

Two of the Galwegian funerary monuments bear such marks. The two separate parts of the Lynch box-tomb in the corner of the South Transept (C47) and the ‘Empty Frame’ which clearly formed part of it (C47A). In each case two separate marks occur along with the arms of Lynch. Another shield may have borne the arms of Lynch and Athy impaled on each of the surviving portions of the monument. The Lynch and Athy impalement also occurs on a pier at the entrance to the South Transept. In this instance, the Athy impalement is incised while the Lynch arms is cut in low false relief.
IV MUNICIPAL ARMS THE ARMS OF GALWAY CITY

C23 (Plates 4B and 19)

As discussed elsewhere in this Catalogue No. 23 from the Franciscan Cemetery, which is now lost, bears the arms of a Goldsmith’s Guild, the Arma Christi (or Symbols of the Passion of Christ) and a ship. The ship, it can be argued, may be an early example of the arms of Galway City. Given that at least some of the deceased according to the inscription are clearly goldsmiths, it is unlikely that the ship carving is some sort of ‘vocational motif’ or symbol suggesting that the deceased was a merchant or mariner. It seems much likelier that the ship is a version of the arms of Galway City.

Unfortunately, the engraving of the stone as depicted in Hardiman’s History may not be very accurate. The engraving in Hardiman’s History (1820) generally show inscriptions in Black Letter of ‘Gothic’ script when the epitaphs were in fact clearly in a Roman upper case script for example.

No shield is apparently shown on the stone and the ship is a triple masted one rather than a single masted one such as occurs on all known variants of the Galway Arms which bear ships. The engraving does not appear to show an escutcheon (or small shield) on the mast either; the context, however, suggests that the slab was designed to bear a row or three items of heraldry, one above the other, and that the heraldry represents the vocation of the deceased, the symbols of the Passion of Christ in which the deceased had faith and his place of origin represented by what seem to be the Arms of Galway City.

It is clear then, from the above discussion that C23 at the Franciscan Cemetery dated 1575 bears, along with the arms of a goldsmith’s guild and the Arma Christi or Symbols of the Passion, a ship. Although no shield appears on Hardiman’s drawing of the stone, (See Catalogue illustration) this may very well represent the Arms of Galway.

The arms of Galway have changed several times over the centuries and even the present arms with the ship, has been used in several variations. Only the ship version similar to that still used need be discussed here.
In the post-medieval period another version of the arms of Galway was used. It is exemplified in the arms used by Galway Corporation. These are given by Burke 1884, C1, (Supplement) as follows:

‘Ar. waves of the sea in base ppr. Thereon a galley or ancient war ship, charged on the rigging with two mullets all sa. on an escutcheon of pretence the royal arms, as borne by the later Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns, viz., quarterly, 1st and 4th France, Az. three fleurs-de-lis or; 2nd and 3rd. England, gu. three lions pass. guard, in pale or.’

V    THE PSEUDO-HERALDIC USE OF THE SYMBOLS OF THE PASSION OF CHRIST OR THE ARMA CHRISTI

C23     Plates 4B and 19

One of the earliest examples of the heraldic usage of the Symbols of Christ’s Passion occur on the book shrine known as the ‘Domhnach Airgid’, where on the 14th century (circa 1350) face of this much altered, multi-period piece of metalwork the crucifixion has above it an eagle, which is a symbol of Christ, and of the Ascension (See Higgins 1997, 746) near the top of the panel an enamelled shield bearing between a Latin cross, two hands holding scourges in the dexter and sinister base, three nails in sinister chief and enigmatic annular probably the Crown of Thorns object in dexter chief (See Stalley in Cone (ed.) 1997, Plate 66 for an illustration). By the 15th century displays of the symbols of passion in a heraldic form had become common. Some of the best Irish examples are the 15th century shield with the Arms of Christ’s Passion at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary.

On C23 a series of symbols of the Passion occur and to judge by other late medieval monuments, the Arma Christi is what is depicted. A cross interlocked with a Crown of Thorns definitely occurs, but the remainder of the symbols are more difficult to decipher from the engraving.
Fig. 15. The Arms of the Fourteen ‘Tribal Families’ of Galway. (After Hardiman 1820).
Fig. 16. The Symbols of the Passion. From Hardiman’s (1820) engraving of C23.
Fig. 17. The Arms of Galway (A) after Hardiman’s (1820) engraving of a ship on C23 and (C) interpretation of (A). (B) Arms of Galway (After Kennedy 1816) and (D) Armorial Plaque, (Mid-17th century) with the arms of Galway. (After Hayward 1952).
The Shield, or Escutcheon,

Is the principal object wherein the emblems or charges of Heraldry are depicted. It varies much in shape, but is depicted triangular, or, as it is technically called, "Herald-shaped," on the oldest monuments, coins, and seals. The surface or space within the bounding lines of the shield is called the Field.

The Shield is divided into the following parts, A: B: C, the chief, subdivided into A, the dexter, or right hand chief point; B, the middle chief point; C, the sinister, or left hand chief point; D, the collar, or honour point; E, the heart, or base point; F, the number, or hard point; and G: H: I, the base, subdivided into G, the dexter base point; H, the middle base point; and I, the sinister base point.

The Shield is distinguished by certain heraldic colours called Tinctures, separated by division lines, and charged with a variety of animals, real or fabulous, instruments, and other objects, which themselves bear the designation of charges.

The Tinctures used in Heraldry are Metals, colours, and furs.

To Sylvestro Petra-Santa, a celebrated Italian Herald, is assigned the invention of the lines and points by which the tinctures are expressed.

Fig. 18. The shield and its parts. (After Burke 1884).

The Metals are—

Or—gold—known in uncoloured drawings and engravings by dots or points.

Sable—silver—expressed by the shield being plain.

The Colours are—

Azure—blue—depicted by horizontal lines.

Gules—red—depicted by perpendicular lines.

Vert—green—depicted by lines from the dexter chief to the sinister base.

Sable—black—depicted by cross lines, horizontal and perpendicular.

Purpure—purple—depicted by lines from the sinister chief to the dexter base.

The Furs are—

Ermine—a white field with black spots.

Ermine—a black field with white spots.

Ermine—a gold field with black spots.

Pesc—a black field with gold spots.

Pier—composed originally of pieces of fur, but now silver and blue, set to resemble the flowers of the campanula, and opposed to each other in rows, when of different tinctures, they are specified and described several.

Counter Pier—differed from "Pier" by having the bells or eyes arranged base against base, and point against point.

Patent Counter Pier is composed of figures like owls' heads.

Fig. 19. The Tinctures (Metals, colours and furs) used in heraldry. (After Burke 1884).
### PARTITION LINES.

Partition Lines are those that divide the field or charge; and are always Right or Straight Lines, unless when otherwise described; those that vary from the Right Line are called—

- Engrailed.
- Inverted.
- Wavy.
- Embattled, or Grenelled.
- Nebulée.
- Indented.
- Dancettée.
- Rigety.
- Dove-tailed.

To these may be added, those of rarer occurrence, Champagne or Urceo, which resembles an embattled line with the bastlements and indentures drawn to a point instead of being cut straight, and Potentée, when the edge of the line resembles the heads of crutches.

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**Fig. 20.** The Partition Lines of a shield. (After Burke 1884).

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**Fig. 21.** The divisions of a shield and the use of partition lines. (After Burke 1884).
ORDINARIES.

All charges of Arms are either proper or common; those charges are said to be proper which by a certain property do particularly belong to the art of Heraldry, and are of ordinary use therein; hence they are styled ordinaries; the common charges are the representations of all emblems which retain their own names in the blazon. The term here employed “proper” must not be confused with the similar one (see Dictionary of Terms) which indicates that any heraldic charge in a shield, crest, or supporter, is of its natural colour or nature.

The principal Ordinaries are—

The Chief (called by French heralds, le Chef, signifying head, from the place it occupies in the shield) is the whole upper part of the field, cut off horizontally by a straight or any other of the partition lines used in Heraldry, and should comprise a third part* of the escutcheon.

The Pale is formed by two lines drawn perpendicularly from the top to the base of the escutcheon, comprising a third part of the field. “The French,” observes MacKenzie, “say that soldiers of old curtied pales of wood to encamp them, which they fixed in the earth,” and thus originated this heraldic bearing.

The Bend (Bailleur) is formed by two lines drawn diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base, and comprises the third part of the shield. It represents a shoulder-belt, or scarf.

The Bend Sinister is the same as the Bend, excepting that the lines are drawn from the sinister chief to the dexter base.

The Fess is formed by two horizontal lines drawn across the field, comprising the centre third part of the escutcheon. It is emblematic of the military girdle worn round the body over the armour.

The Bar is a diminutive of the fess, and of the same form, containing one-fifth of the field, and may be placed in any part of the escutcheon.

The Cross is composed of four lines, two parallel lines perpendicular, and two transverse, not drawn throughout, but meeting by couples at right angles, near about the fess point.

The Saltire (the Cross of St. Andrew) is formed by four lines, two drawn from the dexter chief towards the sinister base, and the others from the sinister chief towards the dexter base, meeting in the middle by couples in acute angles, and resembling two bends, dexter and sinister, uniting or blending where they cross.

When charges are borne upon ordinaries, they are described “on a fess,” “on a chevron,” “on a bend,” &c., as the case may be. When charges are placed in the position that ordinaries occupy, they are blazoned as “in pale,” or “in fess,” or “in bend,” &c., as the case may be.

The Chevron (supposed by some writers to have been adopted from the bow of a war saddle, which rose high in front) is formed by two parallel lines drawn from the dexter base, meeting pyramidal, about the fess point, two other parallel lines drawn from the sinister base.

Fig. 22. The Ordinaries used on the heraldic shield. (After Burke 1884).
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Fig. 23. The Sub-Ordinaries used on heraldic shields. (After Burke 1884).

Fig. 24. The Forms of helmets used on crests in British and Irish Heraldry. (After Burke 1884).
**Fig. 25.** The Marks of Cadency used to distinguish various branches or individuals of a family used on English and Irish heraldry. (After Burke 1884).

**Fig. 26.** Some of the common charges used in British heraldry. (After Burke 1884).
Fig. 27. The arms of a metal workers’ or blacksmiths’ guild. (A) On C9, (B) Blacksmiths and their arms from an English 17th century engraving. (C) The Smith’s arms. (After Briggs 1971). (D) The Smith’s arms (After Bartholomew 1969) and (E) The Arms of the Worshipful Company of Blacksmiths, 1610. (After Briggs 1971).
Fig. 29. The Arms of a Guild of Goldsmiths (A) on C23. (B) The Arms of the Irish Goldsmiths, (C) and (E) The English Company of Goldsmiths. (D) The Arms of the Goldsmiths on the Cork Civic Mace.
Vocational symbolism is commonly found on early medieval, late medieval and post-medieval funerary monuments and the use of such symbolism has, in recent years, undergone something of a minor revival with vocations, trades, interests, sports and hobbies being represented on many monuments. In the late 18th to early 19th centuries they were particularly common on monuments of members of the emerging middle classes. The symbolism had a social significance as well as being symbolic of a trade, craft or vocation. In recent times there has been a tendency for tools, equipment, instruments and sporting gear of various sorts to be used to represent not only the work, but also the other interests or hobbies of a deceased person. New examples are becoming common in the New Rahoon Cemetery and Bohermore Cemetery in Galway for instance.


Mulveen (1997) has completed an unpublished MA thesis on the topic of Post-Reformation Occupational Graveslabs which covers County Galway (See also Mulveen (1996, 99-106) and Mulveen (2000, 104-109)). Most of the
examples catalogued here are also catalogued in his *corpus* except those which are later than the chronological scope of the present work. The details of the interpretation of some of the symbols and tools varies, as will be seen in the Catalogue and discussion below, which includes several additional examples.

**VOCATIONAL SYMBOLISM ON LATER MONUMENTS**

Galway is lucky to have surviving a good group of funerary monuments of the Post-Medieval period mainly of 18th – 19th century date which bear interesting heraldry and clear examples of vocational symbolism. The later monuments generally are a diverse group some of which bear heraldry of which much of it is stylistically different from the earlier heraldic traditions in Galway as we have seen above. Where vocational symbols occur on these later monuments, however, they form a continuation of the same theme. The only major difference is that on the examples included, the vocational motifs are more often incised than carved in low false relief (See Plates 7E and 88B for post-medieval examples).

Before describing the vocational symbolism and related depictions on the stones in detail it may be useful to summarise the situation in Galway as regards the pre-1700 use of such symbolism. A mariner’s or merchant’s anchor is found on **C3**, the cobbler’s tools are found on **C4**, while those of a cooper are found on **C6** and on **C11**. Items associated with either a wool merchant or a glover are found on **C8** while a tailor’s or clothier’s tools are shown on **C10**. A soldier’s sword is depicted on **C11** (though this is a centotaph made centuries after the man died). Elements of farmers’ ploughs are shown on **C28** and **C67** another two stones bear what seem to be tools which are not clearly identifiable: **C20** has what seems to be elements of tools while **C30** has what would appear to be a pair of blacksmith’s tongs.

Two stones bearing elements of the arms of an iron worker’s or blacksmith’s guild (**C9**) and of goldsmiths’ guild (**C23**) have traditionally been included as vocational symbols by various writers (See Catalogue entries). It has been shown by the present writer both here and elsewhere (Higgins 2007B, 15-
27) that while the items shown are vocational in that they are symbolic of the trades they represent, the motifs should also be seen as elements of the arms of the guilds of which the deceased were members. This is despite the fact that the crowned hammers on C9 are not shown on a shield.

Besides these two monuments bear depictions of priests holding chalices and dressed in priestly garb (C14 and C15) as distinct from individual symbolic motifs, and C16 shows a nun or prioress with a monstrance and crozier. This is both a depiction of a nun and an image of St. Clare at the same time. These effigial slabs, while showing the tools or emblems of the deceased’s vocation are both portraits of people and depictions of their profession at the same time but are not vocational symbols in a traditional sense.

**CATALOGUE OF MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL VOCATIONAL MOTIFS**

**C3 Mariner, Merchant or Sailor, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 3A, 3B)**

The slab bearing the names of IJON (JOHN) ROBT.FIZTHEIG and ELYN LINCHE (1566) may be that of a mariner or of a merchant mariner and bears an anchor and three encircled Maltese Crosses, between the arms of one of these crosses is a pair of small hearts. Also depicted twice as part of the inscription are two merchants’ marks or personal identification marks which are shown without shields.

The Christian significance of the anchor as a symbol of hope is well known but it seems possible however that in this instance its use is as a vocational motif rather than as a Christian symbol (See Sill 1975, 15 for instance). It is rare to see the anchor used as a symbol of hope in Irish medieval or late medieval sculpture. It is found however at Ardfert Cathedral, Co. Kerry accompanying the personification of Hope and as part of a suite of figures representing Faith, Hope and Charity for example (See Moore 2007, 14). It occurs on fragments of a 17th century wall tomb at Ardfert.
C4  ‘SHVMAKER’ (Shoemaker or Cobbler). St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 12A, 14B)

This stone is unfortunately now very incomplete. Hardiman (1820, 252) gives the inscription on this important stone and makes it clear that the ON Mor(?A)FORD commemorated was a shoemaker. On the basis of what we know of similar slabs like C6, C8 and C9 at St. Nicholas’ it seems at least likely that this slab may have borne the vocational symbols of a cobbler or shoemaker. According to Hardiman’s description of it the stone also bore the date 1577.

The same may apply also to C6, though in that instance we have no record of any trade or vocation being mentioned in the inscription which is almost as complete now as it was when recorded by Hardiman (1820, 252).

C6  Coopers. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 12B, 14A)

This very fine monument is to MORIERTAGH O’TIERNAGH and his wife KATRINA NIG ONO--- along with his brother TEIGE OG. The two brothers On (?Owen) and Teige Og are referred to as ‘CUPERS’ that is ‘coopers’ on the stone and the tools which are represented are clearly those of someone in the coopering trade. The tools shown are a large axe or adze on one side of the cross-shaft and a square on the other. The tool on the left could probably represent a cooper’s adze rather than an axe. However, the tool is depicted in profile and does have a crescentic front to its blade and has the appearance of an axe (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 208-9, Cat. No. 380).

C8  Wool Merchant or Glover. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 10D)

This stone bears a good example of a range of vocational (and possibly recreational) tools and other items or ‘features’ including animals but is unfortunately incomplete. Because it has been worked over with rough pocking some of the motifs are now difficult to decipher. The fragment clearly comes from a long, tapering slab and only part of the cross (which ran along most of its length) now survives. It consists of the end of an incised Latin cross on a
‘moulded’ base. It is unfortunate that only the words ---SOULES·THE·LORD--- survive. The date is likely to be the same. On the left hand side a large, glove, hand (or possibly a gloved hand) holds a leash which is attached to a small dog (possibly a talbot or hunting hound) which is shown collared and possibly belled. On the right is a large pair of shears with pointed tips. These look more like sheep-shearing shears rather than cloth-cutting shears with straight ends. Smaller pointed-ended shears are also sometimes used for cutting hair and cloth however.

A bird with outstretched wings, possibly a hawk, or an eagle, also occurs and though this is not clearly depicted in Hayward’s drawing of the stone, its presence is however without doubt (Hayward 1952, 44, and illus. on page 45). The vocational symbolism would seem to indicate that a wool merchant or shepherd or possibly even a glover, may have been commemorated with the shears representing the wool trade and with the dog on a leash being a sheep-dog (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 157, Cat. No. 302). The dog and bird may on the other hand be indicative of an interest in hunting for example and are clearly not of a heraldic nature. It is difficult to know whether all the motifs represent vocational or recreational pursuits.

Some Scottish gravestones bear clear depictions of gloves along with representations of other tools and objects including glove-stretchers, gloves, shears and buckles (Willsher 1985, 30).

That the monument may mark the eternal resting place of a glover is also a possibility. Hayward (1952) captions it as such and among the four vocations which Willsher illustrates as denoting the symbols of a Glover, she includes a glove and a set of shears (Willsher 1985, 30 and Fig. 20). She also includes a buckle and a set of glove-stretchers among such vocational tools. This would not explain the presence of the quadruped and avine elements however. The ‘hand’ might or might not necessarily be gloved and it is unlikely to be simply a ‘symbolic’ glove. The hand holds a leash which is linked to a quadruped which is clearly a dog, possibly a hunting dog. This might suggest that the deceased engaged in hunting and the presence of a bird might also be intended to represent another type of hunting if the bird is a hawk. If the bird is
in fact a hawk then a hawkers glove could be represented rather than just a hand.
The balance of possibility at least to the writers mind is that the vocational
symbolism relates to a person engaged in the wool or cloth trade.

C9 Metalsmith’s Vocational Symbols (or Blacksmith’s arms) (crowned
hammers). St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 7D)

The three hammers on this stone are frequently and wrongly alluded to
as the vocational marks of a goldsmith. The three hammers are crowned and are
derived (at several removes) from heraldry associated with several guilds of
ferrous metal-workers but not gold-workers. The hammers found here are
vocational in meaning in that they represent the trade (or variety of trades) in
which the deceased (or one of the deceased) commemorated on this slab was
involved. The three crowned hammers are also heraldically based and clearly
derived from the arms of a guild of metalworkers. Parallels for the use of these
symbols indicate that their arrangement and details show them to be derived
from heraldry of guildsmen associated with non-precious metalworking while
their use on the slab in St. Nicholas’ is vocational in the sense that they are
indicative of trade of a deceased, their origin is heraldic and they must be dealt
with as such (See Heraldry Chapter above).

The use of crowned hammers in guild heraldry is widespread in
Scotland and the crown and hammers are used to represent a wide variety of
trades. Willsher (1985, 32) writing on the topic has this to say:

‘The Hammermen: this incorporation was granted the use of a royal crown on
its coat of arms; any craft whose work involved the use of a hammer on metal
qualified for membership. The Incorporation therefore embraced a wide range
of crafts; Armourers, Pewterers, Glovers, Saddlers, Hookmakers, Watchmakers,
Glaziers, Cutters, Goldsmiths, Gunsmiths… However the crafts belonging to the
Incorporation of Hammermen varied not only from place to place, but from time
to time; a craft might opt to firm its own incorporation; for example the
Goldsmiths at Edinburgh, the Glovers at Perth. At Selkirk the Masons belonged
to the Incorporation of Hammermen, but this seems unusual; in other small
places the Masons joined the Wrights. Many trades were content to use the
general badge of the hammermen, the royal crown and the hammer on their
monuments’.

C10  Tailor or Clothier. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 7C)

This slab to Roger Boy bears a large double-armed incised cross with
floriated terminals and a ‘moulded’ base. The shaft of the cross is flanked on the
left by a large pair of scissors and perhaps a ‘staff’, ‘yard-stick’ or measuring
stick of some sort.

The vocational marks are clearly those of a tailor or clothier (Hayward
1952, 45 (illus.) and passim, Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 159, Cat. No. 308).
The scissors is of late medieval type. Earlier shears with two truncated blades
were commonly used for the same function as scissors by clothiers and tailors.
Small examples with pointed blades were used for a variety of purposes
including the cutting of hair and nails. The average sheep shears was normally
equipped with two sharply pointed blades.

C11  Cooper or Carpenter. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 7B)

The Muri(?)han slab has the vocational symbols of either a cooper or a
carpenter. Like C10, the cross is double-armed and has foliated terminals.

On the right is a wide-bladed adze or axe. Beneath the axe is a chisel
with a ‘spear-head’ end. This is shaped like a point or pitcher type chisel such as
are used by a mason for example. The chisel could also be used as a punch for
driving wedges between staves or for punching holes for rivets for example. The
whole shape of the chisel is much more reminiscent of a mason’s rather than a
wood-worker’s chisel.

C14  Priest. A slab to Fr. Thomas O’Maen on at the Franciscan Cemetery.
(Plate 6A)

While some saints are more often than not shown bearing symbols of
their martyrdom, saintliness, knowledge, status as bishops, priests, popes,
abbesses, nuns and other positions, they are sometimes also shown bearing objects which represent their religious calling, functions and membership of a given group or order.

**C14** and **C15** both show the deceased dressed in a priest’s vestments and garbed as if they are in the act of saying mass. They both have maniples on their wrists, wear pointed hats, high heeled shoes, an amice and in each instance, carry a chalice.

The chalice and the garments both indicate that the deceased are priests who are in the process of saying mass and the chalice also indicates this. The raising of the chalice towards the mouth shows that the celebrant has reached the point in the mass where the bread and wine have already been consecrated and the priest is taking part in the very essence of the Eucharist – the eating of the body and blood of Christ. Thus the main kernel of the sacrament is portrayed.

Besides the depiction of the priest participating in the celebration of the Eucharist at the point where the bread and wine are consumed as the body and blood of Christ, these carvings, in another sense, show a priest bearing the instruments of his calling and these slabs can in that sense be said to convey vocational symbolism. The vestments and the chalice are, therefore, vocational symbols in themselves. They represent the functions and calling of the priest and though not literally the tools of the trade of those deceased who are represented, are nevertheless symbolic of their vocation and are therefore included in this category.

**C15**  
**Priest. A slab to Fr. Thomas French at the Franciscan Cemetery.**  
(Plate 5A)

This slab, like **C14** shows a priest in ecclesiastical garb with a chalice in one hand and a maniple in the other. The symbolism is the same as that shown on **C14** and discussed above.
C16 Nun. (or St. Clare) Franciscan Cemetery. (Plate 5B)

A slab to CAET DILY who is shown in ecclesiastical garb and holding a monstrance and a long staff or crosier with a foliated head.

While C14 and C15 both show deceased clerics in their ecclesiastical garb in the process of celebrating the Eucharist, they also show them carrying the chalices and wearing the garments which are symbolic of their vocational calling and can clearly be included in the category of vocational monuments discussed here. In the case of C16, the figure shown may be intended to represent either the deceased or St. Clare. The female figure is shown holding a monstrance containing a host and carrying a long crosier suggesting that she held some authority and was an abbess for example. It is unclear whether the figure is intended to represent the deceased or St. Clare herself who is also shown bearing the same items on C33.

C18 Soldier. Cenotaph to a warrior. The Franciscan Cemetery. (Plate 4A, 4C)

The supposed graveslabs of WILLIAM DE BURGO at the Franciscan Cemetery, is as we have seen in the catalogue entry, a cenotaph and he was in fact buried at Athenry, Co. Galway.

The cenotaph appear to date to circa 1645 as that date also appears on the stone. What seems clear is that the creator of this monument used several archaic features, the narrowness and the pronounced taper to give the stone an ‘ancient’ appearance but in line with Galwegian conventions did not give the stone a bevelled or chamfered edge – a feature which occurs only rarely, as on C1 and on C31, C32 and C33.

The use of the sword on this stone was along the lines of vocational symbolism as the designer of the slab seems to have wished to show the military prowess of one who was also the founder of the Franciscan foundation. In depicting a sword no attempt was made however, to archaicise the form of the weapon. The sword depicted is clearly of late medieval type. Hardiman’s (1820) engraving shows the sword rather inaccurately.
Chapter 7
Vocational Symbolism: Occupational and Recreational Tools, Weapons and Related Objects

The twisted hilt seems to have been an attempt to copy a wire-bound sword hilt, the mountings on the hilt can be paralleled on an actual basket-hilted sword found in the River Corrib and previously in Galway City Museum and now in the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin (See Rynne 1981-2, 5-26 for this and other medieval to post-medieval weaponry from the River Corrib).

Swords are commonly shown on early medieval slabs, usually alongside a cross and swords, shields and other weapons were also commonly depicted down to late medieval times. Steer and Bannerman (1997) illustrate numerous Scottish West Highland examples. Whether the designer of this stone was aware of more ancient monuments and whether these were his design source or inspiration is uncertain. It is clear however that the weapon was depicted here in a vocational sense in order to illustrate William de Burgo’s main profession, a fighter and conqueror.

C20 Unidentified (?) Vocational Tool(s). St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 9A)

This small fragment of a late medieval slab which has been reused as paving in the cemetery of St. Nicholas’ bears what might possibly be part of a vocational tool. The pattern is very difficult to interpret because the slab is so fragmentary and the design has been badly pocked-over. A cobbler’s last and a leather cutting knife with a curved blade are among the interpretations which could be suggested for the motifs. There are some similarities between the ‘motif’ and the tools depicted on a post-medieval headstone from the same site (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 248, Cat. No. 417).

C23 Heraldic Arms of a Goldsmiths Guild. Franciscan Cemetery Newtownsmith. (Plate 4B)

This stone (Plate 4B) bears the arms of a Goldsmith along with a version of the Arma Christi and what would appear to be a version of the arms of Galway.
The arms of a Goldsmith shown are derived at several removes from the arms of a guild of Goldsmiths and bears features in common with the heraldry of Dublin, Cork, Edinburgh and London guilds of Goldsmiths, as may be seen in the Heraldry Chapter.

While the presence of these heraldic arms of a guild of Goldsmiths and the legend ‘GOLDSMET ARMVS’ beneath the shield clearly allude to the vocation of one of the deceased, it is clear that they are employed to fulfil a heraldic role rather than simply just to depict the vocational tools of the trade of the deceased. The parallels for the heraldry show clearly that the Guild arms depicted have charges in common with other guild heraldry and this achievement may be an unregistered or ungranted arms adopted by a Galwegian guild of precious metal workers. The arms and its parallels are discussed in more detail in the Heraldry Chapter above. This has been paralleled in detail in Higgins (2007b, 15-27) in a comprehensive discussion of the arms of two Galway Guilds as found on C9 and C23.

C30. Blacksmith possible vocational symbols of a Metalworker, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 91A and 91B)

C30 bears what may be blacksmith’s tools, possibly a pair of tongs, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. A very worn and fragmentary slab in several pieces bears what may be tongs and the slab may therefore be part of a monument to a blacksmith or metal worker. The slab was only discovered in 2006 and is now reburied under gravel (See Higgins 2007, 12-14).

C67 Farmer (or Landowner). Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. (Plate 67A and C)

The solid, disc-headed cross at the Convent of Mercy (Plate 67C) has stylised depictions of a plough sock and share which are clearly the vocational symbols of a farmer (Higgins 1989d, 12-14 Cat. No. 18, and Cover).

Elements of a plough are the commonest utensils depicted to represent the vocation of the farmer. Sometimes the coulter, sock and plough share are
shown singly or together (often overlapped) on funerary monuments. Sometimes only two of the elements occur. Generally disconnected pieces of a plough occur on late 15th to late 17th century funerary monuments and are particularly common on late 16th to late 17th century monuments (See Macalister 1913, 209-11 for the Athenry and Higgins in Mulvey (ed.) 1998c, 1-4) for the Kiltullagh and other examples). In other instances the entire plough is shown but this tends to occur mainly in the 18th century, usually in a miniature and highly formalised fashion (See O’Danachair 1954, 14-18 for the Claregalway examples). By the late 18th and early 19th century full depictions of plough teams of horses and men occur (Siggins 1983, 64 and 1984, 29-30).

C28 Farmer / Land owner. Grounds of Merlin Park Hospital, Doughiska. (Plate 90B)

Elements of a plough, a coulter appear on this stone. There is also an annular feature with a dished centre. This may represent either a ring with which the plough coulter or the plough sock were attached to the plough or alternatively a blacksmith’s shoeing stone on which the metal rim of a cant was heat-shrunk onto the wood of the wheel. The former explanation is the most likely as it would encapsulate all of the vocational elements on the stone as those of a farmer. The stone is dated 1650.

Other Uncatalogued Monuments. Several other 18th Century Galwegian examples of funerary and non-funerary monuments with vocational symbols also occur and are listed and discussed below as they relate to the medieval and late medieval examples.

Not Catalogued. Mason. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 7E)

An 18th century headstone (now recumbent) at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church also has vocational symbols. The monument bears an epitaph to Owen McGinnis who died on the 29th of December 1760 aged 59. The vocational tools of a mason are shown and consist of a trowel, a mason’s square and a set of dividers. The stone is published in Higgins and Heringklee (1992, 155, 156, Cat.
No. 299). It is clearly the monument to a stone mason but lacking a stone carver’s chisel and mallet. The rounded top and blank lower end would appear to indicate that the stone was originally a headstone which has been reset in the floor of the North Aisle.

**Not Catalogued.**

**Cobbler. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (Plate 88B)**

The vocational symbols of a cobbler occur on this 18th century headstone. The monument to the Murphy family is dated 1731 and bears a clear representation of a man’s shoe on the lower left, below the inscription. The object to the right is more enigmatic. Several suggestions could be made. It has been suggested elsewhere that it could represent a slipper, a woman’s shoe, a shoe-horn, shoe-tree or stretcher, or even a knife used for trimming leather (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 248, Cat. No. 417).

The headstone of a cobbler at Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan dated 1782 shows an awl with a short point and a large handle, a knife for cutting leather, a brogue, pliers and a glove are all shown along with the inscription ‘Cut Me Clean’ (McCormick 1979, 12-22, Plate 1). The stone is of interest in that it provides a rare representation of an ankle-high boot or ‘brogue’ (bróg). It also shows a glove which in the 18th century were made by drapers. In this context it is interesting to note also that one of the St. Nicholas’ slabs (C8) could represent the trades of a clothier or wool merchant as easily as that of a glover.

The tools found on Scottish slabs of Shoemakers or Cardiners frequently include ‘...a crown, corinder’s knife, straight knife, nippers, pliers, sole-cutter, awl (and) lasts’ according to Willsher (1985, 34).
Other Examples

Augustinian Church, Priory Lane. (Text Fig. 31) Vocational Symbols of a Mason.

A chisel, hammer and set square are carved on the rough surface of a stone incorporated in a side wall of the Augustinian Church, Priory Lane but this is not likely to have been part of a funerary monument (Text Fig. 31). The cravings may have been made by a mason to represent his trade. The stone is incorporated in a stone faced extension to the church which was added in the 1960s but which was constructed using reused stone of medieval to post-medieval date.

The symbols of a weaver occur on a 18th century ledger at Forthill Cemetery and a 19th century depiction of a hand holding a trowel (the motifs of a mason) occur on a further ledger at that site. The symbols of a farmer occur on two early 19th century slabs at Old Rahoon Cemetery while farmers and blacksmiths motifs occur on 18th and 19th century monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery and Claddagh Cemetery. The use of vocational symbols has undergone a small scale revival on monuments in Bohermore (New Cemetery) and Rahoon (Mount St. Joseph’s) Cemeteries in Galway City and gradually hobbies as well as vocational motifs have begun to be represented with hurling, football, fishing and boating featuring strongly.
CHAPTER 8
PALAEOGRAPHY

No general work on the palaeography of Irish medieval (post-1200) funerary monuments has been published, though the Early Christian or Early Medieval Irish funerary and other monuments have been well served (See Macalister (1909), Macalister (1945) as well as Lionard (1961) and Higgitt (1996, 1996a, 1990 and 1999) as well as Thomas (1994) and Sims-Williams (2003) for some recent palaeographical and philological studies of early British and Irish inscriptions). More recently Thomson (2009) (and referenced therein) has made a specific study of the lettering on Irish European and North American funerary monuments for example. The following types of lettering can be identified on the Galwegian 13th to 17th century funerary monuments.

FORMS OF LETTERING

Several basic letter-forms occur on the Galwegian funerary monuments and these can be listed as follows:

(a) ‘Lombardic’
(b) Black Letter (or Gothic)
(c) Roman Block Capitals
(d) Mixed Roman Upper and Lower Case Inscriptions
(e) ‘Elizabethan;’ or ‘Renaissance’
(f) Italic Script
(g) Commoncase
(h) Gaelic script (Cló Gaelach)

The various forms of lettering used in the funerary inscriptions are described in some detail below. Seven main forms or combinations of forms have been identified. The palaeography of the Galwegian monuments has not been previously discussed in detail, though some notes on the St. Nicholas’
Funerary Monuments published by Higgins and Heringklee (1992) have included some comments on the palaeography of individual monuments.

The palaeography of Irish late medieval funerary monuments have rarely been discussed in detail with few exceptions (See for example Maher 1997 and Timoney 2009).

(a) Lombardic Script

Only one example of this type of script is known from Galway City, the epitaph on the so-called Crusader’s Tomb in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C1, Plates 1C, 1B and 2B). The use of the term ‘Lombardic’ is an old and traditional usage of archaeologists and of palaeographers and can be confusing (Thomson 2009, 38). It is useful here in the absence of any other agreed terminology however.

Almost all of the Irish examples of Lombardic script are found in the South East of the country and is used firstly for Norman-French inscriptions. Its use in some inscriptions in Latin is also common in the East and South East of the country during the 13th – 14th centuries. In the West of Ireland such inscriptions are extremely rare, especially west of the Shannon. The inscription on C1 is the only one known from County Galway (though a slab now at Clonfert Cathedral, Clonfert, Co. Galway but originally from the nearby Augustinian Nunnery has an epitaph in what would seem to be very worn Lombardic script) (Higgins forthcoming (C) in Higgins and Cunniffe (eds.)).

The St. Nicholas’ inscription (Plate 2B), though now worn and fragmentary in places, is well cut and has been incised probably using a very narrow point or a querk. The inscription is of a type commonly found on Irish monuments of the 13th and 14th centuries in particular and these are usually simply incised. Elsewhere in Britain and on the continent Lombardic inscriptions can be either incised, cut in low false relief or engraved with hatched backgrounds depending on the medium in which they are carved, incised or engraved (See for example Day 1910, Fig. 34 for 14th century engraved examples on brass).
Inscriptions in Norman-French occur on recumbent slabs from the South East of the country in particular. Sixteen alone are known from County Kilkenny alone according to Manning (1993, 1141-1145 and also Bradley 1980, 11-13) and examples are also known from New Ross, Co. Waterford and Youghal, Co. Cork (Manning 1993, 1145). Elsewhere there are rare examples at Castledillon, Co. Kildare (Hunt 1974, 130, 153 and 238) and the present Galwegian example, are outliers to the main distribution of such slabs. A full corpus of inscriptions in Norman-French is being prepared by Dr. John Bradley (pers. comm.).

The St. Nicholas’ example is the well preserved only one known to date from the West of Ireland and is difficult to parallel closely. In its Lombardic letter-forms it bears some resemblance to one of the two Norman-French incised slabs from Parliament Street, Kilkenny which are now exhibited in the courtyard of Rothe House, Kilkenny City (Manning 1993, 1142 and Fig. 1). This bears the same sort of initial Greek cross and three spacing dots between each of the words to the St. Nicholas’ example. The G, C and S and some of the A’s of both inscriptions are similar. Besides this, the cross-form and the additional floriated cross-arm which occurs on both this and the St. Nicholas’ slab can be fairly closely paralleled though the ‘cross-arm’ is more V-shaped in the Kilkenny Town example. The formula on the second slab from Parliament Street: GIST ICI : DEV DE LA ALME : EIT MER[CI] is partly similar to that on the St. Nicholas’ slab (Manning 1993, 1143, Fig. 2).

Manning proposes a late 13th – early 14th century date for the two Parliament Street slabs and this would appear to be the period to which all the Irish examples known to date should be assigned. Lombardic lettering was used for inscriptions both in French and Latin during this period and the use of either language does not seem to have any chronological implications (Manning 1993, 1145).

Lombardic type lettering can vary very much in quality in Irish inscriptions. A wide range of quality of inscriptions occur in Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny, for example, from carefully grooved letters with sharply cut, V-shaped
sections and expanded serifs finished with a small querk, to crudely incised simpler letter-forms which were cut with small points or punches (See Higgins in Clyne (ed.) 2007, Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and Plate 7.2).

(b) **Black Letter Script**

Though no example of Black Letter or Gothic Script has been found on any of the surviving Galwegian funerary monuments, C23 may have had such an inscription. Hardiman (1820) shows most of the inscription on C23 in Gothic lettering (apart from the words GOLDSMET ARMUS which is shown in Roman Capitals beneath the shield). In showing the inscription mainly in Gothic lettering on C23 the engraver may have been copying an actual Gothic epitaph with only one small additional section of Roman capitals. Unfortunately the stone is now lost and we cannot be sure if it was, in fact, as it is shown on the engraving. If it were actually in Black Letter script it would be unique, being the only one to survive in the entire corpus of Galwegian and Late Medieval funerary sculpture. In non-funerary sculpture several such inscriptions survive beneath heraldry and plaques bearing lions on both facades of Lynch’s Castle (Higgins 1996-7, 175-191, Plates 2, 3 and 4 and Text Fig. 40, p. 232 of the present work).

Unfortunately the historian James Hardiman (1820) in recording many of the gravestone inscriptions used Gothic lettering whereas the actual monuments (where they still survive) have epitaphs in Roman capitals. Hardiman, for example, provides the inscriptions on C14, C15 and C16 in Gothic lettering though they are actually in Roman capitals. The slab to WALTER IV MARACHAU and MARGARET NI DAVIN (C23) is the only one of the inscriptions which he gives an engraving of which shows a Gothic inscription and it is unlikely that he would have had his artist engrave something which was not on the stone. The other engravings of monuments, C18 and C82 which he illustrates in his *Miscellaneous Plate* (opposite page 316) shows the inscriptions in their correct letter-forms, even though the engravings are not entirely accurate (See Plate 19 of this work). Despite Hardiman’s preference for
recording earlier inscriptions in Gothic or Black Letter Script even when they are not, his three engravings of funerary monuments shown in his *Miscellaneous Plate* (C18, C23 and C82 of this corpus) are generally accurate (despite some discrepancies in detail) and we can therefore be relatively confident that the inscription on C23 was in fact a mixture of Black Letter script with two words in uppercase Roman letters. The reading of the inscription shown in Hardiman’s engraving does not correspond with his interpretation of his text however (Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. 1, No. 2). He gives the reading in his text as follows: “ORATE PRO ANIMABUS WALTER IV MARCACHAU ET MARGARETE NI DAVIN UXORIS EJUS, AC EORONDEM PARENTUM, QVI HUNC LAPIDEM FIERI FECERUNT, QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPICIETUR DEUS. AMEN. ANNO DNI 1597 THOMAS DAVIN FELORCIANIVERAN.

A reading however of his engraving gives the following: ‘orate pro animabus Walter ib mareachan et Margarete ni Davin Uxorij ejus. Ac eorundem Panentum Qui hunc lapidem fieri fecerunt quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen A.D. 1579’ and around the shield ‘Thomas Davin felorcianiberan GOLDSMET ARMUS’. Assuming that the IV or IU is in fact correct (and this seems highly likely as it may have been intended for Uí, a variant of O’ or Ó and one which is still used frequently in Irish) then the surname would be Uí Marcachau if corrected from Hardiman’s text, or Uí Mareachan if corrected from his illustration. Uí Marcachau sounds sufficiently like Uí Muirichú (Murphy in English) to be a variant of it. Uí Mareachan also may feasibly have been a version of an Irish surname which has been given a somewhat Anglicised spelling.

The technical difference between what is strictly Gothic Script and Black-letter is small. The lettering is the same but Black Letter is a rendering of Gothic lettering-forms in which the spaces between or inside the letters are narrower than the strokes which form the actual letters themselves (See Shepherd (1983) for numerous examples). It would seem from the surviving engraving that the inscription should be designated Black Letter rather than simply Gothic.
Despite their relative rarity in Galway, Black Letter or Gothic scripts are not unknown. Four such inscriptions occur on heraldic panels or below plaques bearing lions on the façade of Lynch’s Castle (Higgins 1996-7, 175-191) and it would not be unusual therefore if the inscription on C23 was, in fact, cut in similar letter-forms. Unfortunately the stone still awaits rediscovery. We only have the evidence of Hardiman’s drawing to indicate that this might be the case. Unfortunately Hardiman had a habit of recording inscriptions in Gothic lettering even when the inscriptions on the stones were actually cut in low false relief in Roman Capitals. Some of the characters which form parts of a few of the Merchants’ Marks on C47 and C47A are probably intended as Gothic letters and seem to be letters flanking a character shaped like the number 4 (See Plate 27A-B, C47 and Plate 25A and 25C, C47A for example).

(c) Roman Block Capitals

Roman Capitals are by far the commonest letter font found on the Galwegian sculpture generally and besides funerary monuments, it is found on doorway entablatures, fireplace keystones, armorial panels or plaques and more rarely accompanying heraldry and sets of initials on the stop-blocks of windows. A distinct feature of the Galwegian inscriptions is their relative plainness. In Galway this type of lettering is found from the mid 17th and well into the 18th century (See Thomson 2009, Fig. 77 and Higgins and Heringklee 1992, Cat. No. 76 for 18th century examples). They are invariably carved in low false relief by cutting away the background to each letter and invariably their cutting involved the use of lay-out lines and occasionally the use of compasses or templates. Invariably where spacing dots occur, they are lozenge-shaped in form and more rarely (on objects other than funerary monuments) circular pellets occur.

Most Galwegian inscriptions Roman capitals are cut in low false relief but incised Roman Capitals also occur. The letter-forms have wide serifs but beyond this are rarely elaborated on except in one instance where they have been embellished to form a so-called Elizabethan form of script (See C3 below). This script could best be described as ‘Elizabethan’ but also is found on Renaissance
style monuments in general. False relief cutting was used to carve C2, C4, C5, C6, C7, C8, C9, C10, C11, C12, C14, C15, C16, C17, C18, C44A, C45 I-III, C54, C67, C71, C72, C73 and C81. On the Memento Mori incorporated in the ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ (C82) is cut in incised Roman Capitals. A further stone, C60, is also incised in a mixture of Roman Upper and Lowercase lettering as well as partly in italics.

The Darcy and Martin doorway at the Convent of Mercy has a neat inscription in Roman Capitals which has similar letter-forms and spacing to those on C82. The doorway inscription is however much better preserved (See Higgins 1989d, Cat. No. 38, Cat. Nos. 21-22 and Cat. Nos. 47-54 along with Plates 2 and 3). Black Letter inscriptions occur on Lynch’s Castle, Galway but these are rare instances (Higgins 1996-7, 175-191 and Plate 4).

(d) ‘Elizabethan’ or ‘Renaissance’ lettering

These are really Roman Capitals with veralesque elements. Thomson (2009) illustrates an example of this type of script from the Howff Burial Ground Dundee in Scotland which is dated 1577 (Thomson 2009, Fig. 76). This occurs on only funerary monuments in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, C3. The Elizabethan lettering on this slab can be paralleled to some extent on an inscription in wood at North Walsham, England where all the letters have the wide, expanded serifs, circular and ovoid protrusions, the paired crossbars on the letter H and examples of the use of the curved-backed D such as is also found on the St. Nicholas’ inscription (See Day 1910, Fig. 114). The forking of some of the wedge-shaped serifs can also be paralleled widely in inscriptions carved in wood of 16th and 17th century date (Day 1910, Fig. 133). An inscription in stone at St. Margaret’s Church, King’s Lynn has similar semi-circular, protuberances and similar indentations in the broad serifs of the letters to the St. Nicholas’ example and is dated by Day to 1622 (Day 1910, Fig. 47) and the style is closer to the St. Nicholas’ example as it is also cut in low false relief into a stone panel. Day also illustrates a more highly formalised example of such lettering in stone
from Bishop West’s Chapel, Ely Cathedral, England which he dates to circa 1534 (Day 1910, Fig. 44).

The letter-forms found here on C3 can be paralleled in Ireland on a panel showing a pieta from Cloran Old, Co. Tipperary where the IHS monogram and the name MARIA occur on the top of the plaque. In wood the letter-forms can be closely paralleled on an inscribed timber from the Bathe House from Drogheda which is now in the Medieval Ireland display gallery of the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin. Cahill has dated the object on the basis of the letter-forms of the inscription to the mid-sixteenth century (Cahill in Ó Corrain 1981, 279-281). The plaster-work of Carrick-on-Suir Castle, Co. Tipperary, also bears numerous examples of similar lettering in what is one of the few examples of an Elizabethan manor house to survive in Ireland (For a brief history see Killanin and Duignan 1967, 143).

The epitaph on C3 (Cat. Fig. 3), then, bears an inscription which is basically in Roman capitals but with Renaissance or Elizabethan features. Day (1910) used the apt term ‘Quasi-Elizabethan’ to describe similarly elaborated letter-forms (Day 1910, Fig. 115).

The decorative features which differentiate the letter-forms from Roman Capitals are the use of bulbous, D-shaped and C-shaped semi-circular knobs on the ascenders and the exaggeration of the splayed, wedge-shaped serifs and the hollowing or ‘notching’ of those serifs. The serifs are sometimes given the appearance of ‘fish-tails’.

(e) **Italic Script**

By and large inscriptions with Italic lettering are late in date everywhere and the Galwegian examples like C60 provide particularly good examples of the late developed forms of this letter font (See also Text Figs. 35, 37 and 38A of this work). The sloping form of such lettering is derived ultimately from the use of the pen in hand-written inscriptions and according to Day (1910) ‘...it was largely adopted by the masons of the 17th and 18th centuries, who copied even
the more elaborate flourishes of the writing-master.’ (Day, 1910, XX, Fig. 132 and also Figs. 135 and 136 for examples of penmanship from 1660-1736.)

(f) **Common Case Script**

This sort of script is very rare in Galway and occurs only on very late monuments of post-medieval date (Text Fig. 38).

Some monuments have a mix of several lettering styles in the same inscription, for example the Eyre monument dated 1683 and 1739 in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C60). This is incised in Roman Upper and Lower-case lettering as well as partly in italics (Text Fig. 38A, p. 226). This is an example of a type of monument which is more at home in late 17th century British monuments. The same stone also bears some italic script which is usually of 18th rather than 19th century date in Ireland, though many exceptions do occur.

C19 which is known solely from Hardiman’s drawings and is presumed to be from Galway City seems to have had both Roman and Irish Gaelic letter forms in its inscriptions (Cat. Fig. 19). This lettering is shown in too stylised a form to allow for much meaningful comment but it at least attested some use an Irish manuscript font on a late probably 17th century monument. What seems to be similar lettering occurs on one of the surviving fragmentary panels which bore the apitaph of Tiobard-na-Long, Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo which dates from the early 1630s (Higgins 2011, 103-116). In that case the name is given partly in Roman capitals and partly in Gaelic script reading: ‘THIBBOTT  NA  LONG’. Mixed and partial inscriptions in Gaelic and other scripts sometimes occur on other late and post-medieval monuments and other carvings. One occurs on a keystone of a fireplace from Park, Co. Galway (See Costello 1940, 89-100 for this chimneypiece fragment). The O’Tiarnagh monument at St. Nicholas’ C6 (Plate 14A) makes use of some Gaelic Ds in what is otherwise a Roman Capitals inscription. While these Ds may be a throw back to 13th – 14th century ‘Lombardic’ scripts it is much more likely that they like
the Gaelic Renaissance ornament on the upper part of the monument are derived from a contemporary \textit{(circa 1580)} Gaelic script.

Mixed lettering styles are very common. A mix of Upper Case and Lower Case Roman is common on 18th century monuments (See Thomson 2009, Figs. 92 and 123).
CHAPTER 9
ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM

In general, the iconography and symbolic motifs found in the Galwegian funerary monuments do not vary substantially from those found elsewhere in Ireland during the Middle Ages and late medieval times. Galway does not have the same density of monuments as other parts of the country however. Unlike the East and South East of the country for example pre-15th century monuments are very rare in Galway City. In the late medieval period too, there are few of the effigial, box and niche-tombs such as are found in Munster and Leinster. The lack of large scale monuments of box or altar-tomb form which are normally decorated on their sides and fonts with several figures, and often rich iconography means that the same range of saints and other figured scenes with their accompanying iconography attributes, motifs and so on, do not occur in Galway. To a great extent the West of Ireland also lacks the early 13th-14th century effigial slabs found so frequently in the east and south east of Ireland (Hunt 1974, 119-142, Vol. 1) and to a lesser extent the midlands and Meath. Exceptions are rare but include a recently discovered head-slab with a foliated cross from Loughrea, Co. Galway found in 1999.

Most of what occurs in Galway is, in any case, late medieval in date with few complex items of symbolism or iconography pre-dating the late 15th or early 16th centuries, and much of it dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. The motifs do not vary much from those found in late medieval Europe generally and there are few motifs or themes that are not found commonly in Ireland or Britain with the exception for instance of depictions of St. Patrick and his usual attributes.

A perusal of a recent work by Gray on Welsh religious iconography shows the same iconographical motifs which occur in Wales occur elsewhere in Britain (Compare Gray (2000) plates with those in Duffy (1992) for instance, or those found in the important corpus by Tasker (ed. Beaumont) (1993) of British medieval church art). The comparison shows that the general themes and motifs
found in Ireland and Britain are broadly similar, even if the range of saints and their attributes found in Britain is much more varied and larger.

Despite this general similarity between iconographical motifs generally however, detailed analysis of the scenes shown on the monuments show some very interesting and marked variations in the Galwegian monuments. Some of these differences have implications for the dating of the sculpture. Others seem to indicate the possible source of inspirations behind the motifs more clearly as a result of the varieties which occur. Some of the iconography finds some of its latest manifestations in Galway City and these are apparent trends which are influenced by the iconography and symbolism associated with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as well, as will be seen below. Depictions of the Arma Christi and the Rosary in the 16th and 17th centuries are motifs which would have been considered to be Counter Reformation iconography for example. Some motifs common before the religious divisions of the 16th and 17th centuries would have been acceptable before the Reformation but not during or after it, at least among the governing authorities of Britain and Ireland. These would include various depictions of the Trinity, inscriptions requesting prayers for the souls of the deceased and so on. Saints generally became frowned upon by Protestants and while personal heraldry or weepers consisting of family members were more acceptable on large tombs of the Protestant upper and middle class.

Some iconography naturally reflects the political-cum-religious beliefs of those who patronised the sculpture and some of it was destroyed or damaged for religious or political reasons by opponents of such beliefs. That much of it survived at all is wonderful.

The following iconographical and symbolic themes and motifs can be identified on the Galwegian carvings and are explored under the following headings below:-
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Chapter 9
Iconography and Symbolism

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1. **THE ANNUNCIATION**

The Annunciation to the Virgin is a very rare scene by Irish iconography and is depicted in Galway City only on C22 which is now lost (Plate 5D and Cat. Fig. 21).

This stone, of which only a drawing survives, showed what seems to be a kneeling nun in a habit. This was presumably Mother Maria Gabriel, alias Helen Martin, whose tomb this was, dressed seemingly in the habit of the Franciscan Order. It is also possible that what may have been intended was St. Clare’s Vision of the Annunciation. Above this was a depiction of the Annunciation with the Angel Gabriel appearing to the Virgin Mary (Plate 5D and Fig. 21). The drawing by Raymond Piper in Hayward’s book seemed also to depict a dove representing the Holy Spirit (Hayward 1952, 56-57). The Archangel Gabriel seemed to extend his hands in the direction of the Virgin.
Mary but it is unclear whether the Saint holds an object in his hand or not. Often Gabriel holds a Sceptre or a lily in his hand. Alternatively lilies occur among the flowers shown in a vase usually depicted in the many medieval and late medieval depictions of the Annunciation but the drawing of this lost stone is far too sketchy to be certain that this iconography occurred. The dove is represented by just a few sketchy lines in Piper’s drawing.

The Annunciation occurs on the well-known Crickstown (Co. Meath) ‘Apostle Font’. The Angel Gabriel is shown genuflecting in one panel while in the panel to the right, the Virgin Mary and the dove representing the Holy Ghost are depicted (Roe 1968, 21, Plate VII).

The occurrence of the Annunciation is apt in a sense on a funerary monument like C22 because the person to whom the monument was erected has the name (probably taken ‘in religion’ after she became a nun) of Gabriel, the angel which according to post-Biblical tradition was the Angel of the Annunciation. An example of the same theme occurs on a carved panel at the Dominican Church, Tralee, Co. Kerry. This appears to be based on English alabaster carvings of the 15th or early 16th century. The Annunciation also represented the moment of the Incarnation of Christ – the defining event in Christianity which lead to the Birth of Christ and eventually to Christ’s sacrifice at the Crucifixion which became the occasion of the Salvation of Mankind (See Gray 2000, 9-10 for the Annunciation in Welsh art and more generally, Boss (2000) for the iconography of the Annunciation and Incarnation). It seems likely that the scene is copied from a painting or perhaps an altar piece. It was one of the commoner themes found in British and Continental Churches and is also found on English alabaster carvings for example. The annunciation on this slab is a good example of the use of a Counter-Reformation piece of iconography which directly reinforces the theological significance of the Virgin Birth and the importance of the Virgin Mary. For British alabasters of the 15th century featuring the Virgin Mary see illustrations in St. John-Hope (1890, 669-708). For English alabasters in Ireland see also Hunt (1975) and Hunt and Harbison (1976, 310-23).
2. **THE CRUCIFIXION**

The Crucifixion, the most common and potent symbol of Christianity, began to be represented pictorially from about the 4th century AD onwards (See O’Rahilly (ed. Gaugan) 1985 for the crucifixion generally). The cross and crucifixion began to be portrayed more commonly at either end of the Middle Ages in Ireland. It is of most frequent occurrence on the Irish High Crosses of the 9th to 10th (and again in the 12th) centuries (See Harbison 1992, 426 under ‘crucifixion’) and only became very numerous again on stone carvings (though it is common in metalwork) from the 15th and more particularly from the 16th to 17th centuries when it occurs mainly on funerary monuments. The Crucifixion was immensely popular on headstones and later on free-standing crosses of the 18th to early 19th, and mid-19th to early 20th centuries respectively. Irish Medieval cross slabs of the 12th to 14th centuries though they invariably bear crosses, rarely have full depictions of the Crucifixion. Though a 12th century example has recently been recognised at Liathmore Mochaemog, Co. Cork (Ní Ghrádaigh 2009, 26-30). Only three examples of late (16th-17th century) Galwegian monuments bear depictions of the Crucifixion. A panel, C51, Plate 30B, is possibly from a tomb, wall monument or reredos. It is at the Dominican Church, Claddagh. The Crucifixion also occurs (C45 I, Plates 30A and 31B) at the Franciscan Cemetery. A miniature example also occurs on the same tomb there St. Dominic is shown holding a crucifix and roses while receiving the Stigmata on C45 III (Plate 31F). St. Francis rather than Dominic is most often seen receiving the stigmata in this manner in medieval art.

In all cases the Crucified Christ is shown naked apart from *perizonium* or loincloth tied around his waist. In all cases a simple, unornamented loincloth with no elaborate knotting is shown, and this can be found also in Irish wooden carvings of the crucifixion, as well as in non-funerary carvings in stone. A 17th century crucifixion from Tynaugh, Co. Galway and other 17th and 18th century Tynagh crucifixes are published by Egan (1956-7, 33-79, Plates III, 3 and 4).

In both of the larger Galwegian scenes the crucified Christ is shown with his head bearing to one side on a Galway cross with a stepped base. He is
shown wearing a *perizonium* and is depicted long haired and bearded. Jesus Christ is also shown flanked by two of the three Marys, Mary Magdalene and his Mother seem to be those represented in these instances.

On the large Franciscan Graveyard scene (**C45 III**) the Christ figure is shown with his feet crossed and nailed to the cross. The nail head is indicated on the uppermost foot. The cross is a plain one and has a high base with four steps (Plate 30A).

Up until *circa* 1983 the Crucifixion Scene now in the porch of Claddagh Church (**C51**) was much more complete and had stood (set in the ground) outside the old Priory buildings (See Cat.Fig. 47). It was later broken and a large segment of the top of this stone is now missing (Plate 30B). Its top was originally rectangular in shape. It is most likely to have come from the short end of a table-tomb or less likely a wall-tomb, but it is also possible given its large size that it served the latter some other function. Its height may suggest that like **C48, C49** and **C50** it may have been set in a wall above an altar. Similar panels are occasionally set as part of a series of plaques which in a wall without a recessed wall-tomb. There are 17th century examples at Spiddal and at Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway (Plate 64A, C and D) and Turlough, Co. Mayo, for example - most of the large rectangular plaques bearing the Crucifixion which are now loose would seem to have come from free-standing table-tombs or partly free standing wall-tombs which have become dismantled over the years through others of the smaller West of Ireland examples would seem always to have been wall plaques and may not have come from funerary monuments at all (See Plate 64. For the examples at Turlough, Co. Mayo and similar crucifixion scenes see Higgins 1997, 66-85, Plates 6, 7 and 8).

Hunt (1974, 246) lists twenty-four examples of depictions of the crucifixion on tombs which date between 1200 and 1600 (Hunt 1974, Vol. I Appendix II). To these later Galwegian examples many other 17th century depictions will be added. The two Galwegian examples from the Franciscan Cemetery **C45 III** and the Dominican Priory, Claddagh (**C51**) are atypical and late Crucifixion Scenes (Plates 30A and 30B). They are unusual in their
Iconography but have as we have seen much in common with Crucifixion Plaques as well as funerary monuments from the West of Ireland. The wooden Galway group of 17th century date from Tynagh and a Crucifix from the late 17th or early 18th century, from the same place must also be taken into account (Egan 1956-7, 33-79).

3. **THE CRUCIFIX HELD BY ST. DOMINIC**

   This occurs only once, on **C45 III**, (Plate 31F). The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion panels at the Franciscan Cemetery. The scene shows St. Dominic in the habit of his order (he is named in an inscription beneath him).

   This scene in which the Crucifixion is held aloft at an angel is more typical of depictions of St. Francis receiving the stigmata and it is obviously based on such a depiction. Numerous examples could be cited. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata in this manner are common in Books of Hours for instance (See Evans 1992, Plate 61 for an example in the 15th century Sforza Book of Hours now in the British Library). St. Francis is often shown receiving the Stigmata as gushings of blood or as rays of light from a crucified Christ on the Cross (See Text Fig. 43A: St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata by Giotto, *circa* 1300 which is now in the Louvre, Paris). The crucifix held by the saint is entwined with roses. Irish parallel for the Galwegian example of St. Dominic receiving the stigmata which shows the influence and source is derived from typical scenes of St. Francis receiving the stigmata occurs on the Colman-Gould chalice of 1639 which was made in Cork. This also shows the saint standing with hands outheld and with rays or lines from the crucified Christ’s wounds linked to the wounds of St. Francis’ stigmata (Krasnodebska, 2009, Plate 20). The same sort of scene with St. Francis receiving the stigmata and with a crucifix to the right of and above him and showing the saint with the wounds of the stigmata on his hands and on visible foot and with the knotted girdle and a rosary beads (as on the Franciscan Cemetery depiction of St. Dominic) is to be found on the Everard Chalice of 1667 from Clonmel. This is now in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (Krasnodebska 2009, Plate 9).
St. Dominic was invariably associated with lilies which are his common attribute in art. However, the widespread belief that the saint was the inventor (rather, more accurately, than the propagator of) the Rosary is the most likely explanation for the use of roses here. The Rosary (Rosarium) too, being a meditation on the life, mission and suffering of Christ is also and appropriately alluded to in this piece of iconography (For the role of St. Dominic in the popularisation of the Rosary see Winston-Allen 1999, 76-79).

4. **THE CRUCIFIXION FLANKED BY MARY THE MOTHER OF CHRIST AND ST. JOHN**

This piece of iconography occurs on C51 (Plate 30B) at the Dominican Church, Claddagh. This is by far the commonest way in which the Crucifixion is depicted in Irish medieval and Late Medieval art and a glance at Hunt’s *corpus* will show that over twenty examples of it occur in Ireland but there are probably many more post-1600 examples which are outside the scope of Hunt’s *corpus*. Hunt uses the term ‘Our Lady’ to describe Mary as Mother of Christ in his description of the scene. The theme is also found on other examples mostly of later date, as we shall see below. Hunt’s list (1974, 246) included an example at Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary where the figure of St. John is broken away (Hunt 1974, 246 and Cat. No. 240, Plate 330, and the complex Crucifixion Scene from Ennis Friary Cat. No. 5C2, Plate 239) where the Three Marys and St. John occur. Taking these into account there are some twenty-two pre-1600 medieval and late medieval examples listed by Hunt. A panel at Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny at the west end of the tomb of Walter Brenach and Katherine Butler, 1501 bears a Crucifixion scene on its own (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 123C, Plate 275). Hunt (1974 Appendix II, 246) for a list of representations of the Crucifixion of Irish Sculpted funerary monuments (‘Tomb Surrounds *et al.* Lists of Iconographical Subjects with details of Attributes etc.’).

The examples cited by Hunt are found predominantly on sculpture in Munster and Leinster with the largest number of examples occurring in Co. Kilkenny (with examples at Gowran, Inistioge, Johnstown, St. Canice’s
Cathedral, Kilkenny City (2 examples). Four examples occur in Co. Tipperary, including two at the Cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, a third at Holy Cross (where the depiction of St. John is broken away), and a fourth at Thurles. Three examples occur in Co. Kildare, at Kildare Cathedral, at the Carmelite Priory in Kildare and at Dunfierth in the same county. Two examples occur in Co. Meath, at Duleek and at St. Erc’s Hermitage Slane, two examples occur at Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo and two examples also occur in Co. Waterford, at Lismore and Mothel.

The juxtaposition of the Virgin and St. John on either side of crucified Christ as found in C51 at the Dominican Church Claddagh, is commoner by far in Irish Medieval sculpture than depictions of Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Christ on either side of the bases of the cross (Like the depiction of that motif which is found on the Apostles Saints and Crucifixion panels at the Franciscan Cemetery (C45)). In the West of Ireland, it became common mainly from the 17th century onwards for depictions of Mary the Mother of Christ and Mary Magdalene to flank the Crucifix. At the same time the more traditional pairing of Mary the Mother of Christ and St. John still continued to occur well into the 17th century and can be seen in wood carvings as well as stone carvings.

The 17th century Calvary group from Tynagh, Co. Galway depicts St. John on the left of the cross and Mary the Mother of Christ on the right. This exceptionally well-preserved example retains some of its original paintwork. It may provide a good idea of what the Galway scenes on Irish medieval rood screens and rood lofts may have looked like (See Egan 1956-7, 69-70 Plate III (3) and MacLeod 1945a, 198). The Dominican Church panel C51 (Plate 30B) is, as we have seen, just as likely to have been a wall panel or part of a reredos as a tomb fragment. Given the rarity of panelled box-tombs with figurual scenes in Galway City the possibility that the fragment is non-funerary in function seems all the greater. Its height, late date, and style might also suggest that it came from a reredos. On the other hand it might have come from a dismantled wall-monument. The Mourning Virgin and St. John are among the commonest subjects associated with the crucifixion. Shorr has traced the ultimate origin of these type of flanking mourning figures and she concludes that ‘... it is still
apparent that the ...figures of the Virgin and St. John are the unmistakable descendants of the Hellenistic State and of the captives in Roman triumphal art’ (Shorr 1940, 61-69).

5. THE CRUCIFIXION FLANKED BY MARY THE MOTHER OF CHRIST AND MARY MAGDALEN

St. Mary Magdalen is not commonly depicted in Irish medieval sculpture until the 17th century when several West of Ireland sculptures show her. In fact the present work is the first place in which her place in Irish art is discussed in any detail. This Saint is rarely depicted in Irish earlier Medieval art (except on the High Crosses). She is said to have been healed by Christ and to have been present at the Crucifixion and she is often confused with other females associated with the life of Christ. She is frequently mixed up with Mary of Bethany, sister of Lazarus and legend has it that she travelled with Lazarus to Marseilles (Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 150). In England, she is depicted more commonly on her own with her usual attributes of long flowing hair and the ointment jar from which she anointed the feet of Christ (See Tasker 1993, Pl. 5.166 for a depiction of her in a screen at Bramfield, Suffolk, and for a list of other occurrences of this saint in British iconography).

She is also depicted only rarely in Irish funerary sculpture, especially that of the late middle ages. In Galway she accompanies Mary the Mother of Christ at the foot of the Cross on C45 (Plate 30A).

Mary Magdalen is rarely depicted on her own. She occurs among a row of saints and a bishop all of whom are shown in ogee headed arcade on the side of an early 16th century box-tomb at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny. There she is shown holding a jar of ointment, which is her usual symbolic attribute. Hunt lists her as occurring twice on the St. Canice’s tomb and gives her attributes in each case as a ‘Box of Ointment’ (See Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 256, Cat. No. 147D, Plates 311 and 313 for the St. Canice’s Tomb. Hunt, 1974, dates it to the first half of the 16th century and see also Cockerham 2006, Plate 24b, 464 for another illustration of this scene).
Hunt (1974) in his corpus of pre-1600 figure sculpture lists the occurrence of this saint only twice, both times on the tomb of an unknown woman at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City. Hunt (1974) ‘Appendix II: Tomb Surrounds et al. Lists of Iconographical and Hagiographical Subjects with Details of Attributes etc.’, 245-260 especially 256. The Magdalen is listed as occurring on his Cat. No. 147B and Cat. No.147D, (Plates 311 and 313 respectively) where her attribute in each case is a box of ointment.

It seems unusual that St. Mary Magdalen should occur twice on the same tomb chest, once on a side panel where she is shown with plaited hair and holding a large, high, lidded ointment jar, and again on a fragmentary panel with the Bulter arms in its left spandrel at the west end of the (reconstructed) tomb chest where she carries a similar ointment jar and has long flowing hair. Another woman who is shown in an attitude of mourning also occurs. This may be Mary the Mother of Christ. The same tomb has a depiction of a woman in an attitude of mourning with the left hand holding the elbow of the right hand which is raised to the side of her face. She is obviously carved by the same person and bears a close resemblance in the treatment of her hair and facial features to the Magdalen with ointment jar on the west-end of the same reconstructed tomb. Could it be that one of these depictions is simply one of the group of women who went to the Tomb of Christ at his burial or one of the group to whom Christ appeared after his Resurrection?

The ‘female mourner’ on this tomb uses a face-touching gesture normally associated with St. John when he is shown at the base of the Cross of Christ. See for example a tomb chest at St. Canice’s (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 142F, Plate 286).1

On the Crucifixion Scenes which are included in Hunt’s corpus, where they have flanking figures – all have Mary the Mother of Christ (The Virgin) with St. John rather than with St. Mary Magdalen. Hunt cites no instance where St. Mary Magdalen is depicted as a mourning figure at the base of the Cross. He does though list her as being among the Three Marys at the base of the cross.

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1 This mourning gesture of ancient origin and can be traced ultimately to Roman funerary sculpture (See for example Brilliant 1963, 44 and 49-55).
along with Angels, Longinus, Stephaton, soldiers, a centurion and St. John on one of the tomb fragments incorporated into the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare (Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 256 and 246, and Plate 239). The latter depiction is, however, unusual and like another crowded depiction of the Crucifixion at St. Multose’s Church, Kinsale, is likely to have been derived from a foreign source. Most of the Irish depictions are usually simple and uncluttered with figures and by far the most complex of Irish medieval crucifixion panels occur on 15th and 16th century sculpture at Ennis Friary and St. Multoses Church respectively. The latter panel is more likely, in any case, to have come from a reredos or an altar frontal than from a tomb (See illustration in Darling 1895, Plate II, No. 10).

Depictions of two of the Marys rather than representation of St. John and St. Mary Mother of Christ) seem to become more common in post-medieval times. Of the Crucifixion scenes mainly from tomb chests and one tomb slab catalogued by Hunt and dated mostly to the 15th and 16th centuries with only a single 14th century exception. Of these which show Christ on the Cross accompanied by other figures most have St. John on the Cross and Mary the Mother of Christ (Hunt 1974, 256).

No corpus of later post-medieval monuments bearing the Crucifixion has yet been attempted, but it is obvious that from the 17th century onwards where figures are shown accompanying the Crucified Christ two of the Three Marys are usually shown rather than St. John and Mary the Mother of Christ. Further examples may be cited on Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion panels from the Franciscan Graveyard (C45, Plates 30A) the Crucifixion panel at the Dominican Church, Claddagh, (C51, Plate 30B) and a small panel from Spiddal, Co. Galway (now reused in the façade of the Celtic Revival Church there (Plate 64C).

Examples occur on panels from wall-tombs at Kilnaboy, Co. Clare (See Gilmore 1999, 27-32), Turlough, Co. Mayo (Higgins 1997, 66-85 and especially 72-79 and Plates 3, 6 and 8), Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway (Plates 64A and D), and on the end panel of Dean Walter Walsh’s tomb chest (dated 1621) in Kildare.
Cathedral, Co. Kildare (King 1991, 83-85, Plate 31 Cat. No. 16). The latter has a stylized folk art style St. Mary Magdalen and the Virgin Mary on the end panel of a late tomb chest. Other examples occur at Iniscealtra, Co. Clare (Macalister 1916, 93-174 No. 6 and Plates VII-XXVIII and especially Plate XXVII) and a crucifixion panel from Ardcarne, Co. Leitrim\(^2\) dated to the 1680s to cite but some examples of typical 17th century Crucifixion depictions. On the tomb chest of Walter Walsh dating to 1621 at Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare has a very stylised, folk art depicting St. Mary Magdalen and the Virgin Mary flank the Cross of Christ on the end panel of a late tomb-chest (King 1991, 83-4 Cat. No. 16, Plate 31).

The reasons for the revival of the iconography of St. Mary Magdalen in the 17th century are as yet not understood in detail. It may be a theme which, like the cult of St. Patrick as a national saint, was deliberately revived as a piece of Counter-Reformation symbolism. The theme of the repentant sinner who became a saint is apparently intended to be represented however. It could be that Magdalen is shown to reinforce the idea of Redemption being possible through the intervention of herself and the Virgin Mary for example. This belief in the power of saints to intervene would have been a profoundly Anti-Reformation or Counter-Reformation idea.

5A. MARY MAGDALEN

The medieval Christian image of St. Mary Magdalen as a prostitute or whore is an inaccurate image derived from late apocryphal tales, and there is no

\(^2\) Another possibility must be considered in relation to C39, that it came from a wall-tomb or was incorporated in a large, free-standing pillar-like monument accompanied by an inscription. This is based of course on the manner in which a remarkably similar panel at Ardcarne, Co. Leitrim is constructed in the cemetery of the church at that site. The detail is so remarkably similar that one might incline towards the belief that both crucifixion panels were carved by the same man. The fact that in each instance the figure of Christ has his fingers stretched out in an attitude of blessing and the general style of both carvings would tend to support the idea that both carvings are by the same hand and may have had a similar function.

The reason for the revival of the iconography of St. Mary Magdalen in the 17th century are, as yet, unclear. It may be a theme that, like the cult of St. Patrick as a national saint, was deliberately revived as a piece of Counter-Reformation symbolism, iconography and politico-religious creed.
real evidence from the biblical sources that she was a prostitute. Nevertheless, she is very frequently depicted as a repentant sinner in religious iconography.

Late medieval tradition identifies the Saint with the woman from which seven devils were cast out and with the repentant prostitute who anointed Christ’s head and feet, and who later anointed his body with ointment after his death. The various events and the persons involved are often confused. She is often confused, for example, with Mary of Bethany, sister of Lazarus and also with another woman ‘who was a sinner’. According to the Gospels Mary Magdalen was healed by Jesus and was present at the Crucifixion as she is shown on C45 (Plate 30A) and C51 (Plate 30B). She is also named on C45.

Typically she is shown with long hair in both depictions of her on the Galwegian monuments. Her frequently found attribute, a pot or jar of ointment, is absent from her depiction on C45 and C51, though other earlier representations of her on tomb panels show her holding a jar of ointment, as we have seen.

6. **THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST SHOWN BLESSING**

**The Crucifixion showing Christ Blessing (with outstretched fingers), C51**

The Crucifixion panel from the site of the Dominican Abbey (C51, Plate 30B) seems just as likely to have come from a reredos or even a wall-tomb of some sort or tomb panel. This is a rare and apparently late variant on the depiction of the Crucified Christ and finds few parallels in Ireland, as we shall see below. If one is to judge by the number of instances from Munster and parts

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3 Tasker, (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 150. See also Clemens (ed. and trans.) ‘The cult of Mary Magdalen in Late Medieval France’, in Head (ed. 2000, 655-674). ‘From the time of Gregory the Great (590-604) until the publication of Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaple’s De Marie Magdalena, Concerning Mary Magdalen in 1519, the figure known as Mary Magdalen was actually a composite of three biblical women: the unnamed sinner in Luke 7 who washed Christ’s feet with her tears and dried them with her hair, Mary of Bethany (the sister of Martha and Lazarus), and Mary Magdalen, the woman to whom Christ appears first after His resurrection. In later medieval legends, Mary Magdalen travelled to Marseilles, where she preaches to the inhabitants, converting the pagans in southern France to Christianity. In separate legends, Mary retreated to a nearby cave and remained in penitent seclusion for thirty years, fasting and being raised daily to sing with the angels. When she died, her body was interred by Maximinus, one of her travelling companions, in his basilica where it remained until the eight or ninth century, when it was stolen and brought to Vézelay’. 

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of Leinster where box-tombs or altar tombs (usually with arcaded panels) have a depiction of the Crucifixion of one end, then we might expect that it formed one of the narrow end of a free stand box-tomb or a partly free-standing altar-tomb. Two monuments, one at Ardcarne, Co. Leitrim and another at Cloonshanville, Co. Roscommon however, bear crucifixion panels showing the Crucified Christ Blessing and the panels in each case are tall ones like the Dominican Priory one. This suggests that C51 may have come from a wall-panel rather than a box-tomb.

The height of the Dominican panel (even in its fragmentary state) is however somewhat greater than that of many of the Munster and Leinster Crucifixion Panels which are incorporated in free-standing or partly free-standing box-tombs however, and one might tentatively suggest that this carving might also have come from either another type of funerary monument or altar, or might have been set in a wall in some manner. Unfortunately, this can only remain speculation until further evidence to support these theories can be found.

What is undoubtedly the best parallel for C51 is to be found on the large mural monument to the McDermotts and Creans at Ardcarne, Co. Leitrim. This monument which dates to the 1680s has a crucifixion panel which is flanked by a display of the Symbols of the Passion. Below this panel are further panels which are conjoined and bear the arms of the McDermotts and Creans which are shown separately rather than being impaled (found in a single shield). The entire group of panels is partly enclosed in a moulded frame. Perhaps C51 was mounted in a monument like the Ardcarne panel or some other sort of monument such as a reredos for example.

The Ardcarne Crucifixion panel, like the Dominican Church one in Galway, seems to have been deliberately vandalised. Like the Galway City one (C51), the head of Christ at Ardcarne seems also to have been deliberately disfigured. Even accounting for vandalism and weathering the two sculptures are remarkably similar even down to the detail of having two of Christ’s fingers stretched outwards in the gesture of blessing on both sculptures. The carving on the entire monument is also very close in style, especially the heraldic details.
(the mantling, tassels, helmets and so on) to much of the Galwegian sculpture. The Creans had Galwegian links and their arms are among those shown on the *Pictorial Map of Galway* of the 1660s and one might well speculate as to whether a Galway sculptor might have been employed to carve the monument which is dated 1668. The blessing gesture with two fingers pointing forward is also found elsewhere in Galway City on C44A a heraldic panel with the arms of Sir Peter French and his wife Marie (or Maria) Browne flanked by St. Patrick and St. Nicholas. The latter saint’s left hand has been broken away but the former saint raises his hand in the same attitude of blessing.

The heraldic detail is closely similar to that of C81 and C59, the Browne and Blake monument at the Franciscan Cemetery and Convent of Mercy respectively (See Plates 22B and 73C). A stone Crucifix in the former Augustinian Church, Ballyhaunis also has the Crucified Christ indicating or blessing with two fingers of each hand outstretched.

The stiff hair on the sides of Christ’s head is similar to that of the Dominican panel (C51, Plate 30B) as well as on a crucifix at Ross Errilly Friary, Co. Galway (Plate 63B), which like the Dominican panel, depicts Christ wearing a cap of some sort (The hands of the Ross Errilly example are broken off).

Parallels for the depiction of the hands of the Crucified Christ shown in an attitude of Blessing, on C51, are extremely rare. (The Ardcarne and Cloonshanville examples excepted). These Crucifixion Panels and the stone Crucifix from Kilcormac, Co. Offaly are direct and definite examples in stone. Parallels have been searched for in a large number of works including Harbison’s *corpus* of High Crosses (1992) and his general book on the crucifixion iconography in Irish art (2000), nor can a definite example be found

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4 Apart from the obvious similarity in detail between the heraldry of C47 with the Blake arms at the Convent of Mercy (Plate 56D) and with C69. The Browne Monument at the Franciscan Cemetery (Plate 22B, the mantling, tassels and helmet can also be paralleled to a lesser extent with the sculpture of the Sir Peter French tomb at the cemetery, C32A and B (Plates 32B and C, 33B). the carving of the low relief stylised pieces of foliage with simple crossed stems may also be paralleled on the 17th century tomb at Kilnaboy, Co. Clare.
in O’Rahilly’s (1985) international study of the Crucifixion, or in any of the other standard works on the topic.

The attitude of blessing by the Crucified Christ is generally very rare on Irish medieval and late medieval stone sculptures except where clerics including bishops are shown Blessing. While Christ is frequently shown Blessing in Post-Resurrection scenes he is only very rarely shown Crucified and Blessing at the same time. On a slab showing the Trinity from St. Mary’s Church, Kilkenny City (but now at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City) a depiction of God the Father holding the Crucified God the Son on a Cross in front of him while a dove (God the Holy Ghost) hovers near his right hand. One of God the Father’s hands is shown open flat, the other hand (the right hand is shown in the attitude of blessing) the thumb and the first two fingers bent towards the wrist (See Hunt 1974, 193, Cat. No. 152 Vol.1 and Plate 302 Vol. 2). The same motif is found on the east-end of the Northern side-panel of a Purcell tomb at St. Werburg’s in Dublin City, where God the Father is shown holding a cross with the Crucified Christ (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 49B-C, Plate 205). A dove representing the Holy Ghost (Spirit) occurs below his mouth. He holds one hand with the finger upright and palm out, where the right hand is raised in the same manner described above. At Kilcormac Priory, Co. Offaly, there is a stone crucifix (rather than a panel) with a very detailed corpus figure with his head leaning on one shoulder and having long hair, a moustache and well-trimmed forked beard in the 17th century style. He is shown wearing a crown of thorns and has a simple penizonium. The INRI occurs at the top of the cross. The feet are fastened with a single nail, the hands with one each, the two first fingers of each hand are shown pointing outwards, the rest are folded flat against the palm (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 210, Plate 340).

Christ is often shown emerging from the tomb and holding a cross or banner in the left hand while making the same sign of blessing and/or victory with the right hand. Many examples can be cited of this. An example is found on the front slab of an early 16th century double-tomb at Athboy, Co. Meath (See

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5 Among the works searched for examples of this piece of iconography include the following, Harbison (2000), Harbison (1992) and O’Rahilly (ed. Gaughan) (1985).
Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 182C Plate 203 Vol. 1 and Plate 213, Vol. 2). Christ seems to be making the same gesture as he emerges from the tomb holding a cross-staff with a swastika, the symbol of resurrection in the left hand on the east-end of the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary (*circa* 1470) (See Hunt 1974, Vol. 1, Cat. No. 501, 124-5, Vol. 2, Plates 241 and 243 for the Ennis tomb fragment, which has resurrection scenes which can be paralleled on English Nottingham alabasters showing this same theme). The first two fingers of his right hand again seem to be raised while the second two fingers are folded. The gesture is difficult to interpret with any certainty, however, as the hand is damaged.

7. **THE INSTRUMENTS OR SYMBOLS OF THE PASSION**

The various instruments or objects associated with Christ’s death and passion and with the events leading up to the Crucifixion are very commonly depicted in medieval art and iconography (Stokes 1898, 137-140; Roe 1983, 527-534; O’Farrell 1980, 33-7; O’Farrell 1983, 535-541 and O’Keeffe 2001, 155-174). The *Arma Christi* is, as mentioned above, a variant of the Symbols of the Passion. Sometimes the pre-Crucifixion incidents are recalled in the pillar, rope, whips, scourges and a crowing cock. Sometimes just a few objects associated directly with the actual crucifixion – the hammer, nails, crown-of-thorns and ladder are represented. On the other depictions objects associated with the duration and end of the Passion such as the lance or spear used by Stephaton on which he offered Christ a drink from a vinegar soaked sponge, or the lance used by Longinus to pierce Christ’s side at the end of the Passion. The ladder associated with the deposition is also of frequent occurrence as are the pincers used to extract the nails from Christ’s hands and feet.

Generally speaking the number of Instruments of the Passion increased as time went on and numerous additions including mocking soldiers, spitting Jews, and Five Wounds, the Vernicle of St. Veronica and numerous other motifs were often placed together with the actual instruments associated more directly with the events of the Crucifixion and Passion.
The Instruments or Symbols of the Passion can be sub-divided depending on what objects are shown and how they are shown. In Late Medieval times it became common to gather the instruments most directly associated with the events of the Crucifixion and display them in a pseudo-heraldic manner. One of the finest heraldic versions is the 17th century panel at Ballylin House, Ferbane, Co. Offaly (Ryan 2006, 21-34). Here heraldic arms, crest and mantling occur. The crest includes a crowing cock on the helmet and a wide range of Symbols including a ladder, spear, scourges, whips, dice hammer, nails, the head of the Spitting Jew, St. Veronica’s cloth and the Crown of Thorns. The term *Arma Christi* literally the Arms of Christ is applied to such depictions and though in modern times this term has been applied to the ‘Instruments of the Passion’ in a more general sense, instances of where such objects occur on shields should more correctly (and only) be referred to as the *Arma Christi*. In applying such instruments to a shield the medieval iconographers frequently added angels to support the shield in the manner of heraldic supporters. Sometimes they developed the heraldic theme more fully and angels holding shields with individual tools or implements of the Passion were also depicted. On the West Door of Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway for example such angels occur (See Fanning 1976, Plate XVI:2 for an illustration and also Higgins 1995, Figs. 55 and 57). There is only one example of the Instruments of Symbols of the Passion on the surviving Galwegian funerary monuments, those on C23, Plates 4B, 19 and Fig. 22, in the Franciscan Cemetery. Because we know from surviving descriptions of the stone from antiquarians like Hardiman (1820) (who illustrated it in his *Miscellaneous Plate* opposite page 316) that the Instruments were borne on a shield, we can include this as an example of the *Arma Christi* rather than including it under the more general term of the Instruments or Symbols of the Passion. The heraldic display of the *Arma Christi* is found as early as the 13th century and occur on the Seal of the Vice Custos of the Grey Friars at Cambridge of *circa* 1240 (Dennys 1975, 96). The *Arma Christi* was sometimes used heraldically as the *Scutum Salvationis* (Arms of Salvation).
according to Dennys (1975, 96-101) who cites medieval examples in various media including manuscripts, seals and so on.

The Instruments of the Passion are extremely common in Ireland on tombs (and to a lesser extent in metalwork) since the late 14th and 15th and early 16th centuries onwards, and survive well into the 17th century, at least to the late 1630s. Thereafter they reoccur commonly on headstones (See de hÓir 1997, 152-8; Roe 1983, 535-541; O’Keefe 2001, 153-174; O’Farrell 1983, 535-541 and see also Lucas 1954, 145-172 for Penal Crosses on which the Instruments of the Passion also occur. For a late 14th century Welsh example of the heraldically treated Symbols of the Passion at Tremeirchion see Gresham 1968, 224, Fig. 91).

The Five Wounds are also found but the motif is less common and the format is usually different in Ireland. The Wounds are usually depicted as parts of scenes with Christ Showing the Five Wounds and are found most commonly on late 15th and late 16th century tombs and, to a lesser extent, fonts in Ireland.

The particular form of the Five Wounds shown here on the panel is much rarer in Ireland. Rarer still in the occurrence together of the symbols of the Passion and the Five Wounds (in the form described above) in an Irish context. The combination of the two groups of motifs is found only a few Irish carvings and these date mainly to the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

The combination of the Five Wounds along with the other Symbols of the Passion where it occurs most frequently in painting, sculpture and prints is usually that showing a half or full length depiction of Christ showing His wounds in figurative form, and this combination of motif is common in various media on its own as a combination of the symbols of the Passion and Christ showing the Five Wounds, all elements of the Emblems of the Passion in Irish, British and European art. This combined version is found in the so-called *Ecce Homo* at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare for example (O’Farrell 1980, 33-37). This combination is common in European paintings, in prints and book illustrations as well as stone sculpture and variants of this combination are also found on some scenes depicting the Mass of St. Gregory. Common in German and English prints of the late 15th and 16th centuries in particular, the motifs had a wide
currency and influenced sculptural decoration in Ireland for example, down to as late as the 17th century (See for example Duffy 1992, Plates 99-100).

Another form in which the Five Wounds occur is where they are shown in two *couped* (cut off) feet and two cut off hands accompanied, usually in a central portion by a heart which bears a fifth wound. A very good example of this motif which is not very common in Ireland occurs amongst various Instruments of the Passion on a panel in the Plunkett family Chantry Chapel at Dunsoghly Castle, Co. Dublin. Depictions like the Dunsoghly one where the legs, hands and heart of the Five Wounds of the Passion are shown separately occur on British bench ends, roof bosses, devotional wood block paints, and other media. At Broadhempbury for example a roof boss with a heart and two *couped* hands and feet, all pierced, occur on a shield on a foliated roof boss among other Symbols of Christ’s Passion.

Some of the best parallels for the central panel occur on English devotional cards including some from the Carthusian house at Sheen and the Briggitine House at Syon in England (Duffy 1992, Plates 99 and 100). The media differs but the motifs used and the way in which they have been combined is similar. The sheer card combines the Cross of Christ with a vexillium bearing the INRI and nail holes is wedged in the Hill of Golgatha with wooden wedges. The cross is overlain with the lance (which pierced Christ’s side shown literally as a jousting lance with a hand guard in the medieval fashion) and a spear with the sponge soaked in vinegar. These are shown over the shaft and tips of the arms of the Cross. Supported by the floating angels are the Five Wounds of Christ, the Chalice and the IHS on a disc within a sunburst. Beneath the cross lower down the plant-strewn hillock is a scroll bearing a devotional inscription in Black Letter script.

Among the Passion Emblems depicted in the Choir of Winchester Cathedral is a group of bosses showing the *Arma Christi* or Arms of the Passion. One of these has a cross dividing a shield centrally with a heart in the middle and the two hands and two feet showing the wounds in the cantons of the shield. All of the wounds are shown bleeding profusely and a rope-like crown of thorns is
used as a ‘pseudo-crest’ above the shield. Other passion symbols are used on a series of further shields. One has the scourging pillar and scourges, another has a cross into which nails have been driven, a sunburst and the titulus with the initials INRI, another has the Venicle or St. Veronica’s Towel. In each case the Crown of Thorns is used as a ‘pseudo-crest’ to the pseudo-heraldic emblems. A twisted *perizonium* or loin cloth along with the spear and staff with the sponge, the spitting Jew; Malckus and his severed ear, and Judas’ money bag are also shown (See Cave 1948, Plates 230-24 for the Broadhempbury and Winchester examples).

The pierced heart together with the *couped* limbs are shown in separate shields along with five further shields below them, each with a set of initials in a style of lettering closely resembling that of the inscription on the Dunsoghley panel on the back of a bench at Ashmanhangh in Suffolk in England (See Duffy 1992, Plate 98 for an illustration). The upper shields with the Wounds are elaborate jousting shields with the notch for a lance in one corner of the shield in each instance. The *couped* limbs emerge from a cloud-like ruffs.

8. **The Arma Christi**

It is clear from Hardiman’s drawing of C23 that the *Arma Christi* or Symbols of the Passion are depicted in their pseudo-heraldic form on that slab. This is the form in which they are most frequently shown in late medieval Ireland depicted on a shield with an increasing number of items being used as time went on. The heraldic form of this piece of iconography is frequently found on funerary monuments including recumbent slabs and box-tombs (as well as on fonts, doorways and other features).

Heraldic examples found on recumbent slabs, as they are on C23, occur as early as the latter half of the 15th century at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary for example. The effigial slab of Abbot Philip O’Molwlenayn, dated 1463, at Kilcooly has a shield bearing a fairly complex group of the Symbols of the Passion including the cross, Crown of Thorns, ladder, cock and pot, pincers, hammer, scourges, seamless garment, lance, spear and lance with a vinegar-
soaked sponge and so on. The INRI also occurs (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 242, Plate 184). These can be paralleled with heraldic *Arma Christi* on devotional cards distributed by the Carthusians of Sheen in England (See Duffy 1992, 295, Plate 99).

Very similar but non-heraldic versions of the same theme with the same tools shown are also common on funerary monuments, a good example being the Tomb of Edmund Purcell of 1549 at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 144 Plate 165 for the Purcell monument).

The symbolism is also very common on box-tombs. A tomb-chest of *circa* 1496, the monument of FitzEustace, Baron Portlester at Kilcullen, Co. Kildare has very full set of instruments borne on a heraldic shield with a series of angelic supporters (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 81B, Plate 201).

The side panel of the tomb of Piers Butler (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 142F, Plate 285) of 16th century date at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny has a particularly well preserved heraldic version of the Symbols of the Passion. The same symbolism is also found on altar-tombs down to the 17th century, a good example of which is the O’Kennedy tomb at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary a product of the Kerin workshop for example (See Plate 38A).

In Irish Early Christian sculpture the *Arma Christi* consists of very few of the Symbols of the Passion; usually it is just the sponge and lance bearers along with angels which are shown above the shoulders around the head of Christ. The heraldic version of the Instruments of the Passion the *Arma Christi* occurs on fonts, doorways as well as funerary monuments in Ireland. Examples occur on recumbent slabs (as in the case with C23 from the Franciscan Cemetery, the only example to occur in Galway City). The *Arma Christi* also occurs on box-tombs and the shield can be shown on its own, or supported by angels as ‘heraldic supporters’.

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6 See for instance the high cross at Ullard, Co. Kilkenny with the Crucifixion, sponge and lance-bearers and angels on the east face of the cross (Harbison 1992, Fig. 642, Cat. No. 231). On the Tynan, Co. Armagh cross the same figures and possibly angels occur on the east face of the cross (Harbison, Cat. No. 229, Fig. 640). An angel occurs above the head of Christ and the sponge and lance bearers flank the figure of Christ on the Termonfechin, Co. Louth cross (Harbison, Cat. No. 209 and Figs. 582 and 584).
Heraldic versions of the *Arma Christi* are very common in European art generally. A good example of the highly heraldicised approach adopted by some artist is a German 15th century tapestry altar frontal in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow. It has a depiction of Christ standing showing his Five Wounds and held by God the Father while God the Holy Ghost occurs just above the head of Christ. With the Virgin Mary and St. John kneel and kiss the hands of Christ.

The angels which flank the central figures are treated in a highly heraldic style bearing livery type shields on their garments on which symbols, instruments and other motifs including the Agnus Dei, *scourge, a whip, Christ’s head and that of a Spitting Jew, a hammer and a pair of pincers occur*. One of the angels also holds a cross bearing the vexillium with the INRI monograph and hung with a banner bearing three lidded ointment jars. The other angel holds the pillar of the Flagellation of Christ tied with ropes, the lance and sponge, the spear which pierced Christ’s side, the seamless garment and so on.

The *Arma Christi* supported by a pair of angels on the 15th century font at Dunsany, Co. Meath where the shield bears a large Latin cross flanked by a spear, ladder, scourge, hammer, and some other less easily identifiable objects are shown above the arms of the cross (See Roe 1968, 52, Plate XXI).

The earliest Irish depiction of the *Arma Christi* which can be closely dated occurs in the 14th century shrine of the Domhnach Airgid. A cross and nails along with scourges occurs. Roe (1983) identifies an annular object in the upper left hand corner of the shield as The Crown of Thorns which would be most appropriate and likely. Slightly later in date is the seal of Stephen de Derby, Prior of Holy Trinity in Dublin. This is known from a document of 1379, and here again, only a small number of the Instruments of the Passion are shown and identified by a Latin inscription around the shied.

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7 Roe 1983, 527-524. The Domhnach Airgid depiction is discussed on 530 where Roe dates the shrine to circa 1340-50. The writer would agree with Stalley’s slightly later dating.

8 Roe, 1983, 530. Some of the items are not actually shown yet the inscription identifies them all the same. It reads Scorpio (Scourge); Sci Clavi (Sacred Nails); Crux (Cross); Lancea (spear); Fel (Gall or Vinegar) and Corona (Crown of Thorns). As Roe says this, but is similar to the wording of the early Corpus Christi hymn – Hic Acetum, Fel, Arundo Isputa, Clavi, Lancea…Le the Vinegar, Gall and Reed, the Spetting, Nails and Spear.
To Roe’s list (which she give more or less chronologically) some other Irish examples could be added including the shields borne by angels and displaying Symbols of the Passion on the West Door of Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway.  

Angels bearing shields often hold depictions of the Passion Symbols Semple Crosses, *Arma Christi* in Irish scripture. A corbel from Adare (now missing) shows such a depiction, the angels on the Clontuskert, Co. Galway doorway have already been mentioned.

On funerary sculpture the heraldic use of Passion symbols is of frequent occurrence from the 15th century onwards and couple with the expansion of the use of personal heraldry can be found frequently on effigial box-tombs as Roe has noted, mainly in Counties Meath, Kildare, Louth and Down.

On these box-tombs the Passion symbols are invariably found on the side-panels where the Seamless Robe, Dice, Thirty Pieces of Silver, the Cock in the Pot, Pillar of the Flagellation and the Cock which crowed at Peter’s third denial of Christ, frequently occur.

On the Monument to James Shortal in St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny who died in 1507 heraldic versions of the symbols occur (See Hunt 1974, Plate 112 and Roe 1983, 531). A non-heraldic version of the Passion symbols occur on the tomb of Edmund Purcell in the same church. There the symbols are scattered around the slab and no shield is shown (Roe 1983, 531; Hunt 1974, Plate 165).

By the 16th and 17th century the heraldic display of the Symbols are rarer but include the Cantwell-Butler slab at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny where Christ at the Pillar (a flagellation scene) and the instruments are in Roe’s words ‘rather belatedly shown heraldically’ (See Roe 1983, 527-534).

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9 See Higgins (1996B) for a brief description this doorway and its iconography, and Fanning 1976, 97-169 for the site in general and Plate XVI, 2 for the doorway. The doorway is inscribed in Latin. The inscription can be translated as follows: Matthew, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Clonfert and O’Naughton, canon of this house caused me to be made *Anni Domini* 1471. The bishop was Matthew Macraith who held office from 1463-1507 (Fanning, 1976, 102).

The symbols of the Passion occur on the four shields held aloft by angels who decorate the finials at either side of the doorway, Higgins 1996B, 69-78 and especially 74, Figs. 52 to 57.

10 Roe lists only the counties with the highest concentrations of the motif but does not list the locations of such box-tombs.
Franciscan Graveyard slab C23 is, then, a rather late example of the display of the symbols of the Passion heraldically or as an elaborate version of the *Arma Christi*. There seems to be little doubt that Hardiman was correct in interpreting the symbols as those of the Passion (Hardiman 1820, 268). It seems possible by analogy with other Irish carvings that the ringed cross which appears in his engraving was actually a cross with a Crown of Thorns. The stone may well have been too worn for much of its detail to be depicted in Hardiman’s engraving (Hardiman 1820, *Miscellaneous Plate* and Plate 19 of the present work).

### 9. Christ Showing the Five Wounds

This theme is shown on both funerary monuments and on one font in Ireland. Only one depiction of this theme occurs in Galway, on the canopied and traceryed niche-tomb in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55, Plates 51A-C and 52C). Here Christ is shown with his wounded hands raised in an ‘orant like’ stance which is also found on the other Irish depictions (Plate 52C). The theme, and its occurrence in Ireland, has been studied in recent times by Phelan (1987, 242-248).

All the examples date to the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Christ is shown with a crown on his head, his hands raised, draped partly in a cloak or cope. That vestment is draped so as to leave the wound in his side visible in the manner in which St. Nicholas’ and at least five other depictions of the theme are shown. The nail holes in the feet and hands and the wound made by the spear or lance in Christ’s side are all clearly visible. St. Nicholas’, Galway, Strade, Co. Mayo (Plate 52B and Phelan 1987, Fig. 16:7)), St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City (two examples, Phelan 1987, Figs. 16:4 and 16:5) and Gowran, Co. Kilkenny (Phelan 1987, Fig. 16:2). The motif also occurs on the Apostles Font at Rathmore, Co. Meath (Phelan 1987, Fig. 16:6).

On the canopied traceryed tomb in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55) where the image of the crowned Christ occurs below a crocketed, ogee-headed niche on the right in-going on the side of the tomb (Plate 52C). (For other illustrations of this St Nicholas’ example see Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 63, Plates 260
and 261 and Phelan 1987, Plate 16:7 and 243 and 245-7.) Hunt wrongly ascribes the depiction to the ‘Joyce Tomb’ and in this he was followed by Phelan (1987, 245).

This St. Nicholas’ depiction is not the only one to be found on a canopied tomb. A second example occurs on the left frontal slab at the base of the elaborate tracery and canopied tomb at Strade, Co. Mayo (Plate 52B). The depiction here is much more realistic and far less stylized than the St. Nicholas’ depiction and again as on the St. Nicholas’ depiction the cloak which is held at the neck by a ring brooch is open at the stomach and chest to show the wound in the side, but is closed and folded back again across the lower middle part of the body, but also leaves the feet exposed. Hunt dates the Strade example to the second half of the 15th century. Hunt 1974 suggests that the tracery of the canopy strongly resembles that of Strade, Co. Mayo, where the same iconographical representation of Christ also occurs on the tomb-front. While this may be the case, (and both the carving occur on canopied and tracery tombs) the origins of the representation may have had other sources. The finest of the representations is undoubtedly that on the Strade, Co. Mayo tomb. The Gowran (Co. Kilkenny) and St. Canice’s (Kilkenny) examples are all very similar to one another. That at Strade however, may have been the prototype. It is well carved and distinctive and may have been copied by the maker of the St. Nicholas’ tomb who may have seen the Strade monument (See Plates 52B and 52C where the comparison between the two carvings can easily be made). Many of the depictions occur on tombs only; the Rathmore baptismal font is an exception.

A third virtually identical depiction of Christ showing the Five Wounds occurs (like the Strade example) on the front of a box-tomb of a Butler Knight of the first half of the 16th century at Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. Again the cloak is folded across the lower body, the chest, arms, hands and feet are exposed, and as with all known Irish depictions Christ is shown bearded and crowned. The

11 See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 180a, Plates 253 and 254 for the Strade, Co. Mayo depiction and also Phelan 1987, Plate 16:8 and 243 and 246 especially. For the origins of this mis-titling see Mitchell 1985-6, 138-9.
Gowran example is not as accomplished as the Strade example. Again the cloak is fastened by a ring-brooch at neck level (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 107c, Plate 305; Phelan 1987, 243, 245 and Plate 16:5).

A fourth and fifth closely similar depiction to the Gowran example occur on two further tombs at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny, and both also occur on the frontal panels of box-tombs. The fourth example is to be found on a fragment of a 16th century tomb chest now set beneath an earlier untraceried niche tomb in the North Transept of St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny. The owner of the tomb is unidentified (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 149, Plate 319 for this St. Canice’s scene of arcaded panels, and also Phelan 1987, Plates 16:2 and 16:5 as well as 243, 244 and 245).

The fifth example (which is stylistically similar to the Gowran and to other St. Canice’s depictions) also shows Christ showing the Five Wounds and with the same characteristics as the other examples described above. Again, the depiction is found on a fragment of a tomb front of 16th century date. This fragment also bears a depiction of St. John and is now ex situ. For this second St. Canice’s example of the theme see Hunt (1974, Cat. No. 153, Plate 314) and Phelan (1987, 243-245).

Apart from these depictions on tombs a sixth example of a very similar nature occurs on the side of a baptismal font from Rathmore, near Athboy, Co. Meath (Roe 1968, 96 and also Phelan 1987, 244-5 and Plate 16:6).

The Irish depictions cited above have a long ancestry and versions of the theme (albeit with Christ shown seated rather than standing) but with the same sort of raised hands and palms shown displayed occurs on early Gothic tympana on which the seated Christ is the main focus of attention.¹³ A good

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¹³ See for example the tympana of Chartres Cathedral on the central (Judgement door of the South Transept circa 1210-15 Williamson 1995, Plate 60. See also the tympanum of the central portal of the west façade of Nôtre Dame, Paris, circa 1220-30 (Williamson 1995, Plates 73 and 76), the Eastern (Judgement) doorway of the North Transept of Reims Cathedral (Williamson 1995, Plate 93), the tympanum of the Fürsterportal on the north side of the nave of Bamberg Cathedral, circa 1233-5 (Williamson 1995, Plate 142) to cite just some examples. On the Judgement tympanum of the west façade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, circa 1135-40 Christ’s hands are outstretched. Again all five wounds are clearly visible (See Williamson 1995, Plate 7). The tympanum of the west façade of León Cathedral provides a
parallel for these Irish examples is on an English orphery from a chasuble from
Marnhull in Dorset in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It has been
dated to between 1315 and 1335. It shows Christ Showing His Five Wounds
flanked by angels holding Symbols of the Passion (See Williamson 1986, 202-3).

The depictions of Christ Showing His Wounds in Ireland are
comparable to examples from Wales where the same motif is found, though
between figures and as part of a complex Doom Scene above the Chancel Arch
at Wrexham (Denb.) for instance (Gray 2000, 16, 45, Plates 67A and 67B).

The Doom or Last Judgment at Wrexham shows Christ showing the
Five Wounds with his hands raised in an orant-like position. The same sort of
cloak which was originally fastened at the (now disappeared) neck also occurs
and this cloak is draped across the front of the body in identical fashion to the
Irish examples leaving the hands, neck, head, feet and the wound in the side
exposed. More often than not the Last Judgment scenes show an enthroned
Christ in Judgement. Here the emphasis is on Christ’s suffering ‘he sits robed for
Judgment, but still display his wounds’. The Instruments of the Passion held by
angels also occur along with the Symbols of the Evangelists on the Chancel Arch
where they ‘reinforce the redemptive message of the Doom’.

Roe (1968, 96) describing the elaborately decorated 15th century
Apostle Font from the Church of St. Lawrence, Rathmore, Co. Meath, has this to
say about the depiction on it of Christ showing the Five Wounds:
‘Christ is crowned wearing a full mantel (the Purple Robe) caught at the neck by
a circular morse or brooch. The folds of the cloak are swept open to either side
to expose the wound in His side; in his upheld hands the nail marks are clear and
although the wounds in His feet are now not discernible, we may be sure that
there were once indicated, possibly by colour’.

It is rather surprising to find this subject illustrated on a baptismal vessel
as it normally forms part of the great doom pictures where Christ the Judge and
King of Glory appears on the last day ‘as He was upon the Cross’, wounded for
Man’s transgressions. Because of this association with the dreaded Day of

particularly good but much earlier parallel for the Irish examples and shows the seated Christ
crowned with hand raised (See Williamson 1995, Plate 343).
Judgment, the subject was deemed appropriate for funerary monuments and, in fact, so appears in all other instances known in Ireland. Roe also feels that the Irish examples must have been derived from just a single exemplar (Roe 1968, 96). ‘It is also of interest to observe that in spite of their widely distant locations, each picture of the subject is so nearly identical in detail that we must suppose a single exemplar only to have been available to the Irish craftsman’. By ‘picture’ Roe is alluding to the stone carvings of the theme on the Rathmore font, the two tombs at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City, the St. Nicholas’ example (C43) on the canopied traceried Tomb, and the Strade, Co. Mayo example on a similar tomb. A simpler exemplar for Irish depictions of Christ showing the Five Wounds does occur, and though it clearly owes much to its form and features to the Doom and Judgement Scenes mentioned above, and though in it Christ is again shown seated and enthroned as he is in Judgement scenes and is (unusually) halved with a circular cross-decorated nimbus the scene is much simpler than the complex Judgement scenes when Rae and others see as the exemplar for the Irish examples of Christ showing the Five Wounds (Rae in Cosgrove (ed.) 1987, Plate 18B).

Here Christ is shown seated in an elaborate throne with mock buttressing, tracery and crocketed finials. As is the case with the Irish depictions of stone he is shown with both his hands raised in an orant-like position with the palms of his hands shown outwards to display his hand wounds in the same manner as the hands are shown on all of the carvings.

Similar scenes are common in relatively small scale depictions such as other misericords and roof bosses. (For a roof boss at Norwich Cathedral with a similar Judgement of Christ see Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, Fig. 2.110). Thus we have simpler possible exemplars for the Irish depictions of Christ showing the Five Wounds which, though they are derived from more elaborate Judgement scenes were already available in a much simpler version than the wide scale multi-figured scenes on continental tympana, English wall paintings and so on.

At Athboy, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, 203, Cat. No. 182B, Plate 212) there is a simplified depiction of a Christ in Judgement scene which, by contrast to the
crowded, multi-figured Gothic tympana of Church doors, the English wall paintings, and other depictions of the Doom or Christ in Judgement (for English depictions of the Doom and Christ in Judgement see for example Tasker 1993, 74-6 and Figs. 2.89 to 2.90) is much simplified and has some features in common with the Irish depictions of Christ showing the Five Wounds. At Athboy the Christ figure of the last Judgement is shown seated and wearing a circular cross-decorated halo (similar to the Limerick crosier depiction described above). He is seated on a rainbow (as he is frequently shown in the English Doom scenes) and has two swords emerging from behind his head instead of the sword and lily (though sometimes both of each object also appear) which are more usually shown in foreign depictions. His hands are outstretched though not held upright as in the case in the Irish Five Wounds. The Five Wounds seems to be depicted in the hands and possibly in the feet as well. The wound in Christ’s side is visible. He has his feet resting on a domed mound-like feature which Hunt interprets as the ‘Globe of the world’. Hunt interprets the small figures which flank Christ in Judgement on the Athboy carving as the ‘souls of the just’. To the left is a depiction of St. Michael with a sword in one hand and in the other a set of scales in which is weighing the souls of the dead, an appropriate accompaniment to a Judgement Scene (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 182B, 203, Plate 212). Another variation on the Five Wounds which is sometimes found in Ireland is what this writer would term the ‘Couped Limbs’ variation which also occurs in English and Welsh late medieval depiction of the 16th and 17th centuries in particular in which a pierced heart also sometimes occurred. The most elaborate examples of this motif in Ireland are carved panels at Ballylinn House, Co. Offaly and in the Chantry Chapel in the grounds of Dunsoghly Castle, Co. Dublin. These seem to be based on Counter-Reformation wood-cuts. The Ballylinn plaque bears a heraldic depiction Arma Christi and is captioned as such. It includes the Symbols of the Passion the couped limbs of Christ and is surrounded by a pair of Rosary Beads. The Dunsoghly plaque dated 1585 has the Couped Limbs along with a selection of Implements of the Passion. The motif is also occasionally found on box-tomb panels including the tomb of Nicholas
Walsh and Helen Lawless of 1599 at St. Mary’s Church of Ireland, Kilkenny (See Cockerham and Harris 2001, 135-188 and Plate XVII for this Walsh-Lawless tomb).

On a misericord from Sherborne Abbey, Dorset, England (Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 76, Fig. 2.92) there is a depiction of a version of Christ in Judgement in which he is shown seated on a rainbow with people rising from the dead around him. He has the globe of the earth at his feet and cloak is left open to show His Five Wounds. His hands are raised in an orant position.

In early medieval depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin she is often shown being crowned or attended by God the Father only (rather than being attended by the three members of the Trinity), either before or after her Coronation. Examples abound but only a few need be cited to show the range of the motif. On a carving showing in the upper register The Coronation of the Virgin and below it the Descent from the Cross in the British Museum, God the Father alone is shown with His hand raised (possibly in a gesture of blessing, the hand is damaged) in the direction of the already crowned Virgin (Stratford 1987, 107-113, Fig. 673 and see also a late 15th century Nottingham alabaster at Ripon Cathedral which is illustrated by Tasker 1993, Fig. 3.8, 84) where the Virgin is already crowned and God the Father is shown blessing her with His hand raised above her head). It is the same early type of the Coronation that is depicted at Newtown Trim (See Plate 61B). In later depictions God the Father and God the Son flank the Virgin and she is shown being crowned or already crowned as is the case on C38. By contrast a depiction on a font from Kilcarne (now at Johnstown, Co. Meath) shows a Coronation scene consisting of the Blessed Virgin Mary sharing a throne with Christ her Son who holds an orb and indicates towards her crowned head (See Roe 1968, 64 for this depiction). When the chronological difference occurred first is difficult to know but the latter version seems to be commoner from the Renaissance onwards in European art.
10. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE FIVE WOUNDS GENERALLY

There are a large number of ways in which the Five Wounds of Christ can be depicted and many post-Crucifixion depictions of Christ illustrate him showing some, or all, of the Wounds. The Five Wounds (or just the wounds in the hands and side) can be displayed in scenes depicting the Man of Sorrow, the Mass of St. Gregory and so on. The Wounds are, of course, depicted in the Crucifixion itself and in scenes of the Deposition in Post-Crucifixion iconography, notably scenes of the Thrones of Grace, Last Judgement and some depictions of the Trinity. The Five Wounds can be seen and Christ’s cloak or cope, if he is shown wearing one, is often left open so as to show the Five Wounds though Christ may be holding His cross or involved in other activity such as the Coronation of the Virgin or may be part of a Judgement or Doom Scene rather than displaying the Five Wounds. Sometimes only a few of the Wounds are visible.14

In Galway the depictions of Christ showing or displaying the Five Wounds occurs on C55, the Lynch tomb at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Plate 52C). The Five Wounds is a general type of motif representation of the Wells of Salvation. The Wounds became the type of expression of mankind’s salvation achieved through the sacrifice of Christ in his Crucifixion. The wounds themselves with the flow of cleansing waters – the ‘Wells of Salvation’. These wells or wounds as parts of the symbolism of the Passion, naturally became to be linked with the sacrifice of the Mass in which Christ gave his body and blood for the salvation of mankind. This theme, then was but one expression of devotion to the Holy Blood. The links between sacrifice, crucifixion, and redemption through Christ was reinforced and assisted by participation in the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Chalice into which Christ’s blood is frequently shown flowing in

14 This sort or representation is very common in post-Crucifixion depictions of ‘Christ Emerging from the Tomb’, ‘Christ in Glory’ or ‘Christ in Judgement’ scenes which are different themes to that discussed. See for instance Hieronymus Bosch’s The Hay-Wain Tryptich of circa 1500. In the central panel Christ, dressed in a cloak and perizonium is half hidden in clouds. The wounds in the hands and side are visible but not the others (See Stunkenbrock and Töper 2000, 97-103 for illustrations).
early medieval depictions (in many media) is often found associated with some depictions of the Five Wounds.

Early medieval depictions of the Crucifixion in manuscripts, metalwork, and so on frequently show angels holding the chalice to catch the blood coming from the Wound in the side. Sometimes the angels carry chalices skywards away from the Crucifixion and/or carry other instruments of the Passion. Sometimes angels collect the blood streaming just from the wounds in Christ’s hands in chalices and examples of this sort of depiction occur in Irish headstones of the 18th and 19th centuries. At Cuffesgrange Graveyard, Co. Kilkenny headstones bearing this motif occur (See Manning 1981, 274-5). Further examples can be added. There are several at Cahir, Co. Tipperary, others at Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and more at the Carmelite Cemetery, Loughrea, Co. Galway. These are unpublished.

Some Irish examples of carvings of angels holding chalices to catch the blood of Christ from his wounds have been recently discussed as a group by Manning (1981, 274-5). An example is shown on one of the late medieval tomb fragments incorporated into the Creagh tomb of 1543 at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare. In this depiction, of circa 1470 four angels with crescent-like chalices collect the blood of Christ. This is clearly an evocation of the Wells of Redemption being interpreted as an integral part of the theme of Redemption through Christ’s sacrificial crucifixion.15

At Kilree Church, Co. Kilkenny a depiction of the Five Wounds is shown among the ‘Emblems’, ‘Instruments’ or ‘Symbols’ of the Passion16 on the frontal panel of the Richard Comerford and Joanna St. Leger tomb in the north west corner of the chancel. The tomb has some twenty-two17 of the Emblems of

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15 For the Ennis tomb fragment see Hunt 1974, Vol. 1, Cat. No. 5dI, 121-2 and Vol. 2, Plates 235 and 239. The Crucifixion scene depicted is a complex one not typical of Irish ones generally, but clearly influenced by Nottingham alabaster panels, see Hunt 1975, 35-9.
17 Roe 1983, 527 gives the number of Instruments of the Passion on this monument is ‘some seventeen’. 
the Passion and is dated to *circa* 1622. Phelan (1973, 16-28) attributes it to the sculptor Walter Kerin.  

**RELATED MOTIFS SHOWING THE FIVE WOUNDS**

Another related image, which is sometimes found in Ireland, is the depiction of four rather than five almond shaped wounds, which are usually shown on a cross. This simplified version of what would appear to be the Wounds of Christ theme occurs on a cross depicted on a heraldic shield on a stone plaque set in the wall of the western tower of Cashel Cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, Co. Tipperary.

At Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary another version of this motif also occurs (Phelan 1973, 21), and the motif is also found on other unpublished carvings at Roscrea Abbey, Co. Tipperary.

A related theme found in Ireland, but only rarely, is that of the blood of Christ being collected from some or all of His Five Wounds. This occurs on Irish 18th century monuments as well as on the Crucifixion panel incorporated in the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary. The motif is sometimes described as ‘The Wells of Salvation’. It is commonest in European Gothic and early Renaissance painting and is rare in Ireland until the 15th and early 16th centuries. It begins to re-occur on headstones in the 18th century (Manning 1975, 274-5).

**10A. CHRIST SHOWING THE FIVE WOUNDS AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE EASTER SEPULCHRE**

Gaffney (1944, 155-166) has suggested that the Lynch tomb in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55), because of the depiction of Christ showing His Five Wounds, can be linked with the idea of an Easter Sepulchral.

The Easter ceremonies included the symbolic re-enactment of the trial, passion and death of Christ followed by the Resurrection. Few structures which were built especially for this purpose occur in Ireland. Several niche-like structures which could either be an un-inscribed tomb or an Easter Sepulchral

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occur. By tradition an elaborate monument in the South Transept or so-called Waking Chapel at Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary is said to have been one but it is just as likely to have been a reliquary shrine for the relic of The True Cross. Another feature excavated at the site in the 1970s and still not reassembled, may have been either a shrine or a tomb (See for example Carville 1979, Plates 16-17; Stalley 1987a, 115 and Hourihane 2003, 106-7).

11. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISPLAY OF THE FIVE WOUNDS, JUDGEMENT AND DOOM SCENES

Roe (1965), Hunt (1974) and Phelan (1987) all would derive the Irish imagery of Christ showing his Five Wounds from the more complex imagery of depictions of Christ in Judgement. The similarities are, of course, obvious and some scenes showing Christ displaying the Five Wounds are in fact almost identical to such scenes (See Plates 52B and 52C). However, many Judgement and Doom Scenes invariably show Christ seated and not standing. Furthermore, many such scenes do not always show Christ holding His hands upright in an orant position though some do. Many Judgement scenes also show Christ with a sword and lily emerging from His mouth which none of the Irish versions of Christ showing Five Wounds do. This theme is rare in Ireland in any case. An exception occurs at Athboy, Co. Meath where Christ is shown seated in Judgement with swords on each side of his head. St. Michael with his scales weighing the Souls of the Dead and wielding a sword is also shown. Christ is seated above on a rainbow and the Globe of the World. The scene is copied, it would seem, from a British or Continental prototype, a wall painting, manuscript or book illustration for instance.\(^{19}\)

It seems to the writer that while Judgement scenes and the six examples of Christ showing the Five Wounds from Ireland must have derived from a simpler more directly relevant piece of iconography than Doom or Judgement

\(^{19}\) The swords should emanate from the mouth of God but the scene seems to be a misinterpretation of an unclear original. The figures flanking Christ are interpreted by Hunt as the Just or The Saved. The scene is on a double effigy tomb of a knight and a lady of the 16th century. See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 183, Cat. No. 203 and Plate 212.
scenes where the iconography is far more complex. Either the Irish examples derived from some more direct and simpler depiction closer in style and content to the carvings themselves, or else they are an independent creation, a creation based solely on the theme of a Christ figure in an orant posture showing the Five Wounds of His Crucifixion and, at the same time, being depicted as a crowned figure. This seems to be the case.

Technically and stylistically the Strade depiction of this theme is infinitely more realistically depicted and is far more accomplished than any other of the six depictions of this piece of iconography. The realism of the depiction is unusually good and the Strade example may be the exemplar for the entire group.

12. THE FIVE WOUNDS, JUDGEMENT AND DOOM SCENES

It would seem to the writer that non-stone parallels for the Irish depictions of Christ Showing the Five Wounds are very rare. The only metalwork parallels show Christ seated and sometimes holding an orb in one hand as occurs, for example, in the 15th century Limerick Crosier presently displayed in the Hunt Museum, Limerick (See Hunt 1953 for these items). A similar depiction of the Judging Christ or Christ in Majesty from a gilt silver crosier of Iberian origin, from Burgos, is illustrated by Oman (1968, not paginated). Christ shown seated and depicted as a Judge is a common theme on English wall paintings and in such scenes some or all of the Five Wounds may be visible.

Doom Scenes are commonly found on English medieval wall paintings but are not common in Ireland in the medieval period.20

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20 Christ is shown holding an orb and blessing but not showing wounds on this example. See for example Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 74-6 and Figs. 2.89 to 2.90 inclusive. See also for instance Jones 1969, Plate 30.1 for a depiction of the highly elaborate Last Judgement or Doom in the Church of St. Thomas at Salisbury for instance.
13. **OTHER POST-CRUCIFIXION DISPLAYS OF THE FIVE WOUNDS**

Apart from what might be described as the ‘Orant Christ’ figure showing His Five Wounds, Christ in Judgement on a Doom Scene which is usually thought of as being the inspiration behind Irish depictions of Christ showing the Five Wounds and Christ may display his wounds in a number of other type of post-crucifixion scenes, emerging from the tomb, Christ’s Pity, as part of the Trinity for instance. In some cases only some of the wounds may be visible. No instance of a Christ Emerging from the Tomb occurs in Galway however.

14. **THE TRINITY**

The Trinity is relatively common in Irish medieval sculpture and instances of its occurrence have been catalogued and discussed by Roe (1979, 1980 and 1981). The Trinity as depicted in Irish stone carvings, on silver chalices and is also shown on the banner of the Confederation of Kilkenny (Fenlon 2001, 19-28). It is also found on English alabasters imported into Ireland (Hunt 1975, 35-9).

15. **VARIATIONS ON TRINITY DEPICTIONS**

The two Galwegian monuments traditionally described as depictions of the Trinity (C44B and C48-C50 (jointly)) will now be discussed in detail. These have been included by Roe (1979, 101-50) in her corpus of Irish representations of the Trinity (See also Roe 1980, 155-7 for additional examples of the same motif). The Trinity depicted as the ‘Throne of Grace’ as Roe (1979, 101-150 and 1980, 155-7) entitles the scene and the ‘Mercy Seat’ as Krasnodebska (2009, 293-4) terms it, is to be found on 17th century chalices as well as in stone carving. Krasnodebska adds some examples of the motif which Roe (1979, 101-50) does not list (Krasnodebska 2009, Plate 11 and 18 for the Anastasia Rice Chalice made in Limerick in 1626 and now in the National Museum of Ireland, Plate 12 and 16 or the Font-Butler Chalice made in Galway in 1621 and also in
the National Museum of Ireland as well as her Plate 17 for the Boetius Egan Chalice for Elphin in 1634).

16. **The Throne of Grace Type of Trinity**

This type of motif is seen by Roe (1979, 101-150) as the sort of iconography from which the Irish depictions of the Trinity derive. This form of the Trinity depicts God the Father enthroned and seated, usually wearing a cloak or cope, and crowned with a triple tiara. Held against the front of His body, the Crucified Christ (God the Son) is usually shown. Hovering above there is usually God the Holy Ghost (or Holy Spirit) who is invariably shown in the form of a dove. This type of Trinity depiction is not known from Galway however.

17. **The Coronation of the Virgin**

This piece of iconography is rare in Ireland and though a fine miniature version of it occurs at the apex of a niche tomb at Newtown Trim, Co. Meath, Christ is shown with an orb in one hand and His other hand extended towards the head of the Virgin on whose head He has just placed a crown with foliated terminals (Plate 61B). Together C48, C49 and C50 now at Galway Cathedral form a group depicting the Coronation of the Virgin. There is no reason to suspect that their modern juxtaposition was not also their original method of display. This is likelier rather than the plaques forming end panels of a tomb (where they would not make much sense and in such an position where no other Irish example of a Crowned Virgin scene is depicted).

18. **The Enthroned Virgin**

Apart from being crowned by the Persons of the Trinity the Virgin Mary is shown seated or enthroned in C50 and it is clear from the depiction that she has already Ascended into Heaven. She is shown wearing a crown with foliated

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See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 198, Plate 200 for the Newtown Trim, Co. Meath scene, which he dates to the late 15th century. The scene occurs at the spring just below a crocketed fenial, which rose above a niche, probably a tomb-recess. The monument was relocated in the 19th century but it may have originally formed part of the head of a canopied and traceried wall-tomb.
crested. The context and details of the iconography suggest that C48, C49 and C50 were always positioned as she is now, between God the Father and God the Son, with a representation of the Holy Spirit (Holy Ghost) above her head. The present Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is modern but is appropriate to its position and to the iconography which, as we shall see below, is that of the Crowned Virgin surrounded by the Three Persons of the Trinity (Plate 33).

19. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN ACCOMPANIED BY THE TRINITY

Together in their present positioning C48, C49 and C50 depict the Crowned and enthroned Virgin Mary accompanied on the right by God the Father, holding an orb in one hand and blessing with the other. A censing angel originally occurred at the top of this panel. On the left is Jesus Christ shown seated holding His cross against one shoulder and blessing with the other hand. His cloak is shown open so that all his Five Wounds can be seen (Plate 33A).

Cave, in a long discussion of the Coronation of the Virgin, distinguishes five ways in which the Coronation of the Virgin was presented in medieval roof bosses and related sculpture.22 The Coronation of the Virgin is found more commonly in Britain than in Ireland and in Britain the Coronation often forms

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22 Cave 1948 quoted in Tasker (ed. by Beaumont) 1993 as follows: ‘(a) ‘The figures of Christ and the Virgin are seated, and Christ is placing the crown on Our Lady’s head; Christ has either a book in, or a globe in or under, his left hand’. Examples are found on bosses in Ely and Exeter Cathedral. (b) Very similar to (a), but Our Lady is already crowned and Christ is blessing’. Examples are found on bosses at Lincoln Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey. An alabaster of the same type is found in Ripon Cathedral [3.8]. (c) ‘Christ and Our Lady are seated side by side and an angel is placing a crown on the Virgin’s head’. Examples are found on bosses at Westminster Abbey and at Beverley Minister. (d) ‘The Father and the Son are seated on a throne with the Virgin on a lower seat between them, while above is the Dove.’ Examples are found on bosses in York Minster and in the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral [3.0]. (e) ‘The three Persons of the Trinity as three old men, and the Virgin is in front of them’. C.J.P. Cave cites two examples on bosses at Worcester and Christchurch. It occurs in glass at York, Holy Trinity Goodramgate. (f) In a simplified form the subject is found in misericords as at Boston and Carlisle Cathedral [3.10] where an angel is placing a crown on the Virgin’s head, and in Norwich Cathedral where the Virgin is nursing her Son who is holding a dove.

In glass at Malvern Priory were two representations of this theme. The first, of which only fragments now remain, was the early type in which only Christ and His mother appear. The second, a more elaborate form in the magnificent window has also suffered damage. The father and the Son unite in the crowning in the presence of the Holy Dove. The scene is set in a vesica of golden light which is flanked by Old Testament patriarchs.’
part of a depiction of the cycle of events in the life of the Virgin as for example on stone corbels at Exeter Cathedral, Devon dating to circa 1330-40. 23


Scenes depicting the Coronation of the Virgin or the Crowned Virgin are extremely rare in Ireland. A case can be made that C48, C49 and C50 jointly belong to the iconography of the related topic of the Virgin Mary Crowned and Enthroned. The panels should be seen as part of a reredos (See Chapter 12) rather than necessarily being part of a funerary monument. Rather than C48 or C49 being seen as individual elements of a Trinity scene alone, they should be viewed as depictions of God the Father (C49) along with God the Son (C48), which, when combined with C50 (the Virgin Mary Crowned and Enthroned) together show the two out of three persons of the Trinity flanking the Virgin Mary who has been crowned by them.

This new understanding of how the panels (C48, C49 and C50) related to each other makes far more sense than interpreting them as side panels of a box-tomb. Indeed their large size, the fact that elements of the Trinity are divided on more than one panel – a device not otherwise paralleled in Ireland – and the rarity of the subject matter of the (already) Crowned Virgin Mary of the (actual) Coronation of the Virgin is otherwise unknown in Irish medieval sculpture except on a miniature scene at the apex of a niche head (of what appears to be a tomb) at Newtown Trim, Co. Meath (See Plate 61B). 24

If one seeks parallels for the panels as part of a unitary composition then one must look to contemporary non-Irish European art where the Virgin is shown already crowned by members of the Trinity. This iconography abounds in

23 See Stone 1955, Plate 129 for the corbel in the nave of Exeter Cathedral in which the Virgin is shown being crowned by God the Father alone and flanked by censing angels. The Virgin and Child occurs on the lower end of the same corbel.

24 See also Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 198, Plate 200 for the Newtown Trim Coronation of the Virgin scene. Hunt, 1974, 248 lists only this single example of the motif in Irish pre-16th century stone sculpture. C48, C49 and C50 should be viewed together in terms of a scene depicting the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity in the light of the evidence cited above.
late medieval Europe in particular, and where it occurs the individual members of the group (Virgin, God the Father and God the Son) are invariably juxtaposed in the same layout in which they occur in the New Cathedral Blessed Sacrament side-chapel of Galway Cathedral and, of course, the modern setting of the three panels has been laid out to show the panels functioning as this writer suggests they originally did, as the panels of a reredos behind or above the altar.

Turning to the Irish parallels for the Coronation of the Virgin first. As has been mentioned previously only one good parallel in stone carving can be cited, the miniature version at Newtown Trim, Co. Meath (Plate 61B). Here God the Father is shown crowned and seated and with an orb in one hand. With his other hand he is shown in the act of placing a crown on the head of the Virgin who is also shown seated and with her hands joined in prayer. Angels with swinging censers are shown below the scene and some stylized foliate also occurs (See Plate 61B of the present work, and Hunt 1974, Plate 200 for illustrations).

Below on the moulded surround of the round-headed niche is a female head with plaited hair flanked by two birds, probably eagles. If these are interpreted as symbols of Christ as seems likely and the head is interpreted as another depiction of the Virgin before her crowning then some sort of Ascension of the Virgin into Heaven might have been intended. It could also be that this is a portrait head of one of those buried in the tomb.25 The miniature scale of this Coronation scene and the quality of the stone carving is very fine and Hunt rightly ranks these carvings as 'quite masterly pieces of carving in the full European idiom of the late 15th century’ (Hunt 1974, 211).

The scene can in fact be closely paralleled (but without the angels) on an alabaster panel from a reredos at Ripon Cathedral in England (Crossley 1941,

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25 Hunt suggests that this niche head which was rebuilt here in 1842 is either ‘part of a doorway or a canopied tomb of Western type’, Hunt, 1974, Vol. 1 Text (Cat. No. 198, 211). The writer would suggest that the niche is far too wide to have been a doorway and is far likelier to have been a niche-tomb. The crudity of the working of the soffit of the object would furthermore suggest that the underside of the arch either was traceried or had further moulding. Given the depth of the moulding already in place the writer feels that the niche is more likely to have been traceried. Field work at the site has not lead to the discovery of any tracery which can definitely be said to have formed a pierced decorative canopy beneath this niche-head however.
49-51 and Plate 83). It is in foreign sculpture, in the writer’s opinion, that the ultimate origin of the design sources and functional inspiration behind the Newtown Trim and Galwegian depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin lie. The latter example (C36 to C38) is, as has been argued above, a portion of an altar reredos. The size and scale of the Newtown Trim carving is also reminiscent of small scale English alabaster panels.

If one is to cite earlier examples of such a depiction the closest parallel for the Ripon carving is on a medieval French ivory panel in the Louvre, Paris. 26

21. **THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY BY GOD THE FATHER**

If the panels from St. Nicholas’ now at the New Cathedral (C48, C49 and C50) are accepted as coming from a reredos rather than a tomb, then the scene that they depict is therefore one representing the already crowned Virgin Mary flanked by God the Father and God the Son. Presumably God the Holy Ghost was also depicted. The panel depicting the Holy Ghost (Spirit) as a dove is modern. It is worthy of note than in the other very rare Irish depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin is stone sculpture that survives (like that at Newtown Trim27) where the Crowned Virgin is flanked by God the Father alone, there is a general chronology between the depiction of the Virgin attended by the Trinity

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26 The commonest type of depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin in the National Gallery, London for example is "the traditional format of the Virgin kneeling beside Christ [God the Father] and being crowned by him in the company of Saints and angels. The painting by the Master of Cappenburg, John Rottenhammer and Guido Reni are, however, somewhat different. Two of the paintings, the Guido Reni and the Master of Cappenburg, show the Virgin being crowned by the Trinity in the form of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost", (Thomas 1994, 101). In early medieval art generally The Coronation of the Virgin was sometimes carried out by God the Father only. See Fra Angelico’s The Coronation of the Virgin 1434-1435, Quoniam 1988, Fig. 85 and see Quoniam 1988, Fig. 139 for a Coronation of the Virgin in polychrome ivory of the 3rd quarter of the 13th century. For a recent discussion of Fra Angelico’s The Coronation of the Virgin and colour illustration see Walther (ed.) 2005, 59. Later the entire Trinity are shown crowning her. For a lime wood altarpiece by ‘Master H.L.’ from Breisach, Germany, from the second decade of the 16th century showing the Virgin being crowned, with the dove representing the Holy Ghost above her head and flanked by God the Father and God the Son in the same manner as on C48, C49 and C50 see Molesworth 1965, Fig. 94.

27 For the Newtown Trim, Co. Meath Coronation of the Virgin see Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 198, 211, Plate 200. See also a miniature depiction of this theme on an equally small panel on a 15th century misericord at Carlisle Cathedral where the Virgin is shown as a demi-figure who is being crowned by two angels. These are shown emerging from clouds in Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, Fig. 3.10, 85.
and being crowned or shown already crowned by God the Father while also being attended by the other members of the Trinity and examples.

The Coronation of the Virgin Mary by God the Father and God the Son accompanied by the Holy Ghost is most clearly depicted on the banner of the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny of the 17th century (Fenlon 2001, 19-28). The banner shows God the Father and God the Son holding a crown between them above the head of the Virgin Mary. The Holy Ghost hovers above God the Son who holds a processional cross from which flies a pennant decorated with a cross. This type of attribute is usually associated with the Resurrected Christ. The Virgin, the first and second persons of the Trinity are shown among clouds and the arms of Kilkenny City are shown beneath the Virgin. The cobble-stone-like ‘clouds’ on which the Virgin is depicted on C50 is probably a variation on this type of representation of clouds such as is found on the Confederation Banner. Both the banner and C48, C49 and C50 (collectively) are essentially variations on a well-known theme of the Coronation of the Virgin by the Three Persons of the Trinity such as is found commonly in late Gothic and Renaissance sculpture paintings and prints from various parts of Europe and which rarely survives in Britain and Ireland. The Confederation Banner of the 1640s is an indication of how common such depictions may have been in non-durable materials and its layout and design provides further proof in an Irish context that the three panels C48, C49 and C50 must be viewed not separately as portions of a Trinity along with a depiction of the Crowned Virgin or Virgin Mary after her Ascent Into Heaven, but rather the same theme as is found on the banner28 that is: The Coronation of the Virgin Mary Crowned by the Trinity (Text Fig. 44, p.306).

28 For the banner see for instance the replica of it made by the Dún Emer Guild, Dublin, circa 1960, on the cover of the Old Kilkenny Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1992 and ‘Cover’ opposite 955 and more recently a detailed article by Fenlon 2001, 19-28.
22. **The Coronation of the Virgin Mary by the Trinity: Differences in Dating**

If, as the writer would suggest C48, C49 and C50 were always displayed together and were associated as part of a reredos for example than what is depicted is not the Trinity *per se* but rather the individual persons of the Trinity.

The three panels which comprise the Trinity Crowning the Virgin (C48, C49 and C50) at Galway Cathedral then, were probably originally arranged as a reredos and in much the same positions as they are at present rather than as parts of a tomb. Their positioning is reminiscent of the depiction of the crowning of the Blessed Virgin by the Three Persons of the Trinity which is depicted on the near contemporary banner of the Confederation of Kilkenny which has been most recently discussed by Fenlon (2001, 19-28).

23. **The Trinity and the Crowned Virgin: A Reredos, Altar, a Tomb-Panel?**

Some of the Galwegian panels, which have invariably been interpreted as funerary monument in the past, may possibly have had other functions. This is very likely the case with C48, C49 and C50 now in the New Cathedral, Galway, but originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Plate 33A).

Few definite examples of panels belonging to the reredos from behind an altar occur in Ireland. Hunt has suggested that at Strade, Co. Mayo, ‘The slabs forming the tomb front of the canopied tomb’ (Hunt 1974, 180-1, Plates 253-5) and another tomb front or, as has been suggested, the reredos from an altar carved with a *pieta* bear affinities with some of the productions of the Ossory schools (Hunt 1974, 181, Plate 256).

The Strade carvings appear to be earlier, however, the costume details in particular suggest a date in the second half of the 15th century (Hunt 1974, 116, Vol. 1) It is clear that C48, C49 and C50 should be interpreted as a depiction of God the Father and God the Son in the context of the Coronation of the Virgin. The only objection to this is the fact that God the Father is not shown...
placing the crown on the head of the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Ghost (Holy Spirit) does not occur anywhere in the three panels.

The three slabs do not make sense as separate entities but in combination they do. The crowned Virgin cannot be anything other than part of a Coronation of the Virgin scene and the depiction of the Virgin crowned on her own is unknown in Ireland (except as part of a Coronation of the Virgin scene).

The absence of the Holy Spirit/Ghost suggests that the God the Father and God the Son, instead of forming part of a ‘normal’ Trinity Scene, formed part of a scene showing God the Father and God the Son flanking and crowning the Virgin Mary. The absence of the Holy Spirit/Ghost is unusual, but it seems

Fig. 30. Vocational Symbolism on an 18th century English Glover’s gravestones dated 1782. (After Carrington and Hutton 1945). (No provenance is given).
possible that the scene was shown on a missing panel and that the depiction as represented by the three surviving (and unknown number of missing panels) was the Coronation of the Virgin Mary by the Blessed Trinity rather than the Trinity alone. If this is the case the whole scene would be more than unusual in a funerary context and the possibility is that the three panels combined formed part of an altar reredos on which God the Father and God the Son flanked the crowned Blessed Virgin. If this is the case then the three Galway Cathedral panels are more likely to have a Coronation of the Virgin rather than a Trinity Scene and the only way they could be displayed is much as they are displayed now. Text Fig. 44, p. 302, shows paintings of the Crowning of the Virgin by the three persons of the Trinity by the artists Diego Velasquez, Michael Pacher and Annibale Carracci. These show the same theme as appears to be found on C48, C49 and C50 combined and would seem to provide a good idea of how the panels were arranged.

The appearance of a censing angel which was formerly on the upper right corner of the God the Father panel (Plate 33A) would be more appropriate to a Coronation of the Virgin or Christ in Glory scene rather than to a Trinity Scene. None of the Irish Trinity Scenes show any such censing angels.

Most of the Irish Trinity scenes are derived from the Throne of Grace depiction of the Trinity rather than from the combinations of individual depictions of the Three Persons of the Trinity. This would indicate that they formed a reredos and were not panels from a box or niche-tomb.

It might be argued that God the Father is not shown in the act of crowning the Virgin but is shown raising one hand in blessing while holding a globe in the other. The Virgin Mary has already been crowned by him. God the Son is shown holding his cross and blessing.

C44B (Plate 33B) from the Sir Peter French tomb is simplification to a ‘pseudo’-Trinity scene of this sort of depiction and it is noteworthy that it is not derived from the Throne of the Grace form of Trinity (in which God the Father holds the crucified Christ before him and the Dove representing the Holy Ghost flies above them both) but rather from the same idea as the Cathedral panels.
(C48, C49 and C50) in which the persons of the Trinity flank a central scene. Here the entire central scene is completely omitted and the Franciscan Cemetery Trinity (C44B) is, therefore, a 'copy' of an unusual type (Plate 33B).

Depictions showing Our Lady being crowned are rare in Irish medieval art. She is sometimes, however, shown being Assumed into Heaven, as she is on a fine late 15th (or early 16th century) stone carving panel now in the north wall of the Presentation Convent Chapel at Tralee, Co. Kerry, but originally from the Dominican Abbey in that town.29 A panel from the medieval Church at Kilcornan, Co. Galway but now in the Catholic Church in Clarinbridge nearby, shows Our Lady standing on a crescent moon and with her head surrounded by a circle of stars. This is similar in style to some of the Galway panels under discussion and the treatment of the stiff, formalised drapery, the facial features and the hair of the figure are all reminiscent of C44A-B, and C51. The panel, which like the Galwegian examples just cited, is of uncertain use. It could as easily have been a plaque displayed in a wall, tomb or some other architectural feature probably dated to the end of the 16th or more likely early to mid-17th century. The likeliest function of the panel, however, would seem to have been a reredos and the stone (like the New Cathedral panels; C48, C49 and C50) seems too high to have come from a tomb. This would seem to lend support to the idea that the latter panels were from a reredos and indeed the Tralee depiction of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven is unlikely to have come from a tomb either. It, in fact, resembles Nottingham alabasters in its form, iconography and style and may be a copy of an alabaster altarpiece of reredos or some such feature.30

24. UNIDENTIFIED FIGURES

C74 (Plate 73D) a small now headless demi-figure at the Convent of Mercy cannot be identified. It does have what appears to be defaced foliage in its hands and it clearly is not winged. It might, therefore, be a weeper or a Saint

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29 For an illustration of the Dominican Abbey, Tralee carving see McConvile 1987, 18.
30 This depiction is in fact, highly reminiscent of a stained glass showing the Assumption of Our Lady into Heaven illustrated in Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993; For the glass from East Harling, Norfolk in England and for stained glass at Fairford, Gloucester in England, see Tasker, 1993, Fig. 3.12, 86.
with an attribute. There are a number of Saints who have flowers, especially lilies, as their attributes including St. Joseph and St. Dominic but whether these Saints were intended here it is not now possible to prove. St. Joseph is also frequently depicted holding a flower, usually a lily for example.

25. **ANGELS**

Angels are relatively rare in the Galwegian funerary monument context. There are two angels holding cresset-like objects flanking the Lynch tomb (C54, Plate 68B 68C) at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The Archangel Michael is shown weighing souls on C45 (Plate 31F). The Angel Gabriel is shown announcing to the Blessed Virgin on C22 (Plate 5D). On C44B (Plate 33b) the Three Persons of the Trinity are flanked at the top and bottom of the panel by three and two cherubs respectively. A block from the entablature of a wall-tomb (C65, Plate 74C) is incorporated in the façade of The Abbey Church, Francis Street while another block with an eroded winged head on it at the Convent of Mercy (C66, Plate 75D) may also bear the head of a cherub.

The pair of angels with ‘cressets’ found on C54 (Plates 68B and 68C) are reminiscent of another angel at St. Nicholas’ but are not as accomplished as the detailed carving of an angel positioned on a carved bracket on the northern face from the South Aisle at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Another simpler angel also occurs on the external hood moulding of the western window of the North Aisle of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 65 and Plate 262 for an illustration.)

The Angel Gabriel seems to have been depicted on the Annunciation depicted on C22 to Mother Gabriel (Alias Helen Martin) on a lost recumbent slab from the Franciscan Cemetery dated 1672. The only drawing of it (reproduced in Hayward) is too vague for the details of the angel to be assessed (Plate 5D).
26. CHERUBS

Cherubim are depicted on C65 as well as on C44b where a group of them occur above and below the Three Persons of the Trinity. C66 may also possibly be a very eroded example – all of the examples which occur are of the 17th century, probably all of them date no later than the first half of that century. Those on C44b may well be based on the sort of childlike cherubim which normally occur on box-tombs of the sort that C65 came from – the entablature of a wall-tomb. Standardised cherubim of this type which can be closely paralleled with the Galwegian ones are rare. Those at the Franciscan Church and Convent of Mercy (C65 and C66 respectively) can be best paralleled on the tomb of the First Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins 2011, Plate 3).

27. ANGELS HOLDING CRESESETS OR CHALICES

The badly damaged carving of angels holding either cressets (on which candles may have been burnt in commemoration of the deceased) or chalices on the Lynch tomb (C54) in the south transept of the St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church are difficult to interpret with any certainty because of their damaged condition. They have been badly and deliberately smashed (according to tradition by the Cromwellians sometime after 1652). At Ennis Friary angels hold similar cresset-like chalices to the Wounds of Christ on a crucifixion panel of circa 1470 (Plate 79A).

There is insufficient evidence to show that the objects held by the angels were either cressets or chalices. If they were cressets it is unlikely that they were hallowed but may simply have provided a surface on which candlesticks or candles could have been placed. If on the other hand the objects were chalices they would recall the angels which collect the blood of Christ from His Five
Wounds (or sometimes just some of them), a type of iconography which sees the Wounds as the Wells of Salvation.\textsuperscript{31}

This theme is, in any case, rare in Ireland and where it does occur always involves (as elsewhere) the depiction of the angels varying in number, collecting blood in chalices from between one and five of Christ’s wounds. If we are to take on board Gaffney’s\textsuperscript{32} argument that this particular tomb (C54) was, in fact, Easter Sepulchral, or even Duffy’s argument that some English tombs were used as Easter Sepulchral at Easter, only then the symbolism of the angels holding chalices might be appropriate even if no Crucifixion is present. If the tomb was used sometimes as a symbolic Easter Sepulchral and what the angels hold are cressets their presence might still have been apt (Duffy 1992, 102).

The writer is of the view that the monument was primarily and always a tomb of the Lynch family, and that even if it ever did function as an Easter Sepulchral that it is now impossible to find evidence for such a secondary and temporary use of the monument (Gaffney 1944, N.P.). Nothing can be proven either way and the lack of Irish parallels makes it impossible to say what was intended. Angels projecting from the sides of tombs are, in any case, rare even in Britain.\textsuperscript{33} The best parallel known to the writer is on a tomb in Mallorca Cathedral, Majorca.\textsuperscript{34} On the St. Nicholas’ tomb the cressets are drum-shaped

\textsuperscript{31} Irish examples of the depiction of the motif are rare but angels hold similar cresset like chalices to the hands and feet of Christ on the panels of \textit{circa} 1470 incorporated until recently in the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare. See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 5c3, Plate 239.

\textsuperscript{32} Gaffney 1937, \textit{Our Lady of Galway}, (Pamphlet) (?), Galway, 1937, N.P.

\textsuperscript{33} See for instance Crossley (1941), Plate 167, for a heraldically decorated wall tomb on the north side of the chancel at Newtown-By-Sudbury Church where a large angel carrying a shield is attached to the middle of the inside of the tomb niches on the 15th century monument.

\textsuperscript{34} One of the best parallels for the pair of angels bearing cressets at the sides of the tomb niche can be found on the monument of Bishop Galiana who died in 1374 and whose tomb is attributed to the sculptor Pere Morey and was completed \textit{circa} 1378. This monument which is in Mallorca Cathedral, Majorca bears the bishop’s effigy, a series of weepers on its frontal and is canopied and flanked by tall finials. The angels flank the effigy and carry narrow, faceted cressets with waisted and moulded centres like the St. Nicholas’ example. Candles were left on these. In the background to the tomb-niche the bishop’s funeral and his being carried to Heaven by angels is also shown. See Llompart, Ortega and Palou (with Terrasa) 2007, 68. Angels with cressets and sometimes with long thinner candle sticks are common in Catalan late Gothic art. Two 14th century panels of an altar piece or predella from Malda (Urgell) bearing depictions of St. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist and other saints also have angels bearing long-shafted candle sticks with holes for either Tapers or metal fittings in their moulded and faceted tops. Again a pair of angels who flank an altar piece tabernacle from Rocafort de
with a constriction in the middle. These are similar to the items held by angels on the Ennis tomb panels of \textit{circa} 1470 and on the Mallorca Cathedral example of \textit{circa} 1378 already cited above.

![Stone with a constriction in the middle.]

Fig. 31. Vocational Symbolism of a Mason cut on a stone which is now reused in a 20th century rebuilding of the North wall of the 19th century Augustinian Church, Priory Lane, Galway. Unlikely to be part of a funerary monument, the stone bears the Vocational Tools of a stone mason including a hammer, chisel and set square. The carving is likely to be of post-medieval date.

Nalec (Urgell) have similar candle sticks or cressets. These two examples are in the Cathedral museum (Museu Diocesà de Tarragora, Catalonia). The example from Rocafort de Nalec has the catalogue number 1370-1390. Michaelangelo’s marble Angel Bearing a candlestick may have been designed as one of a pair for either side of a funerary monument (See Molesworth 1965, Fig. 153 for an illustration).
Fig. 32. ‘Lombardic’ inscribed script (A) Detail of C1 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (B) A 12th century German ‘Lombardic’ alphabet after Day, 1910. (C) From a German bell dated 1270. (B) and (C) after Day 1910.)
Fig. 33. Black Letter or ‘Gothic’ Script. (A) Detail of Black Letter inscription as shown by Hardiman (1820) on C23. Though Hardiman shows Black Letter or Gothic Script on several engravings of extant and lost funerary monuments the actual extant monuments have inscriptions in false-relief Roman capitals Black Letter or Gothic Script is very rare in Galwegian sculpture though it occurs on three carvings at Lynch’s Castle, Shop Street. (B) Gothic Script from a late 15th century brass (After Day 1910).
Fig. 34. Roman Block Capitals are the commonest type of lettering on funerary monuments in Galway from the 1550s to the early 18th century. (A) The Walters and (B) Slingesby 18th century monuments at St. Nicholas’ are good post-medieval examples. (C) Shows a part of the inscription on C3.
Fig. 35. Mixed Roman Upper and Lower Case Inscriptions are not common but the Eyre monument at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church is a good example.
Fig. 36. ‘Elizabethan’ or ‘Renaissance’ Letter-forms. These are really Roman Upper Case letter forms with expanded ‘fish-tail’ serifs and dots or bosses added. (A) C3 (detail). (B) Stone carving circa 1534 Bishop West’s Chapel, Ely Cathedral England after Day 1910. (C) Incised wood carving North Walsham, 16th century. (D) Carved stone St. Margaret’s Church, Kings Lynn, England dated 1622. (B-D after Day 1910).
Fig. 37. Italic Script only becomes common in Galway from the 18th century onwards. An example from a monument at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church occurs on an 18th century Eyre monument in the South Aisle.
Fig. 38. (A) and (B) Common Case Scripts occur occasionally but are mainly of post-medieval date in Galway. Both from a post-medieval Eyre monument, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Fig. 39. Gaelic Scripts Detail of C19 showing a mix of Gaelic letter forms. (A) A detail of C6 showing the use of Gaelic D’s in an otherwise Roman Capital inscription. (B) The inscriptions of the epitaph of the first Viscount Mayo, Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo.
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Fig. 40. A Gothic or Black Letter inscription on a plaque, bearing the Royal Arms, Lynch’s Castle, Shop Street.

Fig. 41. Roman and mixed letter forms on a 16th century panel, Abbeygate Street Lower, Galway (B) Late 16th century panel with Roman Capitals and mixed letter forms, Mainguard Street, Galway.
Fig. 42. Statue of St. Clare from the Poor Clares Convent, Nuns’ Island, Galway. This or a similar depiction may have been the inspiration for the depictions of St. Clare carrying a monstrance on C16 and C45 from the Franciscan Cemetery. (After Mac Leod 1947).
28. **Censing Angels**

*C49* originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and now at Galway Cathedral had, until the late 1950s or early 1960s, a partial depiction of an angel apparently flying across in the background to the slab to the right of the figure of God the Father and holding a censer which it seemed to swing (See Plate 83). This is among the later if not the latest depiction in Irish Medieval stone carving of such a scene.

The theme is found on funerary and non-funerary monuments alike though it is rarer on the latter. As regards tomb panels, most of the censing angels are found in the east of the country.

On the St. Lawrence Tomb of *circa* 1462 at Howth (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 50C, Plate 193) a large angel occupies an ogee-headed tomb panel and swings a censer in both hands. A very similar angel in a similar context occurs on another ogee-headed panel on the side of the double Plunkett tomb of around 1463 at Dunsany, Co. Meath (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 187C, Plate 195), and on the stylistically similar Plunkett double tomb at Rathmore, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 200d, Plate 197) dated *circa* 1471 has a remarkably similar angel, in a similar context, while a fourth censer swinging angel on a Plunket-Preston tomb chest at Duleek, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 186C, Plate 198) is also closely similar in style to the Howth Dunsany, Rathmore and Duleek ones. The Duleek tomb is dated by Hunt to the second half of the 15th century.

A variation on this predominantly east of Ireland censing angel is apparently found on the tomb panel of *circa* 1500-20 at St. Werburg’s Church, Dublin City (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 49D, Plate 206), where two angels stand side by side holding censers and stand just above the hand of a blessing bishop with a cross staff. These St. Werburg angels recall (in their positioning) the angels which frequently flank the heads of the deceased on earlier 14th century effigial slabs. The remainder of the Angels listed in Hunt’s Appendix II do not show censing angels.35

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35 Hunt, 1974, Vol. 1, Text and Catalogue, Appendix II Tomb Surrounds *et al.* lists of Iconographical and Hagiographical subjects with details of attributes etc., 245-259, especially 257. The remaining angels listed are the two angels without censers which flank the Pieta on
The censing angel as found on the tomb panels of box-tombs, then, is found exclusively in Hunt’s Dublin Pale and Ossory Pale areas, and is found at earliest the 1450s to the 1620s at latest to judge by Hunt’s dates. They are also found above the figure of a bishop on the wall-screen at Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary.

Censing angels are also found on earlier effigial slabs of the 13th and 14th centuries. They occur as flanking figures on each side of the head of a bishop, possibly John of Taunton (1235-58) at Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare where they swing one and two censors respectively, and censer swinging angels are generally rare on effigial slabs (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 87, Plates 69 and 70). Angels without censers but supporting her head, flank the head of Margaret FitzGerald on her effigial slab of circa 1539 at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 142A-B, Plates 158, 159 and 160). Non-censing angels also occur individually instead of in pairs on the effigies of a Bishop of the second half of the 15th century at Killeen, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 193, Plate 183). One carries a cross on a shield near the heads of Archbishop Tregory of circa 1471 at St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin City (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 48, Plate 185), while a pair of angels carrying crosses also occur on the effigy of Bishop Walter Wellesley (circa 1539) previously at Great Connell and now at Kildare Cathedral (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 89a and Plate 186, King 1991, passim).

Angels with censers which flank the crucified Christ occur on slabs which are also effigial monuments. The double head-slab of the second quarter of the 14th century at St. Patrick’s Church at Trim, Co. Meath for example shows a pair of censing angels flanking the head of Christ (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 209, Plate 100).

As can be seen, then, the use of censing angels on funerary monuments mainly occurs in the East of the country, in Dublin and Ossory Pales areas of Hunt’s designation. Where the censing angels is found in the West of Ireland it is an altar tomb frontal or reredos at Strade, Co. Mayo (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 181, Plate 256). The two angels which occur beneath the arms of Lynch (which Hunt attributes to the Archer family at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway) (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 64, Plate 267) and the fragmentary single angel with a scroll from a tomb found at Athenry, Co. Galway (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 60, Plate 265). Numerous other examples of angels on tombs especially as space fillers between spandrels on box-tombs could be added to this list. See Hunt’s Plates 310 and 311 for examples.
common in Late Gothic sculpture. A censing angel of typically 15th century type occurs on the innermost order of the West Portal of Clonfert Cathedral, Co. Galway. The censing angels on the Galway Cathedral panel is later than most of the depictions of this theme found elsewhere in Ireland which date mainly to the late 15th – 16th centuries.

Angels swinging censers are not common in tomb sculpture but they do occur on both effigial slabs and on figured box-tombs in Ireland.

The earliest depiction on the medieval stone sculpture is on a double effigial tomb-slab at Kells, Co. Meath where, on a monument of the second quarter of the 14th century a pair of censing angels are shown flanking the head of the Crucifixion scene (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 188, Plate 33 for the Kells, Co. Meath tomb-slab of the second quarter of the 14th century).

Angels with what appears to be thurables flank the canopy above the head of the effigial slab of a bishop, perhaps John St. John. St. John, who died in 1243 at Ferns, Co. Wexford (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 262, Plate 65 for the Ferns, Co. Wexford effigy). Good examples of censing angels occur on either side of the head of an effigy of a bishop, possibly John of Taunton at Kildare, Co. Kildare (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 87, Plates 69 and 70 for the Kildare Cathedral effigy, possibly of John of Taunton 1235-85). A pair of censing angels occurs on either side of the head of Christ on a double-headed slab from Trim, Co. Meath which Hunt dates to the second quarter of the 14th century (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 209, Plate 100 for the Trim, Co. Meath slab at St. Patrick’s Church, Trim of the second quarter of the 14th century).

Censing angels are sometimes, but rarely, be given niches of their own on panelled box-tombs as for example on the St. Lawrence tomb at Howth, Co. Dublin where full height standing angels swing censors on either side of the Crucifixion and St. Michael slaying the dragon (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 50C, 144-5, Plate 193 for the Lawrence tomb). A similar pair flanks the flagellation of Christ scene on the Plunket tomb at Dunsaney, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 187C, 205-6, Plate 194 for the Plunket tomb of the 1460 or 1470’s at Dunsaney, Co. Meath), while at Rathmore, Co. Meath a stylistically similar pair of full length
standing angels dispense incense on either side of a depiction of St. Lawrence (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 200D, 212, Plate 197 for the Rathmore tomb of *circa* 1471). At Duleek, Co. Meath a pair of similarly censing angels to the Dunsaney and Rathmore ones flank the Crucifixion as at Howth and there again St. Michael, slaying the dragon, also occurs on a tomb of the Prestons and Plunkets (Hunt 1974, 205, Cat. No. 186C, Plate 198).

Angels swinging censers are also found on doorways, sometimes in positions in which they appear to be sanctifying the entrance to the Church as would seem to be the intention in the case of the slightly truncated late 15th century example on the arched head of the inner-most order of the West doorway of Clonfert Cathedral, Co. Galway.

Two angels swing their censers wildly on either side of Christ as he emerges from the tomb on one of the MacMahon tomb fragments now incorporated in the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare (Plate 79A). This scene is obviously derived from English alabasters. Unlike those shown on the box-tombs from Howth, Co. Dublin, Dunsaney, Rathmore and Duleek, Co. Meath, are in a completely different style. Here they flank a scene depicting the Resurrection of Christ where he is shown emerging from the tomb in a scene which as Hunt shows can be compared well with English Nottingham alabasters (Hunt 1974, Compare Plates 240 and 241 with the English alabasters on Plate 243 and see also Rae (ed. Cosgrove) 1987, Plate 20B for a convenient illustration).

This brief survey of censing angels on funerary monuments is suggestive of some interesting conclusions. The censing angels, therefore, virtually confined to the effigial slabs of Counties Meath and Kildare, while one tomb surrounds most of the full length, censing angels are confined to a stylistically close group of tomb surrounds all of which date to the second half of the 15th century. In the West of Ireland censing angels occur only on the Ennis Tomb (the fragments of the tomb of *circa* 1470 incorporated into the 19th century Creagh tomb). In a few instances, angels swinging censers occur as we have seen on West of Ireland doorways at Clonfert and Clontuskert (Co.
Galway). In no instance do censing angels accompanying depictions of the Trinity (where the Trinity is derived from the Throne of Grace type of depiction, as most Irish examples are). This makes yet another case for the C48 and C49 panel not being parts of a Trinity Scene *per se* but being instead part of a depiction (as it is now displayed along with C50) of the Crowned Virgin flanked by the Trinity. The panels collectively depict the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity. The censing angel formerly occurring on the right of God the Father could then be seen as a very late depiction of such a scene and more in line with scenes derived from the Coronation of the Virgin by the Three Persons of the Trinity. Such scenes on the continent are usually accompanied by angels which are sometimes but not always, shown censing.

### 29. The Angel Gabriel

The angel of the Annunciation is shown appearing to the Virgin Mary on the monument to Mother Gabriel (C22) at the Franciscan Cemetery (Plate 5D).

St. Gabriel is otherwise rare in Ireland, apart from his depiction in the Annunciation scene on C22 about which only sketchy details can be gleaned from Piper’s drawing in Hayward’s book, few other depictions of the Saint can be positively identified.

Hunt lists him as occurring on a fragment of a 16th century tomb-chest now incorporated in the wall of the Sexton’s House at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny (Hunt 1974, Cat. No.154, 193, Plate 317) where he is shown wearing a cross, decorated circlet on his head, a scroll in one hand and a sceptre in the other.

Another carving which possibly shows either St. Gabriel or St. Michael is a fragment at the Carmelite Priory at Kildare, Co. Kildare (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 85, 160 and Plate 217). The carving, unfortunately, has no other attribute which would help to identify it more positively. The circlet with the cross is the only attribute which occurs. The angel has its hands joined on its chest.
29A. **ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL**

St. Michael is shown with a sword in hand and in the act of weighing souls on C45 where other Saints and Apostles are shown in panels. The occurrences of St. Michael is relatively common on Irish late medieval figured tomb panels but this example is probably the latest such depiction to occur. He is named in an inscription below his image on C45 (Plate 31F).

Hunt cites ten pre-1600 examples of his depiction on tomb surrounds placing a question mark before one of these depictions, a possible representation at Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny (Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 256-7). The Archangel is also shown in several Irish metal work depictions and the topic in general has been studied in detail by Roe in two comprehensive papers on the subject (Roe 1971, 481-7 and Roe 1976, 251-264).

The Galwegian representation of the Saint on C45 shows St. Michael in a pose and with attributes which are typical of the Irish late medieval examples. The Irish examples, which are mainly of late and post-medieval date, are divided between representations of St. Michael weighing souls (as on C45) and St. Michael armed with a sword and shield and in combat with the Devil in the form of a dragon.

30. **OTHER ANGELS**

Some of the depictions of angels found on the Galwegian carvings are representations of individual angels while others are of a more generalised type. Cherubim angels and archangels all occur. St. Michael the Archangel is depicted with a sword and weighing a soul in a set of weighing scales on C45 as we have seen above (Plate 31F).

The Angel Gabriel appears in the Annunciation scene on C22. A cherub appears on C65 which, together with C63 and C64, were probably all set in the entablature of a 17th century wall-tomb. C66 is possibly a very eroded version of a cherub of the same type as occurs on C65. A group of five cherubim occur on the upper and lower edges of C44B. The censing angel which once flanked the representations of God the Father on C49 is now gone but, from surviving
photographs, it would seem to have been originally more extensive and its body may well have run onto an adjoining stone.

The two angels which occur on the jambs of the arched niche of C44 each hold either cressets or chalice-like objects. Though their form and positioning is slightly reminiscent of the part of opposed angels which perch on the corbels from which spring the soffit-rib of the arch between the South Aisle and South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, the latter pair are far better carved and accomplished than those of the Lynch tomb (C54). Angels of a similar type occur at Clonfert, Co. Galway on either side of the late 15th century Chancel Arch.

31. **The Apostles**

Christ selected twelve people from amongst his many disciples. These twelve are listed in Matthew 10:2 as Simon (also called Peter) and his brother Andrew, James and John (the sons of Zebedee), Philip, Matthew (the tax collector), James (son of Alphaeus), Thaddeus (known also as Jude), Simon Zelotes and Thomas Didymus (the twins) and Judas Iscariot. After the latter’s suicide Matthew took his place. Later Paul and Barnabas became Apostles.

The Apostles occur as a group on the large and impressive fragments which together form part of C45 I-III. Andrew, James Minor, James Major, John, Jude, Matthias, Matthew, Thomas, Paul, Peter and Simon are all show on C45 I and II in the Franciscan Cemetery which may be termed *The Apostles Crucifixion and Saints Tomb/Altar Fragments* (See Plates 30A, 31A-F and 32B and D). Also shown are St. Michael the Archangel, Mary, the Mother of Christ, St. Mary Magdalen along with St. Clare, St. Francis and St. Michael and the Crucified Christ. Two saints, Patrick and Nicholas are shown flanking the arms of Sir Peter French (C44, Plate 97B), two saints, St. James Major and a Bishop, who is very likely also a Saint, perhaps St. Patrick flank the demi-effigy of an ecclesiastic on C53 (Plates 67A and B). The small demi-figure of a robed figure (perhaps part of a tomb) in the Convent of Mercy, C74 (Plate 73D), might also be a Saint holding his or her Saintly attribute to its chest, in this instance foliate
or a bunch of flowers seems to occur, but whether anything else also occurred or not is uncertain. If the fragmentary attribute is in fact a bunch of flowers then St. Anthony could have been intended. St. Anthony is a Franciscan Saint and give the very close proximity of its find-site to the Franciscan Abbey, St. Dominic too, however was particularly associated with lilies and it seems possible that that Saint might have been intended though it would now be difficult to prove what Saint occurred or whether a female or male Saint was shown. The Apostle, James the Greater, also occurs flanking the ecclesiastical demi-effigy on C53, where he is shown in the left side of the panel. There too is a further Saint who cannot be identified with certainty but may be the Desert Saint, Saint Anthony given his tau-shaped staff and spiral terminals. He might just as well be St. Patrick, however, with his mitre and stylized staff, which with its curled ends might also be an unusual ‘crosier’.

The Apostles of C45 and their attributes are worth analysing to see whether they betray any influences, direct or indirect, from the schools of sculpture identified, for instance, by Hunt (1974 Appendix II, 245-9).

The first thing to be said is that this is an unusually late depiction of the Apostles. This sort of full scheme of Apostles in niches is rare in the West of Ireland generally and there are four other examples apart from the group of Apostles shown on the near contemporary tomb of Tiobard na Long, First Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins 2011).

31A. **Depictions of the Apostles on Irish Funerary and Non-Funerary Sculpture**

Depictions of the Apostles in general occur in larger groups, most commonly on Irish tomb panels but they must also once have been very common on wooden features such as bench ends, parclose screens, altar reredoses and so on. They survive in greater number in Britain than they do in Ireland. In Ireland group depictions of the Apostles are found on Apostle Fonts on which all (or most) of the Apostles are usually depicted along with their emblem or attribute. Apostle fonts are relatively uncommon in Ireland but the best examples occur in
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Co. Meath. On those at Dunsaney, Kilcarne and Crickstown in that county all Twelve Apostles are depicted and Roe (1968, 49-55, 60-66 and 36-45) considers that the Co. Meath examples ‘justifies their consideration as a distinct iconographical group of ‘Apostle Fonts’’ (like those much more commonly found in Britain). One of the best examples of an Apostle Font occurs at St. Peter’s Church in Drogheda, Co. Louth, while the only West of Ireland font to bear depictions of saints is the stoup from Kilballyowen, Co. Clare (Higgins 1994B, 29-32). Because the Apostles’ Creed was, and still is, recited as part of the baptism ceremony, making the depictions of the Apostles an apt choice, the decoration of Baptismal fonts and the Apostles were associated with joint authorship of the creed the Symbolism Apostolorum and the Apostle sequence of the Creed associates snippets of the text with each Apostle as we shall see in the discussion of the Apostle Sequence below.

The commonest depictions of the Apostles in the Irish funerary tradition is to be found on the Ormond and Ossory tombs of the 15th and 16th centuries as discussed by Hunt (1974). Survivals of an entire sequence of the Apostles on tombs into the end of the 16th or early 17th centuries are rare however, and it is only in the West of Ireland that any such survivals occur. The most complete group of Apostles occurs on C45 from the Franciscan Cemetery. In the early 17th century another crude group occur on the tomb of Tiobard na Long at Ballintubber, Co. Mayo, where the Apostles occur on the frontal and sides of the tomb (Higgins 2011).

A link chronologically to the Apostle groups on tombs (between the 15/16th century Ossory and Ormond ones and the West of Ireland examples) may be the use of incomplete groups comprising some Apostles and some other Saints on the canopied and traceried tombs at Kilconnell, Co. Galway and Strade, Co. Mayo (Plates 58 and 48-9).

The Kilconnell (Plates 39B and C) and Strade (Plates 48A and C) tombs combine features which are later to occur further to the West in Galway (See C54 for the tracery and C45 for the depiction of the apostles). There is a mixed presentation of Apostles and other Saints on the Kilconnell, Sligo Abbey and
Strade canopied and traceried tombs (and on the Strade Abbey reredos) as well as the Sligo Abbey canopied traceried tomb of 1605. This mixing of apostles and other saints on the West of Ireland canopied and traceried tombs is common. These figured monuments seem to fulfil partially the symbolic and iconographical role fulfilled by free-standing or partly free-standing box-tombs, with 15/16th century effigial mensas and saint-figured side and ends in the Ossory Dublin Pale and Ormond groups of tombs which Hunt identifies.

In the West of Ireland figured tombs are rarer and the Apostles and other Saints are mixed together. The Franciscan Cemetery tomb (or altar), the Sligo Abbey canopied and traceried tomb (Plate 45A), the Sligo reredos, the Ballintubber, Co. Mayo, tomb of the first Viscount Mayo of the early 17th century and C45 are all the final off-shoots of the Apostle-tomb tradition. In some ways this tradition is also reflected indirectly in a minor manner in the way in which groupings of Saints are used in East Galway and West Offaly above the Dean Odo doorway of the Cathedral of Clonmacnoise, the 15th century west doorway of Clontuskert Abbey, the figured font at the same site, and the saints on the inserted order of the West Door of Clonfert Cathedral for example.

C45 represents the last attempt at showing all of the Apostles on a late medieval tomb which despite its Late Gothic finials and crocheting and ‘folk-art’ style Saints reminiscent of the Latest ‘Gothic’ figural sculpture in Ireland – to be met with also on the tomb of Tiobard na Long at Ballintubber. The Late Gothic features are combined with Renaissance style arcade heads, spirals, and Classical minor Renaissance style decoration as well. While C45 is the latest tomb (or altar) to follow the trend (at several removes the Apostle Tomb tradition) is also typically for these later examples mixes the Apostles with other Saints which are not part of the usual grouping. Though this was sometimes rare on the Ormond and Ossory figured tombs and on the Apostle Fonts, generally the non-Apostle Saints were fewer in number than they were to become in the late 16th and early 17th century in the western counties of Ireland.
32. **THE APOSTLES SEQUENCE AND THE GALWEGIAN MONUMENTS**

In medieval depictions of Saints on tombs and on architectural features it was frequent for a specific sequence to be used in the representation of the Apostles, and prophets, especially in English and continental sculpture. This sequence was sometimes based on the way in which they occurred in the Apostles’ Creed and sometimes a match was made between an individual Apostle and an Old Testament Prophet.

The use of the Apostles sequence, however, occurs on Medieval British and European stone sculpture is not well paralleled in Ireland. Hunt (1974, Appendix II, 245-259) and Roe (1968, 19-21) have commented on how infrequently the surviving groups of Apostles on Irish tomb panels conform to the Apostles sequence. The sequence is essentially that which occurs in the *Credo* or Apostles’ Creed and Canon of the Mass and giving the name of the Old Testament prophet, the Apostles and the relevant section of the Apostles’ Creed have been published by several writers including Anderson (1971) and Bottomley (1978). Traditionally, a single segment of the Creed was attributed to each Apostle. In some of the fully developed British and continental European examples of such schemes (none of which occur in Irish stone carving) each Apostle was balanced by a prophet who foretold the segment of the Creed with which that apostle was associated. Frequently, these segments of the prayer were linked with specific pieces of iconography or symbolic ‘scenes’ including the images of God Enthroned, the Nativity, Pentecost, The Coronation of the Virgin and so on. Runs of such depictions, where they occurred, were not always complete in British and Continental iconographic depictions and many variations occur.

**THE APOSTLE SEQUENCE IN IRELAND GENERALLY**

The Apostle Sequence had a strong influence in medieval iconography mainly because of the belief that the Apostles’ Creed ‘...was the product of the Apostles as a corporate body’ (Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 93). From the belief ‘...arose the practice of associating a phrase of the Creed with each of the
Apostles’. This practice led to the frequent placing of the Apostles in the same sequence on tombs and other items of sculpture as their associated phrase appeared in the Apostles’ Creed. In England, the Old Testament prophets were often linked through phrases associated with them to the Apostles and complete sequences occur on medieval stained glass windows for example (See Tasker 1993 for examples of sequence in stained glass windows at Fairford, Gloucestershire, Plates 5.1, 5.2 and 95-7).

Another sequence which was sometimes followed for the depiction of the Apostles was to be found in the prayer Communicantes in the Canon of the Mass (Rae 1970A, 4 and Gillespie 1994, 159). The Apostles’ Creed and its division into sub-sections, each of which was allotted to a separate Saint.

The sequence of the occurrence of the Apostles on the three panels which form parts of C45 I-II do not conform to the sequence in the Apostles’ Creed to any great degree, yet it almost seems as if there is an echo or survival of that sequence in the position of some of the Apostles alongside each other. The table below shows the Apostles numbered as they occur in the Creed Sequence along with their positioning on the three panels of C45. The sequence in all three panels is mixed and in all three of the panels is interrupted by Franciscan Saints (Panel I) by Franciscan and Dominican saints (along with the Archangel Michael (Panel II)) and by the Crucifixion flanked by Mary the Mother of Christ and Mary Magdalen (Panel III). Even without these other personages interruptions the Apostles would still be mixed. Despite all this, however, Nos. 2, 3 and 4 on Panel III (Andrew, James the Great and John) are in the Creed sequence. On the same panel Nos. 5 and 6 (James the Less and Philip) also follow each other in the proper sequence (despite being interrupted by the presence of No. 10 (Jude) and also Mary the Mother of Christ, the Crucifixion and Mary Magdalen. On Panel II and position of Simon and Matthew (Nos. 9 and 8 respectively in the Creed Sequence) have been reversed.

In Ireland the sequence of the Apostles is in Hunt’s words ‘simple and uncomplicated’. There is not the same diversity and range as found on the Continent (or indeed in Britain) but the Apostles are commonly depicted with the
same attributes and features. The order in which they appear ‘seems to be loosely based on that in which the Apostles are listed in the Diptyches of the Canon of the Mass, which, of course, was the same in the Sacrum. Use in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Ireland as in the Missal in 1960’ (Hunt 1974, 108). This was the list more generally known to the 16th century mason than those in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament. No specific liturgical importance can be attributed to their order.

According to Hunt each workshop identified by him seems to have used its own slight variations on the sequences mentioned above (Hunt 1974, 112-116).

The only Galwegian funerary monument with a series of Apostles depicted is C45 I-III at the Franciscan Cemetery. These three panels are from the same feature and have been dubbed The Apostles Saints and Crucifixion Panel (See Catalogue entry and Plates 30A, 31A-F, 32B and 32D).

In attempting to ascertain how the panels might have been arranged the sequence of the occurrence of the saints has been tabulated in the diagram below, but it is clear from this that there is little correspondence between the positioning of the Saints on the panels and their sequence in the Creed.
33. **Saint Andrew**

This Saint is depicted only on C45 the panels bearing the Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion at the Franciscan Cemetery. He is rarely depicted except as part of a grouping of Apostles. On the continent often he is shown usually as an old bearded man with his cross or a fisherman’s net. He was crucified at Petra traditionally on a saltire cross but the earliest depictions of him show an ordinary Latin cross with depictions of the X-shaped St. Andrew’s cross being uncommon before the 14th or 15th centuries (Hunt 1974, 250-252). In Ireland, he is invariably shown as part of a group of Apostles on late medieval box-tombs. Here on C45 he is shown fittingly, in the same niche as St. James the
Greater. This Galway depiction is unusual in that the Saint is shown holding a long-shafted Latin (unequal armed) cross in both hands rather than a saltire or x-shaped cross.

33. St. Bartholomew

The Saint is depicted once in the Galwegian corpus along with the other Apostles on C45. Here the Saint is holding a book in one hand and a flesher’s knife with a round sanctioned handle in the other (Plate 31B). This attribute is a consistent feature of almost all depictions of the Saint. Of the fourteen pre-1600 depictions of the Saint listed by Hunt (1974, Appendix II, 252) thirteen have a flesher’s knife and on the remaining carving the depiction is unclear (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 107B). In five instances out of the thirteen mentioned the Saint also holds a book as he does on C45. The nearest pre-1600 West of Ireland depiction of the Saint is on the McMahon tomb fragments incorporated in the 19th century into the Creagh tomb at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare (Plate 60C).

Most of the examples cited by Hunt (1974) occur on figured tombs from Counties Kilkenny (7 examples), Tipperary (4 examples), Waterford (2 examples), Kildare and Clare (1 example each).

The flesher’s knife held by the Saint on C45 is clear and unequivocal and the name S. BARTHO occurs beneath the carving. He shares the same niche as St. Matthias.

34. St. James the Greater

This Saint is one of the most commonly depicted Saints in Irish medieval sculpture and he also occurs along with the other Apostles on C45. There is a further depiction of him wearing a scallop shell pendant on a chain around his neck on C53. Hunt lists some nineteen depictions of St. James the Greater on pre-1600 tomb sculpture alone (Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 250) and other examples could be cited both in stone and in other media. Other examples of depictions of St. James include C41. Invariably St. James is depicted as a pilgrim and this is the case with C45 and C53 as well. Most Irish depictions of
the Saint are, (as is the case with his depiction on C45 and C53) relatively straightforward. On C45 he has a short pilgrim’s staff and a scallop-shell badge on his breast while on C53 he is shown in an unusual manner for Ireland in that he wears a chain with a pendant scallop shell around his neck.

35. **St. James Minor**

This Saint occurs only on C45 where he appears alongside other Apostles. St. James Minor is relatively commonly depicted in Irish figure sculpture and Hunt (1974, Appendix II, 251 and 108) includes some fifteen pre-1600 representations of him in his *corpus* of which he regarded as questionable. These two carvings from Castlemartin, Co. Kildare and Inishtioge, Co. Kilkenny show a Saint bearing a club. This would seem to indicate that it is, in fact, St. James Minor who is depicted.

The representations of the Saint dating to pre-1600 cited by Hunt show a variety of attributes accompanying carvings of this Saint. A club appears in four of the fourteen examples cited by Hunt and a club and a book appear in another. A book and a saw occur together in another four instances. A staff and a book occur on one example while a cross-staff, pen and an ink horn are the attributes which accompany another depiction of the Saint. In two of the fifteen the attribute is unfortunately either defaced or not clearly visible. The Galwegian depiction on C45 is also unusual and individualistic. The attribute shown is a staff-like implement with a backward-turning wedge-shaped handle. This may be a fuller’s beating stick or club which is a common symbol of this Saint’s martyrdom.

37. **St. John the Evangelist**

This Saint is depicted along with other Apostles on C45 only where he is shown holding a chalice from which emerges a snake representing evil, the devil and symbolically the poison which he was given to drink. Hunt cites some twenty-one pre-1600 depictions of the Saint on tomb sculpture in which the attributes associated with him vary considerably (Hunt 1974, Appendix I, 250-
251). Of these he is shown with a palm in three instances, a palm and a book in two carvings and a book alone on one. He is frequently shown with a chalice. A chalice alone is shown in two instances, and a chalice with a lamb in two examples, in one instance the chalice has a dove in it, while a dragon emerges from the chalice on a carving from the Rock of Cashel, Co. Tipperary. A depiction at Thurles, Co. Tipperary shows a chalice with the devil emerging from it.

In one instance, the Saint holds a chalice while pointing towards it and in another he holds his right hand over the chalice while burning with his left hand.

The Saint is shown clean-shaven in twenty of the twenty-one depictions cited by Hunt. On the MacCragh tomb at Lismore, Co. Waterford he is shown bearded and holding a chalice (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 250B, Plate 337).

38. **St. Matthew**

St. Matthew is depicted alongside other Apostles on C45 and this is the only carving of him known from Galway City. He is named below his depiction. Hunt lists fifteen depictions of the Saint (Hunt 1974, Appendix I, 252,-3). His attributes vary on the Irish depictions of him. Of the fifteen pre-1600 depictions of him on tomb sculpture listed by Hunt he is shown with a sword in five cases, a knife in two, a scythe-like weapon in three, a halberd or cross-staff and a sparth in one possible instance (Hunt 1974, 253). In the last two instances, the carving is either incomplete or unclear. A possible sparth is shown on a Rice tomb at Waterford, Co. Waterford, see Hunt (1974, Cat. No. 255B, Plate 271).

On No. 45 Matthew is depicted as the virtual twin of St. Simon. His attribute here is an unusual one, a long handled, apparently socketed axe with a wide crescentic blade and a narrow cylindrical socket.

39. **St. Paul**

This Saint is shown only on C45 where he is depicted with a sword and a book which are his usual attributes, though in Hunt’s list of pre-1600
depictions of him he holds only a sword in eight of eleven instances where he is shown and a sword and a book in three. In the post-1600 depictions not listed by Hunt like C45 and on the Ballintubber 17th century tomb of Tiobard na Long he has both a sword and a book (Egan 1962, cover).

The Saint is shown alongside St. Peter (as is usual) in C45 and the Saints are depicted as almost identical figures.

40. **St. Peter**

One of the most commonly depicted Apostle on Irish medieval funerary monuments, St. Peter only occurs once in the Galwegian corpus, on C45.

Hunt, in his corpus of pre-1600 AD sculpture lists no less than twenty-five depictions of this Saint (Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 248-9) and he also occurs on some later monuments including the tomb of Tiobard na Long Burke at Ballintubber Abbey (See Egan 1962, cover). He is also shown occasionally on non-funerary sculpture such as wayside crosses (King 1985, 13-33) and fonts (Roe 1968, 19). Invariably he is depicted showing one or two keys and sometimes two keys and a book (as is depicted on C45).

The iconography of St. Peter is consistent throughout the Irish funerary monuments and little can be said about how he is depicted. In this instance (on C45) he is shown as a virtual twin of St. Paul.

41. **St. Philip**

Another commonly depicted Saint, he occurs on no less than fifteen pre-1600 monuments listed by Hunt (1974, 108-9, Appendix II, 252). On Galwegian monuments he occurs only on C45. On the fourteen of these where an attribute can be identified he has loaves of bread in eleven instances. He is shown with a book and cross-staff at Dunfierth, Co. Kildare and has set-square and loaves on a tomb at Waterford; at Lismore he is shown with a bardiche (a pole-arm with a long, curved, lunate blade).

On C45, the only Galwegian depiction of the Saint occurs where he is shown alongside St. James Minor. His attribute is a cross-staff from which
foliage springs with the arms of the cross-staff inclined to one side. The Ossory 
tombs invariably show the Saint with loaves of bread while the Co. Kildare 
tombs at Dunferth and the Rice tomb in Waterford Cathedral show him with a 
plainer cross-staff than that which he holds on C45 (Hunt 1974, Plates 147 and 271).

42. **ST. SIMON**

   St. Simon is shown along with other Apostles on C45 where his 
   attribute is a saw rather than a sparth or spear which is the more usual attribute. 
   The Saint also holds a book in his other hand. 

   The sparth is this Saint’s identifying attribute on seven of the thirteen 
   Irish pre-1600 depictions of him on funerary figure sculpture (Hunt 1974, 

   St. Simon hardly features at all in the gospels and very little is known 
   about him but according to various accounts he was martyred by being either 
sawn in half or crucified while preaching in Persia in the 1st century A.D. (Sill 1975, 14). 
   The vast majority of Irish late medieval depictions show him holding a sparth. He is shown with such a weapon at Castlemartin, Co. Kildare, Jerpoint, 
   Co. Kilkenny and on three depictions at St. Canice’s Cathedral in the same 
   county as well as at St. John’s Church in Kilkenny City. He is also shown with a 
sparth at Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary. He is depicted with a saw at Ennis, Co. Clare 
   and at Lismore, Co. Waterford as well as on C45 from Galway City (Hunt 1974, 
   253). At Gowran, Co. Kilkenny the attribute is unclear while a ship is his 
symbol on carvings at Thurles and on the Rock of Cashel, both in Co. Tipperary. 
   A cross bearing his name is shown in a tomb at Dunferth, Co. Kildare (Hunt 1974, 253).

43. **ST. THADDEUS**

   This Saint is depicted along with the other Apostles on C45 alone. The 
   usual attribute of the saint in Irish stone sculpture is a club or a cross-staff. Hunt
(1974, 252-3) lists twelve depictions of the saint of which he puts a question mark before three of these. On C45 the attribute is a short spear or sparth but it could be a spear or sparth. A spear, lance or club was the usual attribute of the saint. The saint was pierced with a lance or spear or beheaded with a halberd according to various accounts. The unusual attribute for an Irish carving of this saint is interesting as it is a common attribute elsewhere in Europe (Sill 1975, 12).

44. **St. Thomas**

This saint is depicted only on C45. His usual attributes are a spear or lance and in the case of C45 he is shown with a spear and a book.

Of the fourteen pre-1600 depictions listed by Hunt (1974 Vol. 1, Appendix II, 251) he is shown with a spear and book in two cases (Hunt 1974, 251). He is shown with a spear and a book at Dunfirth, Co. Kildare and at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City whereas he is shown with a spear alone in a further eight instances (Hunt 1974, 251). Rarely is he depicted with a carpenter’s square and book as he is at Lismore, Co. Waterford (Hunt 1974, 251). He is rarely named on carvings except on C45 and at St. John’s Kilkenny where he is named in a banderole bearing his name.

45. **Other Saints**

Apart from the Apostles further saints occur on the Galwegian monuments. St. James the Greater and another saint (possibly St. Anthony to judge by the spiral ended tau-shaped crosier or cross-staff which he holds) occur on C53. Most of the other saints occur only on one monument, C45, where Franciscan and Dominican saints feature alongside the Crucifixion, the Virgin and St. Mary Magdalen. This particular monument seems to have been designed for or by someone who had a particular devotion to the saints of the Mendicant Orders including Saints Clare, Francis and Dominic. In some instances individual carvings, pictures, paintings associated with particular churches named after their patron, have depicted on them saints who have particular
associations with a particular religious house or order. This would be expected in
medieval and late medieval times when many religious houses relied greatly on
the patronage of persons who had particular devotion to a specific group of
saints. Thus some paintings and monuments often have gathered together the
saints of a particular religious order or group of houses.

46. **The Iconography of the Monastic Order Saints**

The group of panels, which the writer has entitled the ‘Apostles, Saints
and Crucifixion Panels’ (C45) bears no less than four depictions of saints
associated with the medieval Mendicant Orders – St. Francis (founded in 1216),
St. Clare, St. Anthony and St. Dominic (founded in 1223).

The occurrence of these saints together on C45 would seem to indicate
that whoever commissioned the monument was a devotee of the Franciscan and
Dominican saints. Alternatively it was commissioned for the Franciscans or a
Franciscan personage. Would the Franciscans, with their vow of poverty have
been in a position to accept or to have sponsored for them such a rich and
elaborate monument? This is doubtful. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans
were mendicant orders and depended on alms for their income.

Anyone who has written on this monument previously has assumed that
the panels come from a tomb. What if the panels were instead parts of an altar
frontal and or an altar reredos? If they had formed a backdrop they would
probably have been very large and would have projected a lot from the wall.
They are just as likely to have formed an altar. The lack of an inscription on the
surviving panels is or is not, of course, proof that the monument is not funerary
in nature.

The only other depiction of a Saint of a monastic order is the image of
St. Clare on C16.

47. **The Stigmata of Saint Francis**

The image of St. Francis, on C45, the saint is named below the
depiction and is shown bearing the wounds of the stigmata (Plate 31B).
Interestingly one of his hands is raised with the palms outwards to show the
wounds in them. This is shown in a similar manner to which the other Irish
eamples of Christ showing His Five Wounds are depicted. The saint is shown in
the habit of his order, he wears a rope girdle and is tonsured. He is shown in a
similar pose as in one of the panels which occur above the late 15th century west
door of Kilconnell, Co. Galway (Plate 58C). St. Francis is depicted on a large
number of Irish carvings.

In scenes showing St. Francis receiving the stigmata the saint is usually
shown alongside a crucifix. The wounds from the Christ figure on the crucifix
are usually connected by lines, rays, or ‘beams’ to the wounds borne by the saint.
Sometimes streams of blood from the two occur. Depictions in stone of St.
Francis receiving the stigmata in this manner do not occur in Ireland. Hunt
(1974, Appendix II, 255) lists no examples of him receiving the stigmata though
there are depictions of him showing or with the wounds of the stigmata at St.
Werburgh’s, Dublin (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 49C, Plate 207), Kilconnell, Co.
Galway (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 67B, Plate 259), Meelick, Co. Galway (Hunt 1974,
Cat. No. 68), New Abbey, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 81B),
Mothel, Co. Waterford (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 251, Plate 333) and Lismore (Hunt
1974, Cat. No. 250) in the same county. To these depictions several further ones
can be added including the carving at Bradninch in Devon, England (See Tasker
(ed. Beaumont) 1993, 131 Fig. 5.120). St. Francis is shown receiving the wounds
of the stigmata from a radiant crucifix and the wounds of Christ are linked by
threads or curved flows of blood to the wounds in the saint’s hands, feet and side
on a painted wooden screen and Bradninch in England (Tasker 1993, 131).

A wall painting at Slapton, Northamptonshire, England shows the saint
kneeling with his hands raised before a crucifix from which emanate streams of
blood. There is a fragmentary depiction of the same theme on a wall painting at
Doddington, Kent in England. The same topic occurs in a much restored panel of
glass at St. Peter Manscroft, Norwich, according to Tasker (1993, 131).

48. CONFUSION IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE STIGMATA
The depiction on **C45** shows St. Dominic in the same relative position vis-à-vis the crucifix as St. Francis is often depicted in scenes showing him receiving the stigmata and one wonders if a scene of this type was the inspiration behind this particular carving and the crucifix which, in this case, is entwined with flowers.

English depictions do not help to elucidate on the exact source of the Franciscan Cemetery depiction and such depictions are very common over a long time span in any case. Despite his being the founder of the Dominican Order (Black Friars) he is almost unknown in English art according to Tasker. Tasker (1993) also illustrates a depiction of him (Fig. 5.94) on a painted wooden screen at East Portlemouth, Devon, England and cites just a few other depictions of the saint who is included among the saints on the reredos at Thornham Park, Suffolk along with St. Peter Martyr (Tasker 1993, Fig. 5.95).

St. Francis is frequently and typically shown receiving the Stigmata from a crucifix in the manner in which St. Dominic receives the stigmata on **C45**. Examples of St. Francis’ Receiving of the stigmata are very common in medieval art. See for example the depiction by Giotto of *circa* 1300 (Text Fig. 43A).
Fig. 43 (A). St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata by Giotto *circa* 1300. The Louvre, Paris (Courtesy of Musée du Louvre). (B) The Sforza, Hours Late 15th century British Library. (After Evans 1992).
49. **ST. CLARE OF ASSISI (1193/4 – 1253)**

This saint rarely occurs in Irish medieval figure sculpture, yet two depictions of her occur in Galway, notably on C45 I (Plate 31D) on which the Apostles, the Crucifixion, and other Franciscan and Dominican saints are depicted and on C16, Plate 5B. The monument is very likely to have been made specifically for the Franciscans by someone who had a strong and specific devotion to the saints of the Franciscan Order, St. Dominic is also depicted. Irish depictions of the saint are all of late date. A similar scene is depicted in a wooden carving of St. Clare holding a monstrance from the Dominican Convent, Galway. This statue (Text Fig. 42, p. 229) shows the saint in the same garb and with a very similar monstrance to that shown on C45.

Another probable depiction is shown on C16, also at the Franciscan Cemetery (Plates 5B, 5E and Cat.Fig. 16).

C45 is captioned ‘S. Clare’. The second example, C16, has all of the attributes of St. Clare and is either a carving depicting her holding a monstrance and the crosier of an Abbess, in the habit of her order or else (and much less likely) is intended to be an effigy of the deceased Caet Dily (?Daly) on whose slab it appears, all in all it is most likely to represent St. Clare.

The saint is often depicted as an Abbess (as on C16) and she became the first Franciscan Abbess in 1215. She is sometimes shown also as a miracle worker. She is supposed to have repelled an assault by Saracen mercenaries in the pay of Frederick II by appearing on the walls of Assisi with either a pyx or monstrance containing the communion host of the Blessed Sacrament, and this may be what she is shown doing on C16 (Cat. Fig. 16) and C45 (Plates 32B and 32D).

On both C45 and C16 St. Clare is shown bearing a tall monstrance of a similar type and in each case a communion host can be seen depicted on the carving. She is shown in her habit (of a grey or brown colour with a white coif and black veil). She is also with a rope girdle around her waist like other Franciscans with the three knots representing poverty, chastity and obedience.
The crosier on C16 indicates either that Saint Clare or the deceased was an Abbess.

All in all, the fact that a miracle-working monstrance and crosier are shown held by the habited nun it seem more likely that the figure is intended to represent St. Clare rather than being an effigy of the deceased.

Definite medieval depictions of St. Clare outside of Galway City are not known, therefore, and C45 at the Franciscan Cemetery is the only known late medieval stone carving on which St. Clare is actually named. None of Hunt’s unidentified female saints (Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 245-259) can be positively identified as St. Clare although several have a veiled saint shown with an abbess’s crosier and a book, none have the monstrance as is depicted in the two Galwegian carvings (C45 and C16). On C16 (Plate 5B and 5E) where the large effigial figure bearing the emblems of St. Clare (a monstrance and an abbess’s crosier) is shown in the habit of the Franciscan Second Order. This representation may be intended to represent St. Clare rather than the deceased CAET DILY or DALY whose epitaph appears on the stone.

Although Hunt (1974) identifies no example of St. Clare in his corpus it seems possible that one of the figures which he includes among his ‘Unidentified Figure – Female’ carvings might represent the saint. The ‘Abbess’ on the end panels of a tomb of 1500-20 at St. Werburg’s is shown cloaked and seems to hold a staff or crosier (now defaced) (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 49D, Plate 206). The Figure wears a cloak over one shoulder and, besides the possible staff or crosier, has no attributes to identify her definitely with St. Clare, though the staff or crosier would suggest her status as an abbess. No habit is shown.

The carving of a woman on the end-panel of the St. Lawrence tomb at Howth, Co. Dublin bears a book and a crosier with a foliated head. She also wears a wimple, veil, and cloak and carries a book (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 50B, Plate 192). This figure must remain classed as unidentified, but it may possibly be St. Clare. Hunt identifies her as ‘Abbess’. A similar Abbess with a veil, wimple and voluminous cloak and who is also shown holding a book in one hand and a crosier in the other is to be found on fragment of a tomb chest, now in the
gable of the Sexton’s House at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 154, Plate 316). This has features in common with the Howth carving and Hunt (1974) for the fragment at the Sexton’s House at St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny identifies it as the Abbess of the 16th century. The figure has a pleated barbe or wimple as well as a veil. A female with the same attributes as listed above occurs on the Plunkett tomb of *circa* 1471 at Rathmore, Co. Meath is, however, identified as St. Brigid. She is shown with a veil, cloak, pleated garment and holds an outwardly turned crosier in one hand and a book in the other (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 200C, 212 and Plate 196 for this Rathmore, Co. Meath carving). A carving of a female saint at Dunsany, Co. Meath shows a female saint with and out-turned crosier and a book on the tomb surrounds of a Plunkett knight and his wife or *circa*1463-12 (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 187, 205, Plates 194-95). Another good representation of St. Clare carrying her crosier and a large monstrance with its doors opened to show the sacred host occurs on the Colman-Gould chalice which was made in Cork in 1639 (Krasnodebska 2009, Plate 20 for an illustration).

Another veiled saint, possibly St. Clare, with a pleated skirt or habit which is belted at the waist is shown carrying a staff with a club-like or pear-shaped head. She has an unidentified object at her breast and is depicted on the frontal of the O’Crean tomb (1506) at the Franciscan Abbey, Sligo, Co. Sligo.

The depictions of St. Clare at C45 and perhaps her representation on C16 also may have been influenced by imported foreign statues. During the Penal Laws (1691-1828) statues were being imported from the continent to replace those seized by the government or destroyed or damaged through puritanical zeal of the Cromwellians. A statue of wood of 17th century type, (an import from Spain or Flanders according to MacLeod (1947a, 126), is now at the Poor Clare Convent, Galway. It is likely that imported statues such as this (if not this actual example which is believed by the members of the Poor Clare Order ‘was sent to their convent from Spain or Flanders in the early years of the 18th century’ accorded it MacLeod could have influenced carvings in stone like the depictions of St. Clare on C45 and C16, certainly the high narrow monstrance is
very similar on the wooden statue to the examples shown on the carvings just mentioned and St. Clare herself has many features in common with both carvings, especially C16.

St. Clare is shown wearing conventional dress and holding her monstrance and the rope girdle is worn in the early manner towards the front of her body. The statue is clearly another depiction of the miracle of 1252 when the Saracens had actually managed to break into the nun’s cloisters in Assisi, but were repulsed by the saint.

Though the ‘dumpy’ folk-art style of the depiction of St. Clare on C45 is not particularly traceable to another prototype, but it and C16 show the same event in the life of St. Clare and may have been influenced, even at several removes, by foreign, imported statues.

50. **ST. CLARE AS ABBESS**

From the above discussion it seems that on C16 it is St. Clare that is depicted rather than the deceased and that she is shown as an Abbess, and possibly because she was the first abbess of her order. She is holding the foliated crosier, which is her ‘staff of office’. She is also dressed in the habit of her Order. Besides this she is shown as a miracle-worker who defeated the Saracens by the display of the Blessed Sacrament in a monstrance before them. In C45 she is also shown bearing that same attribute and the iconography makes clear her role as an Abbess as well as a miracle-working saint.

51. **ST. DOMINIC**

This saint is rarely depicted in Irish funerary sculpture, and where he is shown, he is most commonly depicted in the West of Ireland. He is depicted on C45 at the Franciscan Cemetery (Plate 31F). Hunt cites only four examples of the occurrence of the saint but puts a question mark before each of all the four examples which he lists. See Hunt’s Appendix II, 255, Vol. 1 (Text) which lists the instances as follows:

Plate 268, Cat. No. 217 (?) Sligo, Co. Sligo, Attribute: habit and cowl.
Cat. No. 247 (?) Thurles, Co. Tipperary, Attribute: habit with rosary and cross on breast.
Plate 335, Cat. No. 351 (?) Mothel, Co. Waterford, Attribute: habit with cross on breast.

This writer would tend to accept some of these examples as instances where St. Dominic is intended. The Athenry, Co. Galway, depictions of St. Dominic occurred on a lost fragmentary panel for the ingoing of canopied (and probably traceried) wall-tomb of the same general type as the surviving canopied and traceried tomb which still survives in the same building (the Dominican Priory at Athenry). The figure is shown in the habit of a monk on a substantial monument at a Dominican site. There are no other attributes apart from the clothing of a monk but the fact that the stigmata is not shown would seem to indicate that he cannot be specifically associated with another saint, such as St. Francis who is most often shown with that attribute despite the fact that St. Francis, St. Clare, St. Dominic and other saints of a later period all received the stigmata. Thus, we have just the negative evidence to indicate (on balance) that the saint is one of those of the monastic orders, and the context to indicate that St. Dominic rather than another saint is shown. Hunt also believes the fragment to have come from an ‘angle-shaft, probably from a gabled tomb of Western type’ and dates the Dominican Priory carving to the late 15th early 16th century (Hunt, 1974, Plate 264, Cat. No. 62). The moulding with the double grooves on the sides of this fragment are difficult to find parallels for on canopied, traceried tombs.

The possible Thurles, Co. Tipperary depiction of St. Dominic which Hunt cites shows a saint in a habit who wears a rosary beads with a cross on the breast. Hunt is uncertain whether this carving represents a monk or a nun but attributes it to the late 16th century. If this is in fact St. Dominic, this depiction is (like the others cited so far) is interesting because it is of relatively late date. This fact, along with the occurrence of a rosary beads, would seem to suggest that St. Dominic is depicted. St. Dominic had a particular devotion to the rosary and is
also shown with a rosary on C45 at the Franciscan Cemetery in Galway. (For the Thurles, Co. Tipperary example see Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 247, 231, Vol. 1: Text and also Hunt 1974, Appendix II, 255.)

St. Dominic is often said to have ‘invented’ the Rosary but this is not accurate though devotion to that prayer is however characteristic of the Dominican Order and they did much to promote it. The saint’s cult seems to have been rather a vehicle for the promotion of the Rosary especially from the later 15th century onwards; an association with St. Dominic is evident in various paintings such as Dürer’s 1506 Madonna of the Rose Garlands (in the National Museum Prague), Caravaggio’s 1605-7 Madonna of the Rosary now at Vienna and Tiepolo’s ceiling fresco of 1737-9 in the Church of Gesuati, Venice (Murray and Murray 1998, 140-141).

St. Dominic’s usual attributes on Continental art include the black and white dog holding a flame or torch in his mouth. He is usually depicted in the habit of his order with a white and black cloak. Sometimes he is shown holding a lily (often associated with purity and chastity and may also have a star above his head or on his breast). Murray and Murray (1998, 140-141) cite the earliest representations of him as including ‘the icon-like’ half length depiction of him from the School of Guido da Siena of the 13th century and the Florentine painting of circa 1270 entitled Madonna with SS Francis and Dominic (Murray and Murray 1998, 140-141).

At Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo depiction of what may be St. Dominic shows a figure in a habit with a cowl with book held between his hands. This is on the O’Crean canopied and tracery wall-tomb (Plate 71A). The tomb, like the Galwegian one, is again a late one (though purely in a Late Gothic style) and is dated 1506. Again the saint is not named. Again, as on C45, this possible carving of St. Dominic is flanked by Our Lady (and in this instance St. John rather than St. Mary Magdalen as is found on C45). In this case too a mix of Apostles and other saints occurs. St. Michael the Archangel occurs on both the Sligo and Franciscan Cemeteries tombs (See Hunt, 1974, Vol. 1 (Text) Cat. No. 217, 218, Vol. 2, Plate 268.) The figures can be identified as follows reading from left to
right: St. Dominic (?), St. Catherine, Unidentified Female Saint (as Hunt suggests). She might also be a pilgrim; Hunt describes her as follows ‘a figure apparently female, in a long habit with knotted belt, kerchief and head dress – holding a staff with a pear-shaped head, and some other object against her breast with the other hand’. The staff with the knobbed head is similar to one shown on the early 17th century tomb of Sir Tibbott na Long at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins 2011, 103-116), Mary the Mother of Christ occurs next and then the Crucifixion St. John, St. Michael, St. Peter and, lastly, an archbishop with a cross-staff and mitre shown with his hand raised in blessing.

To these possible examples this writer would suggest the following carvings on funerary and non-funerary carvings should be added: the West door Clonfert Cathedral and the North door Clonmacnoise Cathedral where further depictions of the saint occur in stone.

The Franciscan Cemetery example, C45, is the only funerary monument of late medieval type in Ireland where the saint is actually identified by an inscription. The inscription seems simply to say ‘S. Dominic’ though some of the letters are eroded. The depiction is the fullest late medieval depiction of the saint in Ireland and the fullest piece of iconography in which the Dominicae is shown. Several 19th century depictions occur at the Dominican Church (St. Mary’s), Claddagh where The Dominicae is depicted in 19th century tiles and in mosaic.

Hunt also identifies St. Dominic on a sculpture at Mothel, Co. Waterford on an unusual and squat tomb chest (or base of a tomb?) of highly unusual form which he dates to circa 1500, the earliest date for any of the putative depictions of St. Dominic which Hunt includes (Hunt, 1974, Plate 335, Cat. No. 251D). What may possibly be St. Dominic is shown with a Maltese Cross on his breast, his left hand out-stretched and holding a book in his right hand. He has a round-topped hat but no diagnostic cowl. The habit is really a series of multi-layered garments. It is hard to accept the headgear as being anything other than separate from the other garments. The tomb is unusual in several respects but, like the Franciscan Cemetery (C54 II) and Sligo tombs, St. Michael (and this may simply be a coincidence) the Crucifixion, St. Mary and St.
John (rather than Mary Magdalen as is found on the Franciscan monument) occur with other saints. The saint is unusual. No cowl is shown and the attribution is as uncertain as that of the Thurles carving.

This writer would only accept without reservation two of Hunt’s attributions to St. Dominic; the Athenry and Sligo example described above. The rosary and an interesting set of conclusions may be drawn regarding St. Dominic in Irish funerary sculpture from the foregoing: (1) His depiction is rare in Ireland (2) His occurrence in stone sculpture generally is late in date. If we accept Hunt’s identification of the saint with a figure bearing a Maltese Cross on his breast on the unusual tomb at the Augustinian House at Mothel, Co. Waterford, that depiction would seem to be the earliest and, according to Hunt, the stylistic features of the monument would link it to the Ossory School and the date ‘must be around 1500’. Hunt (1974, 234) says that ‘The figures are squat and provincial and are evidently connected with the Ossory School. The date must be about 1500’. The Thurles carving, which shows a figure, (Hunt is uncertain as to whether it is a monk or nun), has, however, a habit, a rosary beads and a cross on the breast and though the attribution seems uncertain, if it is St. Dominic then the late 16th century date which Hunt suggest for it is typical of most of the carvings with St. Dominic. The Athenry depiction of what appears to be St. Dominic is attributed to late 15th or early 16th century. The probable Sligo Abbey St. Dominic must date to 1505 due to the inscription on the O’Crean tomb (Plate 71A) where it occurs, the Franciscan Cemetery St. Dominic, the only one where the saint is named, is probably a late example given its mix of Late Gothic and early Renaissance-derived elements. It possibly dates to the 16th century. (3) The ‘internal’ associations on the carvings where the saint seems to occur are curiously mixed but also curiously similar. On the Franciscan monument a definite named St. Dominic occurs on a monument on which the Apostles including St. Peter with two keys, the Crucifixion flanked by St. Mary Magdalen, (a ‘western and late feature’, she occurs instead of St. John) also occurs as do St. Clare, and St. Francis. At the Sligo Abbey, O’Crean tomb of 1505, the Crucifixion with St. Mary the Mother of Christ occurs along with St.
Catherine and St. Michael bearing a sword and shield. An archbishop and an unidentified female with what appears to be a pilgrim staff also occurs. At Mothel, the possible depiction of St. Dominic is found with the Crucifixion shown between St. Mary and St. John, St. Peter with two keys, St. Paul, St. Michael with his sword and scales also occur. Also are the Virgin and Child, St. James Major, St. Francis showing the stigmata, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary and St. Margaret of Antioch. (4) There seems then, to be a trend. St. Dominic or possible examples of his depiction, occur on two ‘Western style canopied traceried tombs’, the ingoing of the later 15th/16th one, at Athenry Dominican Priory, and that of 1505, the O’Crean canopied and traceried tomb at Sligo Abbey (on the tomb frontal). Where the saint is shown on frontals of funerary monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery, Galway, at Sligo Abbey and where possible examples of his depiction occur at Mothel, Co. Waterford, the Crucifixion flanked by either St. Mary Magdalen or Mary the Mother of Christ accompanied by St. John, Archangels occur in all three cases. Apostles also occur as well as other saints who are not apostles, only in the case of the Galwegian example (C33) is there a full sequence of Apostles. (5) With the exception of the Mothel tomb panels which Hunt links to the Ossory School, the other depictions of St. Dominic are individualist and where he occurs in the context of other saints all three instances (Franciscan Cemetery, C22, Mothel and Sligo) he occurs among an unusual mix of Apostles, Archangels, other saints and is accompanied also by the Crucifixion flanked by St. Mary or St. Mary Magdalen accompanied by St. John.

These late and post medieval depictions of St. Dominic of which C45 is the fullest and most descriptive piece of iconography, have a late occurrence and a highly unusual set of associations (when they are accompanied by other figures).

52. THE DOMINICAE

This piece of iconography is extremely rare in Ireland and occurs on C45. There are few other Irish medieval examples, there are though, numerous
17th, 18th and 19th century depictions in various media. This is motif in which St. Dominic is accompanied by a dog bearing a flaming torch in his mouth. The motif is derived from the tradition that before St. Dominic’s birth his mother had a dream in which she saw a dog carrying a flame in its mouth. In one version a voice or angel told her that her future son would set the world afame with his preaching ability and would be the ‘light of the world’. The dog is probably a visualisation of Latin pun *Dominic Canus*, ‘dog of the Lord’, and was used for its similarity with the word *dominicae*. The dog was shown, a black and white one, in paintings and it reflected the black and white of the Dominican habit. The torch ‘is the truth they proclaimed the light of which will spread throughout the world’ (Speake 1994, 43).

Most examples which occur are in materials other than stone. The motif is found on a 17th century embroidered altar frontal from the Dominican Convent Galway. A silver pyx of 17th century date and two silver plates from the same Convent also have the motif, as has a chalice of Galwegian origin dated 1595 at the Dominican Church, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

It is very interesting to note that other examples of this rare Dominican motif occur on non-funerary items associated with 17th – 18th century Galway. A chalice which is referred to as ‘The Galway Chalice’ now in Holy Cross Dominican Church in Tralee, Co. Kerry bears late Gothic decoration on its knop and is dated 1595. It was presented to Holy Cross by the Galwegian Dominican community in 1861 and bears another example of this motif. Its decoration is described as follows ‘On the front panel of its base is a figure of Our Blessed lady, holding the Infant Jesus in her arms. The figure is surrounded by inscription: Monstra te esse matrem: monstra te esse filium, 1595 (show yourself to be a mother; show yourself to be a son). In the corners of the panel are the figures of a skull and cross bones, a dog’s head vomiting flames, a plain cross, a sand glass. On the opposite panel is a more recent engraving of a shield with a Gerardline Cross’ (McConville 1987, 10 and illustration on page 11).

The *Dominicae* then would appear to be a very late introduction to Irish iconography and the earliest known representation is on the ‘Galway Chalice’ of
1595, now at Tralee. This and other now lost representations of the motif may have been a source of the motif on C45. To see Dominic named on a stone carving is also exceedingly rare, and the example on C45 where he is identified by an inscription is another rarity in the Irish context. Of the carvings catalogued and illustrated by Hunt (1974) none is accompanied by a dog with a torch or flames.

Several 19th and 20th century depictions of Dominicae occur in the decoration of the Dominican Church (St. Mary’s) at the Claddagh, Galway City, especially in the tympana of the door cases and in the stained glass. The dog with the torch in its mouth is also shown in a mosaic behind the right hand side-altar and on one of the stained glass windows in the same church.

53. **ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (1190 (OR 1195) TO 1231)**

Only one definite depiction of St. Anthony of Padua a contemporary of St. Francis occurs, that on the Crucifixion Saints and Apostles monument (C45) at the Franciscan Cemetery (Plates 30A and 31D) on the Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion panels.

Depictions of the saint (who lived from about 1190 or 1195 to 1231) are rare in Irish art and there are no contemporary depictions of him surviving anywhere. He was a noted Franciscan preacher and scholar and he is shown tonsured and in the Franciscan habit. He has a pair of rosary beads on his girdle and holds the Christ child on one arm and a book in his other hand. The depiction is based on a vision which the saint himself had. The saint’s iconography cult, life and attributes are discussed briefly by Murray and Murray (1998, 27) and Sill (1975, 177) for instance.

Generally his iconography usually placed emphasis on two aspects of his life. He is often shown with a lily representing purity and a book to show his wisdom and knowledge as he is shown on this carving and on the famous bronze statue by him by Donatello.

The other general type of depiction of this saint shows him with the Christ Child as depicted in a painting by Murillo in Seville Cathedral, Spain.
which is illustrated in Murray and Murray (1998, 27). In the Galway carving these two iconographical types have been combined. The iconography of the saint as shown on C45 is, therefore, an unusually full and complex depiction of the main themes of his life and like everything else on this monument it reflects a highly complex depiction of the iconography and symbolism of the Franciscan saints as well as that of the Apostles and the Crucifixion.

The saint is shown holding a book in one hand and the Christ Child, who is shown with a circular nimbus or halo, in the other. He wears the Franciscan habit and is tonsured. He also wears a set of Rosary Beads which hang from the rope girdle and have attached to them a cross. St. Anthony is shown in the Franciscan habit held at the waist by a rope girdle with the three knots symbolising obedience, chastity and poverty. He is the third Franciscan saint depicted on this monument.

54. **ST. NICHOLAS OF MYRA**

St. Nicholas of Myra is one of the most important helper-saints in the Christian tradition and this alone makes it not in the least surprising to find him flanking, with St. Patrick, the arms of Sir Peter French and his wife Maria Browne, C44a (Plate 97B). The Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas is, of course, dedicated to this saint (as is the modern Galway Cathedral, the full title of which is the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven and St. Nicholas). The saint was considered the patron saint not just of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church but of Galway itself. His image appears on the seal of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (illustrated by Hardiman 1820, 233 and Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 276). It is all the more apt then than St. Nicholas should appear alongside St. Patrick on C44a where they appear almost in the manner of saintly pseudo-heraldic supporters flanking the arms of Sir Peter and his wife. St. Nicholas is the local Galwegian ‘patron saint’ while St. Patrick is the ‘national patron saint’ of Ireland. Their protection seems to be invoked in this representation. This juxtaposition of supporter, flanker, helper or guardian of the man and his wife (as represented by their impaled arms) was doubtless a deliberate symbolic one
which mixed figures and the heraldry. It reflected the usual position occupied by a heraldic supporter vis-à-vis a shield of arms. It also reflects to some extent the design of C53 at the Convent of Mercy where the demi-figure of an ecclesiastic is flanked at his shoulders by a pair of his protectors or patron saints, a feature which recalls in turn the much earlier effigial slabs of the 14th and 15th centuries from the East and South East of Ireland generally.

The depiction of St. Nicholas shows him in the regalia of a bishop and flanked by a child emerging from a chalice-like vessel. The child emerging from the vessel beside St. Nicholas is unusual. The chalice-like vessel also has the general appliance of a baptismal font. The scene may be a slightly unusual allusion to one of the miracles associated with the saint. He is said to have raised from the dead children who had been killed and whose bodies were stored in a barrel or tub.

At Colwinstown (Glam.) in Wales, St. Nicholas is shown raising to life a small boy who emerges from a bath tub. The bath tub is a large raised font or basin-like feature which is raised as a high base. The mother of the boy looks on. The font/chalice-like feature on C44a may have been intended as a version of the same scene or side (See Gray 2000, 111, illustration 11).

The boy in a chalice-like vessel on C44a may derive from one of the many miraculous stories associated with St. Nicholas. One of these is the Restoration of life of three children in a tub. In this story an inn-keeper is said, during a time of famine, to have killed three children and put them in a pickling tub. They were discovered by St. Nicholas who made the sign of the cross over them and restored them to life. What is particularly interesting about this story, especially given the form of the vessel shown on C44a, is that according to Tasker, ‘this story has been thought to have arisen through the misreading of an illustration of St. Nicholas officiating at a font where he would be shown as a larger figure than the candidates for baptism. This miracle is also depicted on the Winchester font at Lincoln Cathedral in glass, three children are lying in bed near which are a man with an unraised axe and a woman with a candle’ (See Tasker (ed. Beaumont) 1993, 154-5 and illustrations S.179 to S.182).
In this light the depiction on **C44a** would seem also to be an interesting misrepresentation of a boy emerging from a ‘chalice-like’ font and the relationship between this mis-interpretation and the story is interesting since it implies that the Galwegian carving is derived from an ‘early’ but undated design source.

The carving of St. Nicholas with three children in a pickling butt on a font in Winchester Cathedral, alluded to by Tasker in the above quote, shows one of four individuals (apart from the inn-keeper and his wife in one part of the scene). In one half of the scene one of the four individuals shown has a chalice-like cup in its hand in each half of the scene. This too seems to be a mis-interpretation of the vessel or tub and may be derived from a chalice-shaped font.

On the other hand the font may be a part of another legend of St. Nicholas depicted in a painting entitled *The Miracles of St. Nicholas of Bari* in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, that shows three children standing in a baptismal font and being baptised by the saint. This painting is attributed to Dirck Bouts (*circa* 1415-1473).

The context of the tales associated with St. Nicholas varies considerably in detail of course and several other tales could have had an influence on the scene depicted in **C44a**. In the story entitled ‘The baby in the bath water (on tub)’ the saint is lodged in Myra with the wife of an inn-keeper who was bathing her child when she heard that her guest St. Nicholas had been raised to the dignity of bishop.

*‘The tub, with the baby in it was on fire. On hearing the news she hurries to church to attend mass, forgetting about the baby. At the end of the service she suddenly remembers the bath-tub on the fire, and runs home in panic. But in spite of the fact that the water had come to the boil, the baby is unhurt. Nicholas himself had protected the child’*

(De Groot 1965, 126-7).
The fact that only one child is depicted here on C44a and that it is young looking, perhaps intended to represent a baby rather than a grown child, might also suggest that this legend is the origin of the scene shown beside St. Nicholas on the tomb panel. If multiple children from the story of the Children in the Pickling Tub were intended surely three children would have been shown. This second legend may be a more appropriate interpretation of the representation on the carving.

On the seal of St. Nicholas the legend of the Three Maidens is shown. In this story, ultimately of Greek origin, St. Nicholas provides dowries in the form of bags of coins on three consecutive myths to the three daughters of an impoverished merchant. On the seal the three kneeling maidens and the bags of gold are depicted. De Groot (1965, 126-7) in his psychoanalytic study of the history and legends of St. Nicholas finds a sexual interpretation in many of the legends of the saint. He concludes that ‘The Nicholas figure must have been initially the unofficial patron of kinderzegen, that is of the blessing, begetting, bearing and rearing children’.

55. ST. PATRICK

Saint Patrick is depicted (and named) on C44a at the Franciscan Cemetery where he is shown along with St. Nicholas. The saints flank the arms of Sir Peter French and his wife, Mary (Maria) almost as if they are intended to be pseudo-heraldic supporters (See Higgins 2006, N.P. and Cat. Fig. 37A of the present work).

The saint is shown with his usual attributes, mitre and crosier, and he is depicted trampling beneath his feet the snakes which he is supposed to have evicted from Ireland. The saint is not very commonly depicted in Irish stone carving despite his fame and most of the depictions of him in stone are of late medieval date. The saint’s cult and his depiction in art has been explored by many most recently by Cunningham and Gillespie (1995). Hunt lists five depictions of the saint in pre-1600 funerary sculpture (Hunt 1974, Vol. I, Text, Appendix II, 257). At Great Connell on the Wellesley tomb of circa 1539 (now
in Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare) where he is shown wearing a pallium, holding an out-turned crosier and crushing snakes beneath his feet while at the same time raising one hand in blessing. He has both a mitre and a halo (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 89, Plate 220). At Lismore, Co. Waterford, he is shown in a pallium and a tall mitre, holding a triple armed cross-staff in one hand and blessing with the other on the MacCragh Tomb of *circa* 1557 (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 250D, Plate 337). On the tomb of James Rice (after 1487) at Waterford Cathedral, Co. Waterford he is shown mitred, holding a simple Latin cross-staff and blessing (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 255C, Plate 272). Two further possible examples of his depiction occur on tombs. The first is on the Plunket double tomb of *circa* 1471 at Rathmore, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 200C, Plate 196) and on the Preston/Plunket tomb chest of the second half of the 15th century at Duleek, Co. Meath (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 186D, Plate 199). In the latter two instances the saint is attired in a pallium, is shown mitred, has a Latin cross staff in one hand and is shown blessing with his other hand. While on the Kildare (Great Connell) Lismore and Waterford monuments the saint is actually named, on the Duleek and Rathmore carvings he is not. The dates range from the latter half of the 15th century at Duleek to the early 1470s at Rathmore, after 1487 at Waterford, *circa* 1539 at Great Connell and 1557 at Lismore. The Galway City example is one of the latest full-scale depictions of the saint on a funerary monument.

St. Patrick is represented along with St. John the Evangelist in a panel on the west side of the tomb of Bishop Wellesly (*circa* 1539). The tomb, which comes from Great Connell Abbey, is now at Kildare Cathedral (King 1991, 68-71, Plate 15). The depiction shows the saint as a clean young man with a mitre and halo. He is robed in an alb, dalmatic, chasuble and wears the pallium of an archbishop. His right hand is raised in blessing and in his left he holds an inturned crosier. A snake is entwined round the end of the crosier and two further snakes and toad-like creature occur around his feet.

The saint is shown with a crosier and with a snake beneath his depiction on a tall slab from Faughart Graveyard, Co. Louth which dates probably to the
16th century, and which is now displayed in the National Museum of Ireland (Morris 1912, 28-9).

Representations of St. Patrick in Irish medieval sculpture are surprisingly uncommon. He is shown in metalwork on various shrines (Ó Floinn 1994); the shrine of The Misach, Cross of Clogher, the Fiacail Pádhraig and the Limerick Crosier for example. He is shown in good detail along with St. Nicholas on the armorial panel from or of the short sides of the tomb of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary Browne (C44a). Here St. Patrick and St. Nicholas are shown almost in the manner of heraldic supporters on either side of the impaled arms of French and Browne and this protective or supportive attitude may be deliberate. Just as a person could have devotion to a particular saint one could also be seen to make an appeal for the protection of the patron saint of Galway and Ireland for their support and blessing. Even the idea of rising their particular saints seems to be an invoking of power and prestige as well as protection. The same is true of C53 from the Convent of Mercy where the near contemporary 17th century demi-effigy of an unknown ecclesiastic is flanked at each shoulder by St. James and another saint, (possibly St. Anthony or St. Patrick) (Plate 67A and B). Saint Patrick is also depicted on medieval metalwork. On the Shrine of the Domhnach Airgead he is shown dressed as a bishop seated and presenting a book or relic to St. MacCairthina (or Mac Carthan), patron saint of Clones, Co. Monaghan (Ó Floinn 1994, Plate 11).

Cunningham and Gillespie have made a detailed analysis of the imagery and cult of St. Patrick in the 17th century. They have concluded that the tradition of saints acting as friends of God, patrons and intercessors for ordinary people (which was a well-established tradition of western Christianity) underwent a change in the 16th century. ‘Revisions of the image of Irish sainthood were undertaken as part of Counter-Reformation reforms not so much because of any specific recommendations by the Council of Trent but rather for reasons of ecclesiastical politics which made it desirable that the image of Irish saints should be enhanced.’ (Cunningham and Gillespie 1995, 82).
The cult of St. Patrick was well established before 1500 (but became revamped as part of a record interest in Irish saints in the late 16th and 17th centuries). The saint became modelled on the Old Testament patriarch Moses. Images from the 17th century invariably show him bearded and dressed in the vestments of a Tridentine Bishop.

Representations of him in contemporary 17th century sculpture, including two of those reproduced in Cunningham and Gillespie’s article, show the saint depicted in a remarkably similar manner to their 17th century book illustrations, and as he is shown on C44a (Plate 97).

In an image published in Messingham’s *Florilegium Insular Sanctorum* published in Paris, 1624, and reproduced in Cunningham and Gillespie (1995, Fig. 2). The saint is shown as a Tridentine Bishop wearing a mitre, a heavy cope and vestments including some with crinkled edges similar to those shown on the motif of Sir Peter French C44a and b. An interesting part to note is that the clasp or brooch shown holding the cope is not dissimilar to that on the stone carving consisting in both the engraving and the stone carving of a rosette flanked by foliated ‘wings’ or additions. Significantly, the saint holds a double armed cross, raises one hand in an attitude of blessing and tramples serpents and dragons underfoot. There is an angel with a scroll inscribed ‘here is the voice of the Irish’ off to the left of the image.

A near contemporary depiction of St. Patrick and St. Patrick’s Purgatory is also reproduced by Cunningham and Gillespie (Fig. 3) and is taken from O’hEodhasa’s *Teagasc Críostái* published in Antwerp in 1611. This image also shows St. Patrick looking off to the left and the depiction has the same features as the Messingham depictions except that a younger unbearded St. Patrick is shown. The sort of mitre and vestments, posture, attitude of blessing, double armed processional cross and snakes being trampled underfoot are all shown and the similarity with the carving under discussion is noteworthy. There are some small differences, a triple lobed clasp is shown fastening the cloak for instance, but otherwise the general characteristics are the same.
If anything, the image of St. Patrick on the Sir Peter French tomb supports the idea of the saint as a saint of great power and influence and it seems highly likely that the image of St. Patrick on the tomb of Sir Peter French was inspired by or copied from the same sort of printed sources as those depicted in the two works just cited. Cunningham and Gillespie show how the cult of St. Patrick in the 17th century was deliberately remodelled and promoted him as a national saint whose prophecies on the banishment of the English were being read as political and religious tracts in that century. As Cunningham and Gillespie have shown ‘No one group had a monopoly on the cult of St. Patrick in the seventeenth century despite a variety of attempts to achieve one. The successful attempt by leading Irish Churchmen to have Patrick’s feast upgraded in the Roman Breviary marked a coming of age of Irish Counter-Reformation Catholicism in Europe’ (1995, 83).

On the Sir Peter French tomb St. Patrick is being shown as a pseudo-heraldic supporter and protector along with St. Nicholas to the heraldic achievement of Sir Peter French. The arms are flanked by the local Galwegian patron saint, St. Nicholas along with Ireland’s national saint, St. Patrick and a statement of religious and political allegiance is being made in this choice of pseudo-heraldic positioning and in the choice of national and local saintly protectors. Sir Peter French was using the symbolism used by many Irish Catholic (and in this case Gaelicised, Old English and Catholic) families of the 17th century. Just as he refused the Mayorship of Galway because he would not take the Oath of Supremacy, Sir Peter French also nailed his political and religious preferences firmly to the mast in his choice of saintly supporters.

The impetus of Irish scholars living abroad in Europe ‘receiving and giving new emphases to the St. Patrick as Apostle of Ireland’ and in the context of a Counter-Reformation cult is reflected, then, not only in pointed images abroad but in Renaissance style and Counter-Reformation images in early 17th century Ireland. The heraldic panel of the tomb of Sir Peter French is a prime example of such symbolism and imagery.
The depiction of St. Patrick in the book illustrations cited above can also be paralleled on very late 16th century sculpture including the frontal of the altar tomb of Nicholas Walsh and Helen Lawless of 1599 at St. Mary’s Church of Ireland, Kilkenny where a somewhat stylised St. Patrick, clean-shaven and wrapped in a huge cloak administers blessings with one hand while trampling dragons under his feet. He holds a double armed cross-staff such as is depicted in the book illustrations and on Sir Peter French’s tomb which, like the Teagasc Criostai depiction of 1611, has tri-foliated terminals and is double armed. This sort of cross would be most appropriate to an archbishop and in this context to a National Apostle as well. The depiction of the saint mentioned is illustrated both by Cunningham and Gillespie and see also Bradley 1993-4, 29-44)

56. WEEPERS

Four female busts (C61, C62, C63 and C64) included in this corpus are all likely to have come from the entablatures of early 17th century niche tombs or wall-tombs and they are likely to have been accompanied in such position by C65 and possibly C66 as well. The cluster of carvings from the façade of the Abbey Church (C63, C64 and C565), Mary Street (C61), and the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street (C62 and C66) seem all to have been from wall-tombs from the Franciscan Cemetery. They all may well have come from no more than two or three such tombs.

The female busts (C61, C62, C63 and C64) are, by analogy with surviving complete or nearly complete wall-tombs, likely to have been positioned at either end of the entablature of the tombs as they are on the tomb of Sir Theobald Burke at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Egan 1963, 65-88) for illustrations, along with Blake (1903-4) for mention of the early 17th century tomb). Here both female weepers and a cherub occur which are so similar to the female busts and cherub now in the façade of the Abbey Church (C63, C64 and C65) that they could easily be the work of the same sculptor.

These formalised female heads and busts are of a standardised type, they are not necessarily portrait heads but are rather ‘types’. These depictions of
slightly morbid and sorrowful looking faces, which are dotted along the entablature to serve as ‘living’ reminders of the sorrow and grief left by the death of the person commemorated.

57. **The INRI**

The initials INRI (IESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDAEORUM, Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews) is the abbreviated form of the inscription which Pontius Pilate caused to have erected in three languages of the titulus – a board or a scroll-on the top of the Cross of Jesus (Murray and Murray 1998, 240). The INRI is not common until the late medieval period and thereafter and especially from the 17th century onwards. It becomes frequent if not ubiquitous on 18th and 19th century ledgers, headstones and other monuments.

The INRI occurs on C45 at the Franciscan Cemetery of the present corpus where it is shown at the top of the Cross of Christ. Prior to the loss of its top C51 also had the INRI. This Crucifixion Plaque is now fragmentary (Plates 30A and 30B).

58. **The IHS Monogram**

The IHS monogram occurred on C26 which is unfortunately now lost. It is more than likely that there was a Latin cross standing on the cross bar of the H. It is not known whether an upright or inverted heart or an upright heart pierced by nails occurred or not but these features would not be unusual in the context of a monument like C26. The IHC monogram in its later form (IHS) was common in medieval Early Christian and Byzantine iconography.

By the 15th century, St. Bernardino (San Bernardino) popularised the display of the Holy Name and used it as an Emblem or a panel or board when he preached. This was to be the cause of his being summoned before Pope Martin V in 1426 on a charge of heresy, a charge that was eventually to be dropped some years later (See Origo 1963 for St. Bernardino and his cult).
Often interpreted as IESUS HOMINUM SALVATOR (Jesus Saviour of Mankind, it is sometimes also interpreted as IN HOC SIGNO [VINCES] indicating ‘in this sign’ that is, in the sign of the cross).

The Jesuits used the IHS in their iconography and in such contexts the monogram was often reinterpreted as IN HOC SIGNO, an abbreviated version of the phase IN HOC SIGNO VINCES (‘In This Sign Conquer’) (See Murray and Murray 1998, 238). This was seen, along with the Sign of the Cross by Emperor Constantine. According to tradition he gained victory over his enemies and converted his empire to Christianity as a result of his vision. The later version of the IHS was revised by St. Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola of the Jesuits. El Greco’s painting ‘The Adoration of the Name of Christ’ of 1579, now in the Escorial, Madrid, shows the typical imagery associated with the monogram. A simple unadorned IHS with a cross sitting on the cross-bar of the H is shown being worked at by the leaders of the Holy Legion who broke the power of the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto (See Stuckenbrock and Töpper 2000 (not paginated) for illustration).

The use of the IHS and MARIA together invoking Christ and Salvation along with the Blessed Virgin is common in Galway and the IHS a cross with a nail pierced heart often occur alongside the name MARIA or an abbreviated form of the name of Christ’s mother on 17th century fireplaces in Galway City and Limerick City for example (See Higgins 2003, 25-31; Higgins 2004, 58 and Higgins 2006, Cat. Nos. 5-9 for discussions of Galwegian chimney pieces).

60. **HERALDRY AS SYMBOLISM**

Heraldry was symbolically significant because only some members of society were entitled to use it and it was therefore important as an indication of status. The heraldic devices displayed had, of course, symbolic significance and meanings of their own but even the manner in which it was displayed had some meaning and there was often a hierarchy of significance within heraldry itself.

In Galway heraldic displays on funerary monuments are rare until the late 16th or early 17th centuries and very common in the 17th century. On
funerary monuments heraldic displays are common again throughout the 18th century. Many of these displays of heraldry not only indicated status but were intended to be displays of lineage, to attest through impalings of arms to links with other prominent families. Generally, inscriptions that accompany prominent displays of heraldry are often also grandiose, though few long epitaphs can be cited from Galway City apart from that on the tomb of James Darcy (C52) which is now lost (Plate 96A). On Galwegian fireplaces of the late 16th and 17th centuries the heraldic quartering are even more prominent than on the funerary monuments where only the main arms of the head of the family was frequently depicted. We have already seen how the figures of Saints Patrick and Nicholas are used in a pseudo-heraldic manner to act as ‘supporters’ to the achievement of arms of Sir Peter French on C44a.

Ancestry and pedigree was extremely important and the display of heraldry was also a reflection of this since it showed that the (usually male) deceased was an arminger and entitled to have and display a coat of arms.

We have seen how in 1675 the Dominican order held an inquiry in connection with the appointment of Fr. Dominic Lynch as Regent of the College of St. Thomas at Seville. His arms were, strictly speaking, of no importance to him personally since he was not going to pass on any arms to an heir as he was an unmarried priest who had taken vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, however they were important to his relatives and his Lynch lineage was also as it determined his background and status for his employers (See Chapter 6, Heraldry).

62. **The Rosary**

The only depiction of a set of rosary beads shown on the Galwegian stone carvings are those worn by St. Anthony of Padua on C45 where he is shown supporting the Christ-Child (Plate 31D). Depictions of the rosary beads in stone carvings are rare in Ireland generally but the rosary and its revival were a feature of Counter-Reformation iconography and devotion generally especially among the Dominicans who preached on its efficacy as a prayer from the
foundation of their Order. The invention of the rosary is often mistakenly attributed to St. Dominic. Tradition throughout medieval Europe in the late medieval period that The Blessed Virgin revealed to St. Dominic during the devastations caused by the Albigensian Wars in the efficacy of united prayer to her intersession then through the Rosary they attribute the victory of Muret, 1213, and the triumph of the Faith according to MacLeod (1947A, 122).

In 1571 Pope Pius V acknowledged the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto by Don Juan as being the result of the public recitation of the Rosary and as MacLeod says ‘So, during the Counter-Reformation the church urged the people to have recourse once more to Our Lady’s intercession. Then, the Rosary began to spread throughout Europe and gave fresh impulse to Dominican art. From this time the public were to find in their churches some picture or statue inspired by the Rosary’.

Few depictions of the Rosary generally occur in Irish stone carvings and the depiction of St. Anthony on C45 I, the only late medieval one in Galway City, can be viewed as a rare example of a scene in which rosary beads are worn by a saint (Plate 31D). An uninscribed 18th century ledger at Forthill Cemetery, Galway City has a depiction of a set of Rosary beads, a 17th century fragmentary tomb from Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary has a kneeling figure with a set of beads, while the frontal depicting Stephen Browne and his wife Judith of 1743 at the Browne Mausoleum at Mainham, Co. Kildare shows the latter with a set of Rosary Beads (Harbison 2000, Plate 35). Several Madonnas of the Rosary occur from the 17th century onwards in Ireland and there are two wooden examples now at Galway (Mac Leod 1947A, 122).

An altar frontal from the Dominican Covent, Tailor’s Hill, Galway which was made in Kirwan’s Lane in the 17th century show the Virgin and Christ Child giving rosaries to St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Alexandria. This is displayed in Galway City Museum / Músaem Cathrach na Gaillimhe (for illustrations of it see O’Neill 1994, 101).
63. **DEATH AS A SKELETON**

This motif is found on C19 (Plate 13A) which is lost, but may have come from Galway City. The depiction of Death in the form of a skeleton became common after the 14th century Black Death but this type of depiction where Death is shown with his shovel or spade and symbols of earthly power is rare in Ireland until the 17th century.

The best parallels for this example of Death as a Skeleton are to be found on a FitzGerald tomb (dated 1635) at Kilmallock, Co. Limerick (Plate 18D). Here a skeleton is shown with an oversized arrow in one hand and a spade in the other. What may be an hour glass is also shown. A censing angel occurs on the top of the slab above the skeleton and a body in a shroud alongside a rectangle which would seem to represent an open grave occur below the skeleton. Apart from a long epitaph the inscriptions MEMENTO MORI, SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI and ECCE FINEM (Remember Death, Thus goes the Glory of the World and Behold the End) also occur.

Death as a skeleton shown holding another oversized arrow also occurs the Tomb of Sir Thomas Cusack of the 1570s at Trevnet Church (Hickey 1971, 75-91). In Cornwall, for instance, the use of Death as a Skeleton is fairly common and examples vary from crude incised carvings to more elaborate ones carved in false relief. The tomb of Rev. John Baswell at Stroke Climsland of 1624 shows an incised Death with a scythe alongside his victim and his heraldry (Cockerham 2006, Plate 79, 321). A low false relief carving showing the Skeletal Death occurs in the tomb of Thomas Vyncent, his wife Jane and their family of 1606 at North Hill (Cockerham 2006, Plate 89, 330 and Plate 94, 334). The same tomb also has a depiction of Christ trampling over a panel bearing a skeleton and over a dragon while surrounded by vines, grapes and symbols of the Passion (Cockerham 2006, Plate 95, 335). The tomb of Mary and Clare Mannington at Stroke Climsland dated 1605 bears a depiction of Death as a Skeleton holding oversized arrows (Cockerham 2006, Plate 104, 343) another low false relief carving at Landrake as a pair of conjoined slabs to Nicholas and Ebote Wills (dated 1607) shows Death with a large arrow and a staff entwined with a serpent.
The most elaborately carved and finest depiction of Death as a Skeleton occurs in the Church of St. Mary at Truro on the polished marble monument to John Robartes and his wife Phillippa which dates to circa 1616 (Cockerham 2006, Plate 187, 410). Death is shown in Skeletal form holding a large dart and arrow and partly clothed in a shroud. Father Time, (winged, holding a scythe with one foot on a skull) also occurs on a further memento mori on the same tomb.

64. NARRATIVE ICONOGRAPHY

Narrative scenes get much commoner in the early 17th century in Galwegian funerary monuments in general but such monuments are relatively few in number and seem to represent just a few survivals of the genre which was probably once common.

C22 shows a good example of this. The carving is now unfortunately lost but it must have been an extremely interesting monument with much symbolism and narrative iconography all shown in the confines of a single recumbent slab. The only drawing we have of it is vague and we can only speculate on some aspects of its iconography. The top of the slab certainly bears an Annunciation scene in which the Angel Gabriel appears to the Virgin Mary (Plate 5D). The kneeling figure below the Annunciation Scene may have been Mother Gabriel the deceased or may, more likely, be a depiction of St. Clare’s Vision of the Annunciation in which case the kneeling figure is St. Clare. In either case the scene depicted is an apt one for the deceased who took the name Gabriel ‘in religion’.

The Coronation of the Virgin is as we have seen represented jointly in panels C48, C49 and C50 (Plate 33A). Though the Coronation is not described in the bible, the imagery of the Christian tradition occurs from at least the 14th century onwards. If the Galway Cathedral panels are seen as a reredos in which the persons of the Trinity participate in the event of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary as has been argued above then what we have in these panels is a complex narrative arrangement showing the Virgin already crowned and flanked by God
the Son, Christ holding his cross and with his hand raised in blessing on the left, and God the Father with the Orb of the world in one hand and with his other hand raised in blessing. He faces towards the Virgin. God the Holy Ghost has been replaced by a modern depiction of a dove. The lost censing angel which used to occur to the right of God the Father may have been one of several such angels depicted on adjoining panels but we have no evidence for any more than this single angel whose lower body and feet was probably continued on an adjoining panel originally (Plate 83).

Apart from being one of the latest, of what might be called ‘Apostle Monuments’, C45 mixes the iconography of the Crucifixion and the Apostles with episodes from the lives of various Franciscan, Dominican and other saints (Plates 30A, 31A-F, 32B and D). It is not simply that these saints are depicted standing in niche-like recesses as the apostles usually are on tombs or other monuments bearing the Apostles (and sometimes a few other saints or archangels). This monument is different in that some of the saints and three of these four were founders of mendicant orders – Saints Francis, Dominic, Clare and Anthony have been depicted as parts of narrative scenes of the Irish depictions of Christ Showing His Five Wounds. The scene may be linked visually and iconographically with the image of the Crucifixion found elsewhere on the monument. St. Clare is shown with her monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament in her hand as if she is going forth go face the Saracens who were attacking her monastery. The miracle demonstrated the power of the Blessed Sacrament and its miracle working ability and the Sacred Heart in the monstrance reflects the idea of the sacrifice of both the Crucifixion shown elsewhere on the monument and reflects too the power of the Mass.

St. Anthony of Padua is shown with the Christ Child in his arms but this is not as simple a depiction as it may seem at first. The scene is of a dream sequence or vision which St. Anthony had while preaching on the subject of the Incarnation.

The event is the subject of Giuseppe Bazzani’s painting entitled St. Anthony of Padua with the Infant Jesus for example (See for example Thomas
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1994, 183-4 for the various types of imagery associated with this scene and a list of depictions of it).

The narrative imagery shown in the depiction of St. Dominic is even more complex on this monument. Not only is the *Dominicae* shown but the saint himself is also shown holding a crucifix entwined with flowers held in the manner one would normally expect of a scene showing St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

The panel is packed with a mixture of narrative imagery. The *Dominica* is the vision in which his mother, before his birth, sees a dog with a torch in its mouth. An angel explains that her son will set the world alight with the power and majesty of his preaching.

The depiction of St. Francis on C45 tallies with the way he is usually depicted in European art as lean faced, thin and somewhat wasted individual who fasted frequently (Plate 31D).

65. CROSSES AS SYMBOLS

Crosses are the most frequently found motifs on the monuments catalogued. Greek and Latin crosses occur in a wide variety of forms. One class of crosses which appear to sprout foliate decoration however may be intended to represent the Tree of Life. C1 for example with its curved branch-like cross bar with fleur-de-lis terminals (Plate 1B and 1C) may be intended as such. It is difficult to know whether all the other crosses with trifoliate and fleur-de-lis terminals were viewed by their makers or by those who had them made as Trees of Life, symbols of eternal life rebirth and so on. It was believed that those who ate from the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden (as Adam and Eve did) would live forever. The tree became a symbol of New Life after Resurrection and of New Life and is used widely as a symbol in medieval art (Murray and Murray 1998, 541). The Tree of Life was therefore a symbol of hope for everlasting life after death. In many instances they may have been viewed simply as crosses with ornaments attached to their arms, head and feet. Some simpler and relatively early crosses with excised cross and fleur-de-lis terminals (See C31 and C32.
from Roscam on Plates 92A and 92B respectively) simply have fleur-de-lis terminals. Four occur on C31 while C32 has multiple fleur-de-lis on its head and the bottom of the stone is damaged. Examples in false relief also at Roscam include C33 and C35 (Plates 93A and 93B). The former has extra fleur de lis between the arms of a cross already decorated at the top arms and bottom with the same motif. The example from Roscam now at Rosshill House (C35) is a simpler type of foliated cross carved in low false relief. Such early medieval cross forms with fleur-de-lis terminals are ubiquitous all over Ireland.

Less common are cross forms of the 17th century where fleur-de-lis terminals of the incised or excised variety have wide loops linking them from the shaft to the head of the cross. Some of these have two-armed crosses which are also linked between the beams and shafts of the crosses. Examples occur on C9 and C10 (Plate 8B and 8D) at St. Nicholas Collegiate Church. Parallels for this foliated linking of cross arms and shaft occurs at the Old Farm Cemetery, Moycullen, Co. Galway on an unpublished slab of 17th century date.
CHAPTER 10

THE MONUMENTS AS INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STATUS

There has hitherto been little study of social implications and status as reflected in Irish funerary monuments. Two papers by Gillespie (1985, 86-91 and 1994, 155-168) have gone some way towards opening the debate. However it is clear that too few pre-16th century monuments survive in Galway City to allow for much interpretation of the status of the individuals for whom they were created. Some comments may however be made on the status of individuals and their heraldry, social standing and the arrangement of the elaborate funerals as social events as gleaned from the monuments and the historical source. The monuments, type of inscription (or lack thereof) as well as the iconography and religious symbolism reflected current social and religious mores, and, as we shall see, this is the case even early on with the rarer earlier monuments of the 13th to 14th centuries.

The tomb of Adam Bure (C1) is a case in point (Plate 1B and 1C). The slab is an elaborate one probably one of some value and cost for the period at which it was made in the very late 13th or more likely the early 14th century. Yet we have no historical record of the person for whom it was made. The fact that it is inscribed at all is unusual as an analysis of Irish medieval grave slabs in general shows that in early medieval time even some fairly elaborate and costly recumbent slabs bore no carved inscription. Even if we can imagine that some bore painted inscriptions it is still likely that the majority of them never bore epitaphs in any medium. In this light it is not surprising that this monument, for instance, should have been preserved because of inscription and probably also because of the lore that grew up around it (but probably in the 19th or early 20th century). Among the traditions which have grown up around the monument is that it was a ‘Crusader’s Tomb’ and that the Cross on the slab represented a sword. There is no evidence that Adam Bure was a Crusader and nothing is known about the individual. The curved U-shaped element of the foliated cross form has been taken for the guard or quillion of a ‘sword’. If any thing the design of the cross is a derivation of the idea of the cross as a living tree with flowering fleur-de-lis terminals to the head, arms and foot of the cross as well as to the U-shaped ‘cross-bar’. The motif,
then is a Tree of Life and a cross at the same time. Similar cross forms occur at the
Dominican Abbey, Athenry, Abbeyknockmoy and Annaghdown, Co. Galway and at
Strade, Co. Mayo. These however are all unpublished.

The inscription is far more self-effacing than the modern lore suggests,
however asking a prayer as it does for Adam Bure, and promising pardons and
indulgences ‘time off’ from eternal punishment in Hell or from temporary punishment
in Purgatory for the souls of who ever would say so many prayers for the soul of the
deceased.

The Adam Bure slab, C1, is an instance of legend and tourist lore bestowing
artificial status, including the social status or historical status of a crusading Knight on a
person about which we know nothing on the basis of the misrepresentation of a cross-
form as an imagined ‘sword’.

Susan Leigh Fry (1999) has provided a plethora of sources and references for
the study of burial and funeral practices generally and her section on the social uses of
the cemetery in Ireland. Her chapter on ‘Evidence for Social Stratification in Burial’ has
a general relevance to the present work. However, she cites only one reference of
relevant to Galway City. The status of many of the monuments of the Galwegian
corpus is reflected on what is told of their lives, positions, qualifications, qualities and
social status as reflected in the epitaph. Elaborate epitaphs in praise of the deceased are
rare in Galway until the late 17th century when they are rare in any case (See C52 and
C54 for instances) and they only become common in the 18th century.

Another reflection of status is the status labels used – ranks such as Sir,
Esquire, Baronet and so on. C44a refers to ‘Sir Peter French’ for example.

Status is reflected in the use of heraldry by those entitled to use it and by a
craving for status when used by those not so entitled. Merchants’ Marks are a feature of
status also and were sometimes used by those not entitled to use heraldry. On the other
hand many people who were entitled to heraldic display also used merchants’ marks and
other personal marks. The arms of Guilds became common in Ireland by the late 16th to
early 17th centuries and C9 and C21 provide examples of crafts persons or master
craftsmen using guild heraldry. By the 17th century in Galway the emerging middle
class (or many of those with aspirations to increased status) used vocational symbols.
By the end of the 17th and in the 18th and 19th centuries in the eastern parts of Connacht there was an immense increase in the use of vocational symbolism particularly in the eastern half of Co. Galway and in the better land in parts of Roscommon. By contrast northern Co. Clare had fewer than half a dozen examples of vocational symbols.

In Galway City the use of vocational symbolism commonly on funerary monuments started in earnest in the last decades of the 16th and first few decades of the 17th century. This process is matched in Kilkenny City, particularly at St. Canice’s and the tendency was revived in Galway in the 18th and early 19th centuries (See some of the St. Canice’s Cathedral monuments with vocational symbolism on Plate 9 of the present work). These can be well paralleled by C8, C9, C10 and C11 of the present corpus (See Plates 7, 8 and 10).

One of the most obvious reflections of status is the elaboration of the monuments built. This can be seen in the remnants of Sir Peter French’s Tomb (C44a and C44b), which was coloured and gilded and cost hundreds of pounds to build in the 1630s for example.

**Anti-Status**

The religious and political opinions and beliefs of some led them to erect deliberately plain and insignificant monuments as a reflection of their non-interest in or complete rejection of large, grandiose monuments with much heraldry.

One of the social-status aspects of the monuments is the manner in which people are referred to on the inscription. The rarity of social ‘status labels’ before the 18th century is a remarkable feature of the Galwegian monuments. Very few pre-1700 monuments even the most elaborate ones use the terms ‘Sir’, ‘Esquire’ and so on. An exception is the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a-b) and his wife Maria Browne when the word ‘Sir’ occurs. Likewise the elaborate monument of James Darcy (C52) who died in 1603 bears an elaborate inscription as follows ‘Epitaphium d Jacobi Darcy Maioris (Majoris) Conicie praefidis Galviae Praetoris...1603... Hic amor heruam, decus urbis Norma senalus mensa peregrini pauperis arca jacet’.
C54 which is a multi-period Lynch tomb bears an elaborate and laudatory inscription which reads as follows ‘Stirpe clarus amor militum terror inimicorum aetate iwenis senex vilutibus mundo non digno exultatur ad caelum 14° martu ano domini 1644 Stephanus Lynch’ which has been translated as ‘Stephen Lynch of illustrious lineage, the darling of his soldier and the terror of his enemies, in years still a young man, but old in valor of whom the world was not worthy was exalted to Heaven the 14th of March AD 1644’. This monument (C54) is one of the few pre-18th century funerary monuments to indicate military status and rank. Stephen Lynch is described as the terror of his enemies and his valor is also mentioned. The deceased is commemorated in a panel inserted into an earlier monument bearing the arms of Lynch and positioned in the Chantry Chapel of the Lynch family at St. Nicholas’ (The South Transept). There were also substantial monuments including C47, C47A, C53 and (originally) C45, C54, C47 and C47A are the only ones to bear the arms of Lynch. The South Transept is the most obvious place for a member of the Lynch family to be described as on C42 as being of ‘illustrious lineage’. The many fine tombs of the Lynch family in the South Transept (C46 (A-K), C47, C47A, C54 and C55) were, of course, expensive and very fine expression of the social standing of the Lynch family. The Lynch family extended the South Transept for their use as a Chantry Chapel, provided it with an organ and had a turret giving access to a gallery at its southern and on which their achievement of arms are still to be seen (See Leask 1936A, 1-23 and also Mc Keon 2009, 95-113 for the building phases of the churches).

The grand title of ‘Prince of his nation’ is given to William de Burgo on the cenotaph erected to him at the Franciscan Cemetery (C18) (See Blake 1909-10, 222-235; Blake 1911-12, 1-28 and Blake 1911-12A, 83-101). This bears the date of his death 1324 along with the date of the carving of his cenotaph 1645. This monument is very interesting from the point of view of its ‘snob value’. As discussed in the Catalogue, the deceased was never buried at the Franciscan Cemetery. The presence of a sword of late 17th (and early 18th century) form along with a late depiction of the De Burgo arms (a version which would not have been used by William Liath de Burgo) show the lengths to which in the mid-17th century the Franciscan (or someone who had this cenotaph carved) wished to commemorate William de Burgo’s association with the foundation of
the Franciscan Friary’s ‘advertised’ through this elaborate monument. The association between the site and de Burgo seems to have been seen as a status symbol for the monastery. The narrow, tapering slab is also of an ‘early’ form and these seem to be representing a deliberate attempt at representing an archaic type of monument.

The military status of William de Burgo and Stephen Lynch is ill-defined in terms of their rank on their monuments and cenotaph respectively and it is not until the 18th century that specific military ranks are referred to on a Galwegian funerary monument. The elaborate post-medieval monument of Robert Stannard of 1720 describes him as a ‘lieutenant’ in the honourable Colonel Roger Handasydes Regiment of Foot (See Plate 22A). The rest of the monuments bearing references to military ranks or regiments are all from the mid and late 18th century onwards.

**Status Labels**

As we have seen the title ‘Sir’ is not found on many Galwegian monuments and the few instances that do occur are relatively late. From the 17th century onwards the titles *Esquire* and *Baronet* also occur but again these are rare. Among the earliest is the tomb of Sir Peter French of the 1630s (Cat. Fig. 37A). The titles Esq (Esquire) and Baronet occur on 18th century Eyre monument (Plate 76A).

On C26 the lost monument of Ann Blake she seems to be referred to as ‘Fitz SRR Walter alternatively Fitz Sir Walter or alternatively ‘relict of Sir Walter’ depending on how the inscriptions is read. It is recorded by both FitzGerald (1910-12) and Jennings (1947) (See Catalogue for a full list of reference). If indeed the inscription reads ‘Sir’ then the ‘Fitz’ seems to be an unlikely reading. If ‘Fitz’ had any real meaning in the context it should be interpreted as ‘son of’ rather than ‘daughter of’ and the person commemorated is clearly female.

The later Eyre monuments, such as C12, do use status labels. The post-medieval monument of Edward Eyre Esq. son of Giles of Brickworth the Esquire is a significant indicator of status. This stone is in the Chapel of St. Patrick (under the 19th century organ) and appears to marks the burial place of the deceased it is plan and simple must be contrasted with C60, which is set in the south wall of the South Aisle of St. Nicholas’. Curiously the same people are commemorated on this Eyre monument.
which also uses the same title (Esq’) in relation to Edward and mentions his father Giles of Brickworth. The language is completely different on C60 where it is far more ‘flowery’ than that on C12 despite the fact that the same people (Jane Eyre for example is mentioned on C48 and C12) are commemorated on both monuments. C12 does however have heraldry, the arms of Eyre and Carden impaled and the use of heraldry is in itself a status indicator. The shield however is very simple, plain and almost puritanical in style and no elaboration, mantling or crest are included.

It is obvious that this second Eyre monument (C60) is later than it looks. It was erected by Edward, son of the first mentioned Edward who died in 1739. It is likely in light of the inscription that a change of attitude towards grandiose inscriptions took place among the Eyre family between 1683 and some time after 1739 when this monument (C60) was erected. The earliest Eyres had come to Galway with the Cromwellians in the 1650s and most people of this background erected very simple monuments usually devoid of references to nobility, and with a lot of emphasis on simplicity among the more Puritanical Protestants their monuments were devoid of depictions of the saints and religious iconography generally reduced to a great extent by the 18th century the Eyres of Eyrecourt and Galway had become benefactors of the Anglican Church of Ireland (Gantz 1975, 51-115). They then had the elaborate inscription carved on a new wall monument erected at St. Nicholas (C60) with much praise of the deceased. By the 18th century this was more acceptable as the politics and religious belief of some members of the family changed. Edward (Snr.), Esquire, his son Edward of Galway Esquire, (who erected the monument) along with Jane Eyre his wife, who was daughter of Sir William Maynard of Walthanstow in Essex, Baronet are all mentioned. By this stage several titles, Sir, Esquire and Baronet all occur in the same monument and the vainglorious and laudatory inscription can be contrasted with the simplicity of the epitaph on C12 which commemorates most of the same people.

Another later 18th century Eyre monument occurs immediately to the right of C60 in St. Nicholas’ (Plate 76A). This was erected to the memory of Jane Eyre who died in 1760. The monument has an even more elaborate laudatory inscription full of praise for Jane Eyre and making reference too, to her father, Sir William Maynard, Baronet.
The status of Alderman is cited on a multi-period monument which includes mention of ‘Alderman Dominick Browne & his posterity, who dyed in the year 1596’. As we have seen this monument and its heraldry is likely to be of 18th century vintage (C81). In the early 18th century it becomes common for the later monuments to include mentions of offices like Alderman. An 18th century monument in St. Nicholas’ mentions Rebecka Rush daughter of ‘Aldern’ (Alderman) John Gibbs. She died in 1731. The Arms of Rush also occur on this monument (See Plate 86A). Robert Blakeney’s status as an alderman is mentioned on his monument of 1731 (Plate 86B).

Curiously few mayors apart from James Darcy (or D’Arcy) (C52) (Plate 96A) have mention of their position as mayor referred to on their funerary monuments. The only specific mention of the Mayorship found on C52 refers to him as Mayor of Galway and President of Connacht. The monument was clearly originally a very large and elaborate one which reflects the status of one of Galway's most important citizens who died while holding the office of Mayor in 1603. It is a pity that the only visual record of this elaborate monument to survive is a 19th century photograph of the mensa of the box-tomb (Plate 96A). It is highly likely that the tomb was a box-like one (perhaps with a vault beneath it).

Many of the surviving monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery have references to the religious status of those commemorated on them. Father Thomas O’Mahony’s monument C14 (Plate 5C) includes the religious title Father, while C15, (Plate 5F) the monument to Thomas French does the same, referring to him as the ‘Facerdotis’. Caet Dily (or Daly) is referred to as ‘Nun of the Order of St. Clare’ on her monument of 1638 (Plate 5B). A monument (C22) erected to the memory of Helen Martin which is now lost had an epitaph in which she is referred to an ‘First Abbes (sic) and religious of the Poor Clares of Galway’. Her name in religion, ‘Mother Maria Gabriel’ is also given. Another monument, C27, to Elizabeth Lynch, seems to describe her as foundress of the Orders of S. Clara’ who died in 1626. Unfortunately this stone is lost and the accuracy of the inscription cannot now be checked.

Several lost monuments which are known to have been at the Dominican Cemetery refer to the religious status of the deceased who was buried below them. The inscription on C76 refers to ‘fratris Tho Linc Anton, Ord Pred’ and another religious is
commemorated on a monument (C75) which is inscribed ‘Hic jacet Corpus Mauricii O’Ferrall-propiuetus Dens – Aº, 1588’. While a cleric flanked by saints is clearly depicted on C53 at the Convent of Mercy which is a demi-effigy showing the deceased in clerical garb but no inscribed element occurs (Plate 67A and 67B). We now have no way of knowing how this monument looked originally, whether it was part of a far more elaborate monument or how it was positioned within a more elaborate feature. Neither do we know how the epitaph occurred. It is highly likely that there was an inscription on some part of the monument with which this panel was associated. The status of the cleric depicted on C53 is heightened and emphasised by his being flanked by a pair of saints.

Other professions are represented both by inscriptions as well as in displays of heraldry. The Thomas Davin commemorated on C23 is described on the monument as a ‘beautifier of Gold’ and the goldsmith also had his status and professional status (probably as a high official or Master in a guild) reflected in his use of the arms of a company or Guild of Goldsmiths represented on the stone (Plate 4B). This is true also of C9 on which there are three crowned hammers which are beyond doubt elements of the arms of a Company or Guild of Blacksmiths (rather than being Vocational Symbols per se) (Plate 4D).

Heraldry then also reflects status but on C9 and C23 the heraldry is a reflection not just of the prestige afforded by membership of a Company or Guild but is also more than likely an expression of the high professional standing of the Blacksmith and Goldsmith within their professional companies or Guilds. It is doubtful if anyone other than Masters of a Guild would have been entitled to use these arms on their funerary monuments. The relationship between vocational symbols, merchants’ marks and heraldry and social status has been explored elsewhere in this volume. In essence all of these elements reflect status. These who were not entitled to use heraldry often used either merchants’ marks or vocational symbols, marks or tools. There were some people who were entitled to use heraldry and who did, but who also used merchants’ marks. As some merchants and others moved up the social scale they sometimes began to become entitled to use heraldry (or simply used it anyway without official permission). Among crafts persons who were not entitled to use heraldry but were lower
down the social scale farmers, crafts-persons and those without the benefit of guild membership gradually used the tools of their trade, vocation, profession and calling as emblems of their status. The closer they came to being middle class the more they were inclined to use such symbolism on their monuments. It increased from the 15th century on but most especially from the late 17th to early 19th centuries in the West of Ireland or west of the Shannon especially by the early 18th and early 19th century more and more ‘gentlemen’ and members of the middle and upper middle class applied for the right to use heraldry or simply adopted it more and more.

The profession of a merchant is mentioned on a lost element of an 18th century tomb of James Quinn, formerly at the Franciscan Cemetery. Part of the armorial section of this tomb (C77) still survives (Plate 88A). Though the tomb represented by the elements was ‘first erected’ in 1649 it was repaired and ornamented in 1767. The armorial section (C77) definitely dates to the 1760s and it is unknown to what extent any of the 17th century elements were incorporated into the 18th century rebuilding of the tomb.

The professional classes gradually mention their profession on inscriptions more and more (whether they used Vocational symbols or emblems or not) in the 18th and early 19th centuries and C77 is an early example of the trend. It is notable that the Quinns also had elaborate heraldry carved on the later elements of their tomb of the 18th century which again was an attempt to show their own status. The Quinns were a native Irish family originally but their arms are also shown on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway reflecting their acceptance as allies for several centuries, by the Tribal Families which dominated Galway socially and politically.

Some monuments reflect the religious attitudes of a number of people who deliberately used simple monuments which were neither elaborate or complex. The early headstones which occur (C71, C72 and C73) illustrate how many of those who came with the Cromwellians to Galway in the 1650s and got land and stayed there were very simple in their form and ornamentation. These represent some of the earliest development of the headstone not only in Galway but in the West of Ireland generally. The Merrick monument of 1666 (C71) (Plate 100A) is extremely plain with a triangular top, straight sides and a simple incised inscription. The Jenckin (C72) monument dated
1681 and 1685 is also very simple with a round head and incised inscription (Plate 100B). The surname is English, as is the surname Nordin (or Noardin) on C73 which is dated 1690 (Plate 100C).

Whether the people for whom these stones were erected could afford to erect more elaborate monuments but did not wish to or not is uncertain. It seems likely however that a deliberate choice was made for socio-political and religious reasons to use markedly plain, simple monuments. These examples are all very small in size by comparison with 18th and early 19th century headstones which are frequently twice the height of late 17th century ones like C71, C72 and C73. The only smaller headstone (as distinct from un-inscribed rough markers) occurs in Galway City, that to ‘Mery oneill’ at Forthill cemetery which is dated 1787.
CHAPTER 11
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENTS

Several of the Galway carvings are said, by local tradition, to have been deliberately vandalised or destroyed and there are also some contemporary and near-contemporary accounts of the vandalism done to some monuments by the Cromwellians when they occupied Galway in the 1650s (Hardiman 1820, 108-139).

C48, C49 and C50 (Plates 82, 83 and 84) now at Galway Cathedral are said to have come from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church originally to have been hidden in the Claddagh in order to save them from destruction by the Cromwellians. They were later incorporated in a church on the site of what was to become the Pro-Cathedral on the corner of Middle Street and Abbeygate Street Lower. They were subsequently built into the walls of the former Pro-Cathedral of circa 1816 and eventually incorporated into the walls of the side-chapel of the New Cathedral in the 1960s, where they remain.

That their survival is attributed to the fact that they were hidden is significant. They remained intact until the 1960s when the angel was removed using some sort of stone-saw or angle grinder. They seem also to have been cleaned by sandblasting at that time. Previously while at the old Pro-Cathedral, (one of the carvings had acquired a patina and polish through being touched and rubbed as an object of veneration, especially C48 the figure of God the Son. Old photographs of the carvings when they were in the Pro-Cathedral show how polished the stone had become through being touched by the congregation. The carvings were later cleaned by some mechanical means before being inserted in the walls of the New Cathedral and this polished surface was removed (See Semple 1974, 187).

The fate of many other Galwegian sculptures has been far less lucky. Traditionally the heads of the two angels on the sides of the Lynch tomb (C54) in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church were smashed according to a strong folk tradition by Cromwellians. Here the heads of two
angels holding cressets or chalice-shaped objects have very clearly been deliberately smashed (Plates 86A-C). The faces in particular have been very obviously defaced.

The fate of the Crucifixion panel (C51) at the Dominican Church, Claddagh seems to have been similar. While there have been modern losses to the top and upper corners of the panel, which was more complete prior to 1984, but even then it was very clear that the face of Christ had been deliberately pulverised. The faces of Saint John and the Virgin Mary seem also to have been worn in a more minor way, possibility through subsequent weathering, but much of the destruction has been concentrated on the face of Christ which is unusual. Large breaks occur also on the legs and on the surviving arm (Plate 30B). (The wear on this carving is difficult to photograph adequately because of the position of the panel in the porch of the Church.)

At the Franciscan Church several monuments have been deliberately smashed, some have survived with little damage and one monument, that of Sir Peter French (C44) (Plates 97A and B and 33B) was partly dismembered by Colonel Peter Stubbers who sold the stone from this elaborate monument for the making of chimney pieces in England (See Hardiman 1820, 266, f.n.e).

As Finch (2000) has said (in relation to previous studies of British funerary monuments) ‘Studies of iconoclasm...ignore the evidence provided by material sculpture and rely heavily upon conventional documentary sources. In Ireland the political and historical events have been frequently discussed in detail but there has been no real discussion of the problem of iconoclasm’. What is needed, as Finch has pointed out, is ‘an attempt to examine its nature and extent at a local level, using material evidence as well as documentary, to ascertain what was attacked or removed and what was spared’ (Finch 2000, 126).

**Iconoclasm**

Hitherto no attempt has been made to link the historically attested accounts of iconoclasm with the actual evidence on Galwegian funerary or other
monuments. No attempt has been hitherto made either to examine an entire *corpus* of monuments in order to try and find evidence of deliberate vandalism or destruction in Galway, or in Ireland generally. By contrast the topic has been much explored in Britain where both regional and national studies have explored the historical and physical evidence as well. Some attempts to identify the evidence have been less successful than others. An early example of writing on the topic was Briggs (1952). More recently Duffy (1992), for example, has illustrated much evidence for the destruction of monuments. Phillips (1973) cited in Finch (2000, 127) has concluded that an attempted archaeological survey of the archaeological evidence for iconoclasm in Suffolk proved impracticable, though Finch (2000) (for instance) has examined the historical and archaeological evidence for Norfolk in some considerable detail. He illustrates examples of erasure of inscriptions and other iconoclasm. Gray (2000) devotes some space to vandalism of examples Welsh monuments especially her Chapter 8 ‘The Destruction of the Images’. Among the most important works on the effects of the Protestant Reformation on the visual arts is that by Michalski (1993)\(^1\), who includes two chapters devoted to Protestant iconographobes and to the various meanings behind iconoclasm (Text Figs. 46-7, pp 304-5).

The extent of iconoclasm and its effect is almost impossible to gauge from the archeological evidence and the physical survival of a number of monuments which bear evidence of deliberate damage. Even where we have the historical accounts of raids and destruction by the Cromwellians for example, but this in itself does not give us quantitative information about the extent and the severity of the destruction. Text Figs. 45A and 45B provide graphic examples.

Hardiman (1820, 135, f.n.4) quoting the ‘Annals’ of Galway has this to say ‘The Annals related that their [the Parliamentarian soldiery] avarice went so far as to break open the tombs, and root out the dead bodies out of their

\(^1\) For the various reasons behind religious iconoclasm in the Reformation see Michalski, S. (1993) especially Chapter 2 ‘The Iconophobes, Karlstadt, Zwingli and Calvin’, 43-74 and Chapter 3 ‘Iconoclasm: Rites of Destruction’, 75-98. The reasons for vandalism include closure, the break with the old religious order, simbolic mutilation, controlled destruction and destruction to prove that the idols of the old religion had no power. Partial selected vandalism involving partial breaking of features of a piece of iconography alone while leaving the rest of the image intact implied control by the new order of the religious iconography of the old order.
graves, in hope of finding riches interred with them; and that when disappointed, they left the carcasses uncovered, so that they were often found mangled and eaten by the dogs – Annals’.

Did some of the damage represent half-hearted attempts at deliberate iconoclastic destruction? Do the least damaged monuments survive largely intact because they were not sufficiently badly damaged for the families of the deceased to consider their repair or replacement necessary? How much more destruction was wrought for which we have no physical or archaeological evidence? Probably a great deal, but we have no way of knowing. We have no discarded or buried groups of badly damaged carved heavily battered tomb fragments found through archaeological excavation or chance discovery in the course of renovations to judge by for instance.

The survival of partly or mildly damaged monuments cannot be taken as inverse evidence for the destruction which must undoubtedly have been wrought. Some of it might have been a good deal worse or more total but we simply do not have the physical evidence.

The destruction of some monuments may have been highly selective because a certain amount of stonework was re-saleable and reusable. We can see in the cause of the tomb of Sir Peter French for example (Plate 97). Only two panels of this tomb (C44a and C44b) survive and both have small-scale damage mostly to the faces of the figures that occur. More care may, however, have been taken with the other sections of the tomb which were seized by Colonel Peter Stubbers who not only dismembered it but sold elements of it for chimney pieces as well. The account of Colonel Stubbers destruction and re-cycling of the tomb of Sir Peter French makes interesting reading. Hardiman (1820, 266) describes the events as follows: ‘1652, The friars of this house were banished and the monuments and ornamental works of the Abbey were defaced by Cromwell’s soldiery. The superb tomb of Sir Peter French, Knt. which was richly gilt and adorned with sculptures, was entirely destroyed; part of the polished marble was converted by governor Stubbers into chimney-pieces, and the remainder sent to England and disposed of at a considerable price’.
It must be assumed that the ‘Trinity Panel’ from the tomb (C44b) and the section showing Sir Peter’s arms (C44a) were not easily re-useable and only the decorative segments without religious iconography or heraldry were re-saleable (See Plate 32A and C, 33B and 97). It would be of great interest if the reused fragments were ever to re-surface but it is unlikely that they could be identified if they survived. Other instances are less clear cut. The damage done to the two surviving portions of the Sir Peter French tomb are minimal. On C44a the noses and faces of St. Nicholas and St. Patrick are broken but not very severely battered. On the other panel of the same tomb (C44b) there is deliberate damage to the badly broken features (Plate 97).

The possibility that some vandalism was multi-period cannot be ignored. Some iconoclastic vandalism may have occurred in the late 16th and early 17th century as a result of the religious and political conflict associated with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This is possible but unlikely given the highly selective manner in which these examples have been broken. The battering is concentrated on the face of Christ, angels, cherubs and saints, but there is no attempt to break away the image completely. It is possible that other sculpture was more widely indiscriminately and comprehensively defaced to such an extent that it had to be removed, discarded, buried or dumped, and is not now available for scholarship.

Iconoclasm was not confined to sculpture in stone. There is evidence for deliberate defacement of wooden religious statues as well. A medieval statue at the Poor Clare Convent, Galway has had its eyes deliberately gouged and badly damaged, very likely as a result of deliberate iconoclastic vandalism. Writing of a statue of St. Dominick at the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, MacLeod has this to say ‘The lower portion from the ankles to the base, once attached by wooden dowels, is missing. Both arms are also missing and the face is sadly mutilated. The ears are slashed off, the eyes gouged out, the nose and lips hacked and broken. The Kilkenny Dominicans say that statue was seized and thus mutilated during a spell of persecution. Then it was rescued and secreted away until such time as it was safe to show it in the light of day’ (Mac Leod 1947a, 129).
A wooden crown which was undoubtedly part of a royal coat of arms at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway has been crudely sawn and broken off the top of achievement of arms on which it was originally set. The royal arms would, of course, have been a target for the Parliamentarians when they held power in Galway in the early 1650s but whether the Royal arms, which is likely to have been displayed in the Church, was vandalised or whether the crown is simply a surviving relic of the arms which might have become accidentally damaged, partly rotted or infested with woodworm. This object is unpublished.

Other possible examples of religiously motivated destruction can be cited from Co. Galway for instance. The Franciscan Friary on Inishmore, Aran Islands is said traditionally to have been destroyed to build Arkin’s Castle, a 17th century Parliamentarian fortification. A shaft of a cross of octagonal cross section which now lies on the shore below the fortification may have been deliberately dismantled in the course of the construction work for the fort. Worked stone from a dismantled church of *circa* 1200 have been used in the construction of the 17th century fortifications at an earlier castle site at Arkins Castle (See Gosling 1992 for the site in general).

**Evidence of Iconoclasm**

Evidence for Iconoclasm and deliberate destruction for religious and anti-religious reasons as distinct from sheer non-ideologically motivated destruction or vandalism seems to occur on several of the Galwegian funerary monuments.

The following figure shows the extent of deliberate iconoclasm on the Galwegian monuments:

**C55 (Plate 52, Text Fig. 45B):** Lynch Canopied – Traceried tomb, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Extent of damage:** The face and head of Christ showing His Five Wounds is broken away.
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**Comment:** Luckily the destruction is confined to the face of Christ. The deliberate damage was confined to a very small area on a monument which could very easily have been damaged especially its tracery.

**C51 (Plate 30B):** Crucifixion Panel, Dominican Church, Claddagh.
**Extent of damage:** The face of Christ Crucified is broken away.
**Comment:** Apart from modern breakage (See Catalogue entry) the damage seems, again, to have been concentrated on the face of Christ and though the nose of St. John has been flattened the damage there does not seem to have been concerted or (necessarily) deliberate.

**C54 (Plate 68 and Text Fig. 45A):** The Lynch Altar-tomb (multi-period).
**Extent of damage:** Confined to the heads of the angels on the sides of the monument, along with the chalice or ‘crescent-like’ objects which they held.
**Comment:** Again deliberate damage was confined to the heads and faces of the images. We have no way of knowing whether the finials flanking the upper sides of the monument were damaged or removed at the same time, but the deliberate hammering away of the images seems to have been carefully selective. The box or base of the tomb has been repaired and changed for use as an altar, but whether this was broken open or damaged at the time of the smashing of the angels’ faces is impossible to tell.

**C45 I-III (Plate 31):** The Apostles Saints and Crucifixion Panels, Franciscan Cemetery.
Extent of damage: The face of Crucified Christ is very deliberately broken and there are several large splits in the panels which could have been made deliberately or accidentally at the same time or subsequently.

Comment: The face of Christ Crucified seems to have been deliberately targeted. Amazingly the many other figures on the panels have not apparently been deliberately vandalised.

C42A and C44b
(Plates 33B and 97): The tomb of Sir Peter French, Franciscan Cemetery.

Extent of damage: An area of damage to the cherubs above God the Son.

Comment: It does not look as if there was a further cherub here. Perhaps there was an inscription or another religious feature or perhaps a vexillum which occurred above or over the Cross of Christ and which bore the INRI inscription. Unfortunately we can only speculate on what was there. Whatever it was seems to have been deliberately destroyed. Surprisingly the faces of God the Father and God the Son on C44b are relatively intact despite broken noses and somewhat worn facial features which are not necessary deliberately destroy but may have been damaged subsequently. The dove is badly damaged perhaps deliberately but the pre-determined breaking off of the head of the Holy Ghost (dove) seems to have taken place here on C44b. The faces of Saints Patrick and Nicholas on C44a have been damaged. The rest of the monument was dismantled and sold for chimney pieces by the Colonel Peter Stubbers, the Cromwellian Governor of Galway (See Catalogue entry).
C74 (Plate 73D): ‘Weeper’ or miniature figure possibly of a saint, Convent Mercy, but probably from the Franciscan foundation.

Extent of damage: The head of the figure is broken away completely rather than just partly defaced as is the case of some of the other carvings listed here. Given the projecting format of the head it could easily have been broken off deliberately or accidentally.

Comment: This is a good example of the difficulties faced by anyone attempting to determine whether a breakage was deliberate or not. Whether or not this was deliberately destroyed remains a matter for speculation.

Other Examples

Numerous other possible examples of deliberate destruction could be cited but in most cases there would be too much uncertainty involved. The above has included only those instances where deliberate breaking away of feature mostly faces and head occurs.

There is physical evidence of similar nature from other places too. The Virgin and Child on the side of the canopied and traceried wall tomb at the Dominican foundation at Athenry, Co. Galway (Plate 43C) seems to have been treated in exact manner as Christ showing the Five Wounds on the canopied and traceried tomb. Interestingly, the nearby Wall family monument in the same wall mentions that it was erected to replace an earlier monument destroyed by Cromwellians (See Text Fig. 47, p. 305). A large French family tomb in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church was also destroyed by Cromwellians according to the agreement for a new tomb made between the French family and John Ward, a stone mason in 1691 (See Text Figs. 9-12, pp 59-61 and 71).
Fig. 44. Examples of the Virgin by the Three Persons of the Trinity. These representations show the same iconographical motif as depicted on C48, C49 and C50 which came from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and are now at the Cathedral of St. Nicholas and Our Lady Assumed into Heaven. (A) The Coronation of the Virgin by Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), The Prado Madrid after Ghéon and Zeller (N.D.). (B) The Coronation of the Virgin by Michael Pacher in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, after Anon. 1955-6. (C) The Coronation of the Virgin by Annibale Carracci. Courtesy of Michael Caden, original source of photograph unknown. The examples shown probably reflect the original layout of C48, C49 and C50.
Fig. 45. (A) One of a pair of angels with broken faces and broken cressets or stands on which tapers or candles are likely to have been lit when prayers and masses were said for the dead. Such prayers ceremonies were anathema to Puritans and other Protestants who are said to have vandalised these carvings on C54 (A Lynch tomb) at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

(B) Christ showing His Wounds on C55 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The faces and hands have been deliberately vandalised, though probably selectively so.
Fig. 46. ‘Cromwellians Despoiling a Church’ From Markland, 1841 *Remarks on English Churches and on the Extraordinary of Rendering Sepulchral Memorials Subservient to Pious and Christian Users.*
Fig. 47. The Wall Family mural tablet in the Dominican Priory Athenry. The inscription includes specific reference to an earlier monument to Walls having been destroyed by Cromwellians. A similar reference is made in the specifications for a French Family Monument in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church dated to 1691.
CHAPTER 12
GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE MONUMENTS BY TYPE

The funerary and related monuments which are catalogued in this work are discussed here and in the same general sequence in which they are catalogued. Apart from a discussion of the forms of the monuments, their parallels and development are also explored. General comments on the general destruction of the monuments and their re-edification in the post-medieval period and a general analysis of the social implications of the monuments also form part of the discussion.

A. Recumbent Slabs

Almost all of the medieval (13th to 17th century) recumbent slabs are confined to St. Nicholas’s Collegiate Church (C1 to C13, and C20) the Franciscan Graveyard (C14-C18, C21-7) and there are two more known from inscriptions recorded by Hardiman at the Dominican Graveyard, Claddagh (C63-C64), though the form of these is uncertain and all we have is a record of their inscriptions, but no idea of their form. Decoration, their inscriptions and their lettering are discussed below.

PLAIN MEDIEVAL SLABS

Two plain slabs occur. These, C36 and C37 (Plates 2C and 2A respectively) are devoid of datable characteristics. C36 has rounded edges and is straight sided and is impossible to date closely while C37 is slightly trapezoidal in shape. The size and proportions of both stones are suggestive of a 13th-14th century date or at least a pre-1500 date for them. Plain slabs bearing no decoration but which, because of their shape, proportions and thickness, may be funerary monuments of medieval date, occur occasionally. Maher (1997, 58-59) has identified fifteen examples from Co. Tipperary out of a total of 105 monuments of medieval date. Her Athassel No. 6 example is one of two which
bears an inscription, the epitaph on her No. 6 runs as follows ‘HIC IACET FRATER THOMAS’. This inscription is in Lombardic script and is probably of 13th to 14th century date. All the Tipperary monuments are fragmentary and all seem to be tapered and to feature chamfered edges (Maher 1997, 58). Her Knockgraffon 1 bears a black letter inscription. Maher concludes that ‘perhaps these slabs (were) never meant to have designs or perhaps they were making a social statement and were used by the lower classes. Finally, it is also possible that they were merely unfinished slabs or even roughouts, where they were prepared in advance of any special orders’ (Maher 1997, 59). This may also have been the case with C37. C36 has vague linear and curvilinear indentations which cannot be interpreted as a coherent pattern and might have been carved. It is now fragmentary, spalled and worn. The early truly medieval recumbent slabs from Galway City are few and far between. The definite ones are mainly from Roscam Cemetery (C31-C35) (Plates 92A and B, and 93A), which would have been well outside the medieval walled town of Galway being about two and a half miles from it as the crow flies.

Another stone, C35 is at Roshill House, a short distance from Roscam Cemetery but came from that site (See Plate 93B). All are classic medieval tapering slabs with features common to such slabs which can be paralleled widely across much of the country. C31 and C32 have incised Latin crosses with fleur-de-lis terminals while C33 and C35 have Latin crosses with fleur-de-lis terminals carved in low false relief. C34 is also a fragment of a cross-slab which is carved in low false relief but only part of the cross-shaft remains. The entire group from Roscam is an interesting one of typical early medieval-type post-Invasion cross slabs and it is a pity that the stones are all uninscribed and that none bear any diagnostic features which would make them more closely datable than the 13th-14th century date range to which they have been assigned. It seems possible that the false relief ones are slightly later within this date range than the incised examples. C31 and C32 are relatively small and narrow as well as being incised but C33 and C35 are false relief examples which couldn’t be more different in scale. One stone, C33, is a good example of premature cross-slab
carved in false relief. Such ‘miniature sized’ slabs occur in both incised and false relief throughout Ireland, however, and their size is not necessarily an indicator of a specific date. Miniature false relief cross slabs with trefoil rather than fleur-de-lis terminals occur too, and there is a good complete (unpublished) example from the medieval parish church at Claregalway (as distinct from Claregalway Franciscan Abbey nearby) and plain miniature cross slabs are known from Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny (See Higgins in Clyne (ed.) 2007, 453 and especially 454 and 458, Fig. 7.1, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 for both plain and carved miniature medieval cross slabs).

Incised slabs having Latin crosses with fleur-de-lis terminals like **C31** from Roscam are very common and the Kells Priory corpus (Higgins in Clyne (ed.) 2007, 454-467, Fig. 7.1, Nos. 2-11 and Fig. 7.2, Nos. 1-4 provide good examples.

Cross slabs having Latin crosses cut in low false relief and having narrow borders come in a wide variety of forms. The Kells corpus provides some examples (Higgins 2007, Fig. 7.2, Nos. 8 and 9 and Fig. 7.3, Nos. 3 and 4).

Though it has been suggested that **C33** from Roscam might be late in the sequence because of its large size the mitered top to that slab has an indirect parallel in the mitered lower and of **C1** from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church a general late 13th-14th century date must be assigned, then, to **C33** and **C1**.

The early St. Nicholas’ recumbent slabs are also remarkably few in number for such an important site, but lack of early 13th-15th century examples is also a feature of the Dominican Cemetery (which was only founded in 1488 however) as well as Forthill Cemetery. The paucity of such early recumbent slabs is a feature of Galway City generally where long use of cemeteries and their build up over time seems to have militated against the survival of early recumbent slabs apart from **C1** and also **C36** and **C37**, which, though they lack diagnostic decoration have the shape and proportions of 13th-14th century cross decorated recumbent slabs. Of the late medieval stones the two 17th century examples at Merlin Park **C28** and **C29** (Plates 90A and 90B) are the most interesting. Their cross form and stepped bases are paralleled in recumbent
B. **Box-Tombs or Table-Tombs**

Like table-tombs or free-standing box-tombs, wall-tombs rarely survive in Galway City. Unlike table-tombs however wall-tombs survive in relatively large numbers in the hinterland of the City, in the County and in the west in general but almost always in rural monastic and other ecclesiastical sites. The occurrence of fine examples at Claregalway, Kilconnell and Clontuskert, Co. Galway and further afield at Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, and Strade, Co. Mayo may suggest that this type of tomb was commoner in the west of Ireland generally and was probably once a more popular tomb-type than the free-standing table-tomb in Galway City as well. Again the destruction of Galway’s medieval churches has left us with little evidence with which to prove or disprove this theory. The series of five stone heads from Galway (C61 to C65) would seem to have come from Renaissance type wall-tombs rather than box-tombs (See Plates 75A, 75B, 74A, 74B and 74C respectively). The surviving examples include the Lynch Altar tomb-cum-window set in the wall of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and the fine flamboyant Lynch tomb (C54) in the same transept.

Large free-standing table tombs are rare in Galway. All the surviving examples are fragmentary and, so far, no *mensa* or effigy from such a tomb has survived. Where fragmentary nature makes it impossible to be sure of what type of box-tomb or table-tomb the panels belong to or whether the tomb was free standing or partly free standing. There is nothing in fact to suggest that any of the Galway tombs had effigies. Hunt (1974, 107) has commented on the scarcity of large table-tombs in the west of Ireland generally. Whether the scarcity is due simply to lack of survival or whether large tombs of this type were or were not popular it is difficult to say but it is most likely due to the destruction of the main medieval churches of which only St. Nicholas’ (where most of the catalogued monuments survive) still stands.
**EVIDENCE FOR SARCOPHAGI**

Despite the fact that Champneys (1910, XX) refers to C6 as a ‘stone coffin-lid’ there is as yet no evidence for any stone sarcophagi among the Galwegian funerary monuments. The nearest example to Galway is a 13th or early 14th century head slab from the former Church of Ireland, Loughrea, Co. Galway and Galway City is at present, in any case, well outside the known area of distribution of medieval sarcophagi as shown in Bradley’s distribution map and catalogue of the Irish Anglo-Norman sarcophagi (Bradley 1988, 74-94).

**B. (i) TABLE-TOMB OR PARTIALLY FREE-STANDING BOX OR WALL-TOMB**

The form of the tomb of Sir Peter French, of which only two panels (C44a and b) survive, is now indeterminate and thus is difficult to fit into any certain typological category within the funerary monuments under discussion. It is clear however that it was either partly or fully free-standing but little else about it is now proveable (Cat. Figs 37A and 37B).

The narrower panel, C44b, bears a Trinity-Scene and by analogy with other Irish funerary monument may have come from the narrow end of a free-standing box-tomb or partly free-standing altar-tomb. The slightly wider panel, C44a, could have been from the tomb front where its heraldry could be clearly and prominently displayed. Hardiman (1820, 226) as well as other writers have described how the tomb of Sir Peter French was almost completely destroyed in the 1650s:

‘1652, The friars of this house were banished, and the monuments and ornamental works of the Abbey were defaced by Cromwell’s soldiery. The superb marble tomb of Sir Peter French, kn.t. which was richly gilt and adorned with sculptures was entirely destroyed, part of the polished marble was converted by governor Stubbers into chimney-pieces, and the remainder sent to England and disposed of at a considerable price.’

This Colonel Peters Stubbers was the Cromwellian officer who commanded the occupation of Galway after its surrender 1652. He was appointed military
governor of the town and his name appears on the Civic Sword of Galway (from which an attempt was subsequently made to erase it) (See Hayes Mc Coy 1960-61, 15-36). Hardiman (1820., 266, f.n.) also goes on to describe the circumstances of the rediscovery of this monument to Sir Peter French in the late 18th century as follows:-

‘part of the under-works of this monument were dug up about the year 1779, and, by order of Father Anthony Caroll, a pious and learned Franciscan, were placed in the wall of the sacristy, and near the lower entrance of the chapel. In the latter are sculptured figures of Saint Patrick and Saint Nicholas, the patron of the town with the family arms of Browne and Crest of French, beneath which have engraved the names “Peter French” and “Mary Browne”. The other parts exhibit the Crucifixion, both cross and body defaced; the two Marys, the twelve Apostles, Saint Clara, Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Francis of Assissium and other. These remains are much injured by time, but even still, may enable the spectator to form an idea of the magnificence of this once stately mausoleum’.

The forgoing description by Hardiman, while in the main accurate, has led to a number of fallacies about his tomb. Since 1820 numerous writers have for example linked the two elements of the tomb which still survive with three other elements which bear the twelve apostles and Franciscan saints. These elements do not belong together stylistically; they come from a completely different monument. The surviving elements which can be said to have come from the tomb are catalogued as follows:

**C44b**: The frontal or possibly an end panel of the side of a tomb bearing the arms of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary Browne flanked by Saints Patrick and Nicholas.

**C44a**: A somewhat narrower panel, probably from the end of a tomb bearing the Trinity along with cherubs.
None of the other fragments present at the Franciscan Cemetery can be shown to have come from this tomb. The parts of a tomb bearing the Crucifixion and Two Marys, the Twelve Apostles and other saints form portions of a completely different (and earlier) monument to which the writer designates the title ‘The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panel’ and catalogues collectively as Type B(ii) C45 I-III. Roman numerals rather than Arabic letters are used deliberately to further distinguish these two separate monuments from one another.

Hardiman (1820, 266) mentions the occurrence of the arms of Browne and crest of French on the tomb (that is on C44a). In fact the impaled arms of French and Browne occur together in a single shield and above them is the crest of French, the ‘dolphin bowed’.

About Sir Peter French and his life we know a certain amount. His main mansion was in Market Street and is depicted on the Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s. He is well known from the Corporation Books and was Mayor of Galway on several occasions. His funeral entry was recorded by the Ulster King of Arms and his arms together with those of his wife occur on two Galwegian fireplace keystones from his mansion, on a doorway to that mansion, possibly on some of the small armorial panels in Market Street, as well as on his tomb (C44, see references in the catalogue).

The original form of Sir Peter French’s tomb (C44a and b, Plate 97) can be tentatively reconstructed as a box-tomb of free-standing form incorporating the Trinity Scene as we have suggested above (See catalogue). The figures in the Trinity Scene are stylistically identical to the figures which flank the impaled arms of French and Browne.

The beards and facial features of St. Patrick and St. Nicholas on C44a correspond closely with those of God the Father on C44b. The cherub’s heads on 44b have the same chubbiness and the same detailing as occurs on either side of the saint’s faces on the armorial plaque (44a) as can be seen in Figs 37A and 37B respectively. The moustaches are similar to those on the saints on C45 (Text Figs 38 and 39). The long beard with a straight end and the long up-turned moustache is a feature of God the Father, God the Son, St. Patrick and St. Nicholas (C44a) as well
as on the three figures of the Crucifixion Scene (C45). The face of the child who is shown emerging from the vessel alongside St. Nicholas (C44a) can also be paralleled closely in the faces of the cherubs on C44b (Text Figs 37A and B).

It is possible that the Franciscan Abbey graveyard Trinity Scene from the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44b) is a crude copy of the two remaining panels representing parts of the Trinity or rather the coronation of the Virgin by the Three persons of the Trinity now in Galway Cathedral (C48, C49 and C50) (Compare Plates 33A and 33B). The composition, number and type of garments, posture and attributes are the same, though the craftsmanship is of very different quality. The positions of the hands of both figures and the draping of the cloak over the left knee of God the Father are remarkably close in composition. The carver of the Franciscan Graveyard Trinity (C44b) obviously had a piece of superior work as a model but has added some minor detail including the cherubs and the small scale decoration on the edges of God the Father’s cloak. It is surprising that the sculptor did not also copy the angel with a censer who was depicted above God the Father’s left shoulder. This has been removed from the slab in the recent past, probably in the 1950s (See description of C49). It is also surprising that the plaque does not have a depiction of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, but given the lack of room on the existing Cathedral plaques, it is more than likely that such a depiction was carved on a separate plaque. The present dove between the Galway Cathedral panels is a modern piece of sculpture, and there was undoubtedly a dove originally. The arrangement was probably like those shown in Text Fig. 44, p. 306.

B. II THE APOSTLES, SAINTS AND CRUCIFIXION PANELS (C45 I-III)

RENAISSANCE INFLUENCES

The decoration of this Renaissance style tomb has several Irish parallels. The rounded tops to the arcading is not in itself an exclusively Renaissance style or period feature – it also occurs on the some Late Gothic style tomb panels. However, the round-topped niche top is commoner in Renaissance style or Renaissance-influenced tombs (See for example the Renaissance style Dillon tomb at Newtown Trim, Plate 76C). A good example of this is the Barnwall/Sharl tomb at Lusk, Co.
Dublin which is dated to 1603 which is discussed in detail by Jocelyn (1973, 153-166). The use of two small overlapping ‘branches’ of foliage in many of the spandrels to the niches is also a feature of that tomb and of the bomb panels under discussion. This use of two overlapping fronds, sometimes in separate pieces, but more often than not attached or overlapped by a simple loop is also a feature of some of the 16th century windows in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The Renaissance style also made itself felt in the decoration of many wayside crosses of the 16th century, one of the best examples of which is the White Cross at Athcarne, Co. Meath which has a Renaissance style Madonna and Child on its shaft and foliate ornament of the same period on its base (King 1984, 79-115). One of the finest Renaissance style chimney pieces in Ireland is that at Donegal Castle which bears the Brooke arms and is dated to *circa* 1610 (See Crookshank 1984, (cover) for illustration of the chimney piece). Jacobean in style, this fireplace incorporates many ornate features of Renaissance design including strap-work, swags, fruits and foliage.

Renaissance features intermixed with older native Late Gothic elements are also to be found on several tomb panels including Wellesley tomb which was formerly at Great Connell and is now in Kildare Cathedral (Hunt 1974, Vol. 1, 161-163, Cat. Nos. 89c, d and e, Plates 219-226; Roe 1970b, 544-563 and Roe 1972). The fragmentary tomb of *circa* 1539 showing St. John the Evangelist and St. Patrick has typical Late Gothic arcaded canopies, finials and spandrel decoration but the double baulester-shaped shaft between the two figures with its acanthus type foliage is more like some late 16th to early 17th century carving from Galway. The relatively realistic facial features of the saints is also more Renaissance than Late Gothic in style. The effigy of the tomb of Bishop Wellesley is considered by Hunt to be the ‘*finest of its period remaining in Ireland and the figures of the tomb chest also show assured and skilful handling in the management of their proportions*’ (Hunt 1974, 163).

The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels, **C45 I-II** (Plate 30A), has probably the best of the Galwegian figure sculpture in terms of quality being exceeded only by **C48, C49** and **C50** now at the New Cathedral but originally at St.
Nicholas’ Collegiate Church where the detail and accuracy of the carving exceeds that of any of the other Galwegian figural sculpture (Plate 33A).

The large plaque on the front of Sir Peter French tomb, C44 (Cat.Fig. 37A and Plate 97) bears the impaled arms of French and Browne flanked by figures of St. Patrick and St. Nicholas. The item formed part of the front panel of the family tomb of Sir Peter French and Mary Browne. The figures and achievement of arms are all carved in high false relief while the inscriptions – above the saints and below the shield – are carved in roman capitals in low false relief.

Figures of St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Patrick are shown positioned on the left and right of the impaled achievement of arms of Sir Peter French and their positioning recalls vaguely that of a pair of Heraldic Supporters (See Cat.Fig. 37A). The type of Franciscan habit which is worn on the Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion panels at the Franciscan Cemetery C44 can be used as indirect dating evidence for those panels (Cat.Figs. 38 and 39). The Franciscan garb depicted is the Conventual one of the Unreformed Franciscans. In 1518 there was a dispute at the Franciscan Abbey at Galway as to whether the Conventual or Observantine Friars had control of the Galwegian house. A ‘political’ statement may have been made by the depiction of Conventual habits on the Franciscan Saint on the panels (Jennings 1947, 101-19).

St. Clare is also shown in the Franciscan habit and holding a monstrance. There were Franciscan Nuns and follower of St. Clare in Galway City from 1511 onwards. St. Dominic is shown in the habit of the Order on the tomb and the Dominicans did not come to Galway until 1488 (O’Heideáin 1991, passim).

If on the basis of evidence cited above we can suppose that the habits depicted are evidence that the monument can be dated to before the Conventual Observantine dispute of 1518 then the panels are that date. They certainly pre-date the coming of the Franciscan Nuns to Galway circa 1511 and the arrival of the Dominican’s order in 1488. We can be reasonably sure that depictions of St. Clare and St. Dominic respectively would not have been current or popular until after the arrival of the Orders founded by these saints. Historical events can, then, be
interpreted to imply a date post *circa* 1588, and pre-(or around) 1518, for the Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels (*C44 I-III*).

The Renaissance influences which combined with a general Late Gothic type of figure sculpture and the use of Late Gothic crocketed finials would suggest a date between the 1580s and 1590s and say the early 1600s for the carving. Renaissance influence consists mainly in the use of large spirals or S-shaped scrolls, the rounded form of arcade head, the shape of the consols within the niches, and other decorative details show late Renaissance influences (Cat. Figs. 38 and 39).

The twisted cable moulding of the tops of the arcades is one which reoccurs frequently in Jacobean and Renaissance influenced art. Twisted cable mouldings occurs on a 17th century key block of a tomb or a doorway at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (*C68*) and also on the ‘Empty Frame’ (*C47A*) at the same church (See Plates 24B and 24C).

The egg-and-dart derived ornament of the arcade tops is a Classical type of ornament which was much used a result of its revival and reuse in Renaissance architectural and art and is very common in Renaissance-influenced illustrations, woodwork panels and drawings for example (See Anon. 1991, 4:17, 6:7, 8:4 and 27:5).

The crossed leaves of the spandrel recesses are found also on sunken panels of the spandrels to the heads of some of the single-light opes in the turret added by the Lynches to the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church .

The use of the round-headed arcing rather than the more typically Late Gothic revival (or cusped ogival) arcade-form and the use of the large curved spiral ornament of a type often found on the sides of keystones and on ornamental brackets on both Renaissance and Jacobean-influenced doorway and tombs.

Wherever commissioned this impressive monument had to have:

(a) Been a benefactor of the Franciscan Friars and perhaps also the Dominicans
(b) Must have had a devotion to some or all of the above mentioned saints.
(c) Had to have had considerable financial resources.
(d) Should probably have been remembered in the history of the Franciscan Abbey.
(e) Is likely to have been commemorated in the Obituary Books of the Abbey as someone to be prayed for on the anniversary of his(or her) death.

(f) Been someone whose death and burial is likely to have been mentioned in the archives and obits of the monastery.

One benefactor, Walter Lynch, gave a house near St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church to the Poor Nuns of Saint Francis in 1511 but we cannot be certain that he is the person who had this important monument made. In 1511 Walter Lynch granted his daughter a house near the Church of St. Nicholas’ which was thereafter known as ‘the house of the poor nuns of St. Francis’ (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 310 and 317). Given the style of the monument, however, the date would seem too early for this monument.

In the later half or late third of the 16th and first three or four decades of the 17th century Renaissance influences were making an impact on Galwegian sculpture especially on door portals occasionally but rarely on carved fireplaces and to a considerable degree on a small number of (now fragmentary) funerary monuments.

B. (iii) FRAGMENTS OF A FREE-STANDING OR PARTIALLY FREE-STANDING BOX-TOMB OR WALL-TOMB (IN ST. NICHOLAS’ COLLEGIATE CHURCH) (C46A-K)

These series of panels (Plates 55A-E, 56A-C) clearly formed the side-panels of a tomb have become dispersed throughout the Church, but which, prior to the 1958-1962 restoration, lay loose on the ground in the South Transept of the Church. There is some evidence to suggest that they once formed part of a fourth Lynch tomb in what was effectively a Lynch family Chantry Chapel which was in the main built and extended by that family (See Catalogue Introduction).

The fragments at present occur in several groups when St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church as follows:-


C46 I This panel is also part of the same group and is incorporated in the wall of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel which was restored in the 1950s at the expense of the Palmer Family.
Previously in the cemetery until the 1990s when they were brought back into the Church by the writer. They too, had been cut using an angle-grinder or stone-saw as had fragments A-I and had probably been brought out of the Church at that stage.

The fragments are a significant group which may have formed the sides and perhaps the end panels of a tomb of some sort. Unfortunately, the exact form of this tomb can now only be guessed at.

**B (iv) Partially Free Standing Box-Tomb (The Lynch or Lynch-Athy Tomb), St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C47)**

Only the underworks of C47 an elaborate tomb which has traditionally been associated with James Lynch FitzStephens, Major of Galway now survives (Plates 24A and 26-28). These consist of some long arcaded panels set on a moulded base forming the two outer sides of the monument. A close examination of the tomb and the legends associated with it however do not support this traditional attribution. The tomb has Lynch and Athy associations and the heraldry and merchants’ marks on it can be linked directly to those on the so-called ‘Empty Frame’ (C47A, Plate 23) itself which had nothing to do with the so-called Weeping Madonna of Győr (until recently commemorated above it) and is much more likely to have held (a) a funerary hatchments or (b) a series of inscriptions commemorating those buried in the tomb below. The same merchants’ marks and the Lynch arms are repeated on both items of sculpture and the two blank shields on the empty frame can be matched with two shields, one on either side of the tomb below the frame.

It can be argued that though now blank, that these shields bore the same arms as are found on the tomb. Of the shield on the tomb one has a chevron but originally also had other charges partly incised and then painted in their proper heraldic colours which allow them to be identified as those of Athy. A ‘matching’ shield on the left hand side of the bottom of the empty frame has very slight scratches which may correspond with the arms just mentioned. The remaining pair of shields (one on the tomb and one on the frame) are both completely blank but like the rest of the heraldry on both items must originally have had painted-on coats of
arms. The Lynch / Athy association can be carried further. The pier at the entrance to this Transept bears, along with a merchant’s mark in a shield, the impaled arms of Lynch and Athy (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 217). These are impaled using an early heraldic method called ‘dimidation’ whereby the charges (objects, devices or symbols) in each arms are divided completely down the middle of each arms and the arms which have been cut up first in this manner are then joined together with another arms which have been similarly treated (Fox-Davies 1905, 523). By contrast the more modern method is to take each complete arms without cutting up any of its elements and place them complete within each half of a shield. (In this instance the old method is used and the trefoils of the Lynch arms have been partly cut up). Here again traces of the original paint also remain on this stone. The same combination of arms (also impaled by dimidation) is found on a stone reused in the outside wall of the South Aisle of the Church. The tomb itself is set at an awkward angle in the corner of the southern (Lynch) Transept. The top of the monument which is bevelled inwards is a modern concrete one. The original top of the tomb is completely gone and it is now impossible to say whether it bore a decorated mensa, an effigy or a pair of such effigies, heraldry and / or an inscription.

The crudely worked plain slab on the southern end of the tomb may be an insertion or a repair. As it survives the monument consists of a moulded base and a series of decorated side-panels with black, ogee-shaped arcading and elaborately decorated spandrels. It is highly probable that the blank arcades were originally painted. English and German tombs frequently had painted weepers or depictions of saints in this sort of position and most Irish Late Medieval panelled tombs had carved (and originally painted) figures as well. Each recess has an ogee-shaped had and the spandrels which flank these have vine scroll foliage with twisted stems, heraldry, merchants, marks and pairs of leaves. Heraldry occurs in three of the spandrels and two Merchants’ Marks occur. On the western side of the tomb there are five full and two half spandrels. The two half-spandrels (at the ends) contain vine leaves jointed by twisted stems. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth (full spandrels) from the left also contain foliage consisting of opposed pieces of vine-leaf foliage, berries and twisted stems. The second spandrel from the left contains a
blank shield which may be paired-up with one of the blank shields on the bottom of the tomb. The northern side of the tomb has two half shields on the bottom of the empty frame. The northern side of the tomb has two half-spandrels and eight full ones. The half-spandrels at either end contain foliage with twisted stems. The second, third and ninth spandrels from the left contain foliage. The fifth example contains a shield with a chevron as a charge which, when the incised lines in the background are taken into account, can be identified as the Athy arms. The sixth spandrel bears a merchant’s mark which can be paired-off with the same mark which occurs on the first shield on the left on the empty frame. The seventh spandrel bears a shield with the Lynch arms which can be matched with that on the middle shield on the top of the empty frame. The merchants mark in the eight spandrel can clearly be matched with that in the shield on the top right hand side of the empty frame. The ninth full spandrel and the adjoining half spandrel contain vine leaf foliage and some berries of the same type as have already crocketed finial. Traces of paint remain on segments of the tomb, especially on the spandrels. In 1991, an area of bright red paint was visible in the background to the shield on the west side of the tomb. Traces of blue can also be distinguished under good lighting conditions on the Lynch arms.

**THE ‘EMPTY FRAME’ (C47A)**

The arrangement of small shields with heraldry and merchant’s marks around the edges is unusual and is difficult to parallel in Ireland. We can only speculate on what occurred on the blank space in the panel (See Plate 23). It could have borne an epitaph of some sort, a painted one, a piece of heraldry in some less durable medium or it may have even been intended for the temporary display of a funeral hatchment, for example. None survive from Galway City.

Parallels for the arrangement of small shields around the edge of a monument (and some other object now gone, but perhaps originally a larger shield), are not easy to find in Ireland generally and such an arrangement would be far more reminiscent of the juxtaposition of large and small shields found commonly in Spanish and Portuguese and to a lesser degree Italian heraldry in particular where
the same general idea is commonly found but where the details differ. The best Irish parallel is to be found in one of the three large heraldic panels on the façade of Lynch’s Castle that bearing the arms of Henry VII (Text Fig. 40, p. 228) on which various Galwegian allied families are shown on small shields of similar form to these on C47A, and are arranged around a much larger arms of Henry VII of England this panel may give some idea of how the Empty Frame may have looked with a heraldic panel of some type at its centre. This panel has been discussed extensively by the writer elsewhere (Higgins 1997-8, 87-89).

A later example of a similarly displayed heraldic group found on a panel of the Nugent family tomb of circa 1615 at Multyfarnham Abbey, Co. Westmeath is described by O’Gilbertáin (1984). A mid-17th century funerary panel from Tawstock, Devon has a similar arrangement to heraldry (See Esdaile 1946, 76 for an illustration). The panel has four coats of arms without crest surrounding one of similar size but with an over-sized crests along with sets of initials and an inscription at the base of the panel.

The possibility that the so called Empty Frame once held a painted piece of heraldry or an inscription (or indeed both) has been raised in the catalogue. The decoration could have been painted onto the stone directly or over a thin coat of plaster of gesso. The shields around the edges of the frame already bear the Lynch arms, some merchants; marks identical with those found in spandrels of the tomb panels below a number of blank shields which undoubtedly bore the arms of other families and individuals who were connected with or related to the Lynchs who were buried in the tomb. The fact that the Lynch arms already occurs need not exclude the possibility that the Lynch arms with or without a variety of impalements might have been displayed as an elaborate achievement or arms (perhaps complete with a crest and mantling within the large panel). If however, a repetition of some sort of heraldic device relating to the owners of the tomb did not occur than it seems most likely that the panel was ideally placed for the monumental display of a funerary inscription. The writer would see this function as being a most plausible one. Whether the inscription was painted on the stone on plaster or on a wooden panel it is now impossible to know.
As to whether funerary hatchments could have been displayed in the Empty Frame and could have been painted on wood or on wood-framed canvas, several objections can be raised to this theory. By late medieval times, funerary hatchments were generally lozenge-shaped whereas the panel is rectangular.

Five funerary hatchments mainly 17th century to early 19th century date survive at St. Multose’ Church, Kinsale (See Darling 1895) and a further somewhat later example, probably of 19th century date survives at Adare, Co. Limerick. Occasionally monuments of stone occur on which a lozenge-shaped hatchment has been carved as a skeumorph of the wooden or cloth and wooden examples of earlier times. There is a 19th century example at St. Lasarian’s Church of Ireland Cathedral, Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow for instance. These give at least an impression of a heraldic form which may once have been a lot commoner both on wooden panels and on wood framed canvas or some other such cloth. Wooden funerary monuments must also have been common. Hatchments bearing elaborate heraldry and painted funerary inscriptions (of which several post-medieval and modern examples survive at St. Multoses in Kinsale) must once have been common. These however, were prone to decay, damp, mould and woodworm and were easy to destroy and so rarely survive. Wooden recumbent slabs like the late medieval one from Corcomroe Abbey, Co. Clare (now replicated in a stone copy made by the Office of Public Works) must also have once been common as no doubt were wooden crosses and effigies, which are now almost non-existent (See Rynne 1970, 37-9).

Dominick Lynch FitzJohn was a prominent rich merchant who was Mayor of Galway in 1486 (Henry 2002, 63-4). He was major benefactor of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, made several additions to it and built part of College Ground in this ground (Hardiman 1820, 235).

In his Will made on July 12th 1508, Dominick Lynch asked to be buried with his parents and wife Anastatis Martyn in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and also offered his son, heir and chief executor Stephen ‘to finish the new work begun by me in the church, and to build an altar in
honour of St. James the Apostle, near the next column of the Blessed Mary aforesaid’ (Quoted in Hardiman 1820, 235, f.n.d).

This Stephen Lynch was the husband of Margaret Athy who built the monastery of St. Augustine on the Hill. In the mid 16th century St. Nicholas’ and Nicholas Lynch FitzStephen (son of James Lynch FitzStephens) the grandson of the Dominick Lynch already mentioned having repaired the works previously made by his grandfather Dominick who built this tower adjoining the South Transept then called according to Hardiman ‘Our Ladies Chapel’ but now better know by the name of Lynch’s Aisle (Hardiman *ibid.*, 235-6 and 241). This misnomer ‘Aisle’ rather than ‘Transept’ is still in popular use. The arms on the tower then are either those of Dominick Lynch or more likely Dominick’s grandson Nicholas Lynch FitzStephens who completed the work and was Mayor in 1554 (Hardiman 1820, 205).

Tradition and the presence of the tomb of Nicholas Lynch FitzStephens in the South Transept has led Hardiman to say ‘on both sides of this curious altar there are raised tombs highly sculpted, belonging to the various branches of this ancient family: one of these is the tomb of Nicholas Lynch Fitz-Stephen, by whom this aisle and the adjoining tower were erected’. According to Hardiman the tower ‘which is the principal ornament of the south end of the church, formerly contained a grand organ and also a belfry, which usually rung for divine service, except on Sunday’s when the great bell was solemnly tolled. The key of the entrance always remained with the founder and his family’ (Hardiman 1820, 252).

**Arcading on Galwegian Box and Altar-Tombs**

Only four of the Galwegian box-tombs and table-tombs are arcaded and most of these are typically Gothic in style.

The arcades of the flamboyant Lynch traceried tomb (C55) have typical late Gothic ogival heads which average 41.4cms high and 26.5cms to 26.8cms in internal width (Plate 51C). The in-goings of the same monument has similar ornamented recesses (Plates 52A and C).
The squat ‘half-sized arcading’ of the low base of the Lynch tomb in corner of the South Transept (C47) is unusually low and proportionately small. They average 17 to 18cms height by 24 to 24.5cms width (Plates 26-27).

The scattered fragments (C46A-K) of the tomb formerly in the South Transept bears arcading. Its remnants are divided between the so-called Leper’s Gallery the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and some fragments lying loose on the Lynch Tomb in the South Transept are also remarkably squat and wide and are about half the size of the average Late Gothic arcading if they were eve decorated the ornament would have been on a small and detailed scale (Plates 55-6).

The form of these ‘half-sized panels’ are unusual in the Irish context, and are difficult to parallel. They must have been set on a relatively huge base to allow the monument from which they came to have been raised sufficiently high above ground. Similar ‘half arcaded’ panels are common in Irish late Gothic work in the west of Ireland, see for example the panels from Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway (Plate 72A)

Finally, the late Renaissance influenced round-headed arcading on C45 I-III at the Franciscan Cemetery on which Saints, Apostles and the Crucifixion are depicted. These are much broader and larger than the Late Gothic Style examples already cited and most of them average 35 to 36cms in width and 11.5cms in diameter at the tops of the arcade. They average some 62.5 to 63cms in width and 11.5cms in diameter at the top of the arcade. They average some 62.5 to 63cms in height and are the only arcaded ones in Galway which bear carved figure sculpture. The wider examples are 47cms wide. Whether the other tombs had painted figures in their arcading or not is unproved though it seems likely that that was sometimes the case especially on C55 and C47 where there is sufficient space for full-length figures and where traces of paint occur. In the case of the latter tomb a good example of well preserved orange-red paint occurs on the tops of the one of the shields in one of the spandrels. The heraldry on that and other tombs bearing arcading would undoubtedly have been one of the elements which would have necessitated colouring for their arms to be meaningfully and properly depicted.
Chapter 12
General Discussion of the Monuments by Type

The use of blank arcading which is completely plain like that of fragments 46A-K and 55 or where the interior of the arcade is plain though possibly originally painted can be paralleled mainly in the west of Ireland rather than anywhere else.

The squat arcading found on the so-called Easter Sepulchral (possibly a fragmentary patron’s tomb) at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo is somewhat reminiscent of the carving on C46 (A-K) at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (See Egan (1971, 16) for the Ballintubber ‘Easter Sepulchral’). On both examples at least some of the cusps at the tops of the ogival arcades are decorated with foliage (at Ballintubber) and with animals (Panel 1 at St. Nicholas’, Plates 55 and 56).

C. DEMI-EFFIGY OF A CLERIC AND SAINTLY ‘weepers’ (C53) (PLATES 67A AND B)

This panel now in the cloister of the Convent of Mercy is an unusual monument in the Galwegian context. The occurrence a demi-effigy of an ecclesiastic flanked above his shoulders by two smaller depictions of what appear to be saints is unusual for a monument of its (17th century) date. The general layout of the figures recalls the medieval monuments but these are full length effigies of angels and none such occurs in Galway City nor indeed in the West of Ireland generally so that medieval examples do not seem to be the source of inspiration behind this layout.

By the late medieval period it was no longer common for small flanking figures to appear. The manner in which the flanking figures of this monument are arranged however recalls vaguely the manner in which the figures of Saints Patrick and Nicholas flank the arms of Sir Peter French on his early 17th century at the Franciscan Cemetery (C44a, Plate 97).

D. ALTAR TOMB-CUM-WINDOW (COMPOSITE MONUMENT) C54

Only one altar-tomb-cum-window survives and this is a composite monument. This Lynch tomb (C54) and window combined are built into the east wall of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’.
This tomb seems to follow in the tradition of wall-tombs (like ‘Founder’s or Benefactor’s’ Tombs for example) which are common in medieval churches. This tradition, as will be seen below, seems to survive later in the West of Ireland than elsewhere in the country. This example seems to be related to the same tradition of the flamboyant tombs with traceried arches (like C55) though the monument is a composite one which seems to be simply an insertion of a tomb into a window space (Plate 69A). In this instance however there is real, functional window tracery which has plain switch-line tracery of 14th century type. The Flamboyant Tombs have much more elaborate tracery derived from window tracery among their sources of inspiration.

This wall-tomb is incomplete and it seems likely that it had more than one engaged shaft with a (now absent) finial like that which survives on its left hand side. This was originally matched by a further engaged shaft (with a finial) on the other side and this has been carefully trimmed away and squared off. The frontal of the tomb has obviously been altered, the frame around it is not centrally placed in relation to the sides of the monument. The moulded, rib-like line which runs along the centre of the soffit and terminates in a sharp, triangular point, is reminiscent of the pseudo-moulding ending in brackets which usually imitated a soffit-rib in Irish Late Gothic sculpture. The best parallels for this feature is to be found or soffit ribs of the sedilia at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary (See Harbison, Potterton and Sheehy 1978, Fig. 81 for illustration).

The angels on the tomb are usual. They can be paralleled to some extent only (Plate 68A-C). These are carrying cresset-like items which are difficult to parallel, though the ‘cressets’ are similar to the squat chalice held by angels to receive the blood of Christ on a Crucifixion panel at Ennis Friary, Co. Clare (See Hunt 1974, Cat. No. Sc2, Plate 239, Hunt and Harbison 1976, 310-23 and also Hunt 1975, 35-9 for the Ennis tombs).

That this altar-tomb-cum-window is a multi-period construction is indicated by the type of tracery and the tooling on the stone. The window itself is one of a series of identical ones with simple switchline tracery windows of 14th
century type which are visible on one of the north western walls of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

The thick mullions and ‘blunted’ lozenge-sectioned tracery of the window may be contrasted in its level of wear with the internal features notably the engaged shaft at the side of the tomb which originally ended in a finial. The original window bears (in some places where they are not eroded) groups of thin parallel tool marks typical of the earlier medieval period.

The tooling of the engaged shaft and the box-shaft beneath is very smooth and flat and the surface has clearly been flattened to the extent of being burnished. This tooling is clearly in the Late Gothic style. The mouldings shaft too are fine and the window is probably originally of 14th century date with some of this tracery repaired or replaced. The window embrasure and the soffit lining with its narrow soffit rib and heraldry along with the angels is of a clear Late Gothic type and can be paralleled in such 15th and 16th century. The very narrow soffit rib can be paralleled on rear-arches of the Late Gothic date at Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary for example.

The angels then are typical late 15-16th century examples but are unusual in that they hold large cresset-like features, which may have held candles, candlesticks or some other form of light holder for votive candles.

Hunt (1974, 149) expressed the opinion that the angels on the Lynch Tomb (C54) which is mis-titled the ‘Archer Tomb’ were inspired by angels on the piers between the south Aisle and South Transept of St. Nicholas’ and this might well be true.

The angels then, are of 15th-16th century type as is the narrow soffit rib, but probably date, as does much of the similar sculpture in Galway, to the early 16th century. Hunt too (1974, 149) dates the reveals of the tomb in the first half of the 16th century. Partly original and the base of the monument including the box like altar element is mainly original, possibly with some alterations. The plaque with the epitaph dated 1644 is clearly an insertion into the fabric of the monument and repaired or re-edified when the 17th century panel was inserted (Plate 69B).

E. TRACERIED AND CANOPIED WALL-TOMBS AND TOMB-NICHES GENERALLY
Tomb-niches generally are common in Irish churches and are of a wide variety of forms. In Galway few relatively complete examples survive and the two which do are in situ in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55 and C54). One is a traceryd tomb of typical Irish Late Gothic type while the second is a very unusual wall-tomb-cum window in which elements of different dates are clearly incorporated (C55 and C54 respectively). Apart from these examples there are a series of later (early 17th century) fragments which might have come form the entablatures of several funerary monuments which were set in walls. The earliest of the wall tombs is the very fine and elaborate traceryd monument associated with the Lynch family in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C55). The composite example (C54) can hardly be classed as a tomb of this type, but its soffit-lining and finials show it to have features which are clearly derived from Canopied and Traceryd Niche-Tombs in general.

E. I   CANOPIED AND TRACERIED WALL-TOMBS (C55)

The only relatively comprehensive, albeit short, consideration of tomb niches is that by Leask (1971, 167-175). In general two main types of decorated tomb niches may be distinguished, those which lack tracery within the canopied arch and those with both traceryd wall tombs, which the present writer suggests as a suitable term to describe these niche tombs with traceryd canopies. Most of them are located in the West of Ireland and most are of a Late Gothic style with few exceptions. The genesis of the form of canopied traceryd tomb obviously owes much to the influences of window tracery. Other features of the Irish examples show influences not alone from windows but also from doorways, windows, as well as other traceryd features such as ornamented ventilator opes, piscinae and sedelia niches, cloister opes, traceryd screens of wood and of stone, and so on. Some of the patterns used can also be paralleled in contemporary pierced and unpierced traceryd patterns on foreign wooden screens, partitions, furniture and metalwork.

The early simply cusped niche tombs which would seem to have inspired the later pierced traceryd monuments include examples at Athassal (Plate 44) and Claregalway Abbey (Plate 41A). In the case of the latter examples the centres of the
elaborate pierced cusps bear deep sub-triangular hollows and it would have taken little imagination for an inspired architect or designer to improve upon such a design by piercing the cusps and or elaborating them into tracery. The Claregalway Abbey (Plate 41A) monument which now contains a 17th century De Burgo armorial panel could easily date to the late 15th or early 16th century. In many ways, though it does not belong to the main group and is not traceried, the simply cusped Buttlingfort tomb, St. Mary’s Church of Ireland Cathedral in Limerick (Plate 36A) exemplifies many of the features of the group having a canopied top, a centrally placed finial and two side finials (all with foliated heads). These are features of the majority though not all of the classical developed group of monuments. The Buttlingfort tomb also has splayed sides and heavily moulded bases and abacus capitals which also typify many of the more representative monuments. Yet the centre of the canopy top is not pierced with elaborate tracery.

Tomb niches with and without tracery are common in both parish churches and in the larger Irish religious houses from the early part of the medieval period (13th-14th century onwards). By the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th century and continuing well into the mid 16th century there develops in Ireland and particularly in the western counties of Ireland, a type of niched tomb whose most characteristic feature is the filling of its arched opening with tracery, sometimes of markedly elaborate form.

Despite the fact that several architectural historians and archaeologists have referred (usually only briefly) to such tombs, there is little agreement as to what name or definition should be given to the group nor has any detailed descriptive catalogue or detailed architectural stylistic or historical analysis been made of them.

It is agreed by some writers that the tomb often said to be that of Cooey na nGall (O’Cahan) at Dungiven Priory belongs to the group and the dating of this tomb has fluctuated widely though its general form belongs to the late 14th century (See Plate 40A).

Among the earlier Irish niched (but untraceried tombs), a considerable variety of forms exists. The so-called sedelia at Kilfenora Cathedral is an early example of a monument with tracery which has features which seem to have
contributed to the development of later Late Gothic canopied, traceried tombs (Hunt 1974, 127).

It is arguable as to whether the Kilfenora traceried niche is in fact a *sedelia* at all (Hunt 1974, 127). It seems more likely to have been a tomb niche for a variety of reasons, not least because of the narrowness of its supposed seating space. When its two mullions where *in situ* it would have been difficult for any adult to sit between them comfortably unless they were very thin. The presence of projecting bases in the niche would seem to suggest that the spaces were not intended for sitting in at all. The case could well be made that this was a benefactor’s tomb. Whether the head of an ecclesiastic wearing a mitre above is that of a bishop-benefactor remains unproved but seems most likely to be the case.

The Kilfenora tomb, if such it is, would seem to be among the earliest examples of a niche-tomb with a canopied and traceried top to survive. The form is essentially that of a window having mullions with moulded bases, a traceried had, a hood-moulding and a protracted head above it. Essentially, it is in a form which has been turned ‘inside out’.

Other early examples of a niche tomb with early tracery are the two almost identical but partly ruinous monuments with traceried canopies at Newtownards Priory, Co. Down (Jope *et al.*, 1966).

Because the tomb-cum-window (*C54*) is a composite construction, it is of little use to look for close English parallels for the object. There is no typological or stylistic continuity between it and many earlier tomb niches but despite this, there is considerable building and design ingenuity which, while defying stylising pigeon hoiling seems to have a version of the same theme as the Irish Late Gothic traceried and canopied wall tomb. The re-builder of this composition has succeeded in the successful matching of an early window with a tomb niche of the same general type as the Irish Late Gothic canopied and traceried wall tomb. The use of a sloping window embrasure (which mirrors the inclined jambs of many of the canopied and traceried wall tombs) along with the use of the engaged feature is most of the traceried and canopied tombs). The use of a faceted rib-ending with a pointed finial on either side is typical of Irish Late Gothic church architecture.
The origins of tombs set in niches and being a canopy in-filled with tracery can be traced to the 14th century at least in Ireland but distinctive early examples are rare as we shall see below. More often than not the arched ope was simply of pointed or tri-lobate form and without tracery. At Grey Abbey, Co. Down there is the remains of a canopied niche tomb bearing on its *mensa* a fragmentary effigy of a knight which has been dated by Hunt (1974) to the late 13th or early 14th centuries (Jope et al. 1966, 278 and Plate 98 and Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 24, Plate 8, 134). The arrangement of the tomb pre-supposes, as Hunt has said, that there was a tomb surround with ‘an equally elaborate tomb-chest to the memorial’. Hunt sees it as evidence that in all probability there was here in Ireland a parallel series of important canopied tombs such as were common in churches in England at this period.

Unfortunately none of the canopy of this exceptionally high quality piece of sculpture now survives and we do not know whether it was simply arched or whether it contained early tracery was well. In the absence of evidence, we can say little more about traceried canopied tombs in Ireland at such an early date.

Two unusual rectangular traceried niches in the 14th century wall of the aisle of the Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway (Plate 43A) are of extreme interest and provide good and early parallels for niched wall-tombs with traceried head. These have not previously been discussed in the context of the Irish Canopied Traceried Tombs. The functions of these recesses is uncertain as they have no *mensas* and are open right down to the (present) floor level where they have moulded bases. These bases have the same cross-section as is found on the mullion and jambs of the recesses. Whatever their function, they can be cited as early West of Ireland examples of the use of tracery in recessed or niched features.

There is evidence that the Athenry niches are incomplete, that on the left, for example has the remnants of further tracery springing from its left side, as if the monument was originally longer. All in all, it is difficult to envisage any function other than that of a funerary monument for these recesses.
In terms of their design and period, these monuments have certain parallels with the so-called *sedelia* in the wall of Kilfenora Cathedral, Co. Clare (For this feature see Hunt 1974, Vol. 1, 127, *passim*).

Though not hitherto considered to be part of the general group, among the early examples of canopied and traceried tombs found in Ireland are two which occur in the south wall of Newtownards Priory, Co. Down. Both have been dated to *circa* 1400 and both are considerably damaged though enough remains to allow their form to be reconstructed. That on the east seems to have had a segmental arch with (probably) a trefoil within the triangular head of the opening. The jambs and head have narrow mouldings now decayed. Most of the tracery is gone. The western recess also has a triangular head, probably had pinnacles but is now blocked up. Below the recess is a stone with a trefoil within a circle but it is probably unrelated to the original front of the tomb. No panelling occurs in the front of the eastern tomb-niche and the moulded sides now simply die away into the stone rubble of the wall.

These early Newtownards examples already, by *circa* 1400, have many of the features which later typify the canopied traceried niche tomb of the Irish Late Gothic period of the late 15th to late 16th centuries and indeed somewhat later. These features include (a) a moulded canopy or surround to the top of a tomb niche; (b) the use of tracery to fill much or at least some of the interior of the niche and (c) pinnacles or finials rising from shafts at the sides and tops of the tomb niche or both.

Later on the jambs or in-goings of the niches become splayed, moulded finials become ubiquitous and frequently the frontals of the tombs become ornamented. The splayed in-goings of the niches later provide a further surface for the display of ornament and figure sculpture which would be more difficult to view if the in-goings were straight-sided rather than splayed. The altar tombs also invariably have a moulded abacus or string capital below in the springings of the canopy and the use of ornament becomes richer as the size of the monuments increase while the tracery too generally becomes more elaborate.

**C54** the second largest intact wall tomb at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church is definitely linked to the Lynch family and bears the Lynch arms on each side of the
in-goings. The monument is a highly unusual one and it is of two or three periods. Its soffit lining, its pseudo-buttresses and its finials relate it to the Irish Late Gothic group of Canopied Traceried tomb. In this case the traceried element belongs to an earlier and intact window. The funeral monument is effectively an altar tomb with a soffit lining and set within the (?relined) in-goings of a window (Plate 69).

The soffit lining, sides and the engaged pilaster shaft, the narrow faceted soffit rib which comes to a sharp point above the shields bearing the Lynch arms are all late 15th to late 16th century in style as are probably the pilaster shafts, which flanked the inner edges of the window-cum-tomb embrasure. The engaged pilaster seem to have been topped originally with decorative finials which are now gone. A 16th century date seems likeliest for the soffit and finials. The mensa of the tomb may be as late as the inscribed panel dated 1644 which has been let into the wall below the window sill but this cannot be proved. The moulded outer edge of the mensa (parts of which on the left project further than the rest) has a simple section with a wide bevel to its underside. Such simple sections are typical of dated 17th century fireplaces or mantle ledges (Higgins 2004, 25-31).

If the sides and soffit of the wall tomb (rather than the window which is clearly earlier) which rest directly on the mensa, are contemporary, despite the late 15th or 16th century appearance of the work, then the tomb provides a good example of the conservative and archaic survival of Late Gothic forms well up to the 17th century. It seems likely that part of the 17th century tomb mensa was set back further than it was originally when a large private pew (now gone) was set against the feature in early 19th century. The mensa has also been partly restored in cement in modern times. The recess which forms the tomb frontal and its frame are plain.

The form of the tomb-cum-window with tracery arrangement as it now stands is an unusual one. It has the features (though not the elaborate tracery) of the traceried and Canopied Wall Tombs of the type found at Galway Kilconnell, Ennis, Strade, Clare Island and so on which have been discussed above.

The use of paired angels on either side is reminiscent of the pairing of angels on either side of the east window of the Trinitarian Church at Adare, Co. Limerick, but more especially of the paired angels on the opposite sides of the
Clonfert, Co. Galway chancel arch. The five-sided moulding which comes to a point above the Lynch shields is a miniature version of the typical Irish Late Gothic soffit rib which ends in a semi-pointed or pointed and faceted bracket and which occurs so commonly in the Irish Late Gothic. The best parallels are to be found at Hore Abbey and in the (more elaborate) soffit ribs and pointed brackets at St. Nicholas’ itself.

The position of the St. Nicholas’ tomb niche within the building makes it unlikely and, the fact that the mensa on it was a fixed one would have made it impossible to deposit a figure of Christ crucified in it according to the usual practice. The fact that Christ Showing the Five Wounds is depicted on one of the side panels gives little reason either to suppose that the object is not a tomb since most of the representations of this piece of iconography found in Ireland can be shown to be portions of actual box-tombs. Being positioned in the south transept in what was effectively a private chantry chapel which was extended by the Lynch family and contained their main tombs would have meant that it was well out of view of the altar.

The O’Crean tomb at Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo is fortunately a dated example of a traceried niche-tomb of elaborate and developed form. It bears the date 1506 (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 217 Plate 286 and Plate 45A of this work).

This date is still clearly traceable though some parts of the rest of the inscription are damaged. Despite the early 16th century date of the monument the tracery looks much earlier. The moulding sections are however late in their forms. The design of the tracery and the narrow, high, pointed shape are reminiscent of work of the 14th century as is the plate-like form of the tracery. The mensa is ill-fitting and it bears a simple and late style of moulding. The frontal is divided into nine panels containing the Crucified Christ and various saints. The panels have ogee-headed niches and finials linked by twisted stems. Some of this foliage is reminiscent of that found on the Lynch flamboyant tomb (C55) in St. Nicholas’.

(Plates 51 and 52) The wide pieces of foliage above the crucifixion panel at Sligo are, in particular, reminiscent of that above both arcaded panels in C55. By contrast, with the Galwegian traceried tomb the figures shown are markedly elongated as are the tall arcaded panels themselves. As we have already seen most of the Galwegian
The Irish ‘Western’ or Traceried Niche-Tombs as the writer has named them in this work are frequently crowned in the middle, and flanked at the sides, with crocketed finials usually with better defined foliage than is found on the two stones which are catalogued here. The doorways of the west wall of the Augustinian Priory of Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway (Fanning 1976, Plate XVI 2), that in the side wall of the cathedral at Clonmacnois, and originally the west door of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, all had such finials. The three windows of the west façade of St. Nicholas’ (those at the west end of the nave, south aisle and north aisle) all have similar crocketed finials as have the larger windows of Roscommon Friary. As regards tomb-types, C55 (Plates 51A-C) provides a good example, though only one of the crocketed finials on this example remain intact. By contrast with C57 and C58 (which may be two pieces of the same finial), C56 (Plate 98B) is a very much more definite and typical of the sort of finial which are frequently found on windows, doorways as well as over wall-tombs. This finial clearly stood out boldly from a wall and its decorations are carved in high relief. The vine-like foliage is typically Late Gothic in form and it may date from the latter period. The best parallel for the floriated finials at St. Nicholas’ occurs on the canopied and traceried tomb where only one of the three original finials remains (C56) and a number of tomb niches with similar finials occur at Ardfert, Co. Kerry (Plate 61A).

Originally the tomb niche-cum-window at St. Nicholas’ (C54, Plates 69A-C) had finials which were, no doubt also crocketed.

The Franciscan Friary at Kilconnell, Co. Galway, has a canopied tomb within it (one of two, Plates 39B and C) (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 67 and Cat. No. 67a, 102, 107, 110 and 202, Plates 257-258). This has flame-like uncusped tracery and was dated by Hunt (1974) to the second half of the 15th century. The tomb, which is located in the north wall of the nave, has bold flamboyant tracery and a semi-pointed top with a deeply moulded hood which bears vine-leaf crocketing attached together.
by twisted stems. Rising from above the top of the moulded hood is a sub-rectangular panel supported on crocketed brackets. This panel bears two conjoined niches each with a figure. The flame-shaped mouchettes are deeply moulded and the tracery ends in a very wide shallow arch which springs from an engaged moulded base. In other examples of tombs of this type an angled panel set on a moulded base and splayed outwards would normally occupy this position and the base is therefore stylistically residual. The arch could just as easily have tapered directly into the lower sides of the arch soffits had the sculptor decided to pursue a less complicated design. The moulding outside the arch is however splayed and deeply so and ends in a thick moulding stop block on either side. These rest directly on the mensa of the tomb in each case. As with the Athenry canopied tomb the front of the mensa does not extend the full width of the tomb and the bases supporting the finials extend on separate stones on either side of the mains mensa and are set back from it (Plate 43B). The finials which rise to form narrow engaged pilasters on either side of the doorway are moulded and have cusped ogee-shaped lancet-shaped recesses, pseudo-buttressing and elaborate finials. The finials on either side are crocketed and each bears three angels near its base. The central angels appear to be reading and a pair of flanking angels are set corner-wise by a plain moulded string course which is broken forward above each finial and again above the central crocketed finial bearing three conventionalised vine leafs. The central finial occurs above the figures plaque and is brought forward from the projecting string course which forms a deeply chamfered, hood-like frame above the monument. The block on which the central finial is carved is triangular in shape.

It is unfortunate that this remarkably elaborate Lynch Tomb (C55) is the only surviving example of its type in Galway. All the more so because neither it nor any of the monuments with which can be paralleled are signed or dated though many (but not all) are of Late Gothic type and date to the late 16th through to the early 17th century and have precursors of 14th century date.

The monument itself is parallellable in its general form over a wide area (especially in Counties Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Clare), it is difficult to make a convincing link between it and any particular school of carving. The only feature
which may be said to be diagnostic of a Galwegian sculptural school is the
decoration of the arcading which like that on other Galwegian arcaded tombs is
relatively low and squat (See C46, C47, C54 and C55).

The earliest precursors, although generally cusped in a variety of ways on
the underside of their arched openings, do not bear pierced tracery. The general use
of pendant cusping survives in some cases on the developed and more typical
examples of the group of carvings being discussed however including those at
Dungiven Priory (Plate 40a), Clare Island (Plate 53), Kilconnell (on just one of the
monuments there (Plates 39B and 45B), at Strade, Co. Mayo (Plate 48A) and also
on the traceried but uncanopied niches at Athenry for example (Plate 43A).

The cusping then, is a feature of the precursor monuments bearing
unpierced tracery and survives as a decorative fringe to many of the more typical or
classical pierced traceried examples.

F. CROCKETED FINIALS (C56-C58) (PLATES 98A AND B)

The two crocketed fragments incorporated to form a keystone of an arch at
the entrance to Menlo Castle (C56 and C57, Plate 98B) are included mainly for the
sake of completeness. Unfortunately, their exact function cannot now be proved
especially as much of their surfaces are embedded in the masonry into which they
have been built. It seems possible, however, that the two fragments come from the
same long finial.

Like the other carvings incorporated in the doorway and in a turret nearby
the carvings were brought here from Galway in the 19th century for reuse and
display. The crocketing is vaguely wavy and floral but is not deeply cut and unlike
much Irish Late Gothic crocketing is not very typical. It barely resembles the sort of
vine-like leafage which is often found. The stones do not seem to have tapered
outwards from top to bottom yet it is difficult to explain these fragments other than
as finials. As finials, they could have functioned in several contexts. They could
have either flanked or run above opes of several sorts. They might just as easily
have come from above a window or above a doorway as above a tomb niche of
some sort.
The other crocketed finial from Galway (C56 from St. Nicholas’, Plate 98A) is a much more definite example by far than the examples cited above and its ornament is also far more typical of the Irish Late Gothic crocketing which occurs so frequently in Ireland and more especially in the lower midlands, south and west of the county than anywhere else.

Unfortunately, we can only speculate as to whether it came from above a wall-tomb, doorway or window. Identical or closely similar finials are known from each type of monument. The west door of St. Nicholas’ originally bore crocketed finials but these were removed when the west window of the Nave was re-inserted above the west door, thus truncating it. It is possible, (though unprovable) that C56 was a finial from that doorway.

In Galway (Leask 1936a, Fig. 9) similar finials occur on the South doorway of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church where all three finials survive, and on the Lynch family flamboyant traceried niche-tomb (C55) where only one survives and on the Lynch tomb-cum-window (C54) where none of the three finials survive.

When finials such as this become isolated from their original contexts it is very difficult to determine whether they came from doorways, windows or tomb niches. Finials of a similar sort have been reinserted above an earlier tomb in the Nave of Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway (This stone is unpublished).

**G. I and G II Funerary Wall Panels (C47A, C59 and C60)**

Only a few wall plaques survive from the 15th and 16th centuries but such monuments become commoner in the late 17th and 18th centuries. The surviving later examples of 18th century date are all in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church but these and some of the late 17th century undercoated wall plaques, are outside the scope of the present work.

Two Eyre monuments occur in St. Nicholas’ (C60 and a post-medieval monument: Plate 76A). Many such panels have similar late Renaissance-style features which in Ireland occur on tombs of similar form but are late 16th and 17th century in date. The Stannard wall-plaque (Plate 21B and 21C), also of early 18th century date also bears many archaic features more reminiscent of 16th and 17th
century wall-plaques with moulded surrounds. While the S-sectioned moulding of the surround of this slab is a late feature the treatment of the heraldry, especially that of the visor, mantling and shield form are very archaic and the similarity between this plaque and the Browne plaque in the Franciscan graveyard (C81) is very obvious (Plate 22B). The lettering too is archaic though in Galway and to a certain extent in Ireland in general such late Medieval style of Roman capitals with prominent serifs was still common well into the first half of the 18th century, despite the fact that Palace script and related conjoined scripts are also found on some early 18th century stones. The great similarity between the Browne plaque of 1595 and the Stannard plaque of 1722 may reflect the fact that they were carved by Galway craftsmen working in a traditional late 16th/17th century style or perhaps reviving a style which was familiar to them from what they could see in the sculpture around them.

The post-medieval Blakeney slab (Plate 86B) in the North Aisle in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church may be another representative of a school of Galway craftsmanship carved in an archaic, revived style as late as the third decade of the 18th century. The feather-like curls of mantling at first look to be of a vaguely 18th century style and certainly the incised spirals which form at the ends of each curl is non-Galwegian and typical of 18th century work elsewhere in Ireland and in Britain. The curls themselves with incised detailing can also be seen as the descendants of the heavier three dimensional ‘plastic style’ mantling of later fireplace keystones, but treated in a much flatter manner. As with the later fireplace keystones the cutting away of the background is a feature as is the occurrence of an angled recess, which was usually irregular or trapezoidal in outline in the case of the fireplace. The ogee-shaped base to the shield and the flat chief is typical of later fireplace heraldry (though the width of the border of the shield is not). The archaic crest and its small size in relation to the shield (in this case the crest is smaller than usual), are also very archaic looking, though in Type II fireplaces the helmet of the crest is usually carved to some depth (See Higgins 2003, 25-31 Cat. Nos. 19-23). By this period the treatment of heraldic devices in England, on the continent (and indeed elsewhere in Ireland) had diversified a lot and the helmet was usually left out. Crests on their own
often occurred or on elaborate crest wreaths. Mantling was usually floral in nature and the forms of the shields more varied. Oval and circular escutcheons often occurred instead of more traditional shield-form. Much more typical of 18th century developments in heraldic style would be several other recumbent slabs and wall plaques in both St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and in the Dominican Graveyard, Claddagh.

Another example of the use of archaic craftsmanship more typical of the late 16th and early 17th century Galway workmanship with features very similar to the Blakeney wall plaque in St. Nicholas’ (Plate 86B) is the treatment of the Blake and Bodkin monument now at Forthill Cemetery (Plate 85B). This stone is moulded on its lower edge and though new recumbent, may not always have been so. It may once have been set in a wall with moulded stones around its edge.

The stone again, as with the Blakeney plaque, bears features somewhat reminiscent of the fireplace keystones of the 17th century. The false relief, a flat chief and ogee-shaped base to the shield, the small ‘crammed-in’ crests are all similar to the treatment of the Blakeney slab and some of these features are common to the Galwegian 17th century heraldic fireplace keystones. The shape of the crests, helmet and crest wreath above it and the incised detailing on the visor in particular are remarkably similar in each case. The mantling however has developed more typically 18th century features and spiralling ends.

**G. I  HERALDIC PANEL WITH THE BLAKE ARMS (C59)**

Though heraldic panels such as No. 59 may have come from a plaque with or without a moulded frame they could just as easily have come from a panel set into the façade of a building or from a funerary monument. There are several convincing arguments for this stone to have come from either the wall of a chantry chapel erected by the Blakes or from a funerary monument in such a chapel. The present location at the Convent of Mercy is just across the wall from the present Franciscan graveyard and roughly halfway between the site of the original Franciscan Abbey on St. Stephen’s Island and the present Abbey Church site. This area was, in any case, always part of the lands owned by the Franciscan Abbey and
its location would seem to link the carving firmly with the Franciscan Church and, as we shall see, with the chapels and other additions made to the Franciscan Abbey in the late medieval period.

The heraldic panel is in secondary position and the arms are those of a Blake personage. The inescutcheon (small shield) with the Hand of Ulster indicates that the hereditary dignity of Baronet had been conferred on its owner. The hereditary title baronet was first erected by Royal Patent in England by King James 1 in 1611 and was extended to Ireland in 1619 (Higgins 1989, 44-7). The order was conferred in Scotland by Charles 1 in 1625. The first Blake to have the Baronetage conferred on him was Sir Valentine (the First Baronet) who was created Baronet of Ireland on the 10th of July 1622. He was Mayor of Galway in 1611 and 1630 and is referred to in the Galway Corporation Manuscripts as Valentine Blake FitzWalter FitzThomas. He was married twice, firstly to Margaret French and secondly to Annabell Lynch. He was succeeded by the Second Baronet Sir Thomas and the 3rd Baronet Sir Valentine of Menlough Castle who married Eleanor Lynch of Castle Carra. The latter was succeeded by the 3rd Baronet Sir Thomas who married twice, secondly to Marie French, the 5th Baronet Sir Valentine who died in a duel and left no heir and thereafter by the 6th Baronet, Sir Walter. The bearer of the arms on the plaque was for reasons of style and dating undoubtedly one of the first three baronets (Higgins 1989, 54-7).

Hardiman (1820, 265) writing of the Franciscan Church, records how, in 1611, Valentine Blake FitzWalter FitzThomas (later Sir Valentine), who was Mayor that year, built the Chapel in the south side of the choir wherein he and his family were later interred. This Chapel was later converted into a sacristy. Another chapel was added by Richard Martin in 1642. This would seem to indicate that Valentine Blake, the First Baronet could not have incorporated these arms into the chapel which he built in 1611 because he was not entitled to bear the inescutcheon with the Hand of Ulster on his arms until after he was made a Baronet in July 1622. He may however have placed his arms in the building at any stage after 1622 however. It is equally likely that the plaque was used either at the entrance to the chapel or within
it to commemorate its building and its benefactor or that it might have functioned as part of a later funerary monument for the benefactor or his descendants.

It was the first Sir Valentine Blake who built a chapel dedicated to our Blessed Lady of Loretto at St. Francis’ Abbey and it seems highly likely that he would place his own arms on such a building, though he could not have done this for the reasons stated until eleven years later when he could validly use the version of the arms which appears on the plaque (Higgins 1989, 23 and 54-57). His descendants also made use of this chapel as a place of burial. The Third Baronet (also named Valentine Blake) directed in his Will of 1651 that he should be buried in the same place (Higgins 1989, 54-7).

The chapel was probably unroofed in 1652 by the Cromwellians who, under Colonel Stubbers, destroyed much of this Franciscan House and it is described as ruined in the Will of the Fourth Baronet Thomas Blake in 1674 (Higgins 1989, 56-7). The stone would seem to have remained more or less at the site of the Franciscan foundation until it was incorporated into the wall in which it was previously preserved, probably in the early 19th century. This building was demolished in 1998 and the stones were built into a new building on the site of the 19th century one. The plaque seems possibly to have been part of a funerary monument, though it could equally well have been placed on a building to commemorate the arminger’s patronage of it. In places like Kilkenny for example, rectangular armorial plaques of virtually the same form are found both in funerary monuments and displayed in the facades of buildings. There is an excellent group of such stones at St. Mary’s Church of Ireland, Kilkenny for instance (See O’Driscéoil 2006, 29-46 and Bradley 1980, 5-21), and there is little difference between the objects of different functions except where the funerary armorial plaques bear a funerary inscription. There are relatively few rectangular armorial plaques from Galway City and those that survive in situ are located in the outside wall of buildings.

The use of the ‘fretty’ rather than simply single fret in the heraldry is unusual but is not unknown in Galwegian depictions of the Blake arms. Were the context unknown the ‘fretty’ arms might be mistaken for those of another family
like Bellew or Vardon for example (See Bellew 2004, 426-450 for the heraldry of the Bellews). However, though no such coat is recorded for the Blakes in Burke’s General Armory, the coat is well known among the Galwegian stone carvings and is also shown (along with the better known coat bearing just a fret) on the border of the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway as we can see from the Heraldry Chapter. It is likely that the fretty coat was simply a means of differencing the arms of one branch of the Blake’s from another in the same way in which the various Irish branches used different crests.

The occurrence of the small cross with expanded or wedge-shaped terminals above the escutcheon bearing the dexter hand (indicative of the Baronetage) is unusual. Its presence would seem to indicate that the title Baronet had been confirmed on the bearer of these arms. The positioning of the cross on the collar or honour point suggests that this cross represents an additional honour which its bearer has received for some reason or other. Had the cross shown been a Cross Moline (with a wide V-shaped hollow and bifurcation in the ends of each arms), one might suggest that it was the usual cadency mark used to distinguish or difference various sons, branches or cadets of one family. The Cross Moline is the cadency mark indicative of the eighth son of a given father.

Stylistically the carving is unlikely to date very later than the first third of the 17th century. It has very obvious parallels with the two coats of arms on the Browne doorway of 1627 especially in the style of this heavy foliate mantling. The large heavy scrolled spirals of the mantling can be paralleled to some extent also on the armorial panel of the tomb of Sir Peter French at the Franciscan Cemetery (C44a-b) which dates to the 1630s. The carving of the arms in relief, the treatment of the helmet and mantling are closely similar to each case.

The arms shown are not those of the 1st Viscount Blake of Menlough, Co. Galway since the arms registered to him are as follows. ‘Ar. a fret gu, over all a fess erm. Crests – a monkey statant arg. charged in the shoulder with a mullet sa’ (Burke 1884, 88). Firstly, however, the Crests is not a monkey but a lion or leopard passant. Secondly, there is no fess shown (and so consequently no ermine either). Thirdly the arms is shown ‘fretty’ rather than bearing a simple fret. The main part of difference
here is of course, the crest which differs from that on the arms registered to Sir Thomas Blake 1st Baronet. (Burke 1884, 88-9). The arms of this Sir Thomas or one of his sons, are however found in Galway. They occur twice on the façade of a building on the corner of Abbeygate Street Upper and William Street. (Formerly Grealey’s Medical Hall, now ‘Zerep’ shoe shop.)

Blake (Menlough, Co. Galway, bart., descended from Sir Valentine Blake Fitzwalter, FitzThomas, Mayor of Galway in 1611 and 1630, created a baronet of Ireland in 1622). The arms in full are as follows: ‘Ar a fret gu. Crests cat passant guard, ppr. Motto: Virtus sola nobititat’ (Burke 1884, 89).

The crests arms shown on the stone have more in common with those of Sir Valentine Blake Fitzwalter FitzThomas Bart who was Mayor of Galway in 1611 and again in 1630 and who was created a Baronet of Ireland in 1622.

H. STONE BLOCKS WITH BUSTS AND HEADS FROM WALL OF NICHE-TOMB (C61-C65)

Apart from the relatively well-preserved gabled and canopied tomb (C54 and C55) and the wall tomb-cum-window discussed above, there are a group of other stones which came from the entablatures of 17th century wall-tombs. All of these have human or angelic busts carved in fairly high false relief. All seem to have come from tombs of early 17th century type which are no longer now extant. These stones are all found in and around the site of the Franciscan foundation and may all have come from tombs originally located at that site.

The first three fragments (C63, C64 and C65, Plates 74A-C) are all set in the façade of the Franciscan Abbey Church, Francis Street and consist of two female busts (C62 and C63) and a third stone (C65) bearing the head of an angel or cherub. These are all carved in relief. Each stone has a slight projection in its upper edge and the carvings formed a central block at the middle of the entablature above a tomb-niche and pseudo-brackets on either side. By analogy with extant tombs, one often occurred in the middle over a key-block while another pair occurred, one on each side, above the capital of a column.
A further stone in Mary Street (C61, Plate 75A), nearby has a woman’s bust and had a slight rebate in each of its upper sides suggesting that it was edged between two long pieces of moulded stone. The fifth stone in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy (C62, Plate 75B) adjacent to the Franciscan Graveyard and Church has a female bust and again the sides of the stone have a slight lip and shallow rebate indicating that the stone was originally in between moulded courses of stone. All of these stones are in the proximity of the present Franciscan Cemetery and all five may have come from monuments there. The busts and angels’ heads are of frequent occurrence in wall tomb-niches which date mainly to the end of the 16th and more commonly to the first few decades of the 17th century. Such tomb niches frequently have Renaissance, Tudor and Jacobean style features. Apart from heads of angels and female busts, individual blocks like the Galwegian one frequently interrupt the centre or occur near the ends of entablatures decorated string courses between lines of moulding, or interrupt the moulded courses on the pseudo-brackets, blocks and key-blocks. Busts, roses, angels, cherubs, skulls and various *Memento Mori* frequently occur on them. Good parallels for these Galwegian decorative blocks include two carved stone figures on brackets from Omeath, Co. Louth (Martin Timoney *pers. comm.*). These would appear from photographs to date to the early 17th century. The female busts on the façade of the Franciscan Church and the bust in Mary Street all have similar coiffures in which large curls, spirals of curls and thick manes of hair sometimes defined by individually carved thick strands invariable feature (Plates 74A-C and 75A and D). Such hairstyles especially with the thick individual strands defined by grooves are a feature of this type of entablature block in Galway and elsewhere. A close parallel for the heads generally and for the hair style in general is found on the tomb of the First Viscount Mayo of Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (See Egan 1971, not paginated, for illustration). The same hair style occurs on the male and female heads found frequently on Renaissance style doorways such as the Darcy / Martin door of 1624 in the Convent of Mercy (Higgins 1989d, 21-23, 47-54 and Plates 2 and 3) and similar one at Moyne Abbey, Co. Mayo and a fragmentary (unpublished) one at Boyle, Co. Roscommon which can only be reconstructed from fragments.
I. **Fragment with an Angel’s Head (C65)**

Another stone which comes either from a Trinity panel (which it may have served as a depiction of God the Holy Ghost) or from an entablature block is **C65** (Plate 75D), now set in the wall of the Galway Social Services Centre in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy. The writer has argued elsewhere (Higgins 1989-90, 155-8) that this worn fragment with a male, mature-looking face with a group of feathers (flanking it is part of a depiction of the Trinity like those found on a panel of the Sir Peter French tomb in the Franciscan Graveyard (**C44a-b**, Plates 32B and C) and the Trinity group now in Galway Cathedral (Plate 33A) but originally in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

J. **Free Standing, Solid-Ringed Cross (C67)**

The wayside cross fragment and the free-standing solid, disc-headed crosses (**C83** and **C67** respectively), which survive from Galway City are both typically late medieval in form and date. Many of these crosses of medieval and Late Medieval date have been published by King (1984, 79-115), King (1985, 13-33) and some have been published from Co. Roscommon by Siggins (1986, 33-35). Most of the County Galway examples remain, by and large, unpublished.

The free-standing, solid, ringed, or disc-headed cross from the Convent of Mercy (**C67**) is unusual, not so much in its form but in the fact that it has been used as a funerary monument. Disc-headed crosses with a solid ring but stubbier arms are found in large numbers in the vicinity of Lough Erne for example where they usually date to the late 17th and more commonly to the 18th and even the 19th centuries, and frequently bear skulls, coffins, hour glasses and various other *memento mori* and are unlike our Galwegian example in their decoration.

The Convent of Mercy cross (**C67**) can be best paralleled with a multi-period commemorative cross of the general wayside variety which is now incorporated above a doorway at Ross Errilly Franciscan Friary near Headford, Co. Galway. The latter example is commemorative and may have been a wayside cross rather than a funerary monument *per se*. The monument is unpublished.
It is relatively uncommon to see vocational symbols on a disc-headed cross though they are very common on both contemporary headstones and recumbent slabs. The presence of the vocational symbols on this cross indicate that it marked the resting place of a farmer (and possibly his family). The use of vocational symbols sometimes occurs on a wayside crosses including a nearly contemporary wayside cross at Cumeen, Dysart, Co. Roscommon where the ‘spear head-shaped’ object, probably a ploughshare occurs along with a human arm and hand holding an object which looks vaguely like camán or hurley stick (Higgins 1994, 1, 85-6, Plate 18).

Disc-headed crosses of both pierced and unpierced form occur occasionally in Ireland and Scotland in particular in the Early Christian Period and some examples of 12th century and general medieval date also occur. The solid disc-headed cross made a comeback in late medieval Ireland and Scotland and most of the late and post-medieval ones which survive are mainly of the ‘Wayside’ or ‘Market cross’ variety and few of them are straightforward funerary monuments, which were placed over graves.

In Galway only one disc-headed cross survives, that at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street (C67) and from the vocational symbolism and the initials on it was obviously funerary in nature. The stone which bears the date 1649, the initials IR and vocational symbols consisting of a plough sock and coulter – is now set into a mortice hole in the top of a panel with a demi-effigy (C53) but was not originally associated with it.

The present cross is the single example of this type to survive in Galway City. The best parallel for it in terms of its date and shape are to be found in a disc-headed cross with bevelled edges of the wayside variety which is now reset above a gateway at Ross Errily Friary, Co. Galway.
K. **Key-Blocks from Wall-Tombs, Doorways or the Heads of 17th Century Tomb-Niches (C68 and C69)**

A further group of objects occur which are difficult to classify. Though they are clearly all key-blocks, and like one of the foregoing groups Categories H and I, (C61-C66) were clearly used in a feature with an entablature and moulded string courses, they could just as easily have come from a doorway as a niche-tomb of Renaissance or Jacobean type. For this reason they have been classified as ‘Key Blocks from Wall-tombs, Doorways, Tomb-Niches’ (C68 and C69, Plates 99A and 99B respectively).

Cherubic heads, along with female heads, occur frequently on contemporary wall-tombs, often on brackets and key-blocks which cut across or interrupt the moulded course of the tomb entablatures. Sometimes they occur on capitals to pilasters below key blocks and brackets as on the tomb of the Earl of Cork at Youghal (Harris 1998, 70-86). This tomb which dates to 1620 and was designed by Alexander Hills of Holborn in St. Mary’s Youghal, provides numerous examples of winged cherubic heads and on key-blocks, above key-blocks, on brackets and below the centre of the arched tomb niche itself. Female heads and cherubs both flank the heraldic elements of the tomb. Cherubim flank the spandrels of the 17th century Seagrave and Spank wall tomb in St. Audeon’s Church, Dublin and, significantly considering the Galway examples, also occur directly above the pilaster capitals on moulded blocks which break out in front of the moulding of the entablature. In the key-blocks directly above these, human heads, apparently female, occur (Crookshank 1984, 12-13).

Cherubic heads occur elsewhere on wall tombs also. The Chichester Tomb in St. Nicholas’ Church Carrickfergus has a cherubic head with folded wings positioned above a skull (as if conquering death) on the prayer desk at which the deceased and his wife kneel. The monument belongs to the first quarter of the 17th century (Crookshank 1984, 8 and 10).
L. **Crenellated Fragment (Possibly from a Box-Tomb or Wall-Tomb) C70**

This stone is the only one of its type found in Galway and in the absence of close parallels either in Galway or nationally (as well as a dearth of complete tombs which might have features such ornament) the function of the stone is very difficult to determine. While similar crenellated ornament like this is common on British tombs, it is not common (except on a few window hoods and doorways) in Ireland.

Crenellated or billeted ornament such as occurs in the possible tomb fragment from the Convent of Mercy is not very common in Ireland and where it does occur it dates mainly to the 15th and 16th centuries. Perhaps the most unusual and flamboyant display of ornament in Ireland occurs on the door of the Chapter House at Holy Cross, Co. Tipperary (See illustrations in Champney’s 1910, Plate XCIII and in Stalley 1987a, Plate 156). A fragment from another such feature with the same ornament is also still extant at this site. Both of these features are of 15th century date. Billet ornament also occurs on some Irish windows and there is a fine example on the hood moulding of a three-light window in the south wall of the choir at St. Patrick’s Cathedral (See Leask 1971, Plate XXIX for illustration). This window has been dated by Leask (1936a, 185-6), to between 1440 and 1460 on historical grounds. Two of the windows in the town of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church Galway have similar ornament. The tower, as we have seen elsewhere, has been dated to *circa* 1500 by Leask (1936). Billet ornament arranged in a chequer-board manner also occurs on a shaft on the 15th century cloister arcade at Sligo Abbey (See Champneys 1910, Plate CXI for illustration). A tomb feature in the north wall of the Choir of Cashel Cathedral, Co. Tipperary has a moulded soffit ornamented with moulded dentil-like decorations rather than real billets on which two smaller mouldings join each ‘billet’ to the next along the length of the filleted moulding (See Champneys 1910, Plate LXXXIII, 162 and 188 for the Cashel moulding). In many ways crenellated designs on this tomb are reminiscent of those found below alabaster figures sculpture from the Nottingham area of England which was widely exported in the 15th century in particular.
Chapter 12
General Discussion of the Monuments by Type

In England billeted or crenellated ornament occurs frequently the ledges of large medieval tomb chests. By contrast in Ireland however as a glance at Hunt’s (1974) *corpus* will show, such ornament is not a feature of funerary monuments (Hunt 1974, Vol.2, Plates). Like most of the Irish examples cited above (apart from the Cashel example) the majority of Irish examples date to around the 15th century. Elaborate billet ornament occurs on the effigy tomb of Archbishop Courtney at Wells who died in 1483 (Gardner 1935, Plate 633, 321). Gardner illustrates a plainer piece of this type of ornament which occurs on the tomb of Thomas Earl of Arundale who died in 1416 (Gardner 1935, Plate 625, 317). The majority of Irish examples of the use of billet ornament date to the 15th and early 16th centuries. In England there are numerous examples used on a much wider variety of objects of wood and stone. Some of the English parallels on tomb chests also date to, as we have seen, the 15th century. The billets on the Convent of Mercy stone are also somewhat unlike some of the English tombs cited in that they are more closely spaced. Examples include those on the alabaster tomb of St. Nicholas Fitzherbert of 1473 at Norbury, Derbyshire (Crossley 1921, 19, 219 and 221 for illustrations). A Histon family tomb dated to *circa* 1370 at Swine Priory, Yorks, (Crossley 1921, 216 for illustration), an effigy of a priest dated to *circa* 1310 at Welwick, Yorks (Crossley 1921, 192) and a tomb to Sir John Marmion dated to 1387 (Crossley 1921, 176) provide further examples. The wall-tomb of Lord Bouchier (dated 1431) at Westminster Abbey has detailed billet ornament along its top (Crossley 1921, 41 for illustration) and has billets which are reminiscent of the sort of examples frequently found wall-screens and rood-screens of stone and wood. The screen at the entrance to the Chapel of John Draper, 1529 at Christchurch Priory, Hants (Crossley 1921, 114) is one of very many examples which could be cited. Billetting also occurs on brasses on which tomb canopies are depicted (See Crossley 1921, 245 and 241 for illustration of the brass of Nicholas of Louth, priest (dated to 1383) and the brass of Sir Hugh Hasting’s (dated to 1347) respectively, for just a few examples). Wooden doors of 15th century date like that at Blewbury, Berks and at Addlethorre, Lincs (Howard and Crossley 1917, 79-80), provide just some examples of woodwork decorated with this type or ornament.
English billeting then is commonest on table-tombs, wall-tombs, wall-screens and rood screens which span the 14th to 16th centuries. By contrast the examples of Irish billeted ornament which have been discussed above occur on a small number of items dating mainly to the mid-late 15th or at latest the early 16th century. The tooling, parallels and form of the Convent of Mercy fragment would suggest a date centering on the late 15th or early 16th century for it. The crenellated ornament on C70 is very similar also to that found in English alabasters (See for example Cheetham 1973, 27, 37 and 47 for illustrations of 15th century alabasters with similar embattling).

M. HEADSTONES (C71-C73)

Headstones are rare in Galway until the late 17th and early 18th centuries when they become commonly used. This is true too, of Ireland in general until the 18th century. Of the headstones which fall within the scope of our period of discussion, only three are dated, that to Edward Merrick and his three children at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C71) (dated 1666) and to John Jenkin dated 1681 and 1685 (C72) and that to John Nordin (or Noardin) (C73) dated 1690 at the same site. These are the earliest dated headstones to survive from Galway City and are of a type of relatively small, unpretentious monument which rarely survives in any case. The two examples cited are triangular and round-headed respectively. Near contemporary headstones from Galway are rare but include some early 18th century ones like the bow-headed one to Warner which is also at St. Nicholas’ and which bears a worn skull and cross-bones Memento Mori. A wide variety of small crude stones were sometimes reused or used as headstones in the 18th century.

The use of the headstone became popular by the end of the 17th century in the Protestant funerary tradition in particular. Sometimes this occurred as a reaction against the lavishness, expense and symbolism of the large, dramatic and ornate tombs, (especially wall-tombs, box-tombs and other large free-standing monuments) of the pre-Reformation period. There was a rejection of the Catholic upper-class types of tombs and a rejection of the symbolism associated with saints. Some Protestant monuments which, though devoid of the religious iconography associated
with the cult of saints, the Blessed Virgin and so on, were sometimes still considered
too opulent and ornate for more puritanical Protestants. It is of interest to note that
many of the earlier plain headstones belong to the families which, by and large,
came to Galway with the Cromwellians and most of them were erected by the
families of recent, 17th century settlers in Galway including the Merricks (C71), the
Eyres (C60) and others. The headstone in general is a type of monument which
became common from the 17th century onwards, though it had been evolving to
some extent in the 16th century. As a result of the Reformation there was a change
in emphasis from richly decorated funerary monuments to simple, less ostentatious
ones. In countries where Protestantism took hold quickly – Switzerland, parts of
Germany, England and Scotland for example, there was a puritanical reaction
against the more elaborate monuments of earlier times.

Willsher (1985) in her work on Scottish funerary monuments dated the
general emergence of the Scottish headstone to between the mid and last third of the
17th century where after it becomes a very common monument type down on the
19th century and beyond. Lees (2000) in a recent publication English Churchyard
Memorials has discussed the emergence of the headstone in England.

Like C70 to C73 early English headstones of the pre-Reformation period
are often very insubstantial monuments. Some are small and are easily overlooked
according to Lees (2000, 42). The latter cites three markers only 46cms high at
Broadway (Worcs,) including headstones and footstones dated 1516 in memory of a
Dun Davis. There are other pre-Reformation examples at Bakewell (Derbys.) but a
discoid example at Grantham has disappeared (Lees 2000, 48-53).

By the post-Reformation period English headstones are commoner.
According to Lees (2000, 48-53) the earlier post-reformation ones are short and
thick in relation to their height. This is also the case with some of the Galwegian
examples, especially C71, C72 and C73 (Plates 100A, B and C and Cat. Figs. 66, 67
and 68).

Hundreds of small English headstones have disappeared beneath the soil
from the seventeenth and early 18th centuries (Lees 2000, 48-53). Headstones
generally become larger as time goes on. Originally designed to carry a single
inscription, it became practicable for all the burials in the family to be recorded on
the same stone, requiring more space.

A headstone with a bow-shaped head and Roman lettering having several
groups of letters conjoined along their stem-lines (like C71 and C73 from St.
Nicholas’ Collegiate Church) is to be found on a monument to Ana Whit dated 1664
at Aure (Glous.) in England (Lees 2000, Plate 25).

L. DEMI-EFFIGY (C53)

Though the Convent of Mercy carving of the demi-effigy (Plates 67A and
B) is carved on a much smaller and much more detailed scale than many of the other
Galway sculptures, several of its features can be paralleled on the other Galway
tomb sculptures for example. The very presence of two flanking saints on either side
of the demi-effigy is in itself an archaicism derived from much earlier medieval
slabs. At the same time, the basic idea is also found on the arms of Sir Peter French
on C44a, where Saints Nicholas and Patrick, the patrons of Galway and Ireland
respectively seem to be used in the same manner as St. James and the unidentified
saint on the Convent of Mercy demi-effigy – to protectively flank an effigy in one
case and a pair of impaled arms in the other case. If anything saints of the Sir Peter
French armorial panel owe much more to heraldry for their inspiration and they
appear in the same positions as heraldic supporters normally would, though they do
not immediately flank the shield. We have then, two instances of the use of the
flanking figures of saints used to ‘protectively guard’ the effigy of a man in one
instance, and a man’s coat of arms in another, at a very late date in two 17th century
Galwegian sculptures. Could the unidentified saint flanking the Convent of Mercy
demi-effigy be St. Patrick also? The mitre suggests a bishop-saint but the attribute
shown has no particular association; one might expect an ‘ordinary’ crosier if the
saint shown was Patrick. However, the tau-shaped crosier is the usual attribute of
Saint Anthony.

Full length effigies with a pair of smaller figures emerging from around or
above the shoulders of the main figure are also common and are also common in
English sculpture and Crossley (1921, 225) illustrates examples of 13th to 16th
century date including an effigy of King John of 1240 at Worchester Cathedral, England. This sort of pairing of small figures flanking a larger effigy may be derived from similar effigial figures bearing angels on either side of the head or shoulders, or holding their heads or pillows beneath the heads of the deceased. The idea seems to be derived from that of angels bearing the souls of the dead to Heaven (See Crossley 1921, 224 and 277).

The non-angelic figures to the effigies can be patron saints or, in the case of an early example, the tomb of King John 1240 at Worchester Cathedral (Crossley 1921, 225) the King is shown in his coronation robes and flanked by two mitred ecclesiastics (archbishops or bishops?) each of whom bear an incense censer.

In Ireland too, effigies are frequently flanked by smaller figures of angels of ecclesiastics, unidentified figures, and (rarely) by saints. The layout of this demi-effigy with a pair of figures shown in the background at shoulder height is an archaicism depicted from medieval effigial slabs. A full length effigy of a civilian of early 14th century date at Ballyhea, Co. Cork (Hunt 1974, Vol.2, Plate 47, Cat. No. 13 and Vol. 1, 129) has two further much smaller full-length figures shown more or less above its shoulders such as occur on the Convent of Mercy slab (C53). Each of the subsidiary figures have one hand by their side and the other up to their face, have no attributes which would tend to suggest that they represent saints and appear to mourn the deceased. The format, though not the iconography are similar.

The full-length effigy of a bishop, possibly John of Taunton in Kildare Cathedral which dates to between 1235 and 1258 has censing angels at the bishop’s shoulder-level (Hunt 1974, Cat. No. 8, Plates 69-70).

In the seventeenth century there seems to have been a small scale revival of the use of effigial slabs and several published examples give an idea of their form. They were usually in low relief and relatively crude. Most of them contract markedly with the high relief treatment of C53 and most of the effigies represent civilians. These are commonest in Munster and Leinster by the 17th century. See for example the slab to a Duff man and his wife dated 1610 at Lagavooren Church, Drogheda, Co. Louth in Buckley and Sweetman (1991, 274, Site No. 943) and also King (1987, 283-307).
O. MISCELLANEOUS MONUMENTS OF UNCERTAIN TYPE (C75-C81)

It is very unfortunate that C63, the monument of Maurice O’Ferall dated 1588 and C64, the monument of Thomas Linc (Lynch) dated 1627 are now lost. They are likely to remain covered by earth at the Dominican Cemetery, Fairhill, Galway. The only record of them is Hardiman’s account of 1820 (See Catalogue).

During 2001 a FÁS cemetery cleaning scheme took place at the Dominican Cemetery during which some twenty three monuments exclusively of 18th and 19th century date were uncovered in part, in unlicensed digging, or in full, but no earlier monuments were uncovered. They were subsequently covered over again at the request of the Heritage Office of Galway City Council but no trace of the two missing monuments (C75 and C76) were found. It was clear however, that as many as several hundred monuments may have been deliberately covered.

Although the O’Farrell and Linc (Lynch) monuments might well have been recumbent slabs, there is no way of being certain as to the form. They may have been part of box-tombs for example. Several plain slabs of uncertain date with no datable diagnostic features which may have been side or end panels of a plain box-tomb for instance were among the monuments temporarily exposed in 2001.

The Quin (C77), Nolan (C78) and Penrice (C79) monuments which are recorded by Hardiman (1820) as being present at the Franciscan Cemetery have disappeared apart from an 18th century panel from the Quin tomb (C77). It seems clear from Hardiman’s description of these monuments that they were rebuilt or re-edified in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to say. By the 18th and 19th centuries it was common practice among the well off to build large free-standing tombs into which elements of earlier monuments to their families were built. Examples occur at Old Rahoon Cemetery, Galway City and RossErrily Friary in which complete recumbent slabs have been reused and set in the walls of large box-tombs. Several 19th century photographs of the Franciscan Cemetery shows most of its surface crammed with recumbent slabs, large box-tomb and some headstones. Most of the box-tombs were dismembered in the 1970s when the cemetery was completely re-ordered. It is likely that the ancient burial places of the Quins, Nolans, Penrices and Brownes were refurbished in the manner described.
above in the 18th and 19th centuries and that some of them may have been built so as to incorporate earlier funerary panel features and fragments.

Of the Quinn tomb, we have just one 18th century fragment (See C77). The 18th century elements of the refurbishment included a large armorial fragment bearing the arms of Quin which is still extant at the cemetery.

Evidence of physical refurbishment of monuments can be seen in C81. A surviving fragment bearing the name of Alderman Dominick Browne still survive and bears the date 1596 but it is clear from Hardiman’s (1820) description that the present inscription formed just part of a longer one with an 18th century date. It seems likely that the lost tomb in which the armorial panel was incorporated was one of those dismantled, probably in the 1970s.

Hardiman (1820) states that Dominick Browne was buried in a large tomb in the S.W. corner of the graveyard and this panel is undoubtedly portion of a tomb of some size, probably a box-tomb. Dominick Browne’s family was obviously reluctant to change from their traditional burial place at the Franciscan Graveyard despite the fact that the family had been granted permission to be buried in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church under Royal Licence on the 29th of April 1551 (See O’Flaherty, Ed. Hardiman 1846, 239) ‘An inquisition of the duties and rights of St. Nicholas, his Church AD 1609’ and also Oranmore and Browne 1907-8, 54.) In his last Will Dominick Browne Lord also left the yearly sum of 35 [shillings] and 4d ‘of the rents of Athy-Thomas-Reagh’ for the reparation of St. Nicholas’ Church.

The second half of the inscription on the tomb referred to Captain Andrew Browne of Gloves Esquire ‘whose family tomb this is which was erected in 1596’. This person is probably Andrew Browne (Fitz Oliver) who owned lands at Gloves near Athenry. The Andrew of the inscription married Eleanor, daughter of Isidore Lynch of Drimcong, Co. Galway, and died on the 5th of February 1722. This evidence suggests that the plaque was incorporated (or indeed made) sometime after the death of Andrew Browne of Gloves who died in 1722.

Stylistically the heraldry of the plaque is late. It is almost identical in style to two County Galway monuments which date from the 18th century and have similar mantling, tassels and lettering to the present stone. The first of these is the

The second of the close parallels is with a further heraldically decorated funerary monument formerly in the Synod Hall, but now set in the southern boundary wall of St. Mary’s Church of Ireland Cathedral in Tuam, Co. Galway (See Higgins and Parson 1995, map).

All in all, then though it is possible, though not probable that the Tuam and St. Nicholas slabs are archaic in style, it seems much likelier that the present Browne Slab though dated 1596 is later than its date suggests.

All three slabs including the 18th century Stannard slab in St. Nicholas’ (Plate 21B) and others at Tuam (Plates 21A and C) are fairly well preserved and all have similar lettering. All have been carefully laid out using a system of very fine incised or scratched lines as a guide to the cuttings of their inscriptions.

A fine Browne monument of 18th century date does however also occur at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church where it is incorporated in the western wall of the south Transept. The Browne arms, a double headed eagle displaced is also shown on that monument (Higgins and Heringklee 1996, 227, Cat. No. 392).

The Quin and Nolan families were long associated with Galway (and though of native Irish origin like some of the Fourteen Tribes) had gained a presence in the city. Their arms are among those depicted on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway of the 1660s. The Penrice family was numbered among the Fourteen Tribes of Galway and was closely linked in their heraldry to the Lynch Family.

Other tombs of prominent families undoubtedly existed at the Franciscan Cemetery but the form and type of the tombs of the Morris and Skerret families, which are now lost but which are known from written sources is also unknown. The late Lord Killanin (pers. comm.) believed his family tomb (of the Morris family) to be in the yard to the rear of the Priory in Francis Street. Many Skerret wills survive which indicate that they had a burial place at the Franciscan Cemetery Francis Street (See Anon. 1973-5, 100-104).
Chapter 12
General Discussion of the Monuments by Type

P. **MEMENTO MORI (C82)**

Many symbols found on funerary monuments including skeletons (as on C19), hour glasses, Death personified as a skeleton or a cadaver and the skull and cross bones are reminders of Death or *Memento Mori*. A 17th century limestone panel of rectangular shape but with a triangular top which is now incorporated in the so called Lynch Memorial Window is more likely given its 19th century antecedents and the forms that they take, to have been set in the cemetery wall or in a chantry, chapel or perhaps even more likely over the entrance door or gate to the cemetery (Plate 35A). For this reason, the stone, C82 is dealt with in a separate category in this work. It is not necessarily part of a funerary monument but belongs to a funerary tradition and served a similar function to some funerary monument which bore symbolism relating to the shortness of life and as a reminder that death is every present.

Though now in the Lynch Memorial Window which was built in the 1840s and re-sited further back from the road in the 1970s this stone was originally located (in the early 19th century) in a house across the road from where it is now positioned (See Mitchell 1981-2, 31-3, Anon. 1915, 9-10 and Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 261-263 for the Skull and Crossbones stone).

Of all the forms of *Memento Mori* in common use from medieval to post-medieval times, the skull and cross-bones is perhaps the most frequently used and the most widespread. The skull and cross-bones has a very long usage and it got more common from the 17th and especially the 18th century onwards.

The skull as a *memento mori* has an ancestry going back to Roman times, and beyond for Roman *Memento Mori* at Pompeii (See for example Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1976, Cat. No. 18). In Christian iconography the skull and cross-bones also present the remains of Adam which were said to have been found during the excavation of the hole in the Hill of Golgatha in which the cross for the crucifixion of Christ was set.

The increasing use of the various forms of *memento mori* including the *transi*, cadavers, effigies and skeletons as representations or personifications of death, on funerary monuments as well as on smaller scale monuments increased as
result of the Black Death in the 14th century all over Europe and examples are also known in paintings, tapestry, manuscripts, wall and ceiling frescoes and virtually every medium. The wall paintings showing the Three Living and Three Dead Kings and the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian at Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway provide examples of such themes (See Crawford 1919a, 25-34, Cochrane 1904, 244-53 and Cochrane 1905, 419-20). In the 16th century, there was again a revival of the use of *memento mori* which last throughout the 17th century as well.

Other *memento mori* like *transi* or cadaver effigies, for example, were expensive to produce, were usually fairly large and have a limited distribution. No cadaver or *transi* has been found on a west of Ireland medieval monument to date. Such effigies has a relatively short span of usage from the 15th to the late 16th centuries and not much earlier or later than that. Roe cites eleven definite and other possible Irish examples (Roe 1969, 1-19, Plates 1-12).

On the other hand the skull and cross-bones combined with other symbols like the hour-glass, coffins and so on, are more common in Irish, non-Catholic graveyards in the 18th century in particular. The skull and a wheel which was symbolic of time passing in combination with other motifs are common from Roman times and examples occur at places like Pompeii where the motif is found on mosaics (See also Roe 1969, 1-19 on cadaver images in Ireland).

The skull, hour-glass and wings occur on Irish 17th century funerary monuments most commonly from the 17th century onwards (See for example the O’Connor wall tomb at Sligo Abbey (Plate 77A).

One of the closest and virtually contemporary parallels for the skull and cross-bones on the stone under discussion is that shown on the base of the Arthur Crucifix which is dated by an inscription to 1625. This cross is a reliquary cross and bears a prominent skull and cross-bones with a frontally-faced skull a short distance below the crucifixion scene on the front of the cross (Hunt 1955, 84-7, *Anon.* 1950, *passim* and *Anon.* 1980, 20-22).

The skull and cross-bones is very frequently used on silverware like chalices of late and post-medieval date (See for example Buckley 1943).
The skull without crossbones occurs at the base of a cross with a florid base dating to 1553 at Athassel Priory, Co. Tipperary. The slab also bears the words MEMENTO MORI. A further slab at Templemore, Co. Tipperary also has a skull and cross-bones located beneath the stepped base of a cross. This monument is dated 1632 (Hayes 1993, 186-8).

As regards parallels for this object, exact contemporary parallels for the shape of the object have not been discovered though an 18th or early 19th century memento mori now incorporated in the Fairhill side-gate at the entrance to the Dominican Graveyard, Claddagh is a good ‘copy’ (or variation on) the present monument. The Dominican Graveyard carving has sub-rectangular shape with bevelled upon corners and has a moulded surround on all sides. The moulding is late in type and is probably of 18th or early even 19th century type (See Plate 35C).

The inscription ‘AD 1488’ which is incised, occurs within the panel above and to either side of the skull and cross-bones. Below the skull and cross-bones is a further incised inscription which reads ‘I know that I shall arise and see my God, Job’. The skull and cross-bones are carved in false relief and are not unlike those of the Lynch Memorial Window panel. They may well have been copied from the latter and also have the deep, wide, groove around the skull like the Lynch Memorial example has. One might be tempted to suggest that the stone has its inscription added and was of earlier date were it not for the type of moulding used, which, like the accompanying lettering is obviously of very late 18th or early to mid-19th century type. The whole plaque is most likely, in fact, to be of this period.

The Dominican graveyard plaque was built into the present position at the side entrance to the graveyard in the 1960s and was previously sited above a gateway into the graveyard which was demolished around that period. (The panel can be seen in situ above this gateway in a photograph reproduced by Semple 1969, 11.)

The Lynch Memorial Window panel may well have served in a similar position, at an entrance to a graveyard as the Dominican example did.

Memento Mori are generally rare in Galway, at least in stone carving. The lost, unprovenanced slab (C19) which may have come from the Franciscan
graveyard bears a depiction of a skeleton personifying Death with a dart, spade and various symbols of earthly power associated with clergy and royalty (Plate 13A).

This is the only other early example of a *Memento Mori* to survive from the City. The Dominican Cemetery panels bearing the skull-and-cross-bones and another 19th century example at the mortuary chapel at Forthill Cemetery are eventually the same type of rectangular plaque with *Memento Mori*, (often with mitred corners to the panel) as the Lynch Memorial window example (C82).

Some 18th and 19th century skulls and cross-bones appear as *memento mori* on gravestones at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (See Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 249, 259, 332 and back cover for illustrations) and at the Franciscan Graveyard.

*Memento Mori* of a wide variety of forms were common in Ireland in the medieval and late medieval periods. The wall paintings at Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway provide some of the few examples of wall painting of the period to survive. These include in their iconography the theme of the Three Spectres of Dead Kings and are one of the rare preserved reminders of death in that medium to survive from medieval Ireland (See Cochrane 1904, 244-53). They are also found frequently on funerary monuments though apart from the skeleton and other symbols of mortality found on a lost monument drawn by Hardiman (C19) representations are rare in Galway except on post-medieval monuments (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 36, 259-262 and 249 and illustrations 249, 259 and 352).

The exception is the *memento mori* found on the moulded rectangular plaque with a triangular top which is now incorporated in the so-called Lynch Memorial Window (Plate 35A-B). This is paralleled in the late plaque of vaguely similar form at the Fairhill side entrance to the Dominican Graveyard, Claddagh (Plate 35C), which though it is inscribed with the date 1488 is obviously of late 18th or early 19th century date and may perhaps have been copied from the carving under discussion. The Dominican graveyard plaque used to be positioned above an arched entrance (now destroyed) to one side of the Dominican cemetery. It seems likely, given the inscription on the plaque in the ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ that it too, originally came from the entrance to some cemetery. The same general type of
memento mori with skull and cross-bones is found on a later 19th century mortuary chapel at Forthill Cemetery. The depiction of the skeleton (rather than the cadaver accompanied by other symbols of death and used as a memento mori is common in all media from the 17th century onwards in particular, whether in books, engravings, and British and European and American stone carvings. In Ireland the skull and cross-bones become common or monuments of the 17th century onwards. A good example is the Prior’s Tomb at Templemore where a stylised example (the bones of Adam) occurs beneath the cross on a slab of 1322 (Hayes 1993, 186-8).

Death as a skeleton occurs on C19 (Plate 13A) and a good parallel for this skeleton holding a dart is to be found on a 17th century tomb mensa at Kilmallock, Co. Limerick on a FitzGerald monument of circa 1627 (Plate 13B). A funeral broadside of 1691 for George Cokayn now in the British Museum, London, shows another example of the reclining skeleton with pairs of crossed picks and shovels, an hour glass, skull and cross-bones and scrolls inscribed ‘Memento Mori’ (Tashjian and Tashjian 1974, Fig. 113). Those writers have shown how variations on the same motif have been depicted on 17th and early 18th century funerary monuments, on Puritan funerary monuments in New England. Skeletons on pedestals occur on a stone of 1697/8 at the Granary, Boston, Massachusetts. Reclining skeletons with a skull as a pillow are found on a monument of 1753 at Massachusetts, and a skeleton seated on a winged hour-glass also occurs (Tashjian and Tashjian 1974, 171, Fig. 114).

Rabbitte (1919-20, 27-49) in his article on the Lynch Window suggests that the Memento Mori might have come from an entrance to a cemetery. This seems to have been the case as we shall see below. Its inscription ‘REMEMBER DEATH VANITI OF VANITI AL[L] IS BUT VANITI’ is eminently suitable for such a location and serves to emphasise the fleeting nature of life and like the skull and cross-bones is a reminder of the ever present threat of death. There are a number of later panels of similar shape and also bearing symbols associated with death along with religious inscriptions connected with death and/or resurrection which would seem to indicate that this stone was, in fact set above or at the entrance to a cemetery. While no earlier parallels may be offered as evidence, several 19th
century examples at Dominican Cemetery Fairhill, Galway, at Forthill Cemetery Galway and at Killaderry Graveyard, Co. Offaly all have similar features and all were located above entrance gates to cemeteries.

That the Memento Mori now forming part of the Lynch Memorial Window was originally positioned over the entrance to a cemetery or at its gate is suggested by several later pieces of evidence. The first is the very similar panel with a triangular top which is now incorporated in the back wall of the Dominican Cemetery on Fairhill. This too bears a skull and cross-bones like C82 but the whole style of the carving is obviously late and the sculpture is likely to date to the end of the 18th or even more likely the early 19th century despite the date 1488 which is incised on the stone. The date refers, of course to the foundation of the Dominican house at Galway. The shape of the stone, the appearance of the skull and cross-bones are features which this stone shares with the Lynch Memorial Window stone.

The Lynch Memorial stone, that at the Dominican Cemetery and that at Killaderry all bear inscriptions associated with death, resurrection, the fleetingness of life, redemption and so on. All of these inscriptions would be appropriate to the entrances to graveyards and it would seem to be beyond doubt that C82 was originally positioned at or in some feature at the entrance of a cemetery. Another rectangular panel with a skull and cross-bones but without a long inscription occurs near the entrance to Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare.

The skull and cross-bones themselves are based on the legend that when a hole was being dug on the Hill of Golgotha for the cross of Jesus Christ that the skull and leg bones of Adam were discovered. They came to represent mortality because though Adam and Eve were immortal before they ate of the fruit of the Tree in the Garden of Eden, that very act of disobedience lead to their expulsion and led them and all humans thereafter being prone to temptation, suffering and mortality.

Q.  **WAYSIDE OR CHURCH YARD CROSS (FRAGMENTS) (C83)**

Only one wayside cross survives from Galway City, that at St. James Church, Gleninagh (See Higgins 1996, 75-6 where parallels in Counties Galway, Mayo, Clare, Leitrim and Roscommon are discussed). Wayside type crosses, like
the late fragment of an octagonal shaft from St. James Cemetery, are fairly common in the West of Ireland. The whole corpus of Irish Wayside crosses of all dates have been studied in some detail by Heather King who has already published several groups of them including the mainly 15th and 16th century group from Co. Meath, as well as Irish Wayside Crosses in general (King 1985, 13-33).

Many of the Roscommon examples which tend to date mainly to the 17th century have been published by Siggins (1986, 33-5; 1988, 58; 1994, 3). Other Co. Galway examples have been recorded by Higgins and McHugh (1990, 55-6, Fig. 11 and 54 Fig. 14). The simple octagonal form of the shaft can be paralleled most closely with examples at Kilconnell, Co. Galway, and Kilfenora, Co. Clare, where fairly complete 17th century examples occur. The form of the cross-head of the St. James shaft can now only be guessed at. The two latter examples have very different cross-heads and the St. James example may have resembled either (or indeed, neither) of these.

By analogy with other Irish examples, it is clear that this fragment formed part of a tall, faceted cross-shaft of post-medieval type. It probably dates to the end of the 16th or more likely beginning of the 17th century. Two substantially complete crosses, one from Kilfenora, Co. Clare and the other from Kilconnell, Co. Galway provide good parallels in terms of proportions and form for the Mervue fragment and it seems feasible to suggest that the St. James’ Cemetery stone was part of an early 17th century cross of the ‘market’, ‘wayside’ or ‘churchyard’ cross variety. The cross fragment has been previously published by the writer (Higgins 1996, 75-6 and illus. 76).

The fragment is octagonal in cross-section and each end is broken and irregular. Each facet measures 8.5 to 9 cms across and the stone is 60 cms in height. Crosses such as this are common all over the Midlands, East Midlands and West of Ireland.

In County Galway there are plain fragments of octagonal shafts from near Arkin’s Castle, Inishmore on the Aran Islands and on a roadside sitting near Clontuskert Abbey, Co. Galway. A fragment dated 1629 with part of a lantern-shaped top is known from Clonbern, Co. Galway. A ‘collar’ from a late medieval
cross of 17th century date is known from Meelick, Co. Galway. More complete and elaborate fragments with complete cross-heads occur at Kilconnell, Co. Galway. At the Franciscan site of Ross Errilly, Co. Galway, portions of a solid ring-headed cross reminiscent of **C67** occur. There are the fragments have been put together in a composite feature with octagonal shafts of two sizes and an octagonal base which are now set above a side gate at the site. Also at Ross Errilly is a second cross fragment bearing a crucifixion. A fragment of a faceted shaft is set into the top of a ‘leacht’ of rectangular shape with a truncated trapezoidal top at Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway. Plain, faceted, shaft-fragments are known from Oughtamama, Co. Clare and a more complete example is known from Kilfenora, Co. Clare.

Earlier, more elaborate late medieval crosses of a variety of forms but in the same basic tradition are known from elsewhere in Co. Galway. The most elaborate of which include the lead of a Late Gothic foliated cross and a crocketed head divided into figured niches and a base bearing bestiary-type animals from Athenry, Co. Galway. This bears the crucifixion on one face and the Virgin and Child on the other. The cross dates to the late 15th or more likely, the first half of the 16th century. Most of the shaft of the cross is absent. Bestiary animals also occur on the decorated collar of a cross of late 15th to early 16th century date from Loughrea, Co. Galway as well as on the Athenry fragment (Higgins 2006a, 37 and Higgins 2007d, 4-6 and 8). Fragments of a cross head and possible cross base have been discovered at Abbeytown, Kilnamanagh, Co. Galway (Higgins and McHugh 1990, 45-6, Fig. 11 Cat. No. 36 and Fig. 14). A fine crucifixion occurs on the front of a cross-head from Killimor, Co. Galway (See Higgins 2010, 4). This fragment (which is now in the care of the National Museum of Ireland), has a floral pattern on the back and probably dates to the late 16th or early 17th century. A further elaborate crucifixion occurs on a cross head at Ross Errily Friary, Co. Galway, where a further cross also occurs – a composite of two early 17th century crosses, one of which has a solid disc-head and an inscribed front. The other fragment on which it is set has an octagonal shaft and trapezoidal base. A fragmentary inscribed shaft of a late medieval cross with parts of a crucifixion and several figures, possibly saints, occurs at Killian (or Killyan) Cemetery, Co. Galway. The ‘collar’ from another late
medieval cross of possible 15th – 16th century date occurs at Meelick, Co. Galway, and is unpublished also.

Bases of crosses, of late medieval to post-medieval date also occur at Athenry, and at Clontuskert, Co. Galway. A further base near Moyne Cemetery, Co. Mayo is possible of this period (Higgins 1990a, 71-2, Plates 4F and 4G). It also consists of a roughly rectangular stone with a square hole or socket cut through its thickness. This sort of simple base occurs elsewhere, at sites such as Kilmaine, Co. Roscommon where there are two such examples. Solid rectangular bases occur along with a cross-shaft dated 1650 at Rathcline, Co. Leitrim. One almost complete cross survives at that site (which is set on a rough rock base rather than either of the two bases which it originally fitted), and the head of a further, recently discovered cross also occurs. Heavier, faceted and trapezoidal bases for square-shafted crosses (or crosses with a square tenon and straight or multi-faced sides) also occur at a number of sites including Mayo Abbey, Co. Mayo.

The original form of the St. James’ cross is, then uncertain. It may have been set in a trapezoidal or square base and might have had a faceted (rectangular or bevelled and rectangular) neck below a cross-head. Its head may have had a mortice-and tenoned joining, or might have been made in one piece. A late type of lantern-shaped head with an inscription commemorating a person and mentioned some who erected the monument, or perhaps initials or dates may have occurred. Some of the plainer examples have simple faced cross-heads, others have tenons on the top of sections of shaft which were held in the mortice holes, cut in panelled-head or cross-head.

There must have been many other Galwegian examples, none if which now survive. The 17th century Pictorial Map of Galway shows several crosses erected at important junctions throughout the town. One of the most notable was outside St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church where the market still occurs. These crosses were visited on the route of the Corpus Christi procession and were also objects of everyday devotion (Walsh 1996, Plate 2.1 for a clear image).

Monuments of the market or wayside crosses type must have been common in Galway and the surviving cross-shaft fragment at St. James’ Cemetery could have
been of similar form to some of these. The way in which the crosses are depicted is very simple however. The three crosses shown are those described in the index to the map under Reference 46c and on the east – ‘The New Market with the Cross’ (this is shown at the bottom of the present Prospect Hill), and in Reference I,Z ‘The Market and College Cross’ (shown in front of College House in the grounds of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church). Speed’s Map of Galway of 1610 from his ‘Theatre of the Empire’ also shows this market cross at St. Nicholas’. It is shown on a double base with slightly rounded terminals to the arms and head and Reference I,F were the cross shown is referred to as one of the ‘Seven places and stations of monuments, or altars, solemnly built by the clergy, in the street for the solemnity and procession of Corpus Christi’.

The first two monuments may well have been permanent fixtures and might have been of stone, given that they were market crosses. The fact that the monument set up by the Capuchins is shown as a cross near a major junction may indicate that this too was a permanent fixture. It is shown near the upper end of High Street and also on the map of Galway of 1610 by John Speed. The same cross is shown a little closer to the junction of High Street and Mainguard Street. It is also shown as a plain, Latin cross on a double stepped base on the map. These are depicted in Hardiman’s re-engraving of the Pictorial Map (Hardiman 1820 facing p. 28. The indices to the map are given by Hardiman, 1820, 24-30).

Of the ‘Seven places’ associated with Corpus Christi H, I, J, K, and I are all shown as altars or box-like structures while F is the only cruciform feature. Unfortunately, the depictions of these crosses on the Pictorial Map are too formalised and small to allow us to say anything about the form of these disappeared Galwegian Market Crosses and Corpus-Christi Crosses. A fourth cross marked on the map has a more specific association. It is also shown as a simple Latin cross set on a double-stepped base and is shown some distance further to the left on the opposite side of the road to St. Bridget’s Chapel (on the present Prospect Hill). This cross is specifically named on the map index as ‘Laght more ni hein’, which could be translated as ‘The Big Monument of the O’Hynes’. The feminine ‘Ni’ may
suggest that this cross was a dedicatory or commemorative cross built by or in memory of some Hyne’s personage.

Thus, we have on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway, evidence for several Market and (commemorative) Wayside crosses which have now disappeared. Whether the St. James fragment was of similar form to these or not is uncertain, but we can be sure that evidence of this single, late example would suggest, both inside and outside the walled town. Another very simple Latin cross is shown in a cultivated field or garden in the grounds of the Dominican foundation of St. Mary’s on the Hill between the present Fairhill and Claddagh. The cross is shown in a garden to the near of houses in the south suburbs and ‘The Road to Cave Hill’.

In or close to the grounds of the Franciscan Abbey, Wood Quay, ‘On the East’ an enigmatic caption as follows ‘38 The Wood strand or quay, and a cross or water mark in the river’. The form of this monument is unknown. As has been said, the map depictions may be very simplified. The market Cross at St. Nicholas’ is shown with slightly rounded terminals to its head and arms on John Speed’s map of Galway of 1610 but the Pictorial Map of the 1660s shows it as a simple Latin Cross but either or both depictions could be stylised or inaccurate (Walsh 1996, Plate 2.1).

The tradition of erecting way side and market crosses has a long history in medieval Europe. Crosses frequently became foci for economic activity which took place in the open areas around such crosses. Way-side crosses erected in memory of individuals were a variation on the theme and from time to time their erection was given impetus by the death and subsequent commemoration of that individual by his or her relatives. In England for example twelve ‘Eleanor Crosses’ were erected by Edward I to mark the resting places along the route taken by his wife’s funeral cortege in 1290 (See Alexander and Binski (eds.) 1987, 361-366).

In Ireland the practice of erecting market crosses continued in the 15th and 16th century but by that period also crosses were erected in memory of individuals along waysides and this practice continued into the 17th century too. Undoubtedly Corpus Christi crosses and church yard crosses continued to be erected
intermittently in the 16th and 17th centuries and the example under discussion could be a fragment of the first two types.

By the 17th and early 18th century in the West of Ireland ‘Leachtaí Cuimhnecáin’ (commemorative monuments) were being erected in Co. Galway and this tradition along with the practice of building wayside cairns along main paths to cemeteries was common in the West of Ireland (Robinson 1991). Some of the earliest of these cenotaphs (leachtai); rectangular pillar-like monuments sometime topped with pyramidal caps and incorporating inscribed memorial panels occur at Menlo, Co. Galway and on the Aran Islands and date to the 1680s and early 1700s respectively. The practice became widespread in Co. Galway in the 18th century and the tradition lasted until the mid 19th century on Inish Mór Áran (Árainn), Co. Galway. The Árainn examples and their inscriptions have been published by Robinson (1991). This monument type would appear to have replaced the wayside cross in County Galway, or to have been a partial substitute for it by the early 18th century in the Western part of County Galway and North West County Clare.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present work has succeeded in bringing together for the first time a *corpus* of Galwegian medieval, late medieval funerary and related monuments and discussing a very wide range of aspects of that *corpus* in considerable detail. Many lost examples have also been identified from published and unpublished sources, some of them very obscure, and an attempt has been made to find illustrations of and other details on as many of them as possible. Some eighty four monuments are catalogued. Another nine dismissed monuments are also briefly described. It is important to note that the title of this work includes the words ‘*and related monuments*’ and in fact, a strong case has been made that some exceptionally high quality monuments which have been assumed by all other writers to have been tomb fragments might not, in fact, be from tombs at all, but may, in reality, have been altars (*C45* I - III) or may have formed backdrops or a reredos to an altar (*C48-C50* and possibly *C51*) as we have seen above. The latter panel also have been part of a wall-set monument. This reassessment of these two important groups of stones has shed new light on the nature of some of Galway’s best known surviving 17th Century sculptures. Other ‘related monuments’ include the *Memento Mori* panel (*C82*) and the Wayside Cross or Church-Yard fragment (*C83*) which were not parts of individual funerary monuments *per se*. In assessing the form and function of each monument and in forming the typology which is represented in the ‘Summary List of Funerary and Related Monuments (By Category)’ the writer has been conscious of the difficulties inherent in categorising many lost carvings like *C38*, *C39* and especially category ‘Miscellaneous Funerary Monuments of Uncertain Type’ (*C75-C81*) which are no longer available to study. Nevertheless it has been the writer’s policy to include all possible examples of funerary monuments of Medieval and Late Medieval date down to the 17th century. The fragmentary nature of some categories of key-blocks (*C68-C69*) and finials (*C56-8*), for instance, has sometimes meant that it is now impossible to be certain whether they came from funerary monuments or from other architectural features.
The text has been illustrated where possible, and a very full set of references of previous work on each monument is included. There is a very comprehensive set of plates, illustrating as many of the monuments as possible and a very wide range of comparable material from elsewhere in Ireland, a very extensive bibliography has been included and the subject matter is put in its national and international context throughout the text.

This thesis has provided an in-depth catalogue and a detailed analysis and discussion of the Medieval and discussion of the medieval and late medieval, funerary and related monuments of Galway City down to the 17th century and has brought together for the first time a descriptive catalogue analysis of and illustration of some eighty four stone carvings in all. This is despite the fact that only one of Galway City’s medieval churches survives intact and is still in use today – St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Most of the other churches are in very ruinous condition or have disappeared completely. One can conclude that were it not for the virtual disappearance of St. James Old Church Rahoon, the Franciscan Dominican Augustinian houses and their churches and were it not for the evolution of later post-medieval cemeteries on the demolished sites of their cemeteries and churches that many more medieval and late medieval funerary monuments would have survived – this is certainly the case with Kilkenny City where substantial portions of the Black Abbey, St. Canice’s, St. Mary’s, St. Patrick’s Cemetery and many other churches and their cemeteries survive more extensively.

In Chapter 3 the writer has focused on previous published work on medieval and late medieval funerary and related monuments. This has been done so in the much wider context of the many less important studies which have been carried out in Britain and Ireland, mainly over the last two centuries. This overview has been necessary in order to give a context to the Irish work and it has also highlighted what relatively little work has been done on the Galwegian funerary monuments until recently. The present work is the first attempt at an in-depth study, catalogue and analysis, and what has been published previously has also been summarised and mentioned in the catalogue entries each of which is
also provided with a list of all earlier mentions of the specific monument of any important. The typological divisions of the monuments which form the basis for the layout of the Discussion chapter (Chapter 12) can be seen in the Summary List of Funerary and Related Monuments by Category.

With regards to the distribution of the extant and lost monuments this pattern of survival is largely what is to be expected. The levelled sites, such as the Augustinian site, and the Dominican Priory, which has been replaced by the modern (19th century) church and Priory have few surviving monuments. This is also true of the ruined churches of St. James at Rahoon Old Cemetery, and St. James Church at Ballybane where modern burials and the removal of much of the fabric of the churches have left only late, post-medieval monument and fragmentary structural remains. Outside the Medieval town at Roscam no modern urban settlement spread occurred until the 1970s and 1980s. The cemetery remained undisturbed and a group of monuments survived at the site and nearby (C31-C35).

The only extant medieval church, within the town walls St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, contains most monuments. The Franciscan foundation has been destroyed, nevertheless part of the site of its cemetery continued to be a place of burial of many of the Tribes who had remained Catholic after the Reformation and down until the 18th and 19th centuries.

Chapter 1 has introduced the subject and provided the general framework for this thesis. The methodology of the recording of the monuments has been comprehensively dealt with in Chapter 1 and the same chapter has outlined the scope and chronological range of the monument type under discussion in a succinct manner.

The writer has succeeded in recording a total of 84 monuments of various types most but not all of a funerary nature. Also included are a Memento Mori (C82) and a fragment of a Wayside or Church-Yard Cross (C83) for example and these are among what are classed as Related Monuments.

The methodology used has included extensive field work as well as and extensive library and archival research. All graveyards and building and walls
built on the sites of all known but built-over cemeteries have been searched for monuments and fragments. A list of these sites is provided on pages 12-13.

Chapter 2 dealt with the history of Galway in so far as it is necessary to give a general background and context for the monuments. It also includes a summary of the historiography of the town. Some emphasis is given in this chapter to the ‘Tribes of Galway’ the fourteen families who monopolised economic and political power in the city. Among the Tribes the Lynch family especially was responsible for many of the finer monuments that survive.

Emphasis has also been given to the mid-17th century Pictorial Map both as a cartographic source which shows the sites of many of the medieval church and cemetery sites which feature in the text and also because the map provided a large series of representations of the heraldic achievement of arms used by the Tribal families (until the 1660s when the map was produced) and beyond. It is these coats of arms which appear on the more prominent 16th century monuments in particular.

By the late 17th century the power of these families had waned and as a result of the Cromwellian Wars of the 1650s and the Williamite Wars of the 1680s and 1690s. An influx of later settlers had arrived. Generally the fine late Gothic style monuments associated with the Tribes gave way to very simple and new type of monuments most notably the headstone which is associated with people with later English settler names like Eyre, Merrick, Taylor and so on. The plain but lettered wall-mounted plaque also makes its appearance at this time.

There are, between the early monuments of the 13th – 15th centuries and the mainly late Gothic and early Renaissance ones of the 16th and early 17th century remarkably few diagnostic monuments of note.

Chapter 4 has explored, in so far as possible, the archaeological evidence for funerary monuments in Galway. There has been remarkably little archaeological excavation in Galwegian cemeteries. What digging has taken place has been restricted to small scale emergency excavations. The rescue excavation by the writer to record damage done at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in 1998 lead to the discovery of one piece of stone with closely spaced
tooling which seems to be early (possibly 13th – 14th century) and was probably dressed using a stone-cutting adze but this was not part of a funerary monument. Unfortunately the extent of the work allowed only for the recording of the areas damaged by digging of drainage channels and the full extent of the stone could not be revealed (Higgins 1999b, 82).

The potential for archaeological discovery of new monuments is limited at the known sites of medieval cemeteries as these sites have a build up of modern burial. A notable opportunity for archaeological excavation beneath the Court House and Town Hall Theatre was lost in the late 1990s when these sites were redeveloped without archaeological monitoring or investigation, though there have been unsubstantiated reports of the discovery of burials in these developments which occupy parts of the grounds of the Franciscan Friary.

There is no doubt that many of the monuments at the Franciscan Cemetery, such as C21-C27, C52, and C77 to C81, are still at the site but have been covered over and temporarily lost during the drastic re-ordering of the cemetery which took place there in the 1970s, and the same applies to some of the monuments at the Dominican Cemetery (C75-C76) but whether they will ever be recovered by archaeological means remains to be seem.

Archaeological legislation including the National Monuments Acts is important in protecting many funerary monuments in theory but unauthorised unlicensed and illegal work has, as we have seen, led to destruction in many cemeteries right up to the last few years. Within the last few years many of the plain rough grave markers at St. James Cemetery, Rahoon, painstakingly plotted and recorded during the conservation of the site were later taken up (sometime between 1997 and 1999) ‘to make it easier to cut the grass’. It can never be assumed that monuments which now appear safe will not be altered or removed (sometimes with good intentions), in the future.

Chapter 5 explored the stone masons, their working methods and the information that can be gleaned about them from historical sources. In exploring new ground in the discussion of the masons, their work practices and in attempting to identify their workshops, as well as source material on the
individual stone carvers, this study has been highly successful in gathering a considerable body of material on these topics for the first time. The masons and their work is a topic on which nothing has been written hitherto apart from two short articles on the Galwegian masons (Higgins 2008c, 30-37 and Higgins 2010, 3-6). This chapter presents a first attempt at assembling and assessing the source material for future study. The name M TEIGE and dozen or so masons’ marks (most of them do not occur on funerary monuments) have been identified along with several references to masons with the surname Reaney or Rany are part of the evidence which can be cited for individual identifiable masons. Richard and Henry Rany may, as we have seen, be related. In the 1570s Richard who is described on his own work as a Galway man was carving work at Gawsworth Hall in Cheshire in England and on stylistics grounds only we may link his work to some Galwegian fireplace and window fragments. A Henry Rany ‘a mason of Galway’ who was killed in 1620 may be related to the Richard cited above. It is unfortunate that no funerary monument can be identified as the work of either Rany sculptor, though it has been suggested that one of the Galwegian chimney pieces is from the Rany workshop.

Building accounts have been searched for information on payments made to masons but few references can be cited which throw much light on the individual sculptors apart from the Rany sculptors. We have only one actual contract for the building of a tomb at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in 1691. Unfortunately, we have no physical remains and no description of the monument which Thomas Ward was contracted to make for the French family at St. Nicholas’ and no proof that it ever left the sculptor’s workshop.

There is no doubt that sculptors who worked on tombs also worked on windows and doorways, fireplaces, and other less decorative work. Dressing stone and making pacing blocks like those cut for paving of Henry Skerrett’s ‘Soller’ in 1639 or for ‘dressing a key’ in the house of John Blake in 1587 must have been the everyday graft of some masons and sculptors. We can only guess at the quality of the two fireplaces and by which is probably meant hearth stones for which Steven Vines paid four shillings in 1666. It is doubtful if anything
other than dressing stone as distinct from carving of stone was involved. An intriguing inscription on a fireplace of 1619 now in the Market House Heritage Centre at Kildare, Co. Kildare which as we have seen seems to suggest that a chimney piece was made in one day (King 1991, 59-95).

That there was overlap in the work of the sculptors is clear. The mouldings and other details of the tomb of the First Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo, of the 1630s match so closely with those of the Browne Doorway of 1627 at Eyre Square, Galway that they are likely to be the work of the same person, or at least the same school of masons.

Several workshops styles can be identified among the Galwegian funerary monuments and these have been classed into five main groups.

In Group 1, for example, which the writer has dubbed ‘Stones from the M. Teige Workshop’, it is clear that the work of the sculptor or his workshop can be found in chimney-pieces such as that at Jury’s Inn, at Quay Street, Galway dated 1575, doorcases and windows combined (as in the façade of an Athy family house from 1577), along with C4, C5 and C6, which are all probably of late 16th century date.

The second group is classed as ‘Slabs with Foliated, Double-Armed Crosses with Vocational Symbols’. These are all closely similar in date and style but none are signed by any sculptor. They include C10 and C11.

Group 3, ‘Low Relief Effigial Monuments’, are all confined to the Franciscan Cemetery and could easily all be by the same individual but again none of them is signed. These include C14, C15 and C16 and possibly C22 which is now lost.

The fourth group, ‘High Relief Angelic and Human Heads’, C61 to C65 and probably C66 is a collection of stylistically close carvings which occur in the streets around the Franciscan Cemetery and may have been incorporated into no more then two or three monuments, where they adorned the entablatures of several wall-tombs. The stones are probably also the work of the same individual or his workshop. When the tombs from which these stones came were reduced to
fragments the smaller more portable elements were incorporated into walls in Francis Street and Mary Street as ornaments.

Group 5, ‘The Workshop of the St. Nicholas’ Tomb-Niche Master’ is a much less easily definable ‘group’ than Groups 1 to 4. The canopied and traceried tomb (C55) is more a part of a national rather than a regional ‘group’. This classification is more an attempt to place the canopied and traceried Lynch niche tomb, (C55), in its national context. The tomb belongs not strictly to a Galwegian type then, but rather to a national or regional type.

Generally speaking few Early Gothic style monuments occur. The majority of the monuments may be said to typify Late Gothic trends elsewhere in Ireland. Chapter 6 has explored the heraldry of the Galwegian funerary monuments. This exploration of the heraldry has included a scene-setting section on Irish heraldry generally as well as a general introduction to Galwegian heraldry which is a complex subject which has rarely been explored in detail. For this reason heraldic sources are also explored as these shed light on the importance of heraldry as displays of social status. Much of the heraldry depicted on the funerary monuments is also found on other items of sculpture such as chimney-pieces.

It would be difficult to reach any firm conclusions about the geology of the monuments. They are all of limestone. The stone is all likely to have come from close to Galway but since there is now no access to the quarries used throughout medieval times, and they cannot be identified with any later 18th-19th quarries, most of which have back-filled in the last thirty years or so, there is little that can be said with regard to exact sources of the stone. No programme of geological sampling of any Galwegian carving has been undertaken and even if it were it would not necessarily be easy (or indeed possible) to link specific types of limestone to archaeologically identifiable quarry pits or sites of quarries.

Chapter 6 has explored the heraldry of the funerary monuments with interesting results. This chapter has succeeded in bringing some order to a highly technical subject, and one which is generally poorly understood or frequently misinterpreted. The writer has gone back to the original genealogical and
heraldic manuscripts and has made extensive use of these sources. The heraldic usage in Galway is far more complex than some earlier writers like Hardiman (1820) supposed. The study of Galwegian heraldry in this chapter has provided a good basis for a badly needed book on the topic. A large number of coats of arms, some with crests but none with mottoes occur. In general mottoes are rarely shown on Galwegian stone carvings until the 18th century though. Even on the Darcy-Martin doorway of 1624 at the Convent of Mercy where shields of arms with crest and motto scrolls occur, the line from the marriage ceremony is substituted for the motto on the scrolls (Higgins 1989d, cover).

Generally there has been very little in-depth analysis of Galwegian heraldry hitherto and the heraldry chapter of this thesis has explored new ground and has provided a comprehensive armorial of the heraldry on the funerary monuments. In the past there has been too much acceptance of the generic attribution of the most commonly used coat of arms since the 19th and early 20th centuries to a given family whereas, in reality, the Galwegians heraldry is far more complex than has previously been realised. This chapter has included a section on the arms of the guilds of ironworkers and a guild of goldsmiths respectively. There has been much confusion previously about the identification of C9 as a goldsmith’s vocational symbolism, whereas in fact it is based on the arms of an ironworker. Likewise C23 which is a goldsmiths arms as the inscription below it indicated is often referred to as the vocational marks of a goldsmith which is not what it represents. This complexity applies too, to the related topic of merchants marks which as we have seen, are really personal marks of a variety of forms, many of which were used in addition to heraldry by armingers. Several new examples have been identified in this corpus.

The heraldry that is shown on funerary monuments is mainly that associated with the Fourteen Tribes of Galway (See O’Neill 1984 for those families). Arms and crests are usually shown but mottoes are not. Mottoes do not become commonly used in Galwegian sculpture until the 18th and early 19th centuries.
The Catalogue describes each achievement of arms in detail and it is clear from this that there must once have been far more heraldic monuments than survive at present. Heraldry and merchants/personal marks are found on at least fifteen monuments. C3, C7, C9, C12, C13, C18, C23, C27, C44a, C47A, C52, C54, C59, C77 and C81. Of these C27, C47 and C52 are lost, and 77 is reduced to an 18th century panel bearing heraldry of that period. C81 also bears a coat of arms of Browne on a slab which has the date 1596 but was originally a multi-period monument which also had part of a longer 18th century inscription which is now lost. Thus we have genuine pre-18th century heraldry on only 15 monuments or parts of monuments. Merchants’ marks or personal marks occur twice on C3. Merchants’ marks and property heraldry occur on both C47 and C47A. The combination of heraldic and related merchants’ marks on the one monument is common enough in Galway City. For example the Athy Doorway has the date 1577 alone with John Athy’s merchants’ marks on the left spandrel of the door while his arms occurs on the right spandrel of the same doorway. Heraldry became far commoner in the 18th century.

None of the heraldry on the Galwegian funerary monument pre-dates the second half of the 16th century and heraldry almost died out completely in the 1650s to be recorded in styles which are mainly different to earlier Galwegian heraldry in the early 18th century.

Curiously, relatively few Galwegian funerary monuments bear merchants’ marks despite the fact that Galway has over forty merchants’ marks on carved stone, by far the largest collection in Ireland. Such marks are under-represented on the funerary monuments. A simple ‘monogram’ which seems to be simple, personal or merchants mark occurs twice on C3, the monument of John Lynch where both are shown without shields. Much more typical are the merchants’ marks in shields with original bases and multi-pointed chiefs (tops) on C47 and C47A. These occur with true items of heraldry which are found in similar shields. It is notable that where merchants’ marks are found in Galwegian sculpture it is usually on such shields which are derived from jousting shields with notched tops rather on plainer shields that they occur. Usually they are
accompanied by heraldic coats of members of the Tribal families borne on shields of the same sort. This type of shield was most commonly found on Galwegian stone carvings of the 16th and very early 17th centuries. Perhaps ‘merchants’ marks’ were thought to be more personal motifs rather than one like an achievement of arms, which could be used (through the arminger of that family) to represent the family more generally, they were not as commonly found on funerary monuments as they were on the carved windows and doorways which featured on the facades of the houses of their owners.

Chapter 7 has focussed on the vocational symbolism found on the Galwegian monuments. The range of Galwegian monuments bearing such symbolism has been expanded very considerably here. The only significant work on the topic in Galway City and County hitherto has been that by Mulveen (1996 and 1997). There is a surprisingly large number of motifs found on the monuments, which are representative of the trade, vocation or occupation of the main person commemorated including tools, and weapons for example. Some items are more symbolic of the interests and recreations with which the person commemorated was associated however, C8 for instance might commemorate a person who was a wool merchant or a glover. The complexity of the motifs shown in this instance – a hand (or glove) with a dog on a leash, a bird, (possibly a hawk) and a set of shears – suggest numerous interpretations for the trade or interests of the deceased. Worthy of note are a group of mainly 16th century monuments from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in particular which bear vocational symbolism including C8, 10 and 11 and also C6. These monuments are to the emerging middle class skilled workers who often have Irish names and who form an intermediary group between the mainly old settler tribes and the 17th century Cromwellian and Williamite ‘new settlers’. Some of the owners of these slabs, many of which have vocational symbols, originally had, in some instances, Irish names. They also chose to have Gaelic Renaissance ornament notably interlace on their monuments and the surnames – O’Tiernagh or Tierney on C6, Laghlinge or modern O’Loughlin on C4 are of interest as they are the tombs of those who were tolerated or accepted into Galwegian society despite
their Irishness. Perhaps because they were skilled they were accepted. Perhaps, because they were not considered to display coats of arms under the rules of British (and colonial) heraldry these Irish skilled artisans used their vocational symbols instead of heraldry to represent their status. Others with clearly Irish names became members of the Goldsmiths Guild (C32).

The interesting use of Gaelic Revival ornament sometimes combined with Renaissance style ornament, such as occurs in C6, shows confidence and an up to date knowledge of contemporary imported as well as Gaelic styles.

Many of these slabs date to the 1570s and 1580s but their ornament can be paralleled widely on funerary monuments at Athenry Dominican Priory, Co. Galway for instance.

Chapter 8 has explored palaeography of the inscriptions which occur on the carvings and an extensive discussion of the parallels for the letter forms found on the monuments has resulted. This is the first comprehensive exploration of the topic for Galway and the only other significant such work on the topic for Ireland (and elsewhere) has been Thomson (2009). Though Roman capitals are by far the commonest form to occur, the complete absence of funerary Black Letter or Gothic scripts is an unusual feature of the Galwegian monuments.

Some unusual rarities (at least from the west of Ireland) also occur most notably the Norman French inscription on C1. Such inscriptions are rare outside the east and south east of the country. The occasional use of Gaelic font, (even if only the use of a few letters) occurs on one monument which also has Gaelic Revival or Gaelic Renaissance interlace of the 1580s (C6). Both Black Letter and Gaelic fonts are generally rare in Galwegian sculpture, the surviving Black Letter script occurs on three panels on Lynch’s Castle and the use of a small number of Gaelic Letter forms occur on an inscription dated 1595 which is on a panel (probably from one of the town fortifications) in Abbeygate Street Upper and on an inscribed plaque with the arms of Lynch and Martin dated 1562 in Mainguard Street.
The other fonts which occur are essentially variants on uppercase and lower case Roman letter forms. An elaboration on the Roman Capital font with decorative bosses and indentations (C3) or ‘Verlesque’ ornament have been referred to by earlier writers as being ‘Elizabethan’ in style (Day 1910, 21-49). This is an unwieldy term and a chronologically inexact one and their letter forms are essentially ornamented variations on a Roman Capital font.

It is clear that the use of Gaelic lettering is very rare, mixed upper and lower case capitals, common case scripts and italic scripts do not commonly occur until the 18th century.

Galway funerary monuments (and other carvings) then, bear a surprisingly wide range of scripts and letter forms. Eight types have been identified: (a) Lombardic, (b) Black letter (Gothic), (c) Roman Block Capitals, (d) Mixed Roman Upper and Lower case, (e) ‘Elizabeth’ or ‘Renaissance’, (f) Italic script, (g) common case, and (h) Gaelic scripts. In addition to this C has a mix of Roman capitals carved in false relief among which some Irish (Gaelic) letter-forms occur. Only one Lombardic inscription occurs (C1) and the vast majority of inscriptions are in Roman Capitals. The most surprising feature of the Galwegian palaeography is the paucity of inscription in Black Letter or Gothic lettering. There is no definite example of this type of lettering extant. In many of his engravings of funerary monuments Hardiman depicts Gothic lettering whereas the actual stone has Roman Script. Some of the lost stone (like C23) show Gothic script but until this stone is re-discovered one can not say for certain whether any of it was actually in Gothic script. Several carvings on Lynch’s Castle bear the only extant examples of such script in Galway.

Chapter 9 has provided an exhaustive analysis of the iconography and symbolism found on the monuments; with the exception of Hunt’s List of Iconographical and Hagiographical Subjects with Details of Attributes (Hunt 1974, 245-260) few works have been done on such a wide range of iconography. No other published corpora of Irish medieval late medieval monuments has been analysed in as detailed a manner as the Galwegian monuments described herein.
Summary and Conclusions

Chapter 9 on ‘Iconography and Symbolism’ is a large chapter and the topic of symbolism and iconography of medieval art has come a long way since 1966 when Helen Roe felt it necessary to make an appeal for the study of Irish medieval art and its symbolism. The Galwegian material is rich in symbol and meaning and the city contains some highly important pieces of iconography and religious symbolism both in terms of its funerary and domestic sculpture that have not hitherto been explored and this work offers a very comprehensive regional study of this topic.

These funerary monuments bear some themes which are extremely rare elsewhere including Christ Crucified shown Blessing, the Dominicae and St. Clare holding a monstrance. The Annunciation is also rare in Ireland.

Several themes are variations on what is found elsewhere in Ireland and generally speaking it has been found possible to place most of the depictions found in Galway in an Irish and European context without much difficulty.

Chapter 10 has explored the social status and culture represented by the funerary monuments and has examined how status is reflected not only in the forms, shapes and sizes of the monuments but also in their symbolism and iconography, the context of their inscriptions and other status indicators, such as labels indicating ranks and social standing, heraldic use of guilds, heraldry and vocational symbolism. The emergence of plainer headstones may, for example, have represented a socio-political statement of rejection of certain structural symbolic and religious forms for political, social and religious reasons, but this trend was short lived in Galway. While relatively few status labels are mentioned in the inscriptions the display of heraldry was often a status indicator in Galway. This sort of approach to the study of funerary monuments has hitherto been rarely used in Irish studies of funerary sculpture.

In Chapter 11 the destruction of the monuments is discussed in some detail. The evidence for destruction as a result of wear and tear and the evidence which can be adduced for iconoclasm are both assessed. That the Galwegian monuments did suffer as a result of iconoclasm is clear, and the present work is
the first where an attempt is made to identify the nature and extent of the physical destruction.

In the 18th and 19th centuries (partly as a result of the relaxation of the Penal Laws and the lessening of the political strife which marked much of the 16th and 17th centuries) the reclamation of Galway cemeteries began. From the 1780s onwards cemeteries like the Dominican one were being enclosed or re-enclosed by walls and impetus was no doubt given to this process by the 1805 British Act of Parliament for the Enclosure of Cemeteries. Some cemeteries shrunk in size as a result of this process or at least that of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway seems to have done so. Forthill cemetery was walled in the 19th century also. It is from then on that funerary monuments became items of antiquarian interest and significance. It is not until the 1970s onward that their symbolism, evocational motifs and iconography began to be studied seriously.

The destruction of the various City churches and cemeteries as a result of war, political turmoil and its resultant impact on the condition, size, and status of the cemeteries, as well as of the monuments, is discussed in relation to the historical sources. What local written evidence occurs for the destruction of particular monuments has been reviewed.

Apart from the general destruction of buildings and their rebuilding there is a certain amount of historical and physical evidence present. What is still unclear is how many monuments were badly damaged and subsequently removed or buried. We can conclude however that on a number of monuments the faces of Christ, and in some cases saints were deliberately broken, while on others the faces and upper limbs were deliberately battered. In the surviving instances no attempt was made to totally destroy the monument, but whether the surviving monuments with selective destruction were simply the least damaged of a number which were damaged beyond use or not is now impossible to say. Some very selective and symbolic damage, targeting (unusually) the face of Christ, and less commonly saints and angels, is the commonest form of iconoclasm in evidence on the surviving monuments but many other lost
monuments may have been more comprehensively pulverised and destroyed beyond repair or use as well. None have come to light through excavation or accidental discovery however. What is unusual is the fact that some tokenism seems to have been involved in at least some of the iconoclastic defacements which occurred. Similar studies are needed from elsewhere in Ireland to build up a picture of how extensive iconoclasm has been.

Chapter 12 has discussed the Galwegian monuments and their typology in their local national and in some cases international contexts. The various types of funerary and related monuments which are identified and categorised in the corpus are discussed in detail and while the range of types does not differ generally from other Irish corpora there are some unusual monument forms represented however including the unusual demi-effigy (C53). The early Galwegian headstones (C71 to C73) are amongst the earliest group in Ireland, for instance thirty-five recumbent slabs (Type A) (C1-C35) occur. But other possible examples are also noted (C36-C40).

Galway does not have any intact or nearly intact free-standing box-tombs and some of the monuments Type B(i) are difficult to classify. While free-standing box-tombs of the late 15th to early 17th centuries are common in parts of Ireland especially in the east, south-east, and in southern Munster, they are not found generally in the west of Ireland or in most of Ulster. In some instance it has been very difficult to decide what category or type of monument is represented, even by substantial fragments of monuments. Type B has therefore been divided to include Types B(i), B(ii), B (iii), B(iv), and B(v). In some cases it is now impossible to know whether the table-like or altar-like tomb from which a panel must have come was free-standing of whether one of its long sides was set against a wall. It may have been possible that a similar fragment might have been incorporated partly into a niche of a wall-monument. In the case of B(i) the tomb of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary (or Maria) Browne, (C44a and C44b) the writer has divorced the two panels from C45 I-III, another monument with which they were often mistakenly confused and wrongly associated. The published literature has invariably included the two monuments
together and has mixed various elements of each of the two monuments and lumped them together as Sir Peter French’s tomb or in some cases ‘De Burgo tomb’. It is clear to the present writer that the tomb of Sir Peter French consists only of **C44a** and **C44b**, which are both in the same folk art style of the early 17th century with every similar treatment of the figures showing in both panels.

The writer has also renamed the elements which from **C45 I-III** and has dubbed them ‘The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels’ and has used Roman rather than Arabic numerals to further distinguish the individual elements of this monument from the Sir Peter French monument. While the Sir Peter French monument may be part of a free-standing or partly free-standing tomb there is, one feels, enough doubt to question whether the Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels came from a free-standing box or wall-tomb, or whether in fact it formed a back drop to an altar or alternatively, from an actual altar frontal. The monument, as the writer has argued, has no (surviving) funerary epitaph and depicts the Saints of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders along with the Apostles and the Crucifixion in a manner which would seem to suggest that it was made for a religious foundation rather than an individual.

Type B(ii) (**C46A-K**) are elements of a box-tomb but it is difficult to tell from the fragments whether they formed parts of a totally free-standing or partly free-standing monument. Certainly it would seem to have been one of four Lynch tombs from the South Transept of St. Nicholas’, and the writer has the evidence of several of the Church congregation and people who worked on the 1958-62 restoration to indicate that it lay on the floor of the South Transept before being cut up into panels 46A to 46K, during that restoration. Pictorial evidence indicates that some of the panels were not in the ‘Leper’s Gallery’ prior to the 1960s. The writer has been able to suggest that **C46A-K** was one of the Lynch tombs, one of four such Lynch tombs in what antiquarian writers sometimes referred to as Lynch’s Aisle, that is the South Transept. The other three Lynch tombs are **C47** and **C47A**, **C54** and **C55**.

It has also been possible to make the case for identifying **C47** and **C47A** with James Lynch Fitz Stephen on the basis of the merchants’ marks found on
the tomb and on the various Lynch tokens. C55, which has frequently been mis-titled a ‘Joyce tomb’, and C54, which actually bears the arms of Lynch, together with C46, C47 and C47A then formed the monument to the various branches of the Galwegian Lynch families buried at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.

Category B(v) includes a series of four slab-like panels with figure sculpture (C48 to C51). These panels have several features which inclines one to believe that they could equally well be from a reredos as from the end-panels of free-standing box or altar-tombs. The case is made here for the first time (on the basis of their height and subject matter) that they might not necessarily have come from funerary monuments. The arrangement of C48, C49 and C50 must be seen as having formed a spread-out composition showing the Coronation of the Virgin by the Persons of the Holy Trinity. This re-interpretation made for the first time here would suggest that they were originally displayed in a similar manner to the way in which they are now incorporated in the wall above the side altar of Galway Cathedral. The panels should not be viewed merely as a Crowned Virgin along with separate elements of a divided-up Trinity Scene but rather jointly as God the Father, Son, and originally the Holy Spirit (in the form of a now missing Dove) officiating at the coronation of the Virgin on an altar reredos or back-drop.

The Crucifixion panel at the Dominican Church, Claddagh (C51) which is also included in this category, B(v), can be seen either as a end-panel of a tomb or, given its relative height, a portion of a reredos. It might have come from a wall-monument similar to examples from Ardcarne and Cloonashanville, Co. Roscommon, however.

The only complete mensa or top panels of a free-standing box or altar tomb categorising B(vi), C52, is now unfortunately lost, but was recorded by various writers in the 19th century and a photograph of it showing its elaborate heraldry has now been traced in a private collection.

Category C consists of just one (C53) highly unusual monument of a type difficult to parallel in 17th century Ireland and may have been part of a
more complex monument. Categories D and E, (C54 and C55 respectively), can be seen on close analysis to be related indirectly, in that C54 is a crude reworking of an early (possibly 14th century) window space which has been relined in its soffits in the 16th century, and had a multi-period box or altar added later at its base, and a 17th century inscription added. It seems to have been altered so as to correspond in a general manner to a traceried and canopied wall-tomb of a type common in the west and other parts of Ireland of which C55 (Category E) is one of the finest examples to survive.

The term ‘Western Style’ wall or niche tomb does not fully encapsulate all this group of tombs and the writer has coined the phrase ‘Traceried and Canopied Wall-Tomb’ to describe this type of monument. It has been argued in fact, that the type is not confined to the western counties, is more numerous than previously suspected and has antecedents from the 14th century onwards. It is commonest in the western counties of Galway and Mayo in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Galway City example, which survives, may be seen as being related through its figural sculpture to an example at Strade, Co. Mayo but the tracery found in many of these tombs is often very individual as that of C55 – a Lynch tomb is. It is argued here that such tombs were represented in the following places: Tipperary (Lorrha), Co. Clare (Ennis), Co. Galway (Kilconnell, Athenry, Claregalway and possibly Clontuskert Priory, as well as St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway City (C55), Co. Sligo (Sligo Abbey) and Limerick (possibly at Kilmallock), Co. Down (Dungiven Priory), and (Newtownards) and there are possibly other examples yet to be discovered. It is argued here that this type of tomb is largely an Irish Late Gothic application of feature of doorway and window tracery to the basic idea of a canopied tomb.

Some of the Traceried and Canopied tombs, such as C55, were often crowned and/or flanked by crocketed finials and this has been the main reason for the inclusion in this corpus of the crocketed finials of Category F (C56-C58). Unfortunately, one can only speculate as to whether finials of this form were originally from tombs, windows or doorways. Panels such as these represented by categories G(i), and G(ii) are of a type that is widespread in late medieval
Ireland. Categories H and I (C61-C66), consist of a group of blocks with human heads and angels which undoubtedly came from a group of wall-tombs of 17th century type at the Franciscan Cemetery. The type of tomb from which they came is best exemplified in the wall-tomb of the First Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo. C54 may also belong to this group. The free-standing solid-ringed cross of Category J (C55) is one of a kind from the City. The various key-blocks (C68 and C69) which constitute category K, may have come from either tombs or doorways but similar examples also it is argued, occur on the mantles of chimney-pieces. However, some case can be made for them having belonged to wall-tombs of a similar type to the blocks which constitute Categories H and I. Singular items such as the crenellated block (C70) Category L, can be judged from parallels in England to have probably come from a tomb.

By the 17th century headstones were beginning to make an appearance in Galway and it is argued convincingly here that early headstones of the 1660s to 1690s were deliberately plain and simple, a type of Puritanical monument associated with Cromwellian settlers such as the Merricks, Jenkens and Nordins (C70-C73 respectively) in contrast with those of the (mainly) Catholic Tribes of Galway who the Parliamentarians temporarily ousted from power in Galway. The remaining categories (N to Q) consist mainly of miscellaneous items. The demi-figure, Category N (C74), may have been a weeper of some sort but how it was attached to a tomb - it seems to have been inset in a mortice – is difficult to know. Category O (C75-C81) are monuments of uncertain type, known mainly from descriptions only. Category P – the *Memento Mori* (C82) - is a ‘Related Monument’ in that it was a reminder of death but is likely to have been set at the entrance to a cemetery rather than having formed part of an individual monument as we have seen. Examples of this type of panel often mitered at the top but sometimes rectangular were in use in entrances to cemeteries from at least the 17th down to the 19th centuries as has been shown. Finally, the Wayside Cross fragment from St. James Church, (Category Q (C83)), could have been generally commemorative of an individual rather than being a funerary monument *per se.*
The collection of funerary and related monuments surviving in the city is then, relatively small but there are, nevertheless, some exceptionally important monuments to be found among the surviving samples. The unusually high destruction rate among Galway’s medieval ecclesiastical sites is noteworthy and it is impossible to know how representative sites like St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (the only surviving and still functioning medieval church) or its sculpture were.

Among Type A – the recumbent slabs – there are some exceptional examples though few of these apart from C1 is early in date. C1 probably dates to the late 13th or early 14th century. The only stone with a Norman-French inscription and Lombardic script in Galway, this monument is also unusual on a national level for its level of completeness and for the intactness and length of its inscription. It is also well outside the main distribution centres for stones with Norman-French inscriptions which are mainly in the East and South East of the country.

Among the remaining Type A monuments two other groups of monuments stand out. The first is a series of late 17th century effigial slabs which in their style are unique to Galway. All show the figure of the deceased in side-view and the effigies generally are carved in low false relief and have marginal inscriptions in Roman Capitals. These include C14, C15, C16, along with C22 which is now lost. All of these are at the Franciscan Cemetery and many if not all are probably by the same sculptor.

A second group of late recumbent slabs, again of the 17th century, are also significant in their cross forms, style and content. Again they are unique to St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. These include C8, C9, C10 and C11. Of these C8, C10 and C11 are possibly by one hand. All have or had vocational symbols and long Latin crosses with stepped bases and fleur-de-lis terminals. While this style of monument occurs only at St. Nicholas’ and is difficult to parallel elsewhere somewhat similar examples occur at Athenry Dominican Priory, Co. Galway.
A small group of typical ‘early’ medieval incised and low false relief medieval recumbent slabs feature at Roscam (C31-C35). These are cross-decorated slabs of the 13th to 14th centuries and are typical of the types found all over the east and south east and to a lesser extent in the Irish midlands (Higgins 2007a, 453-467, Bradley 1980, 5-21 and Bradley 1985, 54-103). The group is significant in that no other such cluster of early and typical recumbent slabs like this survives in the Galwegian inner city. This is probably the result of accidental survival.

Most of the remaining recumbent slabs conform to the types which are common throughout the west of Ireland and throughout Ireland generally. Of the Box Tombs of type B(ii) CI-III is highly significant on a number of fronts. It has often, in popular literature guides and other literature been compounded with C44 (a-b); the Tomb of Sir Peter French. The monument has figure sculpture in the Late Gothic tradition but has ornamental features in the Renaissance tradition. For a Renaissance funerary monument it would, if complete, have had one of the largest number of depictions of Apostles and other saints in the country.

It is the writer’s thesis that this monument was designed specifically with the Franciscan Order in mind. Mendicant saints Francis, Clare and Dominic feature prominently. It is most likely to have been made for the Franciscan Church. It was probably made as a tomb for a benefactor of the Franciscan Abbey at Galway but one could also suggest that it may have formed part of an altar or even a reredos instead of a tomb. A similar reinterpretation of C48, C49 and C50 is suggested. While the saints are all identified by name no funerary inscription survives on the fragments which have come down to us. The large spiral ornaments, the unusual, wide arched heads to the arcades and other such details are typically Renaissance features. At a time when, because of the Reformation and its attendant religious wars, sectarian conflict and legislation, there was a reluctance elsewhere in Ireland to display Catholic saints on a prominent monument, the monument is unusual. In Galway however Protestant strictures against specific displays of Catholic iconography and symbolism must
never have been strong enough to banish such displays on 16th and 17th century monuments.

Among the import and significant box-tombs are the two fragments which survive from what once was a very elaborate tomb to Sir Peter French C44(a-b). The monument, though reduced to just two fragments is still impressive. We are fortunate in having descriptions of the destruction of this tomb by the Cromwellians under Colonel Peter Stubbers, Governor of Galway who sold the remainder of the monument in England as ornaments.

The two surviving panels, a Trinity Scene and an armorial panel flanked by St. Patrick and St. Nicholas, patron saints of Ireland and Galway respectively are all that survive of this once impressive monument (C44a). Its importance cannot be underestimated. The heraldic panel is one of the finest heraldic displays for its period in Ireland. The scale of the panel is similar to the nearly contemporary large heraldic panel to the Brownes on their door-case which is now at Eyre Square.

The monument is also a superb piece of religious-cum-political defiance. The owner of the tomb, Sir Peter French, was jailed and fined for his refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to the monarchy and his tomb used the figures of St. Patrick and St. Nicholas as supporters in the political and heraldic senses of the word.

An unusual monument C53 with two saints flanking an effigy of unknown cleric has, in a way, a similar approach to decoration as is demonstrated on the heraldic panel of the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44) in that the cleric is flanked by a pair of saintly ‘supporters’. What is typical of the supporters is however a feature of most of Galwegian late Gothic art – an art which lasts well into the early 17th century – and it is that which the heraldry and other art is highly accomplished, that the figure sculpture while not completely folk art, is far less accomplished by comparison. The same point has already been made about the flamboyantly traceried wall tomb (C55) in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Here the figure sculpture is crude by comparison to
the tracery, crocked ornament and even the arcaded panels in which the figure is
carved.

Even when Galwegian figure sculpture occurs on monuments which
show features of Renaissance ornamental influences such as on (C45I –  III) the
Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels the figure sculpture is never of the
highest order and this in general is a problem with much of the Galwegian
funerary sculpture throughout.

The only monument of Type E is the elaborate high quality canopied
and tracery tomb at St. Nicholas’ C55. The quality of the fine closely spaced
flamboyant tracery on this tomb is exceptional yet, by contrast to the excellent
realism of the Strade, Co. Mayo depiction of the figure of Christ Showing His
Five Wounds, the same scene on C55 is in a folk-art category by comparison.
This has always been the weakness of the Galway City schools of stone carving
in the 16th and 17th centuries though the conception and layout is good few of
the figure sculptures is exceptional in quality. An exception to this general trend
is the figure sculpture on C48, C49 and C50.

These three panels are of high quality yet the treatment of their hair is
identical to other pieces of Galwegian sculpture most especially the hair of the
portrait heads from wall tombs at the Franciscan Cemetery and the streets around
its site (See Type H monuments especially C61, C62, C63 and C64).

What is unusual about the three panels C48, C49 and C50, which are
originally from St. Nicholas’ but are now at Galway Cathedral, is that they have
not previously been reinterpreted sufficiently except by Roe (1979, 101-50) and
in the present work. It is clear that the three panels were originally arranged in
the same manner as various medieval to post-medieval depictions in painting and
altar pieces.

By contrast to the Late Gothic style tombs of the west of Ireland most of
the Galway tombs with arcaded bases rarely contain figure sculpture. The
Galwegian tombs with arcading C55, C46, C47 do not have figure sculpture.
While C55 has figure sculpture in ogee headed recessed panels in its ingoing
none occurs on the large high arched panels on the tomb base where there is plenty of room for them.

The lack of figure sculpture on tombs with arched panels is a feature of some west of Ireland tombs. Late Gothic groups of figures of saints so common elsewhere in Ireland (except in Ulster) are surprisingly absent in Galway. Large elaborate tombs at Clare Island and at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo, are devoid of ornament though there was plenty of room for it.

By contrast with this situation there are also a few west of Ireland exceptions. At a time when tombs with Renaissance features were being decorated with images of the deceased and his or her family elsewhere in Ireland, some west of Ireland artists still used Late Gothic arcing and groups of saints on tombs which otherwise had Renaissance forms and ornament. This is true both of the group of Apostles along with a donor or patron on the tomb of Tibbot na Long at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo which dates to the 1630s and on the monument C45I – III at the Franciscan Cemetery Galway bearing depictions of the Apostles, other Saints and the Crucifixion. In both instances the late use of such a large number of depictions of saints set in round topped arcades and Renaissance features occur on both tombs. This was at a time when the Protestant dominated areas of the Dublin and Midland Pales had a marked reduction in the number of elaborate monuments with such typically Catholic iconography. Galway, despite periodic destruction by Cromwellian Puritans in the in the early 1650s, does not seem to have stopped production of typically Roman Catholic and Counter Reformation iconography until well into the second half of the 17th century.

Large numbers of the Galwegian monuments continue to suffer the effects of weathering, damp walls, and leaking of water and lime though walls as well as general wear and tear through being walked upon. Many monuments will in the future have to be conserved, will have to be brought indoors or be protected in other ways. Undoubtedly more discoveries may still be made but with the majority of the medieval and late medieval cemeteries now closed to new burial it is unlikely that large numbers of monuments – even previously
recorded ones which are now lost at the Franciscan Cemetery for example – will ever be recovered.

It is hoped that this work will help to promote interest in their conservation and preservation and will inspire further research on such monuments in Galway and elsewhere.
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THE MEDIEVAL AND LATE MEDIEVAL FUNERARY
SCULPTURE OF GALWAY CITY, 12th – 17th CENTURIES

Volume 2

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF MONUMENTS AND PLATES

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology to the National University of Ireland, Galway, 2011.
The Medieval and Late Medieval Funerary Sculpture of Galway City, 12th – 17th centuries

Volume 2

Descriptive Catalogue of Monuments and Plates
# Volume 2

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Plate 102 Memento Mori (A), (B) C82 Lynch Memorial Window and (C) Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare. (After Hardiman 1814).

**ILLUSTRATION CREDITS**

Photographic Section, Office of Public Works, St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin: Plates 60C, 61B, 64B, 65A-C, 66B, 70A-C, 73A-B, 76C and 77A-B.

Archives Section, Galway County Library, Island House, Galway 102A and Catalogue Figure 19.

The late Professor M.V. Duignan: Plates 21A-E, Plate 33B and Plate 97.

The remaining plates are by the writer.

The sources of individual Text Figures and Catalogue Figures are acknowledged in captions to those illustrations as are the Text Figures in Volume 1.
(Type A) Recumbent Slabs

The term Recumbent Slab is applied to monuments that are (or originally were) laid flat on the ground, usually above a grave. No stone ‘coffin-lids’ (for sarcophagi) are recorded from Galway City and no example of a stone coffin or sarcophagus which was equipped with such a lid has been found in Galway City either. In 1997 the first medieval head-slab to be found in County Galway was discovered by the writer at the Church of Ireland, Loughrea, Co. Galway. The underside of this slab (which bears a single, apparently male, head) is also hollowed suggesting that it may have been the lid of a sarcophagus of late 13th to early 14th century date, which would make it an unusual survival. An effigial slab was recently noted at the Dominican Priory at Athenry, Co. Galway.

Included here are recumbent slabs (C1-C35) and other possible medieval recumbent slabs (C36-C40). In addition there are three other stones (C41-C43) in St. Nicholas Collegiate Church which were originally recumbent slabs but are now set like panels in the wall of the church.

All the Galwegian recumbent slabs seem originally to have been laid above a grave or set in a floor above a grave. Many of them however have been re-sited. Those now set in the modern floor of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church may originally have been positioned in the old floor of the church. None of the stones show any evidence of having remained in situ however and nearly all, like the Franciscan Graveyard examples, seem to have been moved more than once. Though some of the St. Nicholas’ examples from the interior of the church may be close to their original locations all have been raised and reset when the new floor of Malby flagstones was placed in position during the 1958-1962 restoration. Some (like C2, C8, C9, etc.) were cut down and trimmed at that period also. Some of the stones set in the walls were probably positioned there at an earlier period but precisely when is unknown. Both of the (now) undecorated probable medieval recumbent slabs in the graveyard at St. Nicholas’ (C36-C37, Plates 2(A) and 2(C)) have been moved as have all of the early (decorated) monuments at the Franciscan and Dominican graveyards (C14-C18, C44A and C44B and C52, C62-C65, C70 and C74, and Nos. 51, 75 and 76 respectively). The Franciscan Cemetery Monuments include some which are now located in the adjoining grounds of the Convent of Mercy.

None of the other recumbent slabs recorded here are in situ apart from C28 and C29 which are in their original positions in the grounds of Merlin Park Hospital, in an area where no known church or cemetery occur (Plate 90).
**C1, Plates 1C, 1B and 2B**

**Fig. 1**

**Location:** St. Nicholas' Church, set in the floor of the Chapel of Christ but not *in situ.*

**Description:** This stone has traditionally been known as ‘The Crusader's Tomb’ and has frequently been described as such in published guides and books. It is now set into the floor of the present Chapel of Christ at the church. The foliated cross which occupies much of its upper surface has often, also, been interpreted incorrectly as a ‘Crusader's Sword’.

Hardiman (1820) makes no reference to the stone. The Crusader ‘tradition’ is apparently a recent one and can probably be ascribed to Fleetwood Berry (1912). The monument is a long, tapering, coffin-shaped, limestone slab with chamfered sides which narrow inwards towards the bottom giving the lower end of the stone a triangular shape. A long, but in places, indistinct inscription is incised on the chamfered edge in Norman-French using a Lombardic font. Most of the words seem to have been divided from each other by a punctuation mark consisting of three small, punched dots. The inscription reads as follows:

```
+ ADAM : BV[RE]/
MERCI II/
+QVI/
POR SA ALME : PRIERA VING : GORS DE PARDVN AVERA
```

That is:

ADAM BV[RE] -- LIES HERE] GOD HAVE MERCY ON HIS SOUL. WHOEVER PRAYS FOR HIS SOUL SHALL RECEIVE 20 DAYS (GORS) PARDON.

The top of the slab bears a long, floriated cross, carved in false relief. The upper end of the cross, which is a three-line one with an incised medial groove, has trefoil-shaped terminals. A circular boss occurs at the junction of the arms and shaft. A further boss occurs below this on the top of the lower cross-shaft which also has trefoil-shaped ends. Cutting across this lower cross shaft is a curved, u-shaped feature which also bears fleur-de-lis terminals. The decoration is cut in false relief and is now smoothed and worn. A narrow edge has been left free-standing around the edge of the slab. Unusually, Hardiman *ibid*, does not refer to this carving at all. Fleetwood-Berry (1912, 61), however, ascribes it to its present location. It is one of the few funerary monuments in the church that is said not to have been moved during the 1958-1962 restoration (Mr. W. Keane and Mr. E. Carpenter, *pers. comm.*, 1993), though the present paving was placed around it at that stage, and it must have been levelled-up then.

**Dimensions:** L: 184, W (at top): 56, W (at bottom): 19 cms.

**Date:** Late 13th century or Early 14th century.

**References:**
Bradley, forthcoming.
Cooke 1895, 294 (*passim*).
FitzGerald 1895-7, 466.
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 61, *illus*. opposite 60.
Higgins 2006, Cat No. 29
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 204 (No. 375) and *illus. op cit.*
O’Dowd 1985, 85, (*passim*).
Rae (ed. Cosgrove) 1987, pl. 9(b) and 795 (*passim*).
Fig. 1, C1. (A) The tomb of Adam Bure, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Outline drawing. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992). (B) Drawing after Higgins 2006.
C2, (Type A), Plate 3C  

**Location:** St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, in the floor of the North Aisle.

**Description:** A fragment of a graveslab that is not now *in situ*. It is now very worn however, and obviously came from a much larger slab. The only decoration on it is a small pair of rosettes that occur between a set of initials and a date. Its extremely worn condition suggests that it was part of a recumbent slab.

Only a small part of the slab, then, survives. It was cut up for paving and trimmed to a rectangular shape, probably during the 19th century. It has also been cut secondarily with a mechanical stone-saw at its edges in modern times, probably during the 1958 to 1962 restoration of the church. Only the letters H.G.F. (or possibly G.E.), and the date 1555 along with two small rosettes between them occur, one before the initials and one before the date. On balance, however, the second letter seems most likely to be an F. These are all very worn and the first rosette is very faint. A pair of incised lines occurs both above and below the inscriptions and form borders to it.

An oval hole which seems to have once housed a metal bar, loop or some such fastening, occurs near the centre of the stone. A further hole, now blocked with cement, occurs near the left edge of the stone. None of the historical sources searched have been able to shed light on the identity of the person whose initials occur. Fleetwood Berry, in his unpublished *Manuscript Diary* (1912), 11, gives what appears to be a version of this inscription as follows:-

‘H - C.F. 1555’

There is no trace of the letter H on the stone now however.
The inscription is likely to read **G.F. 1555**

**Dimensions:**  L: 47.5, W: 73cms.

**Dated:**  1555

**References:**
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 158, No. 304.
C3, (Type A), Plates 3A and 3B

**Location:** St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, set in the floor between the piers dividing the South Transept from the South Aisle. It is not known if it is near its original position or not. It has certainly been raised to the present floor level and is not therefore *in situ*.

**Description:** Traditionally the stone used to be pointed out as that of a Galwegian who sailed with Christopher Columbus on his voyage of discovery to the New World. No such link is possible however. This large recumbent slab is complete, but is now very worn. A small metal plug is set in lead on the right side of the slab. This helped to retain an iron bar which once formed a barrier around the stone. A long inscription that runs around the edges of the stone reads as follows:

```
HIER:LEITH:THE/
BODI (or BODY?) OF:IH-ON (or IHC) :I:ROT[?ROBT]:FIZTHEIG:Z:ELYN:/
LINCHE:His WIFE ?E/D
:1566 -- N-U?C...
```

There seems to be a small B in the centre of the "O" of "ROT".

The inscription is carved in low false relief in capitals with expanded serifs and some Elizabethan or Renaissance-type letterforms. A pair of large lozenge-shaped stops occur between the words. The Z has a cross-bar that is shown as if cut into, or interlaced through, the central stroke of the letter. The N of the name LINCHE is shown backwards.

On the middle of the stone are carved three encircled Maltese-type crosses and an anchor. The crosses are out in very low false relief and the central example has a pair of small hearts positioned between its lower arms. The circles enclosing the crosses and the crosses themselves are incised. The background to these has been cut away to leave them in low false relief. The anchor and the roundels containing the crosses are all incised. The crosses might suggest a link between the deceased and the Knights of Malta, though this link remains unproven.

Fleetwood Berry (1912, 65), gives the inscription as follows:- ‘Here lieth the body of Ihon Rot Fiz Theig and Elyn Linch, his wife ... 1566 ...’, and describes it as ‘... lying on the floor of the south aisle’. Fleetwood Berry (ibid. 1912) also states that ‘In the centre of the O is the letter R and the name is evidently ‘Rort’ (perhaps an abbreviation for Robert)’. In Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins 1989, 69), the spelling of the second surname has been corrected to LINCHE. As has been noted in the same work, the interpretation of some of the inscription, especially the first personal names, is difficult because of the very worn condition of the stone.

After the date there is a hole, now filled with cement, and part of a metal rail. The slab was railed off with metal bars and a chain prior to the restoration of 1958-1962. Just after the date, in a rectangular recess of its own are two characters which seem to have been initials or a monogram. The configuration consists of an initial P with a cross-bar on its shaft and arranged in the manner of a merchant’s mark. They are now damaged and worn. It may, like the letters described below, be part of a merchant’s, guildsman’s or mason’s mark. The mark is, in fact, most likely to be a Merchants’ Mark or a personal mark. FitzGerald (1895-97, 466) gives a slightly inaccurate reading of the inscription. In a copy of the publication which he owned (now in the possession of Dr. John Bradley, University of Maynooth) he made some hand-written corrections to his published reading and a small rubbing of one of the two marks is inserted into the *Journal*. This small character is cut in false relief in a separate rectangle of its own. It may be interpreted as a letter P with a ‘cross-bar’ through the centre. It may represent the letters P and I or P and J.

Similar types of monograms, sometimes composed of a series of initials occur both as parts of merchants’ marks guildsmen’s or personal marks (see Heraldry Chapter) and separately as simple combinations of initials as on the doorcase dated 1600 now at NUI.
Galway. See the merchants’ mark on the Athy doorway from Abbeygate Street Lower and now at Galway City Museum for a similar arrangement of initials (Higgins 2003, C1, 2-5 and Leask 1939, 169).

The following reconstruction of the inscription seems to be the most plausible:

```
HIER:LEITH:THE
BODI(or Y)(?:) OF IH-ON: I: ROT [ROBT]
FIZTHEIG:Z:ELYN:LINCHE:HIS WIFE (?E)/AD
:1566 ---N-----
```

**Dimensions:** L: 216, W: 120cms.

**Dated:** 1566.

**References:**
- Fitz Gerald 1895-7, 466.
- Fleetwood Berry, Mss. Diary 1912, not paginated.
- Fleetwood Berry 1912, 65.
- Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (*passim*).

Fig. 3, C3. Tomb of Robert (?) and Elyn Linche, 1566, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992).
C4, (Type A) Plates 12A and 14B

**Location:** St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, the South Transept. Hardiman 1820, 252, describes this stone as being in the French ‘Aisle’ (ie. the North Transept). Fleetwood Berry (1912, 66), however, locates it in the South Transept where it is now.

**Description:** Part of a tapering recumbent graveslab. This stone is embedded in the wall of the North Transept in the church, is not *in situ*, and was originally recumbent. The stone is a fragment of a tapering tombstone of late medieval type. Only the upper half survives. The decoration and fragmentary inscription are executed in low false relief. The inscription runs around three of the remaining original sides of the item and is bounded by a narrow band of stone. The inscription, which is in capitals reads as follows:

---- [?A]FORD SHVMAKER AND/HIS WIF(E)·IVA·/INLA·GHLINGE WH(O) ..... 

Fleetwood Berry (1912, 66) is probably taking his reading of the inscription from Hardiman 1820, 252, when he describes this stone as follows:- ‘ ... one half of it is missing and must have disappeared within the last hundred years or less, during some period of ‘restoration’, for the whole inscription was taken from it about the year 1820 and was ‘Here lyeth the body of On Morford Shumaker and his wife Juaninla Ghlimge who ... 1577’. In his *Mss. Diary* Fleetwood Berry gives the name thrice as ‘Juanenla Ghlinge’. Despite this reference to the year 1820 (the year Hardiman's *History* was published) however, Hardiman's reading of it differs slightly. It reads as follows:- ‘Here lyeth the Body of On Morford Shumaker, and his wife Juaninia Ghlinge - who – 1577’. The inscription is actually in capitals, the word WIFE has no E and the second surname is LAGHLINGE. This is probably a variant on the names Loughlin and Loughlan (originally O'Loughlin and O'Loughlan). Though there is no space between the ‘IN’ (ie. ‘NI’?) and the LAGHLINGE this is also true of C6 where a similar formula is used. The following reconstruction of the inscription can be suggested:-

HERE·LYETH (or LIETH)·THE·BODY·OF·ON·MOR(?)A]FORD·SHVMAKER·AND·HIS·WIF(E)·IVA·IN(ie. NI) LAGHLINGE WHO DIED 1577 ....

It would seem as if the NI (for Ní or NIG) has been reversed to become IN (See also C8 for this element in a feminine name).

Instead of the word DIED some shortened version of the word DEPARTED might also have been used (though this usage is not common in Galwegian inscriptions until the 18th and 19th centuries). A narrow border runs around the inscription and inside this is a Latin cross with T-shaped terminals. This has interlaced arms, shaft and ring. Two square panels of foliage and two plain, recessed panels occur, flanking the shaft of the cross.

The main design consists of an interlaced Latin cross. The head of the cross is ringed. The arms and shaft of the cross-head are divided into two strands and these have a double ring interlaced through them. The remainder of the surviving shaft is plain. The cross has rectangular or T-shaped terminals which are attached to the narrow plain band that bounds the inscription. Below this four panels occur, two plain and recessed and two decorated with floral patterns that are all cut in low false relief. Each panel has a single large flower-head with wavy petals emanating from a central spiral pattern.

**Dimensions:** H: 71cms, W: (at top) 54.5cms, W: (at bottom) 51.5cms.

**Dated:** 1577 (According to Hardiman 1820 and Fleetwood Berry 1912).
References:
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 66.
Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins 1989), 66 and *illus*. opp. 35 and on back cover. In the new edition a new drawing of the stone by Derek Biddulph replaces that in Fleetwood Berry 1912. Also f.n. 66 (*ibid.*).
Hardiman 1820, 252.
Higgins 2006, Cat No. 17 (and *illus.*).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992 225-6 and *illus*. 225 (No. 390).
Killanin and Duignan 1962, 285 (*illus.*).
Killanin and Duignan 1967, (2nd edn.), 286 (*illus.*).

Fig. 4(A), C4. The Mor(a)ford and Laghlinge (?Loughlin) tomb, 1577, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992). (B) An interpretation of the slab by Derek Biddulph after Fleetwood-Berry (ed. Higgins 1989).
C5, (Type A), Plates 12C and 14D

Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. Now set in the wall of the South Transept but not in situ. It used to be set further along the wall of this Transept alongside the Lynch Flamboyant Tomb (C43) and is shown in that position in Fleetwood Berry (1912, 56). It was apparently moved during the 1958-1962 restoration. (The late Derek Biddulph, pers-comm.).

Description: The remaining fragment is from the upper part of a tapering recumbent graveslab and represents about one quarter of the original stone. Part of an inscription in Roman capitals cut in false relief runs along the edge of the stone and reads as follows:-

--- [?I or \]ABVS·W·LLIA[M]----/[V]ILN·ET·MARGAR/
    ET V·NIGVAINE·V (or W?)--

Lozenge-shaped stops occur between the words. Though the beginning and end of the inscription are now missing, Fleetwood Berry (1912), gives the inscription as follows:

‘--- JABUS WILLIELMUS O'DUILN ET MARGARET V NIGUAINE’

Hardiman (1820, 252), gives a similar reading of the inscription but does not include the word Jabus. His reading is as follows:- ‘Willelum O'Muiln and Margaret U.Niguane’.

Unfortunately the modern cement used to repair the monument obscures the first name, which appears by now to have broken away completely. The word ‘[J]ABVS’ would seem likely to have been originally present and must have been spelt ‘JABVS’. While the reading of the first surname OMUILN and O'DVILN are given by Hardiman (ibid.) and Fleetwood Berry (ibid.) respectively, there is some difficulty in accepting these because a definite punctuation mark occurs immediately in front of and after the letters ·ILN· making it a separate word, or at the very least, a ligatured word.

A possible reconstruction of the inscription reading as follows may be suggested:

... IABVS·W(I)LLIAM[VS]\[?O D]\VILN·ET·MARGAR/ET V·
    NIG·VAINE V(? or W)--

No ‘I’ actually occurs in what seems to be the name W[I]LLIAM and the wording which appears to have been ligatured could be expanded to read as follows:-

‘[J]ABVS·WILLIA[MVS]-O'DVILN·ET·MARGARET V·NIG·VAINE·V---‘

It is also possible that ‘-- NIGVAINE—’ might have been intended. To judge by other slabs decorated with panels of interlace from St. Nicholas' itself (see C6) and elsewhere (and which date from around the same period), further panels, and possibly a cross may have occurred below the existing portion of the fragment. The inscription too would originally have been a lot longer and probably ran along the four sides of the slab. FitzGerald (1895-7) gives a reading of the inscription as follows:

‘MABVS·WILLIAM ---/ ---/ ILN·ET·MARGAR/ETV·NIGVA·NE·V’

Traces of layout-lines for parts of the inscription are visible, and though the stone is fragmentary and damaged in places, the condition of the surviving fragment is still fairly good. The stone is a fragment from the upper end of a large tapering slab and is decorated with a panel of interlaced ornament consisting of double strands cut in false relief and intersecting at right angles to form a grid of diagonal interlaced lines. Lozenge-shaped voids and small triangles are thus left in the background. Seven rows of double interlacing strands running...
each way survive. The ends of the knotwork form triangles which, in turn, form the edges of the design. The junctions of each pair of interlaced bands form an open-ended duplex knot, except at the corners where small triangles are formed. This panel of ornament seems to be almost complete in itself though the lower edge and small segments of the sides and top are obscured by modern cement. The stone is somewhat worn and stained. It was obviously recumbent originally. There is some slight flaking on the carved surface and some heavy damage has been done to the middle of the interlaced pattern. Despite this, however, many of the layout-lines for the inscription are still visible.

**Dimensions:** W:63.5, L:59.3cms.
**Date:** Late 16th - Early 17th century.
**References:**
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 66 and also plate opposite 56.
FitzGerald 1895-7, 464.
Hardiman 1820, 252.
Higgins 2006, Cat No. 27.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 210-211 and *illus*. 209.

![Fragment of the ‘O’DVILN’ and ‘NIGVAINE’ tomb. Probably of the 1560’s to 1580’s, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992).](image-url)
C6, (Type A), Plates 12B and 14A

Fig. 6

Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church.

Description: A large tapering, almost complete graveslab, originally recumbent but now set in the wall of the church, not in situ. The slab is elaborately decorated with a large cross, panels of Renaissance-style floral ornament and a panel of ‘Gaelic Revival’ or ‘Gaelic Renaissance’ interface that occurs at the head of the cross. The vocational symbols of a cooper, a possible maker's name and an enigmatic mark, possibly a mason's mark, also occur. An inscription in low false relief runs around the edges of the stone. The inscription reads as follows:-

HIR·LIETH·THE·BODI·OF·ON·MORIERT --- O·TIERNAGH·AND/-
HIS·WIF·KATE-/
RINA·NIG·ONO ---- HIS·BROTHER·TEIGE·OG·CV-/PERS·AN·DNI·1580

The name "M·TEIG" and a small ornament occur inside the right hand side of the stone. The name is in somewhat smaller lettering than the rest of the inscription. Alongside this name is a small petal-shaped motif, probably the mason's (M. TEIG's?) mark. Some of the D and A are in Lombardic-type script and lozenge-shaped stops occur between most of the words. The broken part of the slab has been crudely repaired and some letters are missing.

The name of the first person mentioned may have been ‘ON’ (OWEN?)·MORIERT[AGH]·O TIERNAGH (ie. O’Tierney). The wife's surname is more difficult to reconstruct. The NIG is an Anglicisation of Ni but surnames starting with ‘ONO--’ are not common. ‘NIG’ is also used in Irish however and is not always on Anglicisation. It is possible that the inscription may have been intended to read:

‘--N(·)GONO--’ but that the punctuation mark is misplaced. The second name may also be ‘KATRINA NI GONO--’ or, though less likely, ‘NIG ONO--’. The surname would seem to make more sense as ‘NI GONO (IBH?)’ than as ‘NIG ONO--’. ‘NIG’ is also used on C5 however and the ‘--NIG·ONO--’ might also be what was originally intended. What may be an accidently reversed ‘Ni’ is found on C4. About five or six letters of this surname are absent.

Cook (1895, 294), mentions this slab in passing as that of ‘Moriert O’Tiernagh, 1580’.

Hardiman (1820, 252) gives the following reading:- ‘Hir lieth the Bodi of On Moriertha O’Tiernagh and his wife Kate Kirnanigonoh and his brother Teige Og An Dni 1580’. Hardiman ibid. locates this stone ‘.. immediately adjoining ..’ C7 of this corpus. The stones are now on opposite walls of the Transept however.

Fleetwood Berry (1912, 67) gives a garbled version of the inscription as follows:- ‘Here lieth the bodi of On Moriertha O’Tiernagh and his wife Kate Kirnanigonohib and his brother Teige Og Cupers An Dni 1580’. Fleetwood Berry's version, though inaccurate, is useful in that it records part of the second surname which is now missing. The letter after -- ‘NIG ON-- is in fact curved and though incomplete may be either a C or an O.

Todd (1853-57, 223-4) gives a reading of the inscription as follows:-

‘HIR·LIETH·THE·BODI·OF·ON·MORIERTAH·OTIERNAGH
AND·HIS·WIF·KATERINA·NIGONOHIB·AND·HIS
BROTHER·TEIGE·CGV·PERS·AN·DNI·1580.’

He goes on to say that ‘Under the word OTIERNAGH in the inscriptions are the words T. TEIG' in a smaller character but of the same date, i.e. 'and' or 'et Teig', alluding to the younger brother Teig og who was interred in the same tomb.'

The interpretation of the M·TEIG is not correct however. The feature is definitely an M with part of one stem missing. No O is present in the AN·DNI-. With regard to the spelling of the
names MORIERT[AGH] and the interpretation of the surname NIG-ONO --, the first part of the name is definitely MORIERT--- and there is a stop after the NIG which is probably an anglicisation of the Ni (i.e. daughter of). The following reconstruction of the inscription may be suggested:

HIR·LIETH THE BODI·OF·ON·MORIERT[AGH] O TIERNAGH
AND·HIS·WIF·KATERINA·NIG·ONO------- (or NI GONO-----)
HIS·BROTHER·TEIGE·OG·CVPERS·AN·DNI·1580
M·TEIG

A surname with the spelling ONOHIB or ONOHW sounds very much like an attempted phonetic version of a Irish surname such as Donohue or Donoghue for example. In Irish ‘NIC’ or ‘NIG’ could be used as for instance in ‘NIC Dhonnchadha’.

The name Morirtagh, a variant on the name found on this slab is also found in an early 17th century Galwegian context. O’Sullivan, (1942, 211 footnote 4) makes mention, for example, of a document entitled ‘Examination of Morirtagh O’Connor, Sailor’ which is dated of February 1621.

The occupational symbols on the stone are interpreted by Todd ibid, as ‘-- an adze and square or rule--’. ‘The tops of the adze and set-square are now partly damaged and have been misinterpreted and ’restored’ in cement as a pair of lines forming a false, non-original ‘arm’ across the lower part of the cross-shaft. There is now no trace of a rule, the items depicted are a wood worker’s axe or adze and a set-square.

The wood worker’s axe has a short sleeve-like socket, a large crescentic blade and occurs on the left of the cross-shaft. A plain set-square occurs on the right and a line of modern cement cuts across the vocational symbols obscuring parts of them and forming a false and non-original lower ‘arm’ to the cross. The interlaced panel is carved to form a square and has not been ‘stretched out’ or redesigned to fully fill the trapezoidal area at the top of the stone. The design seems to have been a stock pattern, more suitable for use in a rectangular rather than a trapezoidal panel, which was utilized to fill the space. A large segment of stone is missing above this and a crude attempt at reconstructing part of the pattern of S-shaped foliate ornament has been made on this area.

On either side of the cross-shaft, which continues most of the length of the stone is a panel of Renaissance-type foliage arranged in four pairs of S-shaped spirals. In one case the spirals are opposed (in the upper right hand corner). Every second spiral has a swollen, lunate-shaped ‘body’ bearing disc-like ornamentations of decreasing size towards each end. The foliate panels spring from a ‘moulded’ knob on the cross-shaft and four pairs of spirals occur. One pair run in the same direction, three form mirror images of each other. A row of flat discs ‘pellets’ decorate the centre of each S-shaped curve. The leaves of the foliate pattern are hollowed out slightly. The interlaced top of the cross is carved in low false relief and may be described as follows:- The design is composed of double-banded interlace forming interlocking Greek and saltire crosses. These are interlaced at the corners of the panels with four double-banded quarter circles and at the junction of the crosses with a two-line interlaced circle. All of these are framed and interlinked by a two-line border. Only one line of this border is indicated on the lower side of the panel and the loose ends of the interlace simply run out over or under it at the sides of the panel.

In one of the voids between the ornament in the upper left hand corner a small incised duplex knot or interlaced ‘cross’ occurs. The other voids are unornamented and this small design may perhaps be a mason’s mark. Champneys (1910) considered this to be a lid of a stone coffin or sarcophagus but there is no evidence that this was the case (See introductory remarks on recumbent slabs above).
**Dimensions:**  L: 182, W (at top): 72, W (at bottom): 51cms.

**Dated:** 1580

**References:**
Champneys 1910, 203 and 249 (*passim*).
Cooke 1895, 294 (*passim*).
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 67.
Hardiman 1820, 252.
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (*passim*).
Higgins and Heringklele 1992, 208-209 (No. 380) and *illus*. 209.
Todd 1853-7, 223-4.

Fig. 6, C6. The O’Tiernagh (‘Tierney) tomb of 1580, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins & Heringklele 1992).
Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, The South Transept.

Description: This monument is incomplete. It bears a long inscription but its only decoration is a carving of the Browne coat of arms. Unusually, the surname is spelled both Brown and Browne on this monument. The stone is not in situ, is possibly fragmentary, and has been inserted in the wall of the Transept. Parts of the edges of the stone and the base of the shield have been obscured by modern rendering. The shield has a plain flat chief and to judge by the slight curve to the sides of the shield, may have had a rounded U-shaped or semi-pointed base. The arms are ‘a double-headed eagle displayed’. Curiously Hardiman describes the O’TIERNAGH slab (C6) as being immediately adjoining this stone, so that, unless he was mistaken, either one or the other of these stones must have been moved. Hardiman also refers to C6 as being a ‘... similar grave-stone’, which it is not. The stone seems to have been rectangular and the wear on it would seem to suggest that it was originally a recumbent slab that became broken and was set in the wall of a later date to its primary use. The worn condition of the stone would also seem to suggest that it was once recumbent and its size is too large for it to have been a headstone at the period at which it was carved.

Both the arms and the inscription are cut in low false relief. Despite being worn, layout lines for the lettering are still visible on the stone. The inscription is as follows:

```
HERE-LYETH-THE-BODYES-OF
RICHARD:BROWNE:AND-HIS-WIFE
CATE:BROWNE:THEIRE:SONE
MATHEW:BROWNE:AND-HIS-WIFE
MARY:TERNY:AND-THEIRE:
CHEILDERN-GOD-REST-THEIRE
SOYLES-AMEN-1635
```

Hardiman (1820, 252) gives a reading of this inscription but omits the punctuation marks.

Dated: 1635
References:
Cooke 1895, 294, (passim).
Hardiman 1820, 252, f.n. 1.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 277 (Cat. No. 392)
C8, (Type A), Plates 7A, 8C and 10D

Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. Set in the floor of the North Aisle (but not in situ).

Description: Only part of an inscription survives. It is in capitals and is cut in low false relief and reads as follows:

-- SOVLES·THE·LORD --

The item is a rectangular fragment from the lower part of a gravestone that was probably recumbent. The stone has been cut into a rectangular block for reuse as paving. It is heavily pocked all over its surface partly obliterating much of the incised design. The pocking was done probably in the 19th century.

The decoration consists of part of the shaft and a moulded base of a cross like those shown on C10 and C11. The ornament is incised and the inscription is cut in low false relief.

Vocational marks which seem to be those of a person involved in the sheep or wool trade flank the cross-shaft. On the lower right side of the shaft is a pair of shears. Above this is what seems to be an eagle or hawk or some such bird with outspread wings. On the left is a hand holding a leash attached to a dog, presumably a sheep dog. The combination of items shown would appear to suggest that the fragment covered the grave of a shepherd, sheep farmer or, more likely, a wool merchant. However, the hand might also be a glove and the bird could be an attempt at showing a hawk or hunting bird. It is possible that a person in the wool trade with an interest in hunting with a hawk might be represented though this, like the other interpretations of the person’s trade or vocation, is now impossible to prove. The cross-form may have been in similar form to that found on C10 and C11. It is curious that Fleetwood Berry (1912) does not mention this stone though he mentions some of the others which bear vocational marks. He does however, mention one stone with a very large pair of scissors to indicate either a tailor or a sheep shearer or more likely a wool merchant, but that is undoubtedly C10.


Date: Late 16th - Early 17th century.

References:
Hayward 1952, 44, passim, illus. 45.
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (passim).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 157 (No. 302) and illus. 258.
Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church set in floor of the South Aisle but not in situ.

Description: Part of a recumbent slab that was later reused as paving. The item is not in situ. The stone has been trimmed to form a rectangular block. Only one third of the upper part of the slab is represented. It is decorated with what have been traditionally, but wrongly, interpreted as the symbols of a goldsmith's guild or the vocational marks of a goldsmith. It is clear that the three crowned hammers derive from a heraldic source but that they do not derive from the arms of a goldsmith's guild, but from that of an iron-worker. They are in fact, far more likely, as we shall see, to derive from the arms of a smith's guild (See discussion in the Heraldry Chapter below and Higgins 2007, 15-27). A segment of an inscription also survives. The decoration is incised and consists of three hammers each with a crown above it. Each hammer has a rounded end to the back of the ball and has a pair of wide claws at the front. The handle is tapering and a small semi-circular knob occurs at the end of each handle. The crowns are triple-pointed.

Fleetwood Berry (1912, 70) mentions the stone in passing and, though he gave no reading of the inscription, remarks that ‘... on one of these are (sic) two hammers with crowns above possibly to represent a goldsmith’. Hayward (1952) inaccurately, gives an illustration of the stone and describes it as bearing ‘... the three crowned goldbeaters' hammers of the goldsmith’. Around the edges of the stone the following fragmentary inscription in Roman capitals is cut in false relief:

HERE·LIETH·THE·BODY·OF·V (or W)/-----
·POSTERITY·WHOES·SOLES/
THE LORD RECEAV· --- 1641

The H and E of both THEs are conjoined. The letter at the end of the first line seems more likely to be a W than a V. No stops are used in the last line of the inscription. Despite some wear the stone is in good condition. Fleetwood Berry 1912, 70, mistakenly gives the number of hammers depicted as two rather than three. The decoration is neatly and skilfully incised. A small Greek initial cross with wedge-shaped terminals occurs in the upper right hand corner at the beginning of the inscription.

As we shall see in the Heraldry Chapter the three crowned hammers are not derived from the arms of a guild of goldsmiths but rather have some features in common with various arms of a guild of smiths. ‘The Smith’s Arms’ on Charles Brooking’s map entitled ‘A Prospect of the City of Dublin’ (1729) for instance has three crowned hammers between a chevron charged with various tools and a hand. The supporters of these arms also hold escutcheons with crowned hammers. This and the slab with the Goldsmiths arms (C23) have recently been published in detail by Higgins (2007, 15-27).

Dated: 1641
References:
FitzGerald 1895-7, 460.
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 70.
Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins), 1989, f.n. 70.
Hayward 1952, 44 passim and illus. 45.
Higgins 2007, 15-27 and Fig. 6
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (passim).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 154 (No. 296) and illus. 258.
Mulveen 1994, 46 and Fig. 3.
Figs. 9 and 9A. C9. Fragmentary slab with crowned hammers derived from the arms of guild of metal smiths, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992). Fig. 9A is an interpretation of the original form of the crowned hammers based on rubbings.
C10, (Type A), Plates 7C, 8D and 8G

**Location:** St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, set in the floor of the South Aisle but not *in situ.*

**Description:** An almost complete rectangular slab that has been trimmed down on two (or possibly three?) of its sides with the resulting loss of parts of the inscription that ran around its edges and is cut in false relief. Much of the surface has also been crudely pocked, probably when the slab was first reused as paving. The surviving segments of the worn inscription can be read as follows, starting at the lower left hand corner of the stone:

```
HERE LIETH THE BODY
OF ROGER BOY OF INNI[?]S
--- --- [?] N...
--- TNE (or THE or INE): N-------
```

The stone is decorated with an incised, two-armed cross set on a stepped, heavily moulded base. The arms of the cross have foliated terminals in the shape of fleur-de-lis with ‘swags’ or curves between them. These curves are tangential to the cross-arms and shaft. The top of the cross is decorated in the same manner. The vocational symbols of a tailor, a scissors and a long plain object (perhaps a measuring-staff or tape?) occur on either side of the cross-shaft. It seems likely that the slab originally tapered like C4 and C6 but the taper was removed when the slab was trimmed down for reuse, probably in the early 19th century when much of the church was re-paved. The incised decoration is now very worn and damaged in places.

**Dimensions:** L:154, W:77cms.

**Date:** Late 16th – mid-17th century.

**References:**
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 70.
Hayward 1952, 44, *passim* and illus. 45.
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (*passim*).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 159 (No. 308).

Fig. 10, C10. The slab commemorating Roger Boy (later 16th – mid 17th century), St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After a drawing by Raymond Piper in Hayward 1952).
Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. Now set in the floor of the South Aisle of the church where it has been reused as paving, and is not in situ.

Description: The stone is a large, recumbent, rectangular slab decorated with a cross and with the vocational symbols of a carpenter or cooper on either side. The cross is floriated and along with the tools depicted is incised. An inscription cut in low false relief ran around the edge but much of this has been trimmed away when the stone was reused as paving. The slab was probably more wedge-shaped originally than it is at present. It is likely that the stone was tapered in the same manner as C4, C6 and C10 originally. The fragmentary inscription reads as follows:

HERE L?IE?THE ?[IH] -/
BODIESE -- OF ??-----
WITH-HIS-WIF-IVA NI MVN[?E/R/A]HAN WHOM-THE-LORD
REC ... D --------

The tools depicted are a set-square and T-square on the right side of the cross-shaft and an adze and what appear to be two chisels or a punch and chisel. One has an ‘arrowhead-shaped’ point, the other has a slightly expanded, broad, flat-ended blade.

The inscription is very worn in places, the stone is split and there is considerable flaking of the surface making interpretation of individual letters difficult. The second word may be LIETHE, though LIETHE is also a possibility. The H and E of this word may be followed by a further two letters. After these there is a small ‘trident-shaped’ feature just at the corner of the stone. This may be interpreted as a ‘Y’ or ‘Ye’ (for ‘YE’ as in an early form of ‘THE’) which would make sense in the context of the usual formula ‘HERE LYETH (or LIETH) THE BODY/BODIES OF------’. The configuration seems, in fact, to have a tiny ‘e’ between its upper arms and is therefore meant to represent “Ye” (the). The next word does seem to be a misspelling of BODIES and the spelling BODIESE is fairly clear and well preserved. Unfortunately the name of the deceased is missing.

The name of the man’s wife is IVA NI--- (or NIG as occurs on C6, though there does not seem to be enough space for NIG and NI then seems more likely). The letters are too widely spaced for the name to be interpreted as NAN. The surname is problematical. The beginning and end are clear but there are two (or, though less likely, three) letters in the middle of the name and a number of possible interpretations of the spelling exist. The MUN and HAN are clear. The name may be MUN [?AGA]MAN or more likely MUN[AG]HAN or possibly MUNAHAN. The first two of these might be variants on the name MONAGHAN. Fleetwood-Berry, Mss. Diary, (1912), gives the inscription as follows ‘WITH HIS WIFE JUAN MUNIGHAN WHOM THE LORD RECEIVE’. MacLysaght 1985 128, gives the following variations on the name: O’Monaghan in English and O’Manachain in Irish, also Monaghan in English. The name Mac Monaghan was also used (MacLysaght ibid, 221-4 and maps). The name might also be a variant of either MURNEHAN or MURNAHAN which are not now very common. The last word REC…D was probably ‘RECEIVED’ and it was probably followed by a now illegible date.

Dimensions: L: 170cms, W: (at top) 66cms, W: (at bottom) 66cms.

Date: Late 16th - Late 17th century.

References:
Fleetwood-Berry, 1912 Mss. Diary, 11 (with a rough sketch).
Hayward 1942, 62 (illus. only).
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (passim).
Fig. 11, C11. The Mun…han slab, later 16th and 17th century, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After a drawing by Raymond Piper in Hayward 1952).
Location: St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. The stone is now set in the floor of St. Patrick's Chapel and beneath the organ, which obscures much of it from view.

Description: The stone is a large rectangular slab of limestone with a long inscription and a set of impaled arms that are cut in low false relief. The arms of Eyre and Carden occur on the left and right sides of the stone respectively. Part of the charge of the Eyre arms is incised. The shield has a flat chief, straight sides and an ogival base. No crest or mantling are shown. The arms are as follows: ‘Argent, on a chevron sable three quatrefoils or’ for Eyre, impaling, ‘Sable a slingshot shown bend-wise between two pheons argent’ for Carden. The arms are partly covered with modern cement and lime mortar. The shield and inscription are very worn and shallow in places and the decoration is obscured by the remnants of mortar that has been mixed on the stone. The supporting ‘legs’ of the organ rest on top of the stone. The stone is impossible to photograph properly, and impossible to draw in full.

The epitaph is cut in a mixture of large and smaller block capitals. The inscription reads as follows:

```
HERE·L[Y]ETH·INTERED·THE·BODY
[O]F·EDWARD·EYRE·ESQ·SON
[O]F·GILLES·EYRE·ESQ·OF
BRICKWORTH·WILLS·[HI]RE
NEARE·SALSBURY·WITH·FIVE
OF·HIS·CHILLDREN·3·SONS
AND·2·DAUGHTERS·HE·DECEA
SED·THE·14·OF·APRILL·1683
```

A part of the inscription on this stone is almost exactly replicated on a post-medieval monument on the South Aisle of the church (See Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 238-9, No. 406 and illus. 239).


Dated: 1683.

References:
Blake (ed.) 1907, 86-7. (Corporation Book B)
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 70.
Hardiman 1820, 253 (f.n.).

Fig. 12, C12. The arms on the Edward Eyre Monument, 1683, St. Nicholas’ Church. The impaled arms of Eyre and Carden are shown. Only part of the slab is clearly visible.
**Location:** St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. A recumbent slab, now reset among the paving of the South Aisle but not *in situ*.

**Description:** The stone is rectangular, recumbent and is now very worn. No inscription is now visible and none is likely to have ever existed. The only ornament which survives is a pair of shields, positioned one directly above the other in the centre of the top of the stone. Late pocking, made when the stone was reused as paving at some stage, obscures much of this ornament. The stone was subsequently reset in the floor of the church during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

The upper shield is a broad one, with a plain flat chief, straight sides and a wide, ogee-shaped base. It is charged with a *vair* cut in low false relief and which covers much of the top of the surface of the stone. Despite this, however, traces of layout-lines for the *vair* on the upper shield are still visible and a narrow incised line is still traceable on either side of the upper shield suggesting that it was surrounded by a plain border originally. Apart from the *vairy* coat there is a canton in the upper left hand corner bearing the last very faint traces of a stag’s head.

These features identify the arms as those of the Beacher family. The arms of Beacher (as shown here) are: ‘*Vaire, ar. and gu., on a canton or, a buck’s head caboised*’ (See Heraldry Chapter).

A further blank ‘shield-like’ object occurs immediately below this. The lower ‘shield’ also has a flat top or chief (that is interrupted by four semi-circular indentations), straight sides and an ogee-shaped base, but is slightly narrower than the upper one. What seems to be a motto scroll-shaped feature, like a very wide inverted V is attached to the base of the item. It has a slight resemblance to a cup on a stand or a squat chalice, though the indented top would be unusual if this were the case. This feature has upturned, triangular-shaped ends. This lower ‘shield’ either had a painted, heraldic charge or was completely plain. Alternatively it might have held a brass plaque though this seems doubtful since no trace of securing holes or keying are visible.

The size and proportions of the slab and the shield forms would seem to indicate a late date in the late 17th century for this slab, though a slightly later date in the 18th century may also be possible. The incised ornament would seem to suggest a pre-19th century date but if it does date to the 18th century, it may date early in the century.

**Dimensions:** L: 145cms, W: 92cms.
**Date:** ?Late 17th – early 18th century.
**References:** Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 245 (No. 412) and illus. 246
Fig. 13, C13(A). A worn recumbent slab with the arms of Beacher St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (B), The ‘shield’ on the lower part of the slab, and (C) the arms of Becher after Kennedy 1816.
Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. In the boundary wall adjoining the Convent of Mercy School.

Description: A 17th century gravestone bearing an effigy in low relief of a male ecclesiastic. The stone was originally a recumbent slab but it is now set upright in the modern boundary wall. There is also a long inscription in low false relief running along the sides of the stone. The lettering is now very worn, almost illegible in places, and the carving continues to suffer from the effects of weathering. The decipherable parts of the inscription read as follows:


Hardiman (1820, 268, f.n. 1, no. 6) gives the inscription on this stone as follows:

O LORD HAVE MERCY ON THE SOVLE OF FATHER THOMAE O'MAEONY, WHO DYED THE 28 OF SEPTEMBER, ANNO DOMINI [    ]

There does not seem to have been space for O LORD HAVE MERCY and though very worn, the words ‘PRAY FOR THE’ can, however still be made out. The effigy must have been intended to represent the person for whom the stone was erected. The figure is of a middle aged adult male who is shown facing to the right with a chalice gripped in both hands. He is shown wearing a high, four-cornered hat, has longish hair which falls in several large curls at the back of the neck. The man's facial features are worn but he is clearly sporting a long, pointed beard (and possibly a moustache as well). The person is dressed in a chasuble which covers most of the body and has rounded U-shaped ends. Through the slit in the sides of this vestment a belt or rope is visible which encircles the figure's waist. Attached to this is the triple-knotted rope girdle (that can still just be traced running down the figure's right side). A long vestment is worn beneath the chasuble and from beneath this come the pleated ends of an alb. The person is wearing high-heeled footwear with ‘hammer-head’ shaped ends to the heels. A triangular-shaped flap of cloth falls forward loosely from the person's left side. This is obviously a worn maniple.

The arms and hands are awkwardly carved and the right arm is very U-shaped and a cuff is indicated at the wrist. Worn traces of folds are still traceable across the arm. The figure grips a long-stemmed chalice in both hands at stomach level. The chalice has a small U-shaped bowl, an apparently circular or oval knop, and a multi-faceted, outwardly-splaying base. The base of the chalice splays out to form a shallow base with a pointed end to each facet, four of which are visible. The stone is now very worn and a long irregular crack runs down the centre of its lower half. It is not certain whether this stone or C15 is that depicted in Piper's drawing in Hayward (1942, 56).

According to Hardiman ibid, this is one of ‘... several monuments with raised full-length effigies of the friars dressed in their habits, and of nuns in their costume. The former bear a chalice in their hands, their shoes are high-heeled and they wear the cap of their order; the inscriptions are generally in raised letters around the margin ...’. It is probably one of the monuments mentioned in passing by Cooke (1895, 295) who noted ‘There are two sculptured slabs over the graves of the Poor Clares and also over the Franciscan Fathers’. Jennings (1947) refers to this and C15 as follows – ‘A series of eight numbered stones marks the resting place of some Poor Clares of the 17th century and near them are two carved stones covering the remains of two priests who are represented in the ecclesiastical attire of the first half of the same century’. This seems to be the carving depicted in Piper’s drawing in Hayward (1942, 56).
**Dimensions:** L:166, W (at top): 79, W (at bottom): 77, T: 9.5cms.

**Date:** Early 17th century.

**References:**
Cooke 1895, 295, *passim*.
Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. i, No. 5.
?Hayward 1942, (56, perhaps that illustrated on 56).
Jennings (1947), 118-9 and f.n.1, 119 *passim*.
Killanin and Duignan 1967, 287 *passim*.

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Fig. 14, C14. The slab of Fr. Thomas O’Maeony (O’Mahony) early 17th century, the Franciscan Cemetery. Drawing by Michael Lenihan.
C15, (Type A) Plates 5A, 5F and 6A  

**Fig. 15**

**Location:** The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith.

**Description:** A large gravestone very similar to C14 but somewhat more weathered and worn.

The slab, which is almost rectangular, is carved with a full-length effigy, probably representing the deceased in religious garb. The stone was originally a recumbent slab but it is now set upright in the modern boundary wall. A long inscription which is cut in low false relief runs along near the edges of the stone but this is now very worn and is extremely difficult to decipher.

The following segments of the inscription can still be made out under good lighting conditions and with the aid of rubbings:

--- FACERDO/
TIS-QVI-OBIIT VIGES/
SIMO- ----- 

The M of the last visible word is uncertain.

Hardiman (1820, 268, f.n. 1, no. 5) gives the inscription on this stone as follows:

‘ORATE PRO ANIMA THOMAE FRENCH FRACERDOTIS QVI OBIIT
UICEFIMO OCTAVO OCTOBRI OCTOBRIS 1629 F.R.’

The effigy is shown from the side and, like C14, seems to be wearing a four-cornered item of headgear. Unlike C14 there is little trace left of any pleating of the robes or of the segment of the rope girdle around the waist.

The rectangular (rather than slightly trapezoidal) shape of the stone would suggest, at least on rough typographical grounds, a slightly later date for this stone than C14 but the carving, proportions of the figure, and details of the design and lettering (where visible) are obviously the work of the same mason’s workshop and they are most probably the work of the same mason.

**Dimensions:** L: 199, W (at top): 112, W (at bottom): 97.5, T: 15.5cms.

**Dated:** 1629.

**References:**
Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. i, No. 6.
Hayward 1942, 56.
Jennings 1947, 118-9 and f.n.1 119, *passim.*
Killanin and Duignan 1969, 287, *passim.*
Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith.

Description: A 17th century graveslab bearing an effigy in low false relief of St. Clare of Assisi with a monstrance and a crozier or staff with a floriated crook. The inscription, cut in low false relief, occurs on the border that has been left in false relief around the edges of the stone. Hardiman 1820 describes the stone as follows – ‘On another, on which there is carved a full-length figure of St. Clare: Here lieth the body of Caet Dily, Nun of the Order of St. Clara, who died 22 of February, anno 1638. St. Clara’. Concannon 1929, 40, No. 4, states that the inscription on this stone is ‘now illegible...’ and gives Hardiman's reading of it. Hardiman *ibid.* gave the inscription as follows:

‘HERE LIETH THE BODY OF CAET DILY (DALY), NUN OF THE ORDER OF ST. CLARE, 1638  ST. CLARA’

On this inscription only the word ‘OF’ and the ‘A’ (of Clara) can now be distinguished with any certainty.

The stone is like the other carvings but its inscription is much more corroded. It is weathered and the facial features are difficult to distinguish. Of this inscription, only the word ‘OF’ and the ‘A’ (of CLARA) can now be distinguished with any certainty. The saint is shown wearing a long veil which reaches down over her shoulders and almost as far as her right elbow. Over her neck and breast she wears a gorget or a wimple. This may also have partly covered the side of the face but the carving is too worn to determine this for certain. Its curved folds are still clearly visible. She wears a long garment open at the sides and reaching almost as far as her toes and under this a long alb tied by a rope girdle. The triple-knotted rope girdle reaches almost as far as the saint's feet. The girdle ends in a tassel with a circle with a central sinking at its top and a tapering, triple-pointed terminal. A similar tassel or finial occurs in the end of a belt worn by an individual depicted on the base of a canopied and traceried wall tomb by Strade, Co. Mayo. She wears sandals on her feet and each has two narrow bands across the front of the feet. The saint's right arm is bent in a V-shape at the elbow. The arm, on which clear traces of folds of drapery occur, and ends in a narrow cuff. In her right hand St. Clare holds a long staff with a foliated head and a pointed end. In her left hand she holds aloft a long monstrance that is elongated in shape, moulded and has a slightly damaged, ogee-shaped top. This is surmounted by a small Greek cross with wedge-shaped terminals.

The receptacle at the top of the monstrance is deeply moulded at either end and contains a host. Near the end of the shaft there is a rosette-shaped knob or mount. The base is also heavily moulded, wide and stepped. Jennings (1947, 119, f.n.4) gives what he says is Hardiman's reading of the inscription on this stone but in actual fact he omits the word ANNO. According to Jennings the nun mentioned in the inscription was Sr. Catherina Michael Dillon and the date given on the stone must be erroneous as she came to Galway in 1642 as one of the foundation nuns of the Poor Clares who arrived in that year. The Poor Clares only arrived in Galway in 1642 and this slab and that of Elizabeth Lynch *C27* must be monuments of the ‘Rich Clares’ or ‘Urbanites’, (see Millett 1964, 227-8). The Urbanites, a Galway foundation referred to in the index to the *Pictorial Map of Galway of 1652* as follows, ‘I The Community or Residence of the sisters of the Rich Clares’ (See McErlean 1905-6, 133-160 for notes on the index to that map). The names Dillon and Dily do not seem to have a lot in common however. Jennings, *ibid.*, describes this as No. 4. This is the only one of the numbered stones of which eight are noted by Jennings, *op. cit.* to have survived. It still bears the number ‘4’ which is cut into the lower end of the saint's garments. Rynne (1977) gives the surname as NILY rather than DILY.
**Dimensions:**  L:179, W: 75cms, T: unknown.

**Date:**  ?1638

**References:**
Concannon 1929, 40, No. 4.
Hardiman 1820, 269, f.n. i, No. 7.
Hayward 1942, 62 (illus. only).
Jennings 1947, 119.
Korff, O’Connell and Higgins 1990, (Text and Illustrations).
Rynne 1977, 45 (passim) and 1989, 26 (passim).
Walsh 1996, 93, f.n. 232.

Fig. 16, C16. The slab of Caet Dily (or Daly), 1638, the Franciscan Cemetery. Drawing by Michael Lenihan.
Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. The slab is not in situ and was moved to its present position in the early 1970's.

Description: This stone is a reused 17th century recumbent slab that has had its original decoration cut away circa 1833 when it may have been reused as a side panel or (though less likely) an end panel in a table tomb. The centre of the slab has been lowered and all of the original decoration erased. Parts of an incised design survive on the outer edges of the slab however.

Of the original pattern only parts of some neatly-cut, narrow incised lines remain near the inner edges of the earlier inscription. The earlier inscription which is in Roman capitals, is cut in low false relief. This is also intact and reads as follows:

* PRAY FOR THE SOVLES OF PATRICK FREHIN AND HIS WIFE /
  MVRNE NY KILLEANNANA /
  AND THEIR CHEILDREN WILLIAM PHILLIP AND THOMAS AND /
  THEIR POSTERITIES 1615

The date is uncertain. It could be 1615, 1625 or 1635. Lozenge-shaped stops occur between many of the words and a small Greek initial cross with wedge-shaped arms occurs at the beginning of the inscription. Several of the letters are conjoined and the diagonal bar of the ‘N’ of FREHIN is reversed. Near the centre of the stone the following 19th century epitaph has been cut in incised, conjoined, ‘Palace-type’ script:

This Vault was Rebuilt by Walter Staunton and
Winifred Tomas alias Frean for them and their
Posterity A.D. 1833

The interpretation of what remains of the original incised decoration at the centre of the slab is difficult. What appears to be the ends of foliate patterns are visible on each side of the stone and a further small indentation occurs near the top. At least six pairs of conjoined lines occur on the left side and at least four on the right. These might be the outer ends of parts of a double-armed, foliated cross (See C10 and C11). Another (less convincing) possibility is that they formed part of panels of foliage or parts of the ends of floriated mantling around a coat of arms. Too little remains to allow one to be certain of either of these interpretations.

Dimensions: L:194, W:90.5cms.
Date: 1615 (or ?1625, 1635).
References: Hitherto unpublished.
Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith.

Description: A 17th century slab (dated 1645) made as a cenotaph to the person mentioned in the inscription. The monument is a slightly tapering limestone slab bearing the de Burgo arms, a sword and a long inscription that runs along the edge of the stone. The carving is all in low false relief. The stone is now reset in the modern boundary wall of the site. It had previously been at the side of the church until the early 1970’s.

The inscription reads as follows:

\[
\text{MEMORIAE GO \text{ ILLMO DNO GVLL DE BVRGO SVAE NATIONIS PRINCIPI ET HVIVS MONASTERII FVNDATORI QUI OBIIT 1324 POSVIT F V B G 1645}
\]

The A’s and E’s of the words MEMORIAE and SVAE and the M and E of MEMORIAE are conjoined. So are the N and A and N and D of MONASTERII and FUNDATORI respectively. The inscription is in Roman capitals cut in low false relief.

The date 1645 occurs above the shield at the top of the stone. The sword has a wide blade and what is represented seems to be a double edged sword. There is an S-shaped quillion and the type of guard shown is apparently one of twisted metal. The hilt has a twisted pattern apparently representing the silver or copper wire binding that bound hilts of leather and wood at the period. A narrow, toothed mount occurs at each end of the hilt. The pommel is oval in shape and has a small projecting boss on top that would probably cover the top of the tang on a real sword. The shield bears an unusual version of the De Burgo arms with the Hand of Ulster and a lion rampant depicted in the upper quadrants. The shield itself has a flat chief and a shallow ogee-shaped base. One of the earliest published references to the ‘rediscovery’ of this tomb is an account in Finn’s Leinster Journal for July 24th-28th 1779 where the stone is described as being that of “Sir William Burk Leigh” with a well-drawn sword and the arms of the Burke family.

Hardiman (1820, 267) also records the event as follows – ‘1779, June, the tomb of the founder, Sir William de Burgh, was discovered, upwards of four feet underground, with his family arms and a long broad sword elegantly carved theron’. He goes on to give the inscription on the stone (see above). He goes on to give a relatively accurate reading of the inscription as follows – ‘Memoriae G Ilmo Dno Guill De Burgo Suae nationis principi et hujus monasterii fundatori qui obiit 1324 posuit F V B G 1645’. The A of NATIONIS which is shown complete in Hardiman’s engraving is now broken away. In a footnote. (op. cit. fn. h) he gives some additional information – “It was before noticed that this tomb was repaired and beautified in 1645’. The letters F V B G which conclude the above inscription, are the initials of the words Father Valentine Brown, Guardian of the monastery’. As FitzGerald (1893) has pointed out, however, the first word is likely to have been FRATER as the rest of the inscription is in Latin. The latter gives an accurate reading of the inscription. In his Miscellaneous Plate (ibid., opposite 316, No. 10, De. Burgo’s Tomb), Hardiman reproduces a slightly inaccurate engraving in which the sword is shown without its basket-like guard and the mounts on the hilt are also omitted. The founder of the Franciscan house, William Liath de Burgo despite the inscription on this stone, is not buried at the Franciscan graveyard but at Athenry, Co. Galway, in the Dominican Church. Blake (1910 f.n.), Jennings (1947, 117, f.n. 3), Coleman (1912, 212).

The present stone seems to have been carved in 1645 in an attempt to link this founder with a purported burial place in the Franciscan Church though the inscription does not actually state that the coffin-shaped slab marks his supposed place of burial. As Jennings op. cit. has
pointed out, the choir of the Abbey Church would probably not have been ready by that date in any case. In the *Obituary Book* the Abbey the anniversary of his death but not his place of burial is mentioned (Blake 1910, 1-28). Other de Burgos continued to be buried at the Abbey until just before 1629 (Jennings *op. cit.*). Writing of C18, the historian James Hardiman (1820, 267, f.n.), also has the following interesting comments to make: ‘*Part of an arch and some other remains of this venerable monument are still to be seen, at the lower entrance to the chapel -Vide the miscellaneous plate*’. This implies that Hardiman thought of this monument as being part of a larger one with an arched component. He was an excellent historian but was no judge of architectural matters however. All that we can conclude is that there were in existence in Hardiman's time elements of what may have been other fragments of a tomb or funerary monument of uncertain form and arched fragments of some description that may have formed part of a tomb or the same monument as the other fragments just mentioned.

Hardiman’s engraving in his *Miscellaneous Plate* does not help in any way in clarifying the nature of the arched and other fragments and only the present tapering slab (C18 is shown in that illustration and, even then, with some lack of accuracy (See Plate 19). One might suggest tentatively in this regard that the fragments bearing the head of a cherub and two female busts now incorporated in the facade of the Abbey Church might well have come from a wall-tomb that not only had a straight moulded entablature, but a semi-circular, arched feature as well (See C51-C53 below). This can be seen when a comparison is made between the three fragments and the closely similar carvings in the fine wall-tomb-cum-altar of Viscount Mayo in Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (See Higgins (2011, 103-116). All we can say for definite however is that arched fragments and other fragments that Hardiman supposed had been associated with C18 are now lost, but might well, as Hardiman said, have been associated with a funerary monument, though not this one (See C65).

**Dimensions:**  L: 144, W: (at top) 65, W (at bottom): 60cms, T: unavailable  
**Dated:**  1645.  
**References:**  
Blake 1910, 1-28, *passim*.  
FitzGerald 1893, 303-4 and *illustration*, 304.  
Hardiman 1820, 267, *Miscellaneous Plate*, opposite 316, No. 10.  
Holohan 1872, 69.  
Jennings (1947), 117, f.n.3.  
Korff, O’Connell and Higgins 1990, [N.P] (Text and Illus.).  
Meehan 1869, 74.

![Fig. 18, C18. The ‘Cenotaph’ erected in 1645 to the memory of William De Burgo, who died in 1324. The Franciscan Cemetery. Engraving after Hardiman 1820. The sketch shows outline of the arms of De Burgo on the slab.](image-url)
Location: Unprovenanced but most probably from Galway City (Possibly the Franciscan Graveyard).

Description: In Galway County Library at Island House, Cathedral Square, there is a bound volume containing pen and ink sketches by James Hardiman, the author of the well-known History of 1820. The volume contains a number of pen and ink sketches and pencil, ink and wash illustrations of Galway City (See Appendix V). These are pasted into the book that is not paginated. The leather-bound volume is inscribed inside its cover as follows – ‘6193m O L rebound Hardiman, James Sketches for a History of Galway 1812’. On the page opposite, the catalogue number ‘6183m 941.5’ is given and seven pages further on the following inscription occurs – ‘Sketches by Hardiman for a History of Galway 1812’. Some of these were used as a basis for some of the illustrations for his book which was published in 1820. A number of engravings in the printed book are not found here and vice versa. Among these drawings is a depiction of a funerary monument made in brown ink on blue paper (the only blue paper used for the sketches in the volume). Given that all the other drawings in this book relate to Galway and its history, it seems highly unlikely that this drawing is from anywhere other than Galway.

Unfortunately, however, its only caption tells us nothing about the provenance of the carving, though it seems reasonable to attribute it to Galway City given the subject matter of the volume as a whole. We do not however, know for certain where this lost slab was located when Hardiman drew it.

The penmanship is identical to that of the other drawings (especially with the other drawings of some carvings) that occur and there is no reason to suspect that all of these sketches were not made at around the same time. No dimensions are given and the caption simply reads as follows: ‘Copied from an old Irish monument’.

Hardiman’s drawing shows a skeleton with a grimacing skull holding a large arrow or dart. This is flanked on the left by a long scroll with an inscription in Irish that continues up and around the skull and down its right side. The segment of scroll on the left is wound around the shaft of a shovel which has a triangular handle and a semi-pointed blade. The inscription reads as follows:

   AR BORD GACH
   BUIRBI BÍD(H)IM
   A ?ROG CHUM
   SERBE
   FÚIGHIM.
   NÍL CORÓIN
   NA CURÁDHRÁCHN(H) CL(?),OID=
   IM GACH SORT MA MONANN
   DO NÍD(H)IM

With the letters of the inscription expanded it should read AR BORD GACH BUIRBI BÍD(H)IM A ?ROG CHUM SERVE FÚIGHIM. NÍL CORÓIN NÁ CURÁDHRÁCH NACH CLOID= (H)IM GACH SORT MA MANNAN DO NÍD(H)IM. The first part of the inscription is obscure but may be roughly translated as follows: ‘On board every wrath, I am ……There is no crown or warrior that I do not defeat, every type I do clean’. This is the general rather than the literal sense of the inscription. The words ‘I clean’ could also mean ‘obliterate’ or ‘wipe out’ for instance and the sense is that the skeleton is the personification of death who wipes out all lives of both rich and poor.
An inscription in Latin occurs at the base of the stone and reads as follows:

OMNIA SUB PEDIBUS EJUS
(I put all underfoot)

Below the skeleton are displayed the following symbols of earthly authority and power; a crown and sceptre, a long-stemmed chalice, a mitre, a straight-backed sword and a garment of some sort, perhaps the seamless garment worn by Christ at His crucifixion and mentioned in the Bible.

**Dimensions:** Unknown
**Dated:** Probably Late 16th or Early to Mid-17th century.
**References:**
Hardiman N.D. *A volume of water colours and drawings of Galway scenes and objects*, Galway City and County Libraries & Archives, Island House, Galway, (GS)01/2.

Fig. 19, C19. Slab probably from Galway. (After James Hardiman. Reproduced Courtesy of Galway Libraries and Archives). The monument is now lost.
Location: A small fragment of a possible late medieval slab reused as paving outside the South Transept in the Graveyard of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

Description: The stone is a segment of what seems to have been a reused funerary monument. None of the original outer edge survives and the stone has been cut down on all four edges for reuse as a paving-stone. The upper surface has also been (secondarily) pocked in places.

Some of the deliberately incised lines that occur on the stone appear to have formed an irregular but definite configuration. The pattern is very difficult to interpret but it is vaguely reminiscent of a vocational tool, perhaps a cobbler’s last or a leather-cutting knife with a curved blade. The object may be a tool of similar type to those that are depicted on a post-medieval slab (Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 248, Cat No. 417) that occurs elsewhere in St. Nicholas’ Graveyard.

Dimensions: L: 57cms, W: 36.5cms.
Date: 17th century.
References:
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (passim).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 254, Cat No. 444.
C21, (Type A), Not illustrated

**Location:** Formerly at the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith, now lost.

**Description:** An apparently recumbent slab. The item is recorded in a footnote by Hardiman but only that writer and Cooke (1895) seem to have noted it. Hardiman (1820) describes a gravestone (which he lists as his No.9) as follows: ‘On a flat stone, near the foregoing:— Here lieth the Body of Nicholas O'Beirne and his wife Margaret Ny Kulinan, whose Souls we commit to God. Amen. 1629.’ Unfortunately he does not state whether this monument is decorated or not. Cooke lists this stone among those ‘... mentioned by Hardiman all of which we have not identified’. He however gives the name, (?) mistakenly, as Nicholas O'Brien.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.
**Dated:** 1629.
**References:**
Hardiman 1820, 269, f.n. i, No. 9.
Cooke 1895, 295 (*passim*).
**Location:** This recumbent slab is now lost though several brief descriptions and one illustration of it survives. It used to be located in the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith to the rear of the Abbey Church. It is presumably now buried at the site.

**Description:** Hardiman's (1820), No. 8, can be identified with this stone that is also described by Concannon (1929), illustrated by Hayward (1952) but which is no longer extant. Though this stone is now missing, it is fortunate that Hayward had it illustrated by Raymond Piper. The following description is based on what may be gleaned from the latter's sketch.

Hayward (1952, 56) illustrates this carving alongside two gravestones that are still at the site (C15 and C16). The sketch shows a carving bearing three figures in relief but the text does not make any mention of the item that might help in the interpretation of it. The carving seems to have been a single, complete panel depicting the Annunciation. The lower left corner of the stone seems to have been missing, though this is not certain, as the drawings by Raymond Piper which illustrate Hayward's book often shown only part of a carving or feature (C15 which is illustrated on the same page, is a case in point).

A seated female figure with long hair and dressed in a long, simply pleated, robe extends one hand in the direction of an apparently winged figure (the Angel Gabriel) who is also apparently dressed in a long robe with simply depicted drapery and who extends both hands in the direction of the Virgin Mary. Above them is a dove in flight, presumably the Holy Ghost. Below these three figures is a kneeling figure dressed in a nun's habit and probably representing either St. Clare or a nun of the Poor Clare Order, which had a convent in the vicinity. The figure is shown kneeling and looking upwards in an attitude of adoration in the direction of the Virgin Mary. She is shown wearing a nun's habit with straight stylised drapery and a shoulder-length cowl. The hands are both extended upwards and some form of cuff seems to be indicated at the wrists. The figure wears a rope girdle with four groups of knots. The feet are not indicated as the lower part of the body runs off the edge of the plaque. The details of the habit conform closely to those of the figure of St. Clare on No. 16. All the figures are apparently carved in false relief.

It is obvious that this monument is that referred to by Hardiman (1820, f.n. i, 269, No. 8). After describing C16 (his No. 7), with its full-length figure of Clare he continues – *On a similar monument, except that St. Clare appears kneeling in the attitude of prayer, the following inscription is legible – ‘1672 HERE LIETH THE BODY OF THE R.MOTHER MARIA GABRIEL ALIAS [ ] HELEN MARTIN FIRST AbbES AND RELIGIOUS OF THE POOR CLARES OF GALWAY, WHO DYED THE 14 OF JANU. AGED 63, IN RELIGION 40. PRAY FOR HER SOULE’.*

This monument is also described by Concannon (1929, 40-41), but by the time she wrote about it, it may have already been somewhat worn. She professes to give the inscription as it was read by Hardiman (1820, 269, f.n. i, No. 8), but there are several discrepancies between the two readings. Concannon omits the brackets, which, in Hardiman's version, suggests the presence of some illegible letters (or a space?) before the name Helen. Hardiman gives a small ‘h’ instead of Concannon's capital ‘H’ at the beginning of Helen. Concannon also gives ‘POORE’ for Hardiman's ‘POOR’, ‘DIED’ for his ‘DYED’ and ‘ADGED’ for his ‘AGED’. Jennings (1947) gives a slightly varying reading of this inscription as follows: *Here lieth the body of R.Mother Maria Gabriel alias Helen Martin, first Abbes and religious of the Poor Clares who dyed the 14 of Jany, aged 63, in religion 40. Pray for her Soule*. Jennings' interpretation is probably slightly more accurate in the reading of Jany instead of Janu. Curiously he did not notice the date on the stone which Concannon (1929) and Hardiman (1820) give as 1672. Rather he goes on to state that *No year is mentioned, but the Annals state that Sister Mary Gabriel alias Nell Martine made her religious profession in the Convent of Bethlehem near Athlone on 25 March, 1633. This would place her death about*
1673. She was the first native of Galway to join the Order’. MacLeod (1947) describes it only briefly commenting as follows ‘Another tomb slab illustrates St. Clare’s vision of the Annunciation’

It seems clear that the inscription was cut in Roman capitals and in low false relief. Concannon 1929, 40, describes the missing stone as being beside the Caet Dily slab (C16). Concannon, ibid. 66, also refers to the monument as being a ‘... notable object in that venerable site’.

The occurrence of an Annunciation scene would be an apt piece of iconography for some one whose religious name was Maria Gabriel and who was an abbess of the Poor Clares as the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Angel Gabriel and St. Clare (or Helen Martin herself?) all occur in the carving. Mother Gabriel Martin was the first Abbess and foundress of the Galway house of the Poor Clares. Cooke (1895, 295), lists this stone among those mentioned by Hardiman (1820) but which he could not find in 1895.

**Dimensions:** Unknown

**Dated:** 1672.

**References:**
- Concannon 1929, 40-41, 66.
- Cooke 1895, 295 (*passim*).
- Hardiman 1820, 269, f.n. 1, No. 8
- Jennings 1947, 119, f.n. 4.
- Killanin and Duignan 1962, 1967, 287 (*passim*).

Fig. 21, C22. Possible recumbent slab of Helen Martin, formerly at the Franciscan Cemetery, now lost. (After Hayward 1952). Drawing by Raymond Piper (Enlarged).
Location: Formerly in the Franciscan Graveyard at Newtownsmith, but now lost.

Description: This item is known from an engraving in Hardiman (1820), in which its inscription is recorded and its position within the Franciscan Abbey graveyard is noted as being ‘... near the modern tomb of O’Connor ...’. Two inscriptions occur on the stone. The first runs in a clockwise direction around the edge and is given as follows in the Hardiman’s text on page 268 (f.n. i, no. 2):

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS WALTER IV MARCACHAU ET MARGARETE NI DAVIN UXORIS EJUS, AC EORUNDEM PARENTUM, QUI HUNC LAPIDEM FIERI FECERUNT, QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPICIETUR DEUS. AMEN.
ANNO DNI 1579.
THOMAS DAVIN FEORCIANIBERAN

The inscription is given in Gothic or Black Letter script by Hardiman. The inscription ‘THOMAS DAVIN FEORCIANIVERAN’ and ‘GOLDSMET ARMVS’ occurs around a shield on the top of the stone. The words ‘GOLDSMET ARMVS’ can be seen around the base of the shield in the engraving through ‘Hardiman omits mention of it from his text. The ‘THOMAS DAVIN …’ is in Gothic script, the ‘GOLDSMET ARMVS’ (ie. GOLDSMET ARMUS – the SMITHS ARMS) is in Roman Capitals.

Both inscriptions were apparently carved in false relief (Hardiman ibid. uses the term ‘raised letters’).

The interpretation of the inscription is not as straightforward as Hardiman’s reading at first appears however. Hardiman’s engraving (ibid. 317) Miscellaneous Plate gives a differing reading. The first surname may be MAREACHAN for example rather than MARCACHAU of Hardiman’s footnote and this seems likelier from the engraving in Hardian’s Miscellaneous Plate (ibid., 316). Jennings (1947) also mentions this stone in passing but unfortunately does not give a reading of the full inscription that might help to clarify Hardiman's engraving. Jennings simply mentions it as the tomb of ‘Walter ui Maechacan date d 1579’. The Hardiman engraving in fact shows both upper and lowercase Gothic or Black-letter style script for all of the inscription except the ‘GOLDSMET ARMUS’. He records and he uses the same convention here, though it is clear that here and in all other cases, no Black-letter script occurs.

Instead the usual letterforms are Roman, uppercase letters with prominent serifs. The inscription shown on the engraving in Hardiman’s Miscellaneous Plate differs slightly from that given by him in his text and may be read as follows:

‘Orate pro animabus Walter ib mareachan et Margarete ni Davin/
Uxoris ejus. ac eor/ undem Parentum Qui
hunc lapidem fieri fecerunt quorum
animabus propicietur/Deus Amen A.D. 1579’

‘Thomas Davin Felorcia/
niberan GOLDSMET ARMUS’

About this Beautifier of Gold Thomas Davin, his daughter and her husband Walter, virtually nothing can be traced (see Mulveen 1994, 45-6). Though the differences of interpretation are relatively minor and we cannot be sure which is correct because the stone is now lost, the elucidation of the first name is vital. It seems to be ‘Walter iv Mariachan’ on the engraving rather than ‘Walter IV Marachau’ in Hardiman’s text (Hardiman, ibid., 268, f.n. 1,
no. 2). Even then the IV or IU does not seem to make much sense. The substitution of Úl for IU or IV would, however, make a lot more sense.

Several of the recumbent slabs in St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church and the present graveyard have Anglicised versions of Irish names in which the spelling is somewhat erratic, due possibly to misinterpretation of the pronunciation of the name or a general lack of consistency in the spelling of names and words that was very common in the 16th and 17th centuries.

There are two shields. The uppermost shield has a flat chief, straight sides and an ogival base. It has, in its upper left and lower right cantons (that is the first and fourth quarters) three lidded cups. In the upper right are three items, possibly coins, or perhaps leopards’ faces, or maybe buckles, as we shall see below. In the lower left (third quarter) has three small shields or inescutcheons. There is no crest shown (pace Mulveen 1994). The upper arms are obviously based loosely on a variation of those of the Worshipful Company of the Goldsmiths of the City of London and those of some other company of Irish goldsmiths.

The arms of the Workshipful Company of Goldsmiths of London is described heraldically as follows: ‘Quarterly, gules and azure, in the first and fourth quarters, a leopard’s head afrontee Or, in the second and third a covered cup between in chief two buckles fesswise, all of the last’.

A coat of arms for the Dublin City Company of Goldsmiths was registered in Ulster’s office by the then Ulster Preston in 1638 and is given as ‘Quarterly, 1st and 4th, gu. A harp or, stringed ar.; 2nd and 3rd, az. A covered cup between two round buckles in fess or’. This arms is also cited by Burke’s General Armory (1884 407) (See Higgins 2007, 15-27 for a more detailed discussion of the heraldry of the stone).

Given the similarities between the London goldsmiths’ arms, granted in 1571, those of Dublin granted in 1638 and the Galway representation which occurs on a stone dated 1579, it would seem that the Galwegian goldsmiths’ arms were derived from those of the London Goldsmith’s Company. All three share covered cups. The shields or bucklers on the Galway carving may be a mistake for the buckles found on the London arms and which are later found on the Dublin arms. The coin-like objects on the Galway carving could be either leopard (lions) faces, or buckles rather than coins. Unfortunately Hardiman’s drawing is too vague to allow any certainty on this point but given the tendency for arms of similar guilds to bear similar charges or features, it seems eminently feasible to interpret the three objects in the upper right quarter of the shield as either buckles or possibly leopard faces. Whether the three shields in the lower left quadrant were meant to be buckles and mistakenly became bucklers or small shields, one can only speculate. It is possible that canting or heraldic punning had a role in this element of the coat of arms.

Again, however, the drawing may be wrong or another possibility is that this arms was designed to incorporate elements of the arms of another guild while at the same time a deliberate effort was made to difference them from their inspiration or prototype. The fact that the words ‘GOLDSMET ARMUS’ are used as a caption below them clearly indicates the designer’s intention to represent the heraldry of a Guild of Goldsmiths (to which Thomas Davin clearly belonged) as he understood it.

The lower shield is of the same outline form as that just described with a straight chief and sides and a wide, ogival base. It bears a ringed cross with the ring crossing over and under the arms and shaft. The cross rests on an unidentified object set on a horizontal shaft resting on six vertical supports. A gable-shaped configuration occurs at the back of the stone. An irregularly shaped object is shown leaning diagonally between the lower right cross arm and the gable-shaped object just described. These are described by Hardiman (1820) as the ‘symbols of the Passion of Our Lord’ and seen in this light, it seems possible that the irregular object with a number of strands at one end might be a scourge.
In the centre of the slab is a shield charged with a ringed cross. The ring is interlaced around the arms and shaft and the shaft rests on a series of enigmatic shapes which look like a roof and a ladder, or perhaps some form of decorative base. The Symbols of the Passion or The Armas Christi may have been intended. Irish representations of the Symbols of the Passion on heraldic shields (on 15th-16th Century and later tombs of the late to Early 17th centuries especially) frequently show the crown of Thorns at the junction of the arms and shaft of the cross and this, most likely, formed the ring here too.

Hardiman says that the stone bears ‘... the arms of the corporation of goldsmiths, the several instruments of torture used at the Crucifixion and an antique ship ...’. The interpretation of one of the items in the somewhat misleading engraving as a ladder would therefore seem reasonable. The ladder is commonly found among the devices shown on the Symbols of the Passion, the Armas Christi and the Arms of Christ, Saviour of Mankind.

The engraving does not seem to show any other identifiable passion symbols unless the object to the right of the shaft of the cross is intended to represent a scourge for instance, though the sketchy nature of the engraving would seem to render such an interpretation useless. Cook (1895) lists this stone - ‘a curiously carved stone with arms of goldsmiths, ships, Sc., 1579’ - among those he could not find at the site.

On the bottom of the slab is carved a triple-masted sailing boat with a pendant on top of each mast. The ship is shown at sea and though there are no sails indicated, rigging is shown. The stern is high and concave, the bow is pointed. This ship may be intended as the ‘Arms of Galway’ though no shield, pennant or inescutcheon bearing a lion rampant is shown. This and C9 have been published in detail in an article on the arms of Galwegian guilds (Higgins 2007, 15-27).

**Dimensions:** Unknown.

**Dated:** 1579.

**References:**
Cooke 1895, 295 (passim).
Hardiman 1820, Miscellaneous Plate, p.316, No. 9, 268, f.n. i, No. 2.
Higgins 2007 15-27, especially 16-21 and Figs. 1 and 15.
Higgins and McHugh 1990, 58 (passim).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 258.
Jennings 1947, 118, f.n.3, passim.
Mulveen 1994, 45-6 and Fig. 2.

Fig. 22, C23. Recumbent slab to Thomas Davin and others, formerly at the Franciscan Cemetery, now lost. (After Hardiman 1820).
C24 and C25, (Type A), Not illustrated

Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith.

Description: Two grave slabs apparently recumbent, are described by Concannon. It is not clear whether these can be equated with any of the other lost monuments listed by Cooke for example, though there may be some overlap.

Concannon (1929) describes several numbered gravestones of the ‘Rich Clares’ or Urbanites at this site (ibid., 40-41, see also page 42, f.n. i, op. cit.). Some of those she describes are still extant, some of these are also mentioned by Hardiman (1820), but others are not. Some of the stones had been numbered and had figures carved on them at some stage.

Only one of the monuments now surviving has a number of it. This is Hardiman's No. 7 and Concannon's (1929), No. 4, which is still extant and is C16 of the present corpus. When this numbering took place is unknown.

In referring to the two stones (catalogued here as C28 and C16) Concannon (1929, 41) also mentions two ‘noteless’ monuments marked ‘2 and 3’ which cannot be positively identified. She describes them as follows: "Both Elizabeth Lynch and Caet Dily - and probably their sisters who slumber beneath the stones, now ‘noteless’, marked ‘2 and 3’ - in all likelihood were members of a house of Franciscan Tertiaries - like those ‘Beatas’ in Drogheda, of whom Mother Bonaventure’s narrative makes mention".

None of the ‘noteless’ stones marked ‘2 and 3’ now seem to survive. The only one of the surviving stones that bears a number is C16 that bears the number 4 on the lower end of the slab, cut into the garment of the figure of the slab.

The description of Concannon quoted above seems to imply that, like C16 and C22, these also bore effigies of ‘... members of a house of Franciscan Tertiaries’. A slab marked with the letter 1 was also present when she wrote, and this is the present writer's C20 that is now lost. Cooke 1895, 295, states that there ‘are two sculptured slabs over the graves of the Poor Clares, and also two over the Franciscan Fathers’. Unfortunately he does not give the inscriptions on any of them.

Dimensions: Unknown.
Date: Unknown.
References:
Concannon 1929, 40-41 and 42, f.n. i.
Cooke 1895, 195, passim.
Hardiman 1820, 268-9 and Miscellaneous Plate 316, No. 9.
Jennings 1947,118, f.n.3.
C26, (Type A), Not Illustrated

**Location:** Formerly in the Franciscan Graveyard but now lost.

**Description:** The stone is among those described by FitzGerald (1910-12) which he states ‘are cut in relief, many of the letters being conjoined’. It seems to have been a recumbent slab. The inscription is given as follows:

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IHS-MAR
PRAY FOR THE SOVL
OF ANNE BLAKE
FITZ SRR [SIC] WALTER
WHO DYED THE
25 OF JANVARY
1682
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Jennings (1947) gives what appears to be a more accurate reading of the inscription as follows: ‘IHS Maria Pray for the soul of Anne Blake relict of Sir Walter who died the 23 of January 1682’.

Hardiman (1820) does not record this inscription nor does Cooke (1895) and the accuracy of the readings with their slightly varying dates cannot be checked. The first line may have had a cross to accompany the IHS monogram and the formula IHS and MARIA sometimes occurs on both funerary monuments and on fireplace mantelpieces.

Jennings describes this stone as ‘Tomb No. 6’ and seems to imply that it was a recumbent slab. While neither of the above-mentioned writers state that this stone was decorated in any way, it is likely to have had some form of embellishment and it is included here for the sake of completeness. Ann Blake was a Poor Clare and her burial at the Franciscan Graveyard is explained, according to Jennings (1947), by the fact that Sir Walter Blake was Mayor of Galway in 1618 when the Corporation made the nuns a grant of the land on Illaun Altenagh. Jennings, op. cit. and Gilbert (1885) Historic Mss. Commission, Report X, Appendix IV, 198-9, Archives of the Town of Galway.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.

**Dated:** 1682.

**References:**
FitzGerald 1910-12, 80.
Jennings 1947, 118-119, f.n. 4.
C27, (Type A), Not illustrated

**Location:** Formerly in the Franciscan Graveyard but now lost. It is referred to in passing by Concannon (1929), Fitz Gerald (1910-12) and Jennings (1947).

**Description:** This stone, probably a recumbent slab, is recorded by Fitz Gerald (1910-12, 81), who does not state whether or not it was recumbent. Jennings however includes it when he says ‘A series of eight recumbent stones marks the resting place of some Poor Clares of the 17th century, and near them are two carved stones covering the remains of two priests who are represented in the ecclesiastical attire of the first half of the same century’. The context, and the fact that the other identifiable numbered stones were recumbent, implies that this too was a recumbent slab. He does indicate, however, that the slab was decorated in the centre with a crest and coat of arms. It is possible that it was of the same recumbent form as C22 and C23. The inscription, which ran around the four edges of the slab is given by Fitz Gerald as follows:

\[\text{HERE LIETH THE BODY OF ELIZABETH LYNCH FITZ[chip]}\]
\[\text{OVND NS OF THE ORDER OF SAINT[-----]W BA WHO DIED THE 14 OF SEPTEMBER 1626}\]

Jennings (1947) gives another reading of the inscription which, however, makes a lot more sense and seems likely to have been far more accurate. It is as follows:

‘Here lieth the body of Elizabeth Lynche foundress of the Order of S Clara who died the 14 of September, 1626’.

The inscription can be reconstructed from the above sources to read as follows:

\[+\text{HERE LIETH THE BODY OF ELIZABETH LYNCH[E]}\]
\[\text{FOUNDRESS OF THE ORDER OF S CLARA WHO DIED THE 14 OF SEPTEMBER 1626}\]

The two different spellings of the name LYNCH[E] should be noted. The inscription was obviously in Roman capitals. Jennings also supplies the additional information that ‘The Lynch arms are engraved in the centre’.

This stone, like C27, may be the tomb of a ‘Rich Clare’ or a Franciscan Tertiary but is unlikely to have been a Poor Clare (See also C27).

Concannon (1929), though she does not give the inscription, records this stone in passing in the following terms – ‘Both Elizabeth Lynch and Caet Dily and probably their sisters who slumber beneath the stones, now ‘noteless’ marked ‘2 and 3’ in all likelihood were members of the house of Franciscan Tertiaries - like those ‘Beatas’ in Drogheda of whom Mother Bonaventure’s narrative makes mention’. In the same publication however Concannon, *ibid*, 40, describes the stone as ‘That marked No 1, and bearing the Lynch arms ...

Jennings (1947) implies that this stone was the first of the series of numbered stones at the site, (*ibid.*, 118, f.n. 4). He also notes that ‘as the Poor Clares did not come to Galway until 1642, the inscription is intriguing, but Elizabeth Lynch may have enabled them to come by her earlier benefactions’. He describes the inscription as being on the first of the numbered stones and this agrees with Concannon's earlier mention of the stone. Hardiman (1820) does not record the stone and it may not have been visible by circa 1942 when Hayward wrote.
Dimensions: Unknown
Dated: 1626.
References:
Concannon 1929, 40-41, 44, f.n. i.
Fitz Gerald 1910-12, 81.
Jennings 1947, 118-9, f.n. 4, 119.
Millett (1964), 227-8
Walsh 1996, 93, f.n. 232.
Location: In the grounds of Merlin Park Hospital. Two stones (C28 and C29) are now enclosed by concrete stakes and 'diamond wire' and an area around them is gravelled.

Description: A rectangular recumbent slab bearing a large Latin Cross Calvary set on the two steps. The cross was defined by cutting a wide groove. The stepped base of the Latin cross is open-ended. Cut in low false relief below the cross in the inscription ‘CONOR O REILLIE’.

Below the base of the cross is a series of vocational symbols, including a sock and coulter of a plough and a dished and grooved circular object. This, it has been suggested represents a shoeing stone or banding stone which was used by a blacksmith to put a metal rim on a wheel of a vehicle. Muriel Lynch Athy (1913-14, 152) describes the latter features as follows, ‘the carvings on the most probably represents smith's tools: bellows, knife and shoeing-stone’. The circular object which Athy describes as a 'shoeing-stone' would be a discoid stone with a large hole in the middle into which the hub of the wheel sat. However, it seems far likelier that the circular feature is meant to represent a ring with which the cutting blade of the plough was fastened to the plough itself when it was in use. A depiction of the elements of a plough on a late medieval monument at Athenry where the annular ring is shown in its proper fastening position can be seen in Plate 11B of Volume 3. The rim of the wheel fitted into the annular groove. The metal wheel-rim was heated and beaten into the wood while it was in position on the stone. The wood swelled and the metal type fitted tightly against the wood edge of the wheel. The curved blade-like object, Athy suggests, may be a 'smith's knife' but this seems unlikely. It more closely resembles a plough coulter which is undoubtedly what is given that a plough sock is also clearly shown. There is an inscription and date in a T-shaped recess near the base of the stone. This is read as by Athy as follows:

‘CONER O REILLIE

1650’

The inscription is cut in low false relief as are the rest of the patterns on the stone.

Dimensions: L: 198.3 cm., W: 72.5 cm. (at top) and 71.3 cm. at bottom.

Date: 1650

References: Athy 1913 - 14, 152.

Unpublished Sources:
National Museum of Ireland Topographical Files, 16-5-1927 (Includes black and white photographs).
Fig. 23, C28. Recumbent slab to Coner O’Reillie 1650 at Merlin Park. (A) After Athy 1913-1914. (B) The same slab now.
C29, (Type A), Plate 90A.  

Location: Close to C28, grounds of Merlin Park Hospital.

Description: A recumbent slab bearing a large and plain Latin cross defined by a wide groove and set on steps in the manner of a Calvary Cross.

As is the case with C28, the cross is a Calvary Cross on a stepped base. It is of Latin form. The base is open-ended like that of C28. The cross is left in low false relief, being defined by wide grooves.

Dimensions: L: 174.3 to 175.3 cm., W: 71.5 to 73 cm.

Date: Mid to late 17th century.

References: Lynch-Athy 1913 - 14, 152.

Unpublished Sources: N.M.I. Topographical Files 16-5-1927.

Fig. 24, C29. Cross decorated recumbent slab, 17th century at Merlin Park.
Location: To the south east of the South Porch, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. An Earth fast stone previously covered with gravel but partly exposed as a result of traffic of cars across the area in 2006 and again in 2007. When the area was re-gravelled in 2007 the stone was covered over.

Description: A limestone slab, now in two pieces. The recumbent slab is worn and eroded. It is flaking in areas and patinated in others. What appears to be a tool of some sort, perhaps a set of tongs, is incised near one corner of the stone. There are two pairs of unused lines, each pair has roughly parallel lines. These two arms or pongs converge towards a point and partly overlap before continuing for a further short distance. The jaws of the tongs (if that is what is represented) are not however clearly defined. If the object shown is a pair of tongs then the vocational tools of a blacksmith may perhaps have been depicted.

Dimensions: L: 130, W: 74cms
Date: Late 16th-Early 17th century.

Fig. 25, C30. Recumbent slab with probable vocational motifs (?) 17th century St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Uncovered in 2007, now covered over again.
**Location:** Roscam Cemetery. Previously the stone lay loose on the ground outside and parallel to the South Wall of the Medieval Church but clearly not *in situ*. More recently, the stone has been erected in an upright portion within the 19th century enclosure to the Comyns Family vault which is set against the south wall of the church near its south eastern end, and enclosed by a stone wall.

**Description:** A limestone slab of tapering, coffin-shaped form with a narrow bevelled edge. The stone is decorated with an incised Latin cross and is complete.

The cross has a two-line shaft and the cross head had four fleur-de-lis terminals. The centre of the cross head is sub-lozenge shaped with concave sides. The base of the stone is now obscured in part by concrete and earth but is complete.

**Dimensions:** L: 110, W: 42 (at top), 31 (at bottom), T: 14 to 17.8cms.
**Date:** 13th-14th century.
**References:** Higgins 1992, 209 *passim.*
Location: Roscam Cemetery, in the graveyard to the south east of the medieval church and now recumbent on top of a modern gravelled and kerbed plot and broken in two pieces. The slab was complete about twenty years ago and was previously set deep in the ground in an upright position prior to the insertion of the grave kerbing. It used to be positioned alongside a holed stone which is now also loose but was previously set deep in the ground (in secondary position). The lower part of the slab is now broken away but lies with the rest on top of the grave.

Description: A tapering medieval slab with a two-line incised cross having an elaborate seven-armed cross-head with fleur-de-lis terminals extend from the bottom of the cross shaft in an area where there is some weathering and wear.

The slab is un-bevelled and there is no inscription.

Dimension: L: 117.5, W: 36.5 (at top), 24.5 (at bottom), T: 10.5cm.
Date: 13th-14th centuries.
References: Previously unpublished.
Location: Roscam Cemetery, close to the Northern boundary of the enclosed cemetery recumbent and previously reused to mark a grave in secondary position and now broken into two large and one smaller displaced fragment.

Description: A large and almost complete slab of limestone with a mitered, slightly curved angles at the top, the stone has a slightly tapering coffin-shaped outline and a flat lower end. The slab has a bevelled edge and a flat, raised rim runs around the edges of the stone. Carved in low false relief is a Latin cross with an elongated shaft and this has fleur-de-lis terminals to each of its arms, as well as to the top and bottom of its shaft. In addition two further fleur-de-lis are angled inwards and are pendant from the angles of the frame at the upper end of the cross slab just below the middle of the cross slab beneath where it is broken the remnants of two further fleur-de-lis occur.

Dimension: L: 191, W: 66 (at top), 72.5 (at shoulders), 45.5 (at bottom), T: 8.5 to 12 cms.
Date: 14th or late 14th to early 15th century.
References: Previously unpublished.
**Location:** Roscam Cemetery, a fragment of a limestone cross slab which previously lay loose within the church at its eastern end below the east window. It could not be located during site visits in 2000, 2004 and 2006.

Description: Portion of the edge of a medieval slab with a bevelled edge and with a small section of a cross-shaft with incised lines of u-shaped cross-section represented. The fragment is of limestone. It is now lost.

**Dimensions:** L: 20, W: 38, T: 12.5.
**Date:** Medieval – Late 13th to 14th century.
**References:** Previously unpublished

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**Fig. 29, C34. Fragment of a Recumbent cross slab, Roscam.**
Location: Rosshill House, Roscam but originally from Roscam Cemetery.

Description: A small limestone slab with bevelled edges and a tapering shape. The slab is a miniature coffin shaped one with a Latin cross carved in low false relief. The cross has foliated terminals. The slab is complete. There is no inscription. The tradition locally is that the slab was taken from Roscam cemetery nearby.

The stone is incorporated in a late 18th / early 19th century barn building in the grounds of the house and there is also a cusped ogre-headed window spandrel bearing a head of a bishop wearing a mitre and a trefoil which is referred to locally as ‘St. Patrick’s Stone’. The stone is set high in the wall and could not be measured for reasons of safety.

Dimensions: Unavailable.
Date: 13th - 14th century.
References: Previously unpublished.

Fig. 30, C35. Recumbent cross slab, from Roscam, now reused in the wall of a building at Rosshill House nearby.
A(i) **OTHER POSSIBLE MEDIEVAL RECUMBENT SLABS (C36-40)**

Several other medieval monuments that may originally have had decoration or inscriptions also occur in Galway. Though these may well be medieval funerary monuments, the extent of their original decoration is uncertain. The status and exact form of these stones as items of decorated sculpture is then uncertain, but they are recorded here for the sake of completeness. Both of the St. Nicholas’ examples (C36 and C37) have been alluded to only briefly in the literature hitherto (See Higgins in Fleetwood Berry, (ed. Higgins) 1989, 61 (f.n.). Totally plain stones which are clearly of medieval date are not uncommon in Ireland (Higgins and Heringklee 1992 V and 72) and good examples occur at Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny for example (Higgins in Clyne (ed.) 2007, 454, 459, Fig. 7.1:1).

The stones from Kirwan’s Lane (C38) and Quay Street (C39) are no longer available. C38 seems to have been completely removed from the buildings in what amounted to a crude renovation of the late medieval building it had been incorporated into. C39 may still be present beneath plaster, in the jamb of the doorway of No. 5 Quay Street.

C40 bears two parallel incised lines and is reminiscent, though on a small scale, of a slab bearing the cross shaft of a recumbent funerary monument on it. It is unfortunate that none of the original sides of the object which might for example bear a level or some other feature which would help to indicate its function, now survives. Again it is possibly, rather probably a fragment of a funerary monument. Given the size of the lines and their closeness the slab may have been part of a miniature medieval cross slab, a rarity in Galway apart from that now at Roshill House but originally at Roscam Cemetery (C35).
C36, (Type A(i)), Plate 2A.

**Location:** St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church previously lying loose on the top of the Lynch tomb (C35) in the South-East corner of the South Transept. This stone was placed in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in 1989, having prior to that been reused as paving in the graveyard. It was formerly outside the exterior door that gave access to the Vestry from the south-eastern side of the cemetery. It was removed some time between 2007 and 2009 and is now missing.

**Description:** The stone is a limestone slab that is in three large pieces, and is now featureless as a result of wear and weathering. The upper surface is very flat but seems to bear some badly preserved incised arcs, perhaps part of a foliated cross or a cruciform pattern near one end of the stone. Two lightly incised but very worn parallel lines occur near the right edge of the uppermost segment of stone. The sides have, in places, closely set horizontal tooling made up of deep parallel grooves. The slab is rectangular and one long side is relatively straight while the other has a somewhat rounded ‘bevel’ to its edge. The proportions and size (along with possible but extremely worn and almost indecipherable evidence for decoration) would all tend to suggest that this is a medieval funerary monument.

**Dimensions:** L: 178.5, W: 41.5 to 42.5, T: 11 to 14.5cms.

**Date:** ?13th to 15th centuries.

**References:**
Higgins in Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins) 1989, 61 (f.n.).
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, Cat.No. 424, 251 (and also site-map opposite 334).

Fig. 31, C36. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The stone is now missing.
**Location:** South-east side of the graveyard of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** A plain recumbent slab now apparently reused above a later grave, the stone is worn and appears to be undecorated. The object is a long limestone slab of the sort of proportions and size one would expect for an early medieval slab. It is only slightly wider at the western top end than at its eastern or lower end. Though it is now very worn and there is no apparent trace of a cross, it seems possible given the shape and proportions of the stone, that this is a medieval recumbent slab that has been reused. It might, for example, have once had an incised cross or it might have simply had a painted cross and an inscription which is now gone such as Bradley has suggested for some of the plain (but clearly medieval) slabs from Kilkenny City and Kells Priory Co. Kilkenny. Bradley (1980 5-21). Higgins in Clyne (ed.) (2007, 454 and 459).

The right hand edge is relatively straight and fairly flat, being rounded off in only a few areas while much of the left edge has a worn and possibly artificial but nevertheless, rough bevel. There are some slight traces of lime mortar adhering to the main surface of the stone.

**Dimensions:** L: 189, W (at top): 54.5, W (at bottom): 53.4, T: 7.5 to 8.5cms.
**Date:** (?)13th to early 15th century.

**References:**
Higgins in Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins) 1989, 61 (f.n.).
Higgins and Heringkle 1992, Cat. No. 149, 73 (and map).
C38, (Type A9(i)) Plate 93C

Location: Unknown, but formerly in Kirwan’s Lane.

Description: A long rectangular slab that is apparently slightly tapering in shape is built into the facade of a fine late medieval building in Kirwan's Lane. The stone may have been reused with its carved face inwards in the wall, just at present ground level. The surface that faced outwards is however very flat and may possibly be the (undecorated) original 'front' of the stone.

Dimensions: Unknown.
Date: Possibly medieval, ?13th-16th century.
References: Unpublished.

Note: In 1994 this stone was taken from the blocking of the doorway during building renovations at the site. Its present location is not known. Mr Neill Flanagan who excavated at the site is of the opinion that the stone did not bear any decoration (Pers. Comm. 1995). The stone is unfortunately now lost. The stone seems to be just barely visible in a 19th century photograph reproduced by Semple (1969 and 1972, 38). It occurred just to the left of the seated figure in the photograph. (See Plate 93C).
Cat No. 39, Type A(i), Not illustrated

**Location:** In the jamb of the door of a premises called *Pearls of Wisdom*, No.5 Quay Street, but now covered over.

**Description:** A further possible medieval slab with somewhat more definite evidence for decoration was seen only briefly by the writer in 1984 as it was being plastered over. This stone is reused in a late medieval building (formerly 'Travelling Light') in Quay Street where it had been reused in the lower left hand jamb of a doorway. It appeared to have been portion of a medieval slab on that a lightly incised line, medially placed, was cut. This may perhaps have been a layout-line for a cross which ran down the centre of a medieval graveslab. The stone seemed to taper slightly in shape and had at least part of one bevelled edge that would suggest that it was possibly a graveslab.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.

**Date:** Uncertain, possibly medieval.

**References:** Unpublished.
C40, (Type A(i))

**Location:** Set in the wall of a 19th century bridge at Sandy Road, Galway.

**Description:** A fragment of limestone bearing two thin, narrow parallel lines. The lines are carefully incised. No worked or shaped edges survive and it is therefore difficult to ascribe a definite date or function to the object. The stone is somewhat worn and its edges are obscured by mortar in places.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the item the tooling which was made with a point is clearly visible under good lighting conditions.

It seems possible that the parallel lines represent part of the shaft of a two line incised cross shaft and may therefore be part of a reused grave slab of medieval type.

**Dimensions:** L: 41, W: 15cms.
**Date:** (?) 13th to 15th century.
**References:** Previously unpublished.

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Fig. 33, C40. Limestone fragment with parallel lines, possibly part of a grave slab. Incorporated in a 19th century bridge at Sandy Road.
A(ii) WALL-SLABS OR RECUMBENT SLABS (AND FRAGMENTS)

RE-SET IN WALLS

(C41 – C43)
A(ii) Wall-Slabs or Recumbent Slabs (and Fragments) Re-set in Walls (C41 –C43)(Figs. 34-36).

These monuments all date to the last third of the 17th century and all bear plain inscriptions without any decoration. The inscriptions are cut in very low false relief and the lettering (in the main is in Roman Capitals with prominent serifs).

It is unfortunate that the edges of these monuments are covered in most cases, and it is difficult to know whether they were always of the sizes and proportions which are visible now.

In all cases the slabs under discussion show distinct traces of wear and tear. In two instances their re-positioned location is causing them damage through ingress of salts through the thick layer of mortar applied in the 1958-1962 period of restoration. The plaster has covered the sides, and most of the edges of all three monuments.

On the basis of the unframed but inscribed panel incorporated in walling in recess at the back of C50C (The Lynch tomb-cum-window) the origins of the plain inscribed wall-panel may be as early as the mid-17th century in Galway (C50 is dated 1644. On the other hand framed inscribed wall panels are rare before the 18th century A late Eyre incised wall panel with a foliage decorated frame is certainly no earlier than 1740, it bears the dates 1683 and 1739 (See Text Fig. 35).

The stones in this group are dated 1666 (the Pope monument), 1684 (The Vaughan stone) and 1694 (the Taylor monument) and though there would at first seem to be a link between the plain un-inscribed plaque of the Lynch monument (C50 of 1644). It must be remembered however that that plaque is in itself unusual in the same way that it and several other monuments are also unusual including C47A with its heraldry around a plain panel whose link to the tomb below it, C47, is obvious from the occurrence of the same heraldry but the antecedents of which are unclear. C41 to C43 are linked just as closely with C50 than with any earlier stone associated with the Galwegian Tribal families and what links them (C50 and C41-C43) apart from the vague similarities of form is that they were all made for families of 17th century British settlers in Galway.

This is what at first appears to be a distinctive group of wall plaques but on close examination would appear to be a group of late 17th century stones which has been inserted into the walls of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church for safe keeping and display when they were already in a fragmentary or incomplete condition. All of them would appear (on the evidence of close examination, photographic evidence and the testimony of what 19th century engravings of the church interior which exist) to be reused. All three may have been recumbent slabs which were later set in the walls as wall plaques.
**Location:** Set in the southern wall of the chancel of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** An inscribed but undecorated slab of limestone. The edges of the stone are covered in render and it is now impossible to know whether it is a simple plaque of limestone set in the wall or whether it is a fragment of a reused recumbent slab subsequently set into the wall and reused there.

The inscription is carved in low false relief, the lettering is in Roman capitals and reads as follows:

```
HERE·LYETH·THE·BODY
OF·JOHN·POPE·WHO·DY-
ED·THE·5·OF·MAY·1666
```

The area of stone above the inscription bears some crude tooling and the surface of the stone is laminating partly due to leaking of salts from the render. A dark discolouration occurs in places and white salts cover parts of the stone. The lack of a frame and the placing of the mortar around the stone with more of the stone exposed may suggest that the stone is in secondary position here and that it may be part of a reused recumbent slab rather than having always been a wall panel or plaque.

Some of the letters of the inscription are conjoined.

**Dimensions:** W: 75.3, H: 35.4 cm

**Dated:** 1666

**References:**
Cook 1895, 294 (He mistakenly gives the name as JOHN HOPE instead of JOHN POPE).
Fitz Gerald 1895-97, 463.
Fleetwood Berry (1912), 65 (Given the date “15th of May” by mistake.
Hardiman 1820, 217 lists John Pope as Sheriff of Galway in 1661.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 197 Cat. No. 369.

![Fig. 34, C41. Monument to John Pope, 1666. St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.](image)
**C42, (Type A(i)), Plate 94B**  
Fig. 35

**Location:** St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Set in secondary position in the South wall of the North Aisle.

**Description:** Now a plaque set in the wall of the church it is unclear whether this was always a wall-mounted plaque or whether it is a re-located recumbent slab which was set in the church wall during the 19th and 20th century restorations to the fabric.

The slab is of limestone but is badly discoloured. The rectangular slab has some minor decorative features in the form of U-shaped indentations above the inscription. The inscription itself in Roman capitals. The letters ‘E’ of the word ‘YE’ are placed above the actual letter ‘Y’. Lozenge shaped spacing marks occur between many of the words of the inscription which is in sixteen lines and cut in low false relief. Traces of layout lines occur between the lines of text.

The inscription is as follows:

```
HERE·LYETH·YE·BODY OF
[J]AMES·VAUGHAN DOCTOR
OF DEVINETY·WARDEN
OF GALWAY·YE·FOVRTH
SONN·OF EDWARD VAUGH[AN]
OF·TROWOSCOED·ESQUIRE
AND·OF·YE·COUNTY·OF
OLD·CALLED·YE·DEMETRE
[N]OW CARDIGON·SHIRE &
OF·LETTICE·HIS·MOTHER
YE·DAUGHTER·OF·IOHN
STEDMAN·OF·STRATAF[L]O
RADA·IN·YE·SAME·COUNTY
ESQUIRE·&·DIED·YE·28[TN?]
DAY·OF·IVNE·ANNO
DOMINI·1684
```

**Dimensions:** W: 64.2, H: 75.3cm

**Dated:** 1684

**References:**
Blake (ed.)1907-8 Galway Corporation Book B, 142 f.n. f), Dr. James Vaughan was Warden of St. Nicholas’. He was appointed for life by patent dated 23rd of March 1663. He died in 1683 according to Blake *ibid.* but, in 1664 according to the inscription.
Cooke 1895, 294 *passim.*
Fitz Gerald (1895-7), 462 puts the ‘N’ of Vaughan above the ‘A’ on line 5 which is possibly correct. (The stone is now damaged in this area.) He also gives a small ‘TH’ after 28 which is in an area now obscured by mortar.
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 69.
Higgins and Heringkle 1992, 178, Cat.No. 344.
Fig. 35, C42. Monument to Dr. James Vaughan 1684, St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. Drawing by Nigel Kearey.
Location: Now set in the wall of the South Aisle of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church to the west of the south doorway.

Description: The top and sides of this limestone slab are now obscured by render. The bottom edge is markedly straight and is visible in a groove in the render. The smooth regularity of this lower edge of the stone would seem to suggest that it was cut down from a larger slab with a stone saw or angle grinder. The cutting down may have been done in the course of the 1958-1962 restoration work at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Given that the panel is apparently cut down in size it seems possible that this was part of a recumbent slab rather than a wall plaque. It seems to have been cut roughly to the same size as a nearby early 18th century slab in the same wall and some photographs of the interior of the church in the late 19th century do not show these slabs in their present position.

The inscription is crudely cut in low false relief and the lettering is Roman capitals. The epitaph reads as follows:

HERE·LYE·THE·BODY·OF
GEORGE·TAYLER·WH
O·DIED·THE·28·DAY
OF·OCTOBER·IN·THE
YEAR·OF·OVR LOR[D]
GOD·1694.

Some of the letters are conjoined. The top of the slab is crudely worked above the inscription. The stone is worn and burnished and is likely to have been a recumbent slab originally. It would seem to have been cut down and set in the wall during the 20th century restoration scheme of 1958-1962.

Dimensions: H: 81, W: 60cm
Dated: 1964
References:
Cooke 1895, 294 passim. where the surname is given as TAYLR instead of TAYLER.
Fitz Gerald 1895-97, 461.

Fig. 36, C43. Monument to George Tayler, 1694, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
(B) **BOX AND TABLE-TOMBS**

(C44A – C45B)
Type (B) Box or Table-Tombs

This category can be sub-divided into the following sub groups on the basis of their structure and forms. B(I) consists of Box or Table Tombs which are (or originally were) either wholly free-standing or altar-like, or partially free-standing box or wall-tomb fragments which may have been partially free standing (i.e. with one long side set against a wall for example). These include C44 (A and B) the remnants of the tomb of Sir Peter French and Mary Browne.

The second sub-group (B(II)) consists of a single tomb (The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion panels C45I-III which seems to consist of fragments of a monument which could have been either fully or partially free standing but there is not enough evidence to indicate which was the case.

Sub-Group B(III) is again, a series of elements from a single monument (at No. 46 (A-K) and again it is unclear whether the monument that the fragments formed part of was free standing or partially free standing. In the case of sub-group B(IV) it is clear that the monument (C47) was a partially free standing box tomb associated with a panel which has a moulded surround and which is located above the main monument (C47A). The two monuments together form sub-groups B(III) and B(IVA) and B(IVB).

Sub-group B(V) bring together three closely related monuments by the same sculptor (C48, C49 and C50 which clearly formed parts of the same features. It is unclear whether the three panels in question came from a box-tomb or whether in fact they formed part of a reredos located behind an altar. C51 of B(V), but there is emerging evidence to suggest that they formed parts of a reredos. Sub-group B(VII) like the last three carvings, may have been a tomb panel or may have come from a reredos, but C51 might as easily have come from a partly free standing or free standing box tomb as a reredos, however, it is very difficult to be sure in this instance especially as either crucifixion panels of 17th century date occur in wall-tomb. C52 is however clearly a mensa from a box-tomb of the Darcy family.
(B) **BOX OR TABLE-TOMBS**

*B(i) Box or Table-Tombs* (Table Tombs or partially free-standing Box or Wall-Tomb fragments). (C44A-B).

Box-tombs - by which one means rectilinear, free-standing tombs that have a base, sides and a mensa or top of some sort - are not common in Galway except a small number of surviving fragments. Unfortunately the panels that do survive are so fragmentary as to give no clue as to whether they come from a free-standing box-tomb, an altar-tomb or some variation on a free-standing or partly free-standing monument. Here the term altar-tomb is applied to box-like rectilinear monuments which have been built with one long side flush against a wall. Even in such instances it is difficult to know whether some such tomb fragments that seem to have had three visible accessible sides came from a simple altar-like construction or whether they came from a tomb which was set into a niche in a wall of a building.

Each monument, where it is reduced to a fragmentary state, has to be examined on its own merits in order to judge whether it originally came from a box-tomb, altar-tomb or formed an altar-like construction within a niched or canopied tomb.

It would be extremely difficult to decide if, for example, C47 (Plates 24A, 24E, etc) was dismantled, whether the fragments came from a free-standing rectangular box-tomb, partly free-standing altar-tomb or some variation on either of those types of construction. As it is, C47 looks as if it was partly rebuilt.

C44 (A-B), the fragments of the tomb of Sir Peter French, can be identified and associated together because of the identical nature of their folk-art style figure sculpture. However, it is uncertain as to whether the two surviving panels came from a free-standing box-tomb of four panels in total or from a three-sided monument which was incorporated against a wall or with a niche in a wall.
Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. The tomb of Sir Peter French and Mary Browne.

Description: This is most likely to have been part of either a free-standing table-tomb or a partly free-standing wall-tomb. It is unclear whether the top of the tomb or mensa was decorated with effigies or not, but if full-length effigies did occur, they would be the only ones to survive from Galway. Unfortunately none of the top now survives. The fragments are now incorporated in the boundary wall at the Franciscan Graveyard. Two definite elements of the tomb of Sir Peter French (who died in 1631) and his wife Mary Browne survive. These consist of two narrow panels (of slightly different sizes) presumably from the ends of a tomb. The end panels consist of (A) an armorial plaque with the arms of the owners along with figures of Saints Patrick and Nicholas. A plaque with a depiction of The Trinity and cherubs (B) may have formed a further end panel. Two long side-panels bearing depictions of saints and another panel (slightly shorter) also bearing depictions of saints, flanking a centrally located Crucifixion Scene with Mary the Mother of Christ and Mary Magdalen shown on either side of the cross, are frequently assumed to be part of the French monument, but may in fact, be earlier and are described under the heading with The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels (C45(I-III)).

Panel 2 (Possibly either a frontal or an end panel of the tomb). This stone bears an elaborate achievement of arms showing the impaled coats of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary Browne. All the carvings (apart from the inscription) are cut in moderately high false relief and the carving has been cut to as much as 8 to 9cms in depth. The inscription which occurs below the shield reads: "SIR·PETER·FRENCH MARY·BROWNE". The letters in block capitals are cut in low false relief. The shield has a wide, ogee-shaped base, straight sides and a flat chief. The ‘eagle displayed’ of the Browne arms is a single-headed rather than a double-headed one such as often occurs. The bird has a projecting tongue and the feathers and talons are sculptured in great detail. The usual Browne Arms is more frequently depicted heraldically as follows: ‘Or, an eagle displayed with two heads sable’ (Mac Lysaght 1985, 211). (That is, an eagle with outspread wings and two heads, shown in black on a gold background.) The helmet shown is reinforced with binding strips and is decorated with a small rosette in the area of the hinge at the swivelling part of the back of the visor. The front of the visor, the area of the ‘breaths’ is protected by a series of curved bars. Ventilation holes are shown below these. The lambrequin or cloth covering deriving from behind the skull of the helmet flows back towards the rear of the helm from where elaborate foliate mantling projects on either side. This is arranged in pairs of large, spiralling whirls of foliage. The lower two pairs cascade downwards and terminate in a tassel on either side. A double crest-wreath rests on the top of the helmet and the crest, a bowed or embowed dolphin rests above this. The dolphin is shown with a long ‘snout’, a large eye, a multi-finned back and a stylised tail. Large scales are depicted on the body of the animal. A pair of saints, St. Patrick and St. Nicholas, flank the arms in a similar manner to heraldic supporters. Two inscriptions ‘S. PATRICK’ and ‘S. NICHOLAS’ occur above them which identify each saint. Both figures are elaborately dressed. Each wears a bishop's mitre. The facial features and style of clothing of each saint is virtually identical, though there is some slight variation in the type of brooches or cloak fasteners worn and in the decorative details of the fringes, hems and cuffs of their clothing.

ST. PATRICK AND ST. NICHOLAS

Both saints are shown as squat figures with rounded faces. Each has closely-set eyes and an upward-turning moustache. They wear long, squarish beards that are cut straight across at the bottom and reach as far as the chest in each case. The noses are both now damaged but
Legends associated with the saint. St. Nicholas is said to have restored to life three young boys reminiscent of a font or a squat chalice though this is an apparent interpretation of one of the shaped cup, a rectangular shaft followed by a waisted segment and a rectilinear base. It is reminiscent of a font or a squat chalice though this is an apparent interpretation of one of the legends associated with the saint. St. Nicholas is said to have restored to life three young boys.
who had been murdered and pickled in barrels of brine. A painting by a Flemish artist G. David that dates to the 15th century and is now in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, shows one version of this legend Sill (1976, 195). In it three young boys are shown in a tub-like barrel. One of the boys has one leg in and the other out, of the vessel. The saint stands alongside with one hand outstretched (as here) in a blessing posture and the other holding a crozier. A 16th century painting of the same legend from the chapel of Our Lady of Calhau is now in the Musée de Arte Sacre at Funchal in Madeira. In this depiction the three children are shown in a wide, open tub. It is likely that in the present depiction some sort of crozier was also an original part of the scheme. The saint's left hand is shown outstretched as if holding something and it is possible that a cross-staff or crozier, such as that held by St. Patrick, would have balanced out the composition. The side of the stone is, however, fairly regular and straight and it is likely that the rest of the saint's hand and the crozier would have had to have been continued onto a further, narrow, strip of stone, if at all. Some segments of the shaft of this feature, set at a slight angle are indicated near the top of the right side of the slab but the remainder has been (a) either destroyed by the very careful trimming down of this side of the panel, or (b) continued in part onto a narrow piece of stone or another decorated block that possibly formed a now missing corner with one side of the surviving panel. The latter case seems to be the most likely one.

Panel D (C44b)
Possibly an end-panel of the tomb. This panel probably came from one of the narrow ends of the tomb, and, as can be seen from the dimensions, it is much narrower than Panel A. This second stone is very similar in the details of its figure-carvings to the armorial plaque. This depicts a Trinity Scene and probably formed one of the short ends of the tomb. It is a rectangular plaque bearing a carving of the Trinity and a series of heads of angels or cherubs in high relief. The carving is cut to between 6 and 11cms in depth. God the Father is shown seated on the right hand side. He has long hair, a long moustache and a square-ended, trimmed beard. He wears a triple-stepped tiara or crown terminating in a Maltese-type cross atop an orb. The tiara is decorated with three rows of conjoined fleur-de-lis. The right hand is outstretched and the first two fingers and the thumb pointing in the direction of God the Son. Through the triple crown or tiara is normally only worn by the Pope and some Archbishops, it also occurs in Trinity Scenes and the three crowns are actually symbolic of the Sacred Trinity itself (see Sill (1976, 211)). The other hand holds an orb surmounted by a cross. The bottom of the orb is now partly broken away.

Around the figure's shoulders there is a cloak trimmed with a border bearing a running foliate pattern. This decorative border runs down each side of the garment from below the beard. The cloak is fastened at the neck by a clasp or brooch in the form of a rosette. The stylised, wave-like folds of the cloak spreads from the figure's right side over most of both knees and on the left side fairly loosely down the figure's side. Below the cloak the figure wears a long, full-length pleated alb or cassock-type garment. This is gathered at the cuffs and is apparently plain. A slightly arched indentation about the figure's midriff cuts across the garment. This, along with the undercutting of the stone beneath the elbows and the cloak draped across the knees emphasises the seated posture of the figure. The long vestment has regular pleats that cover the feet and terminates in regular stylised S-shaped folds. The body is stocky and sub-triangular in shape. The head is too large, heavy and long. A pair of bands are shown criss-crossing the chest and these bear a running pattern of foliate-derived designs similar to those shown on the border of the cloak. These are crossed at the chest and appear to represent a narrow stole.

The Holy Spirit is depicted as a dove and is shown in the centre of the panel with outspread wings and its legs outstretched in front of it. The head and feet of the dove are now defaced and worn.

God the Son is shown bare-headed with long, straight shoulder-length hair which curls into a spiral at the ends. The facial features are similar to those of God the Father but are
slightly better preserved. Again, a long moustache and square-trimmed beard are depicted. The figure is shown naked to the waist, though what appears to be a cloak cascades from behind the right shoulder. This garment continues beneath the figure onto the angel's head below. This is probably the most awkwardly carved part of the plaque. Christ is shown seated and wearing a long garment which stretches in irregular folds from the waist to below the feet. He holds a plain cross over his shoulder. The right hand is raised and two fingers and a thumb are outstretched in the same blessing gesture as that of God the Father.

A series of angels or cherubs decorates the top and bottom of the plaque. At the top there are two, each with round faces, large close-set eyes and long noses like the main figures on the stone. This is smaller than the bosses that bear the cherub head and is set at the same angle as the arms of the cross. Its shape is vaguely suggestive of a bird. To the left a broken, roughly rectangular piece of stone projects. From its shape it is difficult to say what it was but its position, directly on the top of the cross may suggest that it was a titulus that bore the inscription INRI. It may possibly have been deliberately defaced. The central part of the back of this feature is deeply undercut. It is unlikely then, to have been a further cherub. Each of the cherubs has long slightly curly hair and in each case the head rests on a pair of wings. Three similar cherubs decorate the bottom of the stone. Each has broadly similar facial features to those already described and each has similar hair which curves into spiral-ended curls. The central cherub, however, also has upward-turning hair on which the drapery of God the Son's feet rest.

According to Genealogical Mss. No. 73 (Vol. 10, 218) Sir Peter French died on the 27th February 1631. It is clear from that manuscript that the then Ulster King of Arms, Thomas Preston only confirmed the exact arms to his widow, which were to be depicted on his tomb in a communication to her dated 22nd of May 1639. At this stage the tomb was being built or had already been completed.

The manuscript shows a sketch of the arms and has a note beneath the impaled arms of Sir Peter and his wife Mary. The inscription can be transcribed as follows 'I doth authorise and give sanction onto Dame Mary Browne relict of Sir Peter French of Galway Deceased and to such stone-cutter or tomb-maker and painter as she the said Dame Mary shall appoint to (thus) engrave and paint the arms above depicted upon the tomb of said Sir Peter French kn...witness...of Thomas Preston Esq.k Ulster King of Arms (?)hath Thereonto subscribed my name ye 22nd of May 1639'.

This page of the manuscript is titled ‘Sr. Peter French of Galway Knt. And Dame Mary his wife daughter of Jeffrey Browne of Gallway Alderman’.

This second illustrated document in the Genealogical Office is a Certificate by Athlone (Herald) made after the death of Sir Peter French in the Genealogical Office (Funeral Certificates, p.183). This also shows the arms of French and Browne as they are shown on the tomb and a drawing of the impalement is accompanied by the following text ‘This Certificate taken by Athlone and the fees (three) [crossed out] being four pounds Eng. Sr. Peter French of Gallway kt. Deceased the 27. of February 1631. he had to wife Mary dr. of Geffery Browne of the aforesaid Alderman, by whom he had issue Mary mar. to Patrick Darcy Councellour of Lout Esquire, Margaret als(o) Magge mar. to Rich: Martin Esqr. Elis mar. to Sr. Robart – sonne & heir to Sr. Henry Linch Baronet and Jennet French un-married’.

The Certificate was presumably made after the Athlone Herald had attended Sir Peter’s Funeral and had recorded and checked what heraldry had been used at the funeral or on the tomb.

The will* of Sir Peter French does not mention his funerary monument or what sort of heraldic display he wanted on it, but this is not unusual as the design of the monument may not

* Among the Blake Family Records in the National Library of Ireland and is included in a folder of wills copied by J. O’Farrell on behalf of M.J. Blake, the historian (Ms.10, 792 (8)). Elsewhere in the same collection is letter from J. O’Farrell to M. J. Blake stating that “I enclose abstract of the Will of Sir Peter French 1636”. This is in a separate folder (Ms. 10, 792 (2)). The copy of the will is in NLI Ms. 10,792 (8) and is entitled “Perogative Will of Sir Peter French 1636”.

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have been designed and built until 1639 and Ms. No. 73 of the Genealogical Office suggests. The start of the will reads “I Sir Peter French of Gallway Knight do smake my last will. My bodie to be buried in St. Francis Abbey near Gallway”. The will was neither signed or proved. “Given his importance however it is not surprising that his arms and those of his wife Mary Browne with whom they are impaled on his funerary monument and recorded in several early 17th century heraldic sources in Ulster’s Office (now the Genealogical Office of Dublin).

C44a and C44b along with C45 (I-III) have frequently been mixed up with each other. This has, in part, no doubt, due to Hardiman’s description of the monument which partly describes portions of C44 (a and b) and C45 (I-III) as if they were all parts of the tomb of Sir Peter French which they were not. Having described how the Freans of the Franciscan house were banished by the Parliamentarians in 1652 he has this to say ‘...the monuments and superb marble tomb of Sir Peter French knt. which was richly gilt and adorned with sculptures, was entirely destroyed; part of the polished marble was converted by Governor Stubbers into chimney-pieces, and the remainder sent to England and disposed of at a considerable price’ (Hardiman 1820, 266).

In a footnote on the same page (Hardiman, ibid., f.n.e) he goes onto give a confused description of the two monuments (in the belief that he was describing a single monument to Sir Peter French) as follows: ‘Part of the under-works of this monument were dug up about the year 1779 and, by order of father Anthony Carrol, a pious and learned Franciscan, were placed in the wall of the Sarcriscy, and near the lower entrance to the chapel. In the latter are sculptured figures of saint Patrick and saint Nicholas, the patron of the town with the family arms of Browne and crest of French, beneath which are engraved the names ‘Peter French’ and ‘Mary Browne’. The other parts exhibit the Crucifixion, but the cross and body defaced; and the two Marys, the twelve Apostles, saint Clara, saint Anthony of Pachua, saint Francis of Assissium, and others. Their remains are much injured by time; but, even still, may enable the spectator to form an idea of the magnificence of this once stately mausoleum.’

The first section of Hardiman’s description refers to C44A, though the impaled arms of French and Browne are shown with the crest of French. The second part of the description mentioning the Crucifixion refers to C45 Panel III while the last section of the description referring to the Apostles, saints Clare, Anthony, Francis and others, clearly refers to C45 Panels I, II and III together.

**Dimensions:** Panel A - H: 91.5, W: 156.5. Panel B - H: 93, W: 64.5cms.
**Date:** 1630s, probably c.1639.

**References:**
Anon. 1779 Finn's Leinster Express. July 24-28th 1779.
Archdall 1786, 278.
Blake (ed.) 1905, 103-6 and *illus.*.,104 and 106.
Cooke 1895, 290-296.
Cooke 1895A, 177.
Cooke, 1911-12.
Craig and Glin (The Knight of) 1970, 56, *passim*.
de Montbret 1791, See NÍ Chinnéide (ed.) 1952, 42, *passim*.
FitzGerald 1893, 303-9.
FitzGerald 1910-12, 80-84, *passim*.
Genealogical Office Ms.73, Vol.10, 281 (Funeral Entry).
Garner 1984, *passim*.
Hardiman 1820, 266 and ibid. f.n. “e”.
Hayward 1952, 65, *illus*. And also 64-66, *passim*.

* NLI Ms. 10792(2) Correspondence between Mr. J. O’Farrell and Martin J. Blake dated 25th of October 1904.
Higgins 1989, 58, *passim*.
Jennings 1947, 118 and *ibid*. f.n.1.
Kavanagh 1965, 64, Entry No. 614, (Sir Peter French)
Killanin and Duignan 1962, 285.
Korff, O'Connell and Higgins 1989 (N.P.) Text section and also *illus*.
MacDonncha 1971, 7, *passim* and *illus*. 5
Ni Chinnéide 1952 7, *passim* and Plates 1A and 1B.
O'Dowd 1985, 120, *passim*.
O’Neill 1984, 9, *passim*.
O'Sullivan 1941, 449, *passim*.
Quinn 1962, 3, *passim*.
Roe 1979, 135-6.
Rynne 1978, 44-6.
Rynne 1989, 44-6.
Semple 1988, 7, *illus*. only.
Stokes (ed.), 1891, 105.
Walsh 1992, 76, 111 and f.n.174 *passim*.

Note: Traditionally the Sir Peter French tomb fragments have been associated with the tomb fragments that the present writer has catalogued as C33 (Apostle Tomb Panels) and the references cited above invariably apply to both C32 and C33.

**Unpublished Sources:**
Laurence Collection Photographs (Copies of file in Galway City and County Library, Island House, Cathedral Square, Galway, ‘French's Tablet Galway 5046 W.L.’).
NUI Galway Archaeology Department Topographical Files.
Trinity College Dublin Ms. 886, f43 (regarding the destruction of the tomb of Sir Peter French).
Fig. 37A and 37B, C44a and C44b. Fragments from the tomb of Sir Peter French, and his wife, Mary, the Franciscan Cemetery. Drawings by Michael Lenihan.
B(ii) Fragments of a Free-Standing or partially Free-Standing Box-Tomb or of an Altar-Tomb (The Apostles, Saints and Crucifixion Panels at the Franciscan Graveyard). (C45 (I-III)).

Note: To distinguish clearly between these various fragments of two separate monuments, the parts of C45 have been designated by letters while those that formed part of C46 have been differentiated by the use of Roman numerals.

This elaborate monument consists of three large panels decorated with saints, apostles and the crucifixion. Saints associated with the Franciscan and Dominican orders also occur, implying perhaps that the monuments was built by a benefactor of the Franciscan Order. The Vow of Poverty of the Order would hardly have allowed for the Franciscans to pay for such an elaborate and costly work themselves. It seems that a benefactor with a particular devotion to the Franciscans and for their saints built it for themselves.

The three panels that survive formed, it would seem, the front and adjoining sides of a panelled, free-standing or partially free-standing, box-tomb of some description, with either three or four sides. The placing of the crucifixion on a long frontal or wide panel rather than on an end panel is unusual, but finds parallels at Howth (St. Mary’s Abbey),; Duleek, Co. Meath (c.1462), late 15th century; Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, c.1506; Cashel, Co. Tipperary, 16th century; St. Canice’s Cathedral, Kilkenny City, 16th century tomb of Piers Butler and at Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny (Catholic Church), on a 16th century end panel). This is out of a total of 23 tomb panels bearing crucifixions of pre-1600 date listed by Hunt (1974) in his Appendix II.

The fragments of this monument have often, in the past, been linked with two fragments from the tomb of Sir Peter French (C44a-b) but it is clear that even stylistically they differ significantly; the latter being cruder in the details of its figure sculpture in particular.
Fragments of a Free-Standing or Partially Free-Standing Box-Tomb or Altar-Tomb.

**Location:** The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. A series of three panels from a large box-tomb bearing depictions of the Apostles, other Saints and the Crucifixion. Up until the early 1970’s these panels were incorporated in a wall at the side of the church. Thereafter they were built into the boundary wall between the grounds of the Franciscan Priory and those of the Convent of Mercy School.

**Description:** This series of three panels has frequently previously been regarded as belonging to the tomb of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary (C44, a-b). There are, however, obvious stylistic grounds for believing that the fragments are earlier and come from a free-standing monument of an elaborate form, either a three-sided altar-tomb or a free-standing, four-sided box tomb. The presence of a complete set of Apostles, a Crucifixion Scene (along with various Franciscan and Dominican saints) would seem to suggest that it would hardly have been necessary to have a further (fourth) panel for other saints but we can only speculate as to what other elements there might have been. We have no early depictions of either the Sir Peter French tomb or of that from which these fragments came. Stylistically at least the tomb-fragments with the apostles and the crucifixion scene would seem to pre-date the mid-17th century, the period in which the French tomb was built (See Text Volume). The following panels have been numbered separately and each segment has been given a Roman numeral. These fragments have Renaissance features that might allow one to argue for a late date for them. The carvings also, however, have some Late Gothic features that would tend to date them towards the end of the development of Irish Late Gothic style tombs many of which are mainly of mid to late 15th and early 16th century date, though the Gothic style sometimes continued in use on some Irish tombs as late as the early 17th century. Meehan (1869, 69) and MacLeod (1947, 126-7) (quoting the latter) referred to this monument as ‘believed to be that of De Burgo the founder’ (i.e. of the Franciscan foundation). Semple (1988, 7) repeats this false supposition in the caption of one of his photographs.
Panel I (C45) (Fig. 38)
(Probably part of a side-panel of the tomb). This is a short panel that was probably one of a matching pair of such slabs. When joined together each stone of the presumed pair would have had a sideward-facing console or bracket decorated with a large spiral at its outer end. No other panel now survives and panel II, which has been placed in the modern wall end-to-end with this one, has no such decoration. It is also possible that were the tomb panels long enough that further tall but narrow panels may have occurred between this and its matching ‘companion’ panel. The slab, as it survives, seems to be complete in itself except for some damage to the hands and some of the faces of the saints. It is however now very weathered and like the others has been badly eroded by sand-blasting. It bears three recesses or arcades, separated from the other by tall, narrow, crocketed finials. The carving is up to 5cms in depth in places. In each case the panels are topped with a semi-circular arc of twisted cable decoration outside of which is a row of dog-tooth or nail-headed ornament. This is followed in turn by a row of outlined semicircles reminiscent of an ‘egg-and-dart’ derived design. The sub-triangular spandrels of each arcade are decorated with foliate embellishments. Two of the arcades have full-length depictions of one saint each and the third has two. The second and third arcades have sub-triangular moulded brackets with small circular-knobbed terminals ‘supporting’ the arcading. The saints are named, mainly in abbreviated forms in a low false relief inscription (now very worn) which runs below each panel. Saints Clare (S. CLARA), Anthony (S. ANTONIVS), Bartholemew (S. BARTHO) and Matthias (S. MAT) are depicted each with a distinctive attribute or symbol. St. Clare for instance holds a monstrance in her right hand and is depicted in a Franciscan habit. Each saint will be described here in turn.

St. Clare (S. CLARA)
St. Clare is shown in an arcade of her own and is depicted wearing a long, hooded garment that extends down and covers her feet. The garb or alb is pleated and forms S-shaped mirror-image folds at the bottom. The saint's hair is covered by the hood. Three crescentic folds occur around the neck and these may have meant to represent an wimple. The saint wears a triple-knotted cord or rope that is part of the Franciscan habit and is also worn by Saints Anthony, Francis and Dominick on this tomb. The three knots of this girdle are usually interpreted as representing the Trinity, while cords or ropes worn as belts also recall Christ's flagellation and symbolise chastity Sill (1975, 130). In general, triple-knotted cord is sometimes also interpreted as representing the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity. The cord divides the lower body in two along a central axis and reaches down to the decorative folds at the end of the alb or garb. In her right hand St. Clare holds a high, narrow monstrance. This has a flared-out, faceted, base and a lantern-shaped head. The middle of the object is apparently an open-sided rectangle in which a sacred host is visible. The areas immediately above and below this are moulded and below this is a roughly oval-shaped boss on which what seems to have been a human face is carved. This is now very worn but older photographs, taken before the heavy sand-blasting of the 1970s and recent weathering had taken their toll, seem to show a small ‘head’ in this position. The face was pear-shaped, had almond-shaped eyes and a narrow chin. The nose is damaged and is now worn flat. The top of the monstrance is domed and a circular orb or boss with a small Greek cross with expanded terminals is attached to the top of the object. The cross is cut in lower false relief than the rest of the design and is set back in a small rectangular recess. The saint's left hand reaches across her breast and seems to indicate in the direction of the monstrance. The viewer's eyes are drawn towards the host in the monstrance. St. Clare's face is elongated, slightly pear-shaped with a well-defined projecting chin and prominent cheeks. The oval eyes are closely set. The nose and mouth are badly damaged, and part of the chin is broken away.

St. Anthony of Padua (S. ANTONIUS)
The saint depicted is St. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231). This saint was a noted Franciscan preacher and scholar. He is shown wearing the Franciscan garb and has an amice over his shoulders. He is wearing a habit or alb underneath that is tied at the waist by a triple-knotted girdle or cord. A pair of Rosary Beads with a plain cross hang from this girdle. The vestments are plain but pleated and covers the body as far as the feet, which are just visible below it. The saint is shown holding a rectangular object, probably a book, in the right hand, a reference to his scholarly skills. He holds Christ Child in his left arm, a reference to a vision the saint had in which the Child Jesus appeared in his arms Sill (1975, 177). The Christ-Child is shown naked and with a nimbus around the back of his head. The features of the Christ Child's face are badly damaged. The saint is shown tonsured with just a fringe of hair around his head. Small ears are shown on each side. The hair is double-contoured and has curved ends. The face is long and the chin is narrow. The eyes are closely set but the overall appearance is somewhat distorted by the worn and damaged condition of the area of the nose and mouth. The treatment of the hair is similar to that of Saints Francis and Dominick.

St. Bartholemew (S. BARTHO)
St. Bartholemew is depicted in the same niche as St. Matthias and they are shown wearing identical clothing. Their facial features too are virtually the same. Each is shown wearing a full-length pleated garment that ends in each case with ornament S-shaped folds at the hem. The feet are shown projecting from beneath this but no footwear seems to be visible in either case. Over the long undergarment is another (apparently two-ply) outer garment or cloak that is also pleated and has a scalloped trimming to its outermost layer. This reaches to just over three-quarters of the length of the body of each figure. St. Bartholemew is shown holding a very worn knife with a cylindrical handle. This is a flesher’s or flaying knife (which is his usual attribute) and it is held in both hands. He is sometimes also shown holding a human skin over one shoulder, a reference to the method of martyrdom by flaying that he suffered in Armenia in the 1st century A.D. This saint and St. Matthias have almost identical facial features. Each has a full beard and moustaches, that have curved endings. These spiral inwards to form an almost identical pattern on either side of the head. The hair on the sides of the face is combed back to each side. The hair on the top of the head is curled and crimped in separate rows divided by narrow grooves. The faces are elongated and slightly gaunt and no ears are visible.

St. Matthias (S. MATT[MH][IAS])
St. Matthias is depicted as a virtual twin of St. Bartholemew with whom he shares a niche and his clothing and facial features have already been described above. He is shown holding an axe in both hands, a reference to his method of martyrdom (whereby he was first stoned and then beheaded) in the 1st century A.D. A bible is also sometimes shown as a reference to this saint's missionary work but none is shown in this instance. The axe shown has a relatively long handle and has an openwork blade reminiscent of the blade of a pole-arm or halberd. The blade has openwork quatrefoils at the front and back and the cutting edge seems to have been toothed or serrated. The saint's facial features are almost identical to those of St. Bartholemew.

Panel II: (C45) (Fig. 38)
(Panel of a side-panel of a tomb.) This is also a short rectangular panel but unlike Panel I, which is now positioned immediately alongside it on the right, it does not have a decorative bracket with spiral decoration on one end. Instead both ends terminate in the same crocketed finials such as also divide each of the four arcades on this panel from each other. The four panels bear the same sort of decoration on their semi-circular arcaded tops and their spandrels as is found on panel III. Two saints are depicted in the first arcade on the right and one each in the other three arcades. A moulded bracket with a knobbed, circular terminal occurs above the pair of saints in the first panel on the left but not in the others. The following saints are shown:
St. Simon (S. SIMON) and St. Matthew (S. MATHE) shown together, St. Francis (S. FRANCIS), St. Michael (S. MICHEL) and St. Dominic (S. DOM[?O]). Weathering aside, this panel is relatively complete apart from a large chunk that is now missing (but restored in modern cement) at the upper left-hand corner of the stone. The carving is upwards of 5cms in depth and is deepest at the sides of the crocketed finials.

St. Simon (S. SIMON)
St. Simon and St. Matthew are depicted as a pair and share the same arcade. They are shown nearly as twins but each has his own distinct attribute. St. Simon holds a saw in one hand and has what appears to be a book tucked under the other, covered partly by a long cloak. In each case the saint is shown wearing a long, habit-like garment underneath a slightly shorter cloak. The feet are visible beneath the undergarment but no footwear is depicted in either instance. The garments that both saints wear are long and pleated. The hems of each garment have S-shaped folds that form a decorative almost fold-over mirror image on each side of the body.

The saw which St. Simon holds in his right hand is a reference to the method of his martyrdom. According to various accounts he was either crucified or sawn in half while preaching in Persia in the 1st century A.D. The book that he holds in his left hand is another attribute usually associated with this saint. In some depictions a book and fish are shown together to symbolise that he was a Fisher of Men through his preaching of the Gospels (Sill 1975, 15).

St. Matthew (S. MATHEW)
St. Matthew is depicted as a virtual twin of St. Simon as we have already seen. Like St. Simon he has a book tucked under one arm that is partly hidden by his clothing. This is not a usual attribute associated with this saint who apart from being depicted as a winged man or angel in his status as Evangelist, is sometimes shown with a sword, or, as here, with an axe. The axe shown is a long-handled, apparently socketed one, with a crescentic blade and a narrow, cylindrical socket.

St. Francis (S. FRANCIS)
St. Francis (of Assisi) is depicted in an arcade of his own. This is the third Franciscan saint depicted on this tomb. He is shown wearing a plain, pleated habit of that order. Some decorative folding with S-shaped curves occurs around the saint's waist but there is none at the bottom of the habit. The saint's feet project below the habit but no footwear is shown. The amice and hood are clearly depicted, as is the saint's tonsure. The hood is large and wide. The habit is held at the waist by a triple-knotted girdle, the symbolic significance of which has already been discussed above in the description of St. Clare. The cord divides the lower body along a central axis and reaches to the hem of the habit.

The saint's left hand is upraised, possibly in an attitude of blessing and also to show one of the Five Wounds of the Stigmata. The saint is shown tonsured. The treatment of the hair and tonsure is similar to that of the carvings of saints Anthony and Dominick. Just a small rim of hair with double-contoured strands with curved ends occur. The face is longish, the eyes almond-shaped and large. The nose is broken away, the mouth is small and also damaged. The chin is narrow and projects slightly.

St. Michael (S. MICHEL)
St. Michael is in an arcade of his own. The Archangel is shown standing on a moulded pedestal and his feet are not visible. The saint is winged and is shown holding a set of scales in his left hand. One pan of the scales is now almost completely broken away, the other is shown weighed down with a very worn object. From older photographs this is possibly a human head. The ‘eyes’ and ‘mouth’ are carefully cut, and the chin, if such it is, points upwards towards the saint. The mouth is apparently open and a tongue seems to project from it. The head may be representative of an entire person or soul. The representation may
possibly embody an element of the ancient Celtic idea as recorded by classical writers, the head being the seat of the soul. These features that are visible in older photographs are now almost obliterated. The saint is shown weighing the souls of the dead and the aforementioned object may be symbolic of a soul. The scales are symbolic of both judgement and justice and they are also the attribute of the Virtue of Justice. The saint holds a sword, another of his usual attributes, in his right hand, a symbol of St. Michael's battle against Lucifer. The hilt of the sword is still clearly visible but little of the guard can be seen. The hilt has a circular pommel and tapers inwards above this. There may be another small oval protrusion at the top of the pommel but above this the hilt tapers inwards. The blade narrows gradually to a point and is apparently double-edged. The saint wears a pleated vestment extending to the waist where it is either gathered or terminates with an undulating hem. The garment underneath is pleated and its hem is decorated with S-shaped folds. These folds form a repeating pattern along a vertical axis on each side of the figure. The upper garment has sleeves with gathered-in cuffs. There is a decorated V-shaped collar with a scalloped edge to it. The upper part of the vestment that is gathered at the waist and has pleated folds may represent a separate item of clothing. The facial features are now weathered and damaged and the lower right side of the face is broken away. The hair is short and has slightly curved ends like that of St. Dominic. The eyes are large and oval and the chin was apparently long, like that of St. Clare for example.

**St. Dominic (S. DOM....)**

St. Dominic (1170-1221) is shown in an arcade of his own with a number of attributes. The saint is shown tonsured and wearing the habit of his Order with a hood. The habit is pleated but is otherwise plain. In one hand he holds a crucifix entwined with roses. The crucifix is carved in some detail and the Christ-figure is clearly shown. Three roses spring from the crucifix which is entwined in foliage. The saint wears a habit. A large, deep hood is visible around the neck and an amice falls down straight over the shoulders, and all seems to be worn beneath either a habit or dalmatic. The saint holds a book in his right hand symbolising his teaching and preaching - some of the main functions of the mendicant order which he founded. On the lower left hand side of the recess a small dog is shown. This dog is shown with a flaming torch in its mouth. The figure cuts across the decorative border to the left of the arcade. This is a symbolic reference to the ‘Dominicane’, an apparition to St. Dominic's mother in which she learned that her son would ‘set the world on fire’. Other attributes sometimes depicted include a star and a loaf of bread (Sill 1975, 183). What appears to be a leash runs down the left side of the saint's body to the dog. This feature is now very weathered however, and while it can still be traced on parts of the saint's clothing, it is not clear whether it is linked to either the dog or the saint's hand. The dog is shown in a ‘begging’ position but is now very worn. A similar dog (or an ape) is shown in the same stance on a late 15th – 16th century window spandrel in Galway City Museum (Higgins 2006, Cat.No. 14 and Cover). The saint's facial features are now damaged and eroded. The face is oval with a small mouth, slightly projecting chin and large oval eyes. The saint is tonsured and the treatment of the hair is similar to that of Saints Francis, Anthony and Michael. The roses, which spring from the crucifix, continue onto the sides and spandrel of the arcade.

**Panel III (C45) (Fig. 39)**

(Part of one of the side-panels of the tomb.) This is a very long rectangular side panel, the longest portion of the tomb to survive. It is now fragmentary, being split in two pieces near the left side of the Crucifixion Scene. The panel is decorated with two pairs of arcades containing depictions of two saints in each case with a Crucifixion Scene in the centre. The details of the decoration to the tops of the arcading, the spandrels and the crocketed finials, are the same as on panels I and II, which have already been described. A total of six decorative finials with moulded and crocketed details divide the panels from each other. The following personages are depicted - St. Andrew (S. ANDREW) and St. James (S. JAMES) (together), and St. John
(S. JOHN) and St. Jude (S. IV?D) (together). These are followed by Mary, the Mother of Christ (S. MARIA) on the left side of the cross bearing the Crucified Christ and St. Mary Magdalene (S. MARI MADE) on the right side. To the right of these are St. James (S. JAMES) with St. Philip (S. PHILIP) and St. Peter (S. PITER) with St. Paul (S. PAUL). From the symbolic attributes shown with each figure, it is usually clear without reference to the names, (which are cut in false relief beneath each figure) who each saint is.

St. Andrew (S. ANDREW)
Saint Andrew is depicted in the same arcade as St. James the Greater and the pair are carved with almost identical facial features though the details of their clothing differ a little however. St Andrew is dressed in a long, pleated habit over which a shorter, also pleated, garment is worn. The latter reaches roughly as far as the saint's hips. The remains of a band or collar are visible around the neck. The saint is shown holding a long cross of Latin type in both hands. This is unusual as he is most frequently depicted with a saltire of St. Andrew's Cross that symbolises his martyrdom by crucifixion at Patras in Greece in the 1st Century A.D. A small moulded bracket with a ball-shaped terminal seems to support the arcading above both saints' heads. The saint's facial features are nearly identical to those of St. James (who is alongside him) except that St. Andrew's face is somewhat narrower.

St. James the Great (S. JAMES)
St. James the Great is depicted in the same arcade as St. Andrew. The saint is shown holding a short staff in both hands. Though this is short and sceptre-like and has a knobbed top, probably the remains of foliated terminals, it is probably meant as a pilgrim’s staff. Usually a walking staff is shown, though the saint also has many other attributes including a wide-rimmed pilgrim's hat, a scrip or purse, and a gourd. He is often shown on horseback and carrying a banner on Continental sculpture but this piece of iconography does not occur in Ireland where the saint is most commonly depicted as a ‘weeper’ on 15th-16th century carvings. His commonest attribute is a scallop shell and in this instance such a shell is shown on the saint's breast (See also C53 of this corpus).

St. John (The Divine) (S. IOHN)
This saint is depicted in the same arcade as St. Jude and the two saints have almost identical facial features and similar clothing. Each wears a wide cloak. The clothing is gathered in around the neck and what seems to be a collar is visible in each case. Both saints wear long vestments beneath their loose-fitting cloaks. St. John's usual attributes are a cauldron of oil in which he was tortured by the Emperor Domitian, and a cup of poisoned wine which he was offered to drink but had no affect on him. Usually a small dragon or snake (as here) are shown emerging from the cup or chalice that he holds (Sill 1976, 48). In this instance a long chalice-shaped cup with a snake emerging from it is shown. The snake has a wide head and traces of a tongue are just barely visible. The cup has a flared-out base, a long shaft and a slightly tapering, almost V-shaped top. A small moulded bracket with a ball-shaped terminal supports the arcade above the heads of the saints.

St. Jude (S. IV[DE])
The saint seems to be St. Jude. Though the inscription below the figure is extremely worn, the letters S, I and what seems to be a H or a U can still be identified under good lighting conditions. The occurrence of a spear or lance or sparth (a short spear) here would seem to confirm this identification as a spear, lance or club was the usual symbol of the saint's martyrdom. St. Jude was also known as St. Thaddaeus (ie. the brave one) and as Lebbaeus, and was a brother of St. James the Less. He preached during the 1st century in the company of St. Simon Zelotes and they spread the gospel throughout the Middle East. They were martyred together. St. Jude was pierced with a lance or beheaded with a halberd according to various
accounts (Sill 1975, 12). In this case he is shown holding a short lance with a leaf-shaped blade in both hands.

The Crucifixion
The Crucifixion occurs in the centre of one of the panels and the cross is flanked by figures of Mary the Mother of Christ on the left (S. MARIA) and Mary Magdalen (MARI MADE) on the right. A pair of consoles, or ornamental brackets, decorated with opposed spirals occur on either side of the cross. The wide crucifix is set on a narrow, stepped base and little of the top of the cross now survives. The Christ-figure is now very battered and worn. The figure is shown with his legs crossed and is nailed to the cross. What appears to be the nail holes are clearly visible in older photographs through the carving has been severely weathered in recent years. Christ is shown wearing a perizonium or loin-cloth and with his head inclined and resting on his shoulder. The face is elongated and he is shown bearded, and the beard comes to a point at the end. The carving is between 5.5 and 6cms in depth in places.

Mary the Mother of Christ (S. MARIA)
The figure is shown wearing a long, full-length, pleated garment with a decorative hem. The S-shaped folds common to the clothing of several of the other figures on the tomb panel have been turned into a band of two-ply interlace made up of wide S-shaped links. At the throat there is a wide neck-band with undulating 'frills' on each edge. A cloak is worn over the garment just described and falls in a series of exaggerated S-shaped folds on either side of the body.

St. Mary Magdalene (MARI MADE)
This saint is shown with one hand outstretched to touch the cross. The other is spread, with the hand open, across her breast. She appears to be clasping a very worn object to her breast. This may be a jar of ointment or oil with which she anointed the feet of Christ and is one of her usual attributes, and a towel with which she wiped the feet of Christ is another. She is clothed in a similar fashion to the figure on the other side of the cross, apart from the neck-line of her garment which has a trimming consisting of a row of small linked triangles which presumably depict lace or crochet trimmings. Apart from this, the details of the clothing are the same and most of the decorative folds of the drapery are mirrored from one figure to the other. The saint's hair is shown long and flowing. This symbolised penance and is often a feature of depictions of hermit saints like Saints Agnes and Mary Magdalene (Sill 1975, 63).

St. James the Lesser (S. JAMES)
The next arcade contains figures of St. James the Lesser along with St. Philip together. The saints are shown as a virtual pair of twins with almost identical clothing and physical appearances. Each wears a long vestment with straight pleating that reaches down to the feet. This ends with a plain hem. Over this a long cloak is worn by each saint and the folds of this form an almost mirror image from one figure to the other. St. James holds a staff-like object with a backward-turning, wedge-shaped handle. This object's function is uncertain but it may represent a fuller's beating stick or club, which is a symbol of his martyrdom. All the Irish workshops (apart from the O'Tunney one) shown the saint with such a club. The carvers of the latter workshop shows him with a saw (Hunt 1974, Vol. 1, 108).

St. Philip (S. PHILIP)
St. Philip is shown in the same arcade as St. James the Lesser and apart from their respective symbolic attributes they are virtually identical in their physical appearances and in their clothing. St. Philip, one of the Apostles, was martyred in the 1st century A.D. after preaching in Hierpolis. His usual attributes include a snake or a cross-staff or three loaves of bread. In this instance he is shown holding a branch or floriated staff with a cruciform segment at the top. The arms of the cross are inclined to one side. On the figured tombs of the Ossary Pale,
the saint is usually shown with loaves in a basket or a napkin, but on the Rice Tomb in Waterford Cathedral and at Dunferth, Co Kildare he is shown with a cross-staff as seems to be the case here. (See Hunt 1974, Vol 1, 108-9).

**St. Peter (S. PITER)**
St. Peter and St. Paul are shown in the same arcade. St. Peter is shown holding two keys on a short chain of two or three links. One key is held in the saint's hand, the other hangs loose at the end of the chain links. These are sometimes explained as the keys to Heaven and Hell respectively.

**St. Paul (S. PAUL)**
St. Paul is depicted along with St Peter. They are often shown together and are considered the real founders of the Christian church (Sill 1976, 13). This pair of saints are depicted as nearly identical twins. The saint is shown holding a sword but little of this apart from the blade is visible among the drapery that he holds (like St. Peter does) across his body. St. Paul was beheaded in Rome in 67 A.D. and a sword is one of the most frequently found attributes shown in depictions of him.

**Dimensions:**
Panel I  L:145, H:74.2cms.
Panel II L:142.5, H: 74.5cms
Panel III L:242, H:74cms

**Date:**  Probably late 16th-early 17th century.

**References:**
For references see C344A-B and references thereto.
Fig. 38 C45 (I-II) Fragments of a Free-Standing or Partially Free Standing Box or Altar-Tomb. Panels from a tomb (or altar?) showing The Apostles, The Crucifixion and Other Saints. The Franciscan Cemetery. Drawing Michael Lenihan.

Fig. 39 C45 (III) Panel from tomb (or altar?) showing The Apostles, The Crucifixion and Other Saints. The Franciscan Cemetery. Drawing by Michael Lenihan.
B(III)  Fragments from a Free-Standing or partially Free-Standing Box-Tomb.
(C46(A-K)), (Figs. 40 and 41)

In this instance there is not enough evidence to allow one to decide whether the fragments listed below come from a three-sided or four-sided monument. There is some evidence to show that it came from a fourth large tomb at St. Nicholas’ associated with the Lynch family as we shall see below. They were loose and lay on the ground in the South transept in the 1950’s or early 1960’s and an amateur film made during the 1958-1962 restoration work as well as eye-witness accounts show that these were the panels that were cut up during that restoration and some of them now form the frontage of the ‘Leper’s Gallery’ above the East end of the South Transept. A copy of the film which is now too fragile to show was deposited in Galway City Museum by the late Dereck Biddulph in 2006. A 19th or early 20th century photograph captioned as follows: ‘The Old Font, Galway Old Parish Church’ and numbered “RW2105” shows the Leper’s Gallery in a very different form when the photograph was taken. The gallery was supported on long brackets (now gone), was apparently higher and seems to have been fronted with moulded plaster surrounds, all of which are now gone. There is a copy of the photograph described above on the wall of the Vestry at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Location: St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. A total of eleven panels probably from a box-tomb, some of them cut up from larger panels in modern times, are now located at three places in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. The panels which are referred to as C46, A-K, were originally larger in some cases and several have been divided one from the other using an angle grinder. They have been numbered after the sequence in which eight of them (A-H) (which now form part of the facade of the so-called ‘Leper’s Gallery’) occur. These are followed by the fragment now incorporated in the west wall of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel (Panel I) and finally by those lying loose on top of the Lynch tomb (C47) in the South Transept (Panels J and K).

Mr William Kyne, Rahoon, Galway, who worked in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church and helped to cut up the panels and to place them in the ‘Lepers’ Gallery’ informed the writer that the fragments were part of larger loose panels that were cut using an angle-grinder during the 1958-1962 restoration work at the site. Panels A-K had previously lain in the South Transept of the Church according to Mr Kyne. Panels J and K used to lie in the graveyard, one of them had been set loosely in a gap in the eastern boundary wall before it was demolished in 1984. Both J and K were brought into the church by the writer in 1989 and are now positioned on top of the Lynch tomb in the South Transept (C47).

Description: The stones probably formed the side panels of a large late medieval box-tomb or, though less likely, a frontal of a wall-tomb that was partly set in a niche or, though again less likely, the frontal panels of an altar. Because there are so many, too many to have fronted an altar or a wall-tomb, they have been interpreted here as having come from the sides of a free-standing table-tomb. The so-called ‘Lepers’ Gallery’ is a long, narrow walkway supported on corbels that allows for access from the stairway from the turret at the north east corner of the North Aisle into the tower and belfry above the crossing of the Nave and North Transepts. Set into the front of this feature are eight carved plaques and between them are eight panels of stone, all of which are plain apart from a modern grooved frame made with an angle-grinder in the front of each. Several of these panels have been cut apart and bear the marks of an angle-grinder. A film made at the time of the 1958-1962 restoration at St. Nicholas’ shows what appear to be these fragments which then lay loose in the South Transept. A copy of this film was recently (2006) deposited by Mr. Dereck Biddulph in Galway City Museum/Múseam Cathrach na Gaillimhe. All the stonework has been pointed with modern mortar. The panels in the gallery are first described, from left to right. Panels A, C, F and H are identical. Each consists of three ogee-headed arcades which are recessed and moulded and are divided one from the other by tall, narrow, crocketed finials. Each of these architectural finials is decorated with a recessed miniature trefoil headed lancet. Each of these is also moulded. The top of each ogee-shaped arcade is decorated by stylised vine leaves linked by a pair of twisted stems. Each leaf is cut in false relief. Two pairs of leaves flank each side and a single leaf occurs at the top of each ogival shape. The uppermost leaf is ‘tied’ by a band across its stem. Panel G has a variation on the design found on panels A, C, F and H. The arcade is cusped in this instance and a single-leaf is attached to the end of each cusp. The foliate ornament of panel F is slightly narrower and taller than that on panels A, C and H and it may be the work of a different mason. Panel B is also moulded and the decoration consists of a large double-cusped ogee-headed arcade. A piece of formalised foliage is attached to the inner edge of each of the two lower-most cusps. Four smaller pieces of arcading (shaped like lancets with pointed tops) and a pair of cusps to the top of each occur above the main, recessed arcade. Each lancet is flanked by small, recessed, triangular cusps. An identical panel to this (Panel J) is now lying loose on the top of the Lynch Tomb (C47) in the South Transept. The interior of each of the lowermost pairs of cusps on this panel is decorated with trefoils. Panels D and E are identical. Each is decorated with a semi-circular, arched recess with four cusps. The arched head of the lower part of each panel is very wide and each cusp terminates in a formalised leaf-pattern.
The triangular space in the interior of each cusp is decorated in each case, with a small trefoil. On the top of each arcade there are four smaller lancet-shaped recesses. Each lancet has a pointed, trefoil-shaped top. Each cusp bears a triangular recess. Smaller triangular recesses also occur in each of the spandrels at the top of the miniature arcading.

An almost identical panel to this (Panel I) is also incorporated in the west wall of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel. The panel is closely similar except that the lowermost cusps are decorated with animals rather than foliage. The animal on the right is a dog. It has a long snout, large ears, a collar and a long, curled tail. The paws are well defined and prominent. The eyes are almond-shaped. The animal on the left is a rabbit or hare. It has upright ears and the snout is slightly damaged and flattened. The tail is short and stubby. The beast is shown seated on an outwardly folded, formalised leaf. The animals are carefully modelled in false relief. Each of the lowermost cusps bears a small trefoil in its centre. The uppermost cusps are decorated with a trefoil in each instance and each pattern consists of three conjoined trefoils. A small trefoil also occurs in a triangular recess in the centre of each cusp.

Panel K is almost identical to panels A, C, F and H is now lying loose on the top of the Lynch Tomb (C47). This panel is a fragment. The top of it is absent and it seems likely that it was originally cut in two separate pieces that were built one on top of the other. The present top of the stone is flat and carefully tooled. A shallow, incised line runs across the decoration at about two-thirds of the height of the present panel and an attempt may have been made to cut it up at some stage. This attempt was never completed. The decoration is identical to that found on panels A, C, F and H but the stone is slightly more weathered. It had lain in or on the top of the wall that bounded the east side of the cemetery until 1984 when that wall was demolished. In 1989 it was brought (along with Panel J) into the church for safe-keeping.

**Dimensions:**
Panel C - H: 52.5, W: 84.5cms.
Panel E - H: 52.5, W: 84.5cms.
Panel F - H: 52.6, W: 34.25cms.
Panel H - H: 52.5, W: 34.5cms.
Panel I - Unavailable

**Date:** 16th century

**References:**
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 255-257 and illus. 255.

Fig. 41A. The so-called Leper’s Gallery in the early 19th Century prior to the incorporation of C46 A-K in it. (After Hardiman 1814).
(B) A general view of the reused tomb fragments from a drawing made in the 1970s. Courtesy of Dereck Biddulph.

**B(IVa) Partially Free-standing Box-Tomb (C47)**
This monument has probably been extensively rebuilt. Its positioning at an odd angle in the corner of the South transept of St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church is unusual. The present mensa is of concrete and a blank, crudely-cut piece of stone has been inserted at the end of the carved panels in the S.W. corner. The tomb is clearly related to C47A, a moulded rectangular panel with shields bearing heraldry and Merchants’ Marks, above and to the right of it, which is catalogued along with it.

There was undoubtedly a moulded string course on top of the arcaded panels originally but this is now gone. The moulded base, however, survives. A superstructure was obviously present and possibly an inscription also occurred, but these are now gone.

The decoration, heraldry and shield-forms link this tomb to the heraldically-decorated panel known as the 'Empty Frame' above it. The form of the mensa or whatever superstructure occurred on the top of the arcaded panels can now only be speculated upon. The inscription may have been incorporated in the blank panel in the centre of C47A but this remains unproven.
Location: Built in against the south-east corner of the South Transept of St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church. This is a large tomb traditionally associated with the Lynch family.

Description: The item consists of the remains of the underworks of a large late medieval table or altar-tomb. It has been traditionally associated with Mayor James Lynch FitzStephen, though as Mitchell (1981-2) has pointed out, there is little historical evidence to associate him with this particular tomb. Despite this there is some evidence from the Merchants’ Marks shown on this and on C47A, however, that this identification may be correct. A 19th century stained glass window above C47A was donated by the Lynch-Athy family. Carved panels survive at two sides. The tomb has been incorporated at a slightly awkward angle into the corner of the South Transept. The surviving panels are set on a high, moulded base. The upper edge of each panel now has a ‘chamfer’ of modern concrete. The top of the tomb is missing completely and the present top of the tomb consists of a flat cemented platform with a wide-bevelled edge just mentioned rising directly at an angle from the carved side panels. There is no inscription but, as we shall see below, the heraldry, shield forms and merchants’ marks form a direct link between this tomb and the so-called ‘Empty Frame’ which occurs in the wall above it. It is possible that this Empty Frame may have contained funerary hatchment(s) or an inscription of relevance to the members of the Lynch family buried in this tomb.

The remains of the tomb then, consist of only the side-panels and moulded base. The panels have wide, moulded, ogival recesses, nine on the front and six on the sides. The recesses are plain but seem to have been painted. The spandrels above the recesses are elaborately decorated with a variety of heraldic and foliate ornament. The first and second pairs of spandrels on the left, along with the last pair on the right, are decorated with vine leaves with interlaced stems. Berries also occur along with this type of ornament in the second pair of spandrels. The spandrels above the third and fourth recesses from the right are ornamented with a large rosette flanked by small leaves. The spandrel between the fourth and fifth and sixth and seventh niches bears heraldry. In the former spandrels is a shield bearing only a chevron, and in the latter pair of spandrels the arms of Lynch (‘a chevron between three trefoils slipped’) occur. In each case the shield is flanked on either side by a leaf. In each case the shield has a five-pointed chief, concave sides and tri-lobed base. The central 'lobe' of each shield is ogival in each case. Between the fifth and sixth and seventh and eight recessed panel is a shield of the same type as described above bearing two merchants’ marks. The first has a symbol like a reversed figure 4 with a cruciform end to its middle stroke and an alpha-shaped base. The shield is flanked on either side by a leaf. The second merchant's or guildsman's mark has a similar reversed 4-shaped symbol flanked by two Black Letter or Gothic 1s but without the alpha-shaped base. The background to the shield is blank in this instance. Between the first and second and the eight and ninth niches finials occur that are decorated with pseudo-foliage and divide the spandrels medially.

The sides of the tomb are decorated with six recesses and again the spandrels above these shallow, blank ogival niches are carved. The spandrels between the second and third, third and fourth, fourth and fifth and fifth as well at the fifth and sixth niches (moving towards the right) all have vine leaf ornament connected by interlaced stems and between each pair of spandrels is a centrally positioned narrow finial decorated with pseudo-foliate ornament. The first half-spandrel in the left hand corner is also ornamented with a vine leaf and interlaced stem motif but there is no finial. The spandrels above the first and second recesses bear a blank shield of the same form as has already been described above. This shield is, again, flanked by a pair of leaves. A blank area of stone, only roughly worked, occurs at the right end of the inner side of the monument.
The entire monument may have been reassembled. The concrete capping on the top obscures the tops of the panels. The whole tomb is set at an angle that is slightly askew and does not form a right angle. The tomb's sides comprise a total of four decorated panels and one crudely-worked stone that may substitute for a panel or may simply have been reused in a reassembly of the fragments. The panel from the north-west corner as far as a point half-way down the middle of the fourth arcade on the north-west side of the tomb frontal is formed from a single stone. From the other half of the fourth panel to half-way down the ninth arcade is another single stone. The corner-block comprises half of the ninth arcade on the north-west side and extends to the end of the sixth arcade on the south-west side of the tomb. The sixth arcade comprises just a single panel. Alongside this is a piece of plain roughly worked stone that bears no decoration. The construction of the monument is unusual and does not seem very stable. This may suggest that the whole monument has been rebuilt from an existing table tomb or even reconstructed using elements of a wall-tomb or table-tomb. There are too many joining panels to have formed a single wall-tomb or altar-tomb however, and the construction of the corner with carving on two sides of the same block suggests that the fragments always formed part of a free-standing (or partly free-standing) monument. The moulding has been restored in concrete and the jointing between the stones has been obscured so that the moulded base does not shed much light on the original form of the monument. The small projecting block of stone which projects from the hollow of the moulded base below the second arcade on the north-east side might possibly have borne ornament but is now heavily encrusted in cement. When the concrete capping was added to the top of the tomb is uncertain. It pre-dates the 1958-1962 restoration and was in situ prior to 1912 when Fleetwood Berry wrote. A late 19th-early 20th century Welch photograph also shows the tomb in much the same state as it is in at present. The photograph is displayed in the Vestry of St. Nicholas’.

Dimensions: NE side - L (at top): 2m 84.5cms, (at base): 2m 92cms, H: 88cms (including concrete capping).  
SW side - L (at top): 2m 76.5cms, L (at base): 2m 88cms, H: 87-88cms (including concrete capping. The base is partly obscured by modern paving).  
Date: 16th century
References:
Cooke 1895, 294.  
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 61-2.  
Korff, O’Connell and Higgins 1990, No. 65.  
Walsh 1993, 13, Nos. 16 and 17, Fig. 2, Plate 6.
Fig. 42, C47. Lynch tomb with the arms of Lynch and Athy and various Merchants’ Marks, South Transept, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992).
C47A, (Type B (IVa)) (But see also Category G(I) Introductory Notes) Plates 23A-B, 24B, C and D, 25A, B, C and D, Fig. 243 “The Empty Frame” (See also C47 with which this panel is clearly associated).

**Location:** The wall of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, apparently *in situ* in the wall.

**Description:** This so-called *Empty Frame*, according to recent tradition, is supposed to have housed the so-called Weeping Madonna of Győr which is now in Hungary. It is highly doubtful that it ever held a picture, however, as Mitchell (1985-6) has shown. Mitchell has traced the recent emergence of the *Empty Frame* theory over the last few decades. The present writer would suggest that it may have displayed a painted achievement of arms or a funeral hatchment, possibly accompanied by a funerary inscription or perhaps just a funerary inscription alone. As will be seen below in the discussion, there is a direct link between it and the heraldry displayed on the Lynch tomb now positioned below it to the left of it, set against the same wall. The object is a heavily moulded frame bearing six small shields. The moulding occurs on the top and sides of the frame and peters out to form sub-triangular terminals at either side. The bottom of the object is bordered by a single, narrow-line of twisted rope-moulding. Three of the shields occur along the moulding at the top of the plaque and three on a narrow length of stone just above the twisted rope-moulding at the bottom of the feature. In each case the shields have five-pointed chiefs, concave sides and triple-lobed bases. The central element of each base is ogival. The shields are carved in low false relief. The central shield at the top bears the Lynch arms, those on either side of it have merchant's marks. Two of the shields at the bottom are blank, the third (on the right) has a further merchant's mark.

The frame encloses three stones. The largest of these has a large crack running across its upper right-hand corner that might suggest either (a) unevenness of settlement of the wall in which the stone is positioned or (b) the possibility that the plaque might have been broken during its erection or re-erection. Near the centre of the plaque is a large mortar-filled hole. It is impossible to be certain, but this gap may have held some fastening mechanism with which a wooden, metal or composite multi-media plaque was attached. Its position in what was essentially a Lynch mortuary chapel that was added to the southern end of the South Transept in the 16th century by the Lynch family, its close proximity to the remaining sections of the underworks of the Lynch tomb, and the similarity of the heraldry and merchant's marks found on both items provides a solid link between C47 and C47A. The latter merchant's mark consists of a backward facing 4 with a crosslet at the terminal of the cross-bar. This is flanked by two strokes or 1's. The bottom of the 4 and the serifs of the 1's have wedge-shaped terminations. This pattern is again found on the shield on the upper right-hand side of the frame as well as on one of the spandrels which decorate the Lynch Tomb (C47) which is positioned below and to the left of the present wall-plaque (C47A) and with which, as we shall see in the discussion, the present monument can be linked. The upper left-hand shield (at the top of the wall plaque) bears a very similar mark, but in that case the backward-facing 4 is set on an omega-shaped base. This merchant's mark is also matched on the Lynch tomb already mentioned above. The central shield at the top of the plaque bears the Lynch arms and this again is also repeated on the Lynch tomb (C47) where it occurs between the same two merchant's marks as occur on both the tomb and the plaque under discussion. In the case of the tomb (C47) the bases of the shield have been narrowed and adapted to the shape of the spandrels in which they occur.

The function of this plaque (C47A) is not completely certain. Its proximity to the Lynch tomb (C47) and the fact that the same merchant's marks and arms occur on both shows that the two items were linked. The plaque would seem, for these reasons alone, to have had some funerary association. Several possibilities could be suggested. It may (a) have held a funerary hatchment (whenever a funeral took place or for some time afterwards) or (b) have enclosed the names and epitaphs of those buried in the tomb below it. In later times, especially
from the late 17th century onwards hatchments painted on canvas and stretched over a wooden frame began to assume a lozenge-shaped outline. Earlier examples of rectangular form painted directly onto wooden boards were also used. (A large lozenge-shaped, post-Medieval example also survives at Adare, Co. Limerick and five post-Medieval examples survive at St. Multose’s Church at Kinsale.) A rectangular hatchment on wood or on canvas with a wooden frame might possibly have been housed in this framework and might have been displayed after the funeral of an important personage. Another alternative is that the frame held a list of epitaphs (on brass or on wood). We cannot now tell how features in such materials could have been fastened to the stone or whether the blocked hole near the centre of the panel might have had any role in securing such a feature. Brasses are however very rare in Ireland (King 1994, iii). A coat of arms of that branch of the family buried in the nearby tomb might be a third possibility. It could have been painted onto gesso which overlaid the stone directly, carved in wood or painted on wood or canvas. No trace of any paint, plaster, gesso or of any means of attaching a wooden panel or frame is now in evidence, apart from the blocked hole already mentioned. It would probably have been easier to carve an achievement of arms in stone or wood and fasten it somehow to the (missing) superstructure of the tomb as it would to have one made to fit in the present frame.

**Dimensions:** W: 109cms, H: 119cms, moulding 12cms deep, projects 9 to 9.5cms from present wall surface.

**Date:** Late 15th to early 16th century.

**References:**
Cooke 1895, 294, *passim*.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 218-222 and *illus*. 216 and 221.
Korff, O’Connell and Higgins 1990, No. 65.
Quinn 1962, 31, *passim*.
Walsh 1992, 96 (f.n.), 110.
Walsh 1993, 13, Nos. 16 and 17, Fig. 2, Plate 6.

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Fig. 43, C47A. ‘The Empty Frame’, Heraldic wall panel with arms of Lynch and various Merchants’ Marks, South Transept, (above C47) St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992).
B(iv)b Panels from Box-Tomb, Partially Free-Standing Box-Tomb or from a Reredos, C48-C50.

Three of the panels described below (C48, C49, C50) could be from the short ends of panelled box-tombs with either three or four sides. The panels may more probably, however, have formed parts of a reredos or backdrop behind a altar and this in fact is the most likely original use of C48, C49 and C50. The Virgin Enthroned on C50 would be unique in an Irish context for a tomb, however, and in the Discussion Volume, the possibility that C48, C49 and C50 formed parts of an altar or reredos is also discussed. C48-C50 are stylistically of the same workshop. C52 is a mensa or top of a tomb of box-like shape and could have come from a free-standing or partly free-standing box-tomb. There is a slight possibility that they formed part of a stone reredos behind an altar but there is no proof of this. Their present layout in the wall of Galway Cathedral is completely modern but does recall the layout of the same themes (Trinity scenes along with Assumption and/or Coronation of the Virgin scenes in late and past medieval iconography in paintings and engravings in particular.) The interpretation of these panels as portions of a tomb (or tombs) or as elements of a reredos is open to debate and is dealt with in further detail in the Discussion Volume under the topic of Category B (IV) ’Panels from a tomb or elements of a reredos or altar?’ C51 could equally well have come from a wall monument or a reredos as from the narrow end of a free-standing or partly free-standing box-tomb or altar-tomb.

In interpreting these three panels (C48-C50) as parts of a reredos rather than parts of a funerary monument it is tempting to interpret their original arrangement as a group in which God the Father and God the son were placed slightly above the Virgin and were shown as in many late medieval, and post-medieval paintings, engravings, woodcuts and sculptures in wood and stone show the theme of the Coronation of the Virgin. Diego Velazquez’s (1599-1660) painting (now in the Prado, Madrid) shows the type of arrangement the writer has in mind (Text Fig. 44A). Numerous other examples of earlier and later date could also be cited but the Velazquez depiction shows the general pattern as does the Coronation of the Virgin by Michael Pacher which is in the Alte Pinakothek, in Munich (Text Fig. 44B). Pocoke’s description of these three stones suggests that in mid-18th century they were in the Vestry of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church in 1752, having been ‘dug up somewhere about the Church’. It should be noted that the panel depicting a dove which is displayed among these panels is totally modern and formed no part of the original composition.
B(V) Panels from Box-Tombs (or possibly reredos panels)  
C48, (Type B (iv)), Plates 33A and 82  

**Location:** A carved panel, possibly from an altar reredos or from a funerary monument now incorporated along with other panels (C49 and C50) in the wall of the side-chapel of the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven, previously in the Pro-Cathedral, Abbeygate Street Lower and prior to that in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Pococke in his tour of the west of Ireland of 1752, describes what were undoubtedly C48, C49 and C50 as follows: ‘In the Vestry on three large Stones are cut as big as human life, our Saviour, the Virgin Mary to the right and to the right of that God the Father and over his head the Dove. They were along up some where about the Church.’

**Description:** The plaque bears the figure of God the Son holding a cross. The figure is shown seated and with one hand raised in an attitude of blessing. The second hand is draped loosely around a Latin cross with a long, plain shaft. The figure is shown draped awkwardly and seated in a sidewards position. A garment, probably intended to be a cloak, falls loosely in pleated folds from behind Christ and is partly draped over one shoulder and elbow. What appears to be a second garment is draped awkwardly across the lap of the figure and the figure's chest and stomach and the legs are visible from below the this. This drapery is shallow and falls in awkward folds from across and below the seated figure. The chest is bare and some of the ribs are clearly indicated by shallow lines as is one nipple. The face is long and bearded and the hair falls in large loose curls onto the shoulders. Three large spirals of hair, represented by thick strands which curl inwards to form spirals occur on each side of the head. A long moustache curves upwards on either side of the face to meet long sideburns. The beard is long and seems to have ended in a point but has been broken away at the lower end. The nose is long and narrow, the forehead is high. The eyes are almond-shaped and have been carefully outlined so that the pupils and eyelids are shown. The figure itself is cut in fairly high relief, especially the head and cross but the treatment of the drapery is both stiff and shallow. In the foreground of the composition there is what seems to be a representation of a ‘cobbled’ surface with the cobbles (or clouds?) represented by scallop-shaped stones divided by shallow grooves. According to Semple (ibid., 187) ‘…this plaque of Our Saviour, El Salvador’, (which was part of a Trinity Scene originally) was on the altar on the right-hand side of the choir in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Semple also records that this plaque, and by inference, C49 and C50 as well, were ‘carted out of the church together with all other statues’ by the Cromwellians in 1654 and that …’In 1754 these statues were revealed and were erected in the old Pro-Cathedral in Middle Street. When the Cathedral (sic) building was closed, this statue was re-erected in the new Galway Cathedral. ‘The leg of the statue become stained as a result of people touching it when praying for those at sea and in exile’. The object and the others which are inserted in the wall with it were sand-blasted prior to their insertion there and have lost some of their crispness and detail as a result. When this stone was still at the Pro-Cathedral it had become worn and patinated as a result of being touched and venerated. Semple (1974) mentions a local tradition (which is of course, without foundation) that Christopher Columbus touched the leg of this panel while praying before it. Hardiman (1820, 251, f.n. i) refers to these sculptures briefly as follows: ‘A few of these statues, elegantly sculptured in marble, were saved from the general wreck, and after a lapse of many years, were placed near the parish chapel in Middle Street. They may be still seen in the south wall of the now Collegiate Chapel, all in perfect preservation except the faces, which have been wantonly mutilated’.

They probably appeared more damaged to Hardiman than they were. Old photographs including one reproduced in Semple (1974) shows them worn in their heads and elsewhere and polished black through handling. This patina was removed when they were cleaned, probably in the 1960s when they were inserted in the wall of the New Cathedral.
**Dimensions:**  H: 1m 55cms to 1m 56cms, W: 73-74cms.

**Date:**  Early to mid-17th century.

**References:**
Roe 1979, 101-150, especially 134-5 (C9) and Figs. 35A and 35B.
Quinn 1962, 30-34, *passim*.

Fig. 44, C48. Panel from a tomb (or reredos?) with a depiction of God the Son. Originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, now at Galway Cathedral. Drawing by Raymond Piper. (After Hayward 1952).
C49 (Type B(iv)), Plates 33A and 83
(Panel, probably from an altar reredos or from a tomb)

**Location:** Now in the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven and St. Nicholas. Previously in the Pro-Cathedral, Abbeygate Street Lower, and prior to that, according to tradition, in St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church.

**Description:** The plaque bears a depiction of God the Father carved in false relief. It is now incomplete. A censing angel used to exist in the upper right-hand corner of the plaque but this has been cut away completely in modern times and the surface of the stone has been re-tooled and smoothed out leaving no trace of this carving. God the Father is shown wearing a high, triple crown or tiara and holding an orb carved with a cross. One hand is raised in blessing and the two first fingers of the hand are pointing outwards. The figure who wears a cape or cloak and below this a long cassock-like vestment, is shown in a seated position. The cloak is draped both down the sides and across the figure's knees. The undergarment falls in regular pleats with S-shaped folds that fan out at the ends and cover the figure's feet. The arms are covered as far as the wrists in heavy pleated circular folds. A narrow band is shown across the chest and appears from beneath the long cape that covers the figure's neck, shoulders and upper chest. The face is large and broad and the cheeks are prominent. A large, square beard cut straight across at the bottom, is worn and a heavy moustache is also shown. The hair is long. The eyes are large and closely set and the eye ridges are also well defined. The nose is long and the cheeks prominent. The triple crown is tapering and is decorated with three rows of fleur-de-lis and is topped with a small orb and Maltese-type cross. The orb, which God the Father holds in one hand is encircled by two bands, one vertical and one horizontal, and it also has a Latin cross. This cross has fleshy foliate-shaped balusters forming its arms. The treatment of the drapery is more shallow by contrast with the deeper carving on the upper part of the composition. The missing sculpture that was on the upper left-hand corner is known from surviving photographs including some slides in the possession of Mr Donal Taheny, Corrib Terrace, Galway (Plate 83). Roe (1979) reproduced a photograph taken from one of the latter slides in her article on representations of the Trinity in Ireland. The illustration clearly shows a footless angel flying inwards from the upper right hand side of the panel and bearing a censor which it swings in its hand. The scene is reminiscent of a depiction of an angel swinging a thurable on the sacristy stone screen at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary (Hourihane 2003, Plate 120).

**Dimensions:** H: 1m.53cms to 1m.55cms, W: 80-81cms.

**Date:** Early or mid-17th century.

**References:**
See list of references to C48. Those references also apply to this carving.
Fig. 45, C49. Panel from a tomb or *(reredos?)* showing God the Father. Originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, now at Galway Cathedral.
C50, (Type B (iv)) Plates 33A and 84

(Panel, probably from an altar reredos or tomb)

**Fig. 46**

**Location:** Now in the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven and St. Nicholas. Previously in the Pro-Cathedral, Abbeygate Street Lower, and prior to that, according to tradition, in St Nicholas' Collegiate Church.

**Description:** The plaque has a depiction of the Blessed Virgin in fairly high false relief. She is shown wearing a crown in her role of Queen of the Universe and is shown draped in heavy, wide garments. Her hands are crossed across her breast and her head is inclined slightly to one side. The depiction may represent the Blessed Virgin Enthroned as Queen of Heaven or Queen of the Universe. The crown she wears is an elaborate one decorated with foliate spikes and a moulded rim bedecked with jewels. It is set back somewhat on her head. The face is young, long, calm and pear-shaped. The nose is long and narrow and the lips are small but full. The eyes are large and the eye ridges are well defined. The chin is small and projects slightly. The hair is very long and is parted in the middle of the forehead. It falls in undulating tresses down the sides of the face and onto the shoulders. The Blessed Virgin wears a pleated bodice with a wide, circular neckline. The edging of this undulates and is 'crimped'. A very large, wide cloak is draped over the figure's shoulders and part of it is gathered up and pulled beneath the Virgin's hands. The arms are covered as far as the wrists in the sleeves of a wide-fitting garment with circular pleats. There appear to be plain cuffs. A further shirt-like garment is worn beneath the cloak and this is draped across the knees and feet with the folds of cloth draped in a manner which suggests that the figure is being shown seated. The treatment of the drapery in this area is however shallow by comparison with that of the upper body. Both carved and irregularly-shaped pieces of drapery fall around the area of the Virgin's feet. An area of semi-circular ‘cobble-stones’ (or clouds?) occurs in the lower right hand corner of the plaque. A small block of stone, a repair, seems to be inserted in the upper left hand corner of the stone. Quinn (1962, 30), reproduced a good drawing of this panel as it was when it was still in the old Pro-Cathedral in Lower Abbeygate Street. A plain stone frame had, at some stage, been used to enclose the panel. Quinn states without citing any evidence that ‘At the back of the altar of St. Mary Major in St Nicholas' was a stone plaque of the Blessed Virgin, a crown on her head, long flowing tresses and seemingly sitting amidst waves’. While there were according to the *Elenchus* of the Pictorial Map of Galway of 1651/1652 a chapel described as ‘The chapel of the Blessed Mary Major in the ancient chapel of the Lynche's and another altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary’ there is no proof or evidence of where this panel came from within the church. The tradition of this and C36 and C37 having been rescued from St Nicholas', having first been hidden and then brought to the Parish Chapel in Middle Street circa 1752 and from there to the Pro-Cathedral in Abbeygate Street Lower, before being brought to the New Cathedral in the late 1950’s or early 1960’s, is very strong in Galway and several writers including Quinn (1962) and Semple (1974) have published versions of these traditions.

**Dimensions:** H: 1m.43cms, W: 71-72cms.

**Date:** Early to mid-17th century.

**References:**

See References to C48, which also apply to this carving.
Fig. 46, C50. A panel showing the crowned Blessed Virgin. Originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, but now at Galway Cathedral, from either a tomb (or reredos?). (After Quinn 1962).
Location: This Crucifixion plaque, possibly part of a table-tomb or a wall monument, is now incorporated in the wall of the North Porch of the Dominican Church, Claddagh.

Description: The stone, now in three fragments, bears a crucifixion scene carved in deep false relief in what could best be described as a folk-art style. The crucifix is flanked by figures of the Two Marys, Mary Mother of Christ and Mary Magdalen or alternatively Mary Mother of Christ and St. John. Both figures are shown wearing hoods and cloaks over long, full-length skirts. No fastening for the cloak is indicated. In each case the cloak seems to have a wide, folded-over edge. The hoods cover the back and sides of the heads and form a single fold and folds respectively at the neck. The pleating of the skirt is indicated by simple, wide, unshaped grooves. No feet are shown. The cuffs of the under-garment are indicated by grooves at the wrist in the case of the figure on the left side of the stone.

The left hand figure has a wide, oval face and slight, projecting chin, large eyes with pupils indicated by a groove and a prominent triangular nose which is now damaged. The hand is inclined slightly towards the left. The right-hand figure has a curved, slightly swaying configuration and while the body leans to the left, the head leans to the right. The head is bigger and rounded and the facial features are similar to those of the other figure. In this case however the hair is indicated, but straight across in a fringe high on the forehead. The cruciform figure is now incomplete though prior to the early 1970's it was almost intact and had the initials INRI cut deeply into the top of the cross-shaft. The cross has a worn but apparently chamfered, triple-faceted base.

Christ is shown nailed to the cross with a nail-head indicated in the palm of the surviving hand and the head of a single nail. The first two fingers of the figure's right hand are shown outstretched. The other hand is missing but was present, though detached, until c.1983 and was kept with the rest of the carving. The figure's body tapers markedly apart from a perizonium which is wrapped around the body and between the legs. Large parts of the stomach area are missing and the legs, which are short and spindly, are very battered. Most of the upper half of the face has been broken away. The face is long, oval-shaped and bearded. Part of a large beehive-shaped crown decorated with plain bands and a series of fleur-de-lis survives. This high crown may have originally been topped with a small cross and orb, by analogy with some other representations (C32B). This detail is now lost. Long, lank hair falls from beneath the headgear onto the arms. The eyes and nose are almost completely defaced. A wide, wavy moustache and a long, tapering beard, cut straight across at the bottom, survive in fairly good condition. The background of the carving is plain and smooth. The plaque was originally rectangular and though its original function is uncertain it may have been contained within a moulded frame or have been part of the short end of a large panelled table-tomb or box-tomb. It might also however been set in a wall above a tomb. The plaque is now in three fragments, but prior to 1983 two more fragments of it still survived. A sketch made circa 1970 shows it in a more complete form. It was in two pieces which had been concreted together and was set upright in the ground outside the priory. It had previously been cemented together and stood outside the old Priory building that has since been demolished. It lay for some years in the ambulatory of the new Priory building and in 1992 was incorporated in its incomplete state in the new north porch of the church.

Dimensions: L: 99.5, W: 62.5 to 63cms. The carving is between 6 and 8cms in depth in places.

Date: Late 16th or more probably, Early 17th century.

References: Previously unpublished.
Fig. 47, C51. Panel from a monument showing the Crucified Christ flanked by St. Mary Magdalen. Dominican Church, Claddagh. Sketch *circa* 1970, courtesy of Martin Cooke, shows the monument in a more complete form than it is now.
B (vi) Tomb-Mensa from a Box-Tomb (C52)

Remarkably few decorated mensas from free-standing or partly free-standing tombs survive from Galway. This is probably because so many of the monuments have been dismantled. Another factor may be the difficulty in identifying monument fragments (or indeed even complete elements) as having come from the tops of rectangular tombs. Only two niche tombs retain their original, plain, moulded mensas (C55 and possibly C54 though the mensa of the latter would seem to have been altered and the tomb itself is a composite one) and this example (C52) is the only substantial decorated bomb mensa known from the city. One can only speculate as to the form of the box-tomb on which it rested. The mensa came from the top of a monument which may have incorporated earlier elements of a 17th century D’Arcy monument which, as can be seen from its inscription, was repaired in 1724.
Location: Now unknown, presumably buried or destroyed. Down to the late 1940’s at least it was still in the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. It seems likely that is now simply covered over.

Description: The fragments appear in a photograph album known as the Blake-Foster Album and still in the possession of the descendants of the Blake-Forster family of Forster Street House, Forster Street, Galway. The album, which has been copied by Mr Tom Kenny, Kenny’s Book Shop was shown to the writer in November 1995.

The photograph shows what appears to be the dismantled mensa of the D’Arcy tomb at the Franciscan Graveyard, lying in seven pieces at ground level. Hardiman (1820, 268, f.n. I, no. 4), describes the monument as ‘Darcy’s Vault’ suggesting it was a large monument with a burial space below ground and locates it along with the Browne family tomb in the south-west corner of the Franciscan Graveyard.

The seven pieces were clearly originally conjoined panels and they appear to have been removed from a box-tomb or niche-tomb of some sort and reset at ground level. The panels bear a cross, IHS monogram, the complete achievement of arms of the Galwegian family of D’Arcy (or Darcy) and several portions of an inscription running across three of the lowermost panels which were positioned towards the front of the top of the monument.

Three sides of the panels (the front, right side and left side) seem to have been moulded and have rounded bevels. Inside this edging is a false relief strip of large discs or pellets. These, like the moulding, are found only on the front and sides of the mensa and not on the ‘back’ edge, that is the inner or upper side of the monuments. This would seem to suggest that the mensa was originally positioned on top of a niche-tomb or on a semi-free-standing monument, one long side of which was set against a wall.

On the two inner middle panels is a Cross-Calvary of Latin form set on a triple-stepped base. The cross is of outline form and has wide, wedge-shaped terminals. At the junction of the arms and shaft of the cross there is a small IHS with a further smaller cross with wedge-shaped terminals and which rests on the cross-bar of the H of the monogram. Two small semi-circular indentations seem to occur on either side of the cross-shaft just below the junction of the arms and shaft of the large outline cross. The carving is all in low false relief. Below the cross on the middle, lower panel is a rectilinear false-relief panel of octagonal outline bearing the arms of D’Arcy (or more properly Darcy, as in Galway at least, the apostrophe is a later alteration to the name). The arms are ‘Azure between a cross four crosslets gules (or sable)’.

The shield has a wide shield with a flat chief, straight sides and a shallow, ogival base. At the middle of the base is a small decorative terminal which is shaped like an inverted fleur-de-lis. The arms is the usual D’Arcy one which occurs on Galwegian sculpture and including the Darcy and Martin doorway of 1624 in the Convent of Mercy, Francis street and a fireplace lintel of 17th century date in the Slate House public house, Kirwan’s Lane. This arms is also shown on the Pictorial Map of 1651-2 but not that depicted by Hardiman (1820) to represent the Galwegian D’Arcy arms. These arms seem to have come into use through the amalgamation of elements of the Darcy and another arms in the late 17th or early 18th centuries (See Heraldry Chapter).

Lying on top of, and partly over the edge of the shield, is a helmet of nobility. There is no torse between this and the chief of the shield but a torso does appear to occur on the crest of the helmet and from it rises a dexter armoured arm bearing a spear or lance. The details of the helmet are unclear but it seems to have a hinged visor.

From behind the helmet strips of foliage give rise to more highly formalised foliate mantling that cascades in three large spiralling fronds down the sides and base of the shield to end in a pair of tassels with splayed, bifurcating ends.
Beneath the shield, and set between the two tassels, is a motto scroll which seems from the photograph to have an incised motto, probably either UN DIEU UN ROY as recorded by Kennedy (1816) for the arms of Lord Darcy, and by Hardiman for the Galwegian D’Arcy family.

The inscriptions that run across parts of the three lower most stones of the *mensa* are all cut in low false relief and are in Roman capitals with some prominent serifs. Some of the letters are conjoined and small lozenge-shaped stops are used between some of the words. Unfortunately the inscription is not clearly legible in places. What can be reconstructed reads as follows:

```
EPITAPHIVM
D IACOBI DARCY MAIORIS
CONICAES PRAEFIDIS
GALVIAE PRAETORIS (?) & (?) C
QVI OBIIT AN 'DNI' 1603
[HI]C AMOR HERORUM DECVS VRBIS NORMA SENATUS
MENSA PEREGRINI PAUPERVS ARCA IACET
```

On the right hand side is a separate inscription which is somewhat clearer and reads as follows:

```
THIS TOMB WAS REPAIRE[D]
BY THE DECENDANTS
OF JAMES DARCY IN THE
YEAR OF OVR LORD 1728
PRAY FOR YE DEAD
```

Hardiman (1820, 268), gives the first part of the inscription in Gothic lettering and the second in an ordinary Roman font, but it is clear from the photograph that both of the inscriptions are in Roman capitals. Hardiman gives just a slightly varying reading of what the writer has tentatively made out from the photograph and Hardiman modernised the reading by the insertion of commas and capital letters which are clearly not present. His reading is as follows:

```
EPITAPHIUM D.JACOBI DARCY MAJORIS,
CONACIAE PRAEFIDIS, GALVIAE PRAETORIS,
SC QUI OBIIT AN ‘DNI’ 1603.
HIS AMOR HERUAM, DECUS
URBIS, NORMAL SENATUS MENSA
PEREGRINI, PAUPERIS ARCA JACET
```

This tomb was repaired by the descendants of James Darcy in the year of Our Lord 1728. Pray for the dead.
Cooke (1895), also locates this tomb in the south-west corner of the graveyard and gives a slightly different version of the inscription as follows:

Jacobi D’Arcy Majoris,  
Conaciae Praesidis,  
Galviae Praetoris,  
Sc., 1603  
Hic amor Herous, decus Urbis,  
norma Senatus,  
Mensa Peregrini,  
Pauperis arca jacet  

He describes it specifically as a tomb, and Hardiman describes it as a vault, which suggests that it formed part of a box-tomb or table-tomb or partly free-standing tomb, with the burial located beneath it.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.  
**Dated:** 1603 (and also 1728).  
**References:**  
Cooke 1895, 295.  
Jennings 1947, 118, f.n. 3, *passim*.  
Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. 1, No. 4.  
**Unpublished Sources:**  
*The Blake Forster Photograph Album* (c.1865) (Private Collection) where it is captioned “D’ARCY’S TOMB”.

Fig. 48, Sketch from a photograph of the *mensa* of C52.
This is the only demi-effigy to survive from Galway. Given the fact that it is moulded on the top and on parts of the sides, it seems likely that it was set upright either on top of a larger monument or inserted in a monument that was itself inset into a wall. The use of flanking figures on either side of a demi effigy recalls much earlier examples of the late 13th-14th century where smaller figures occurred to either side of usually a full-length effigial figure. This example is unusual, however, and seems to have been positioned upright rather than as a recumbent effigial slab set in a box-tomb.
Location: Set in the cloister of the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. Previously set along with the solid, disc-headed cross (C76) above a 19th century archway at the entrance to the convent grounds. This was probably a plaque that was inserted in a wall.

Description: The object is a thick rectangular slab of stone bearing a demi-effigy flanked by two smaller figures of saints. The whole is enclosed on three sides within a simple moulded frame. The moulding is a simple, double-contoured one divided down the middle by a narrow groove. The moulding fades on either side into the shoulders of the centrally placed ecclesiastic. In the centre is a half-length effigy of a cleric carved in high false relief. The figure's arms are folded across his breast suggesting that the person depicted is deceased. The figure is shown wearing an amice. A maniple is also shown, draped stiffly around the neck and is highly decorated with meandering stems. This pattern is interspersed with tendrils and leaves that are derived from the stemmage. This vestment around the neck has a slightly out-turned collar and is apparently part of the garment that is worn over a cassock. The collar is high and stiff and is closely fastened below the chin. The cleric wears a plain cross on a chain around his neck. The amice falls stiffly around the shoulders and ends in a formalised series of folds. The cassock is pulled tightly around the arms and the cuffs are plain. The cleric’s face is long and roughly heart-shaped. The chin projects slightly, the lips are narrow. The nose is long and narrow and is triangular in shape at the nostrils. They eyes are almond-shaped and no eyebrows are indicated. The figure wears a squarish, low, four-pointed biretta. This has a rectangular front, outlined on its lower edge by an incised line. The figures in the background are both tall and are shown wearing long vestments with narrow incised drapery. Above the cleric's right shoulder is a small full-length figure of St. James or a pilgrim to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostella. The saint has long, curling, shoulder-length hair and a beard. The beard is cut straight across at the end. The arms are shown folded across the chest and the hands are crossed. Below the hands is a scallop shell attached around the neck by a chain. The scallop is a symbol of St. James of Compostella. The other figure is not identifiable though he is shown wearing a Bishop’s mitre and holds a staff. The staff is vaguely Tau-shaped (suggesting the saint may be Saint Anthony whose attribute the Tau-cross is). The ends of this attribute are spiral-shaped rather than straight.

Dimensions: W:42.5cms, H:51.6cms.
Date: End of 16th, first half of 17th century.
References:
Higgins 1989, No. 19, 14-15, 40-44, Plate 4 and Cover.
Higgins 1996, 77-8 and illus. on frontispiece
Fig. 49, C53. Demi-effigy of an ecclesiastic flanked by Saints, Saints James and possibly Anthony or Patrick. (After Higgins 1996). Drawing by Caroline Daunt.
(D) C54  Altar-Tomb-cum-Traceried Window

This feature is unusual and may be inspired by the idea of a traceried, niched tomb (See Discussion of C55). However, it is clear that the present construction is a composite one in which the mensa and altar portions of the tomb have been altered and a cut-stone window embrasure, ingoings, finials and rere arch have been ‘married’ to a simple traceried window of earlier date. The window is of 14th century type but may date to a century later while the window reveals, soffit lining (and box-like monuments below the window) are of late medieval date, dating probably to the mid-17th century.
**Location:** In the Eastern Wall of the Transept, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** This monument, an elaborate wall-tomb of the Lynch family, is an altar-tomb-cum-window. The window portion is of three lights with cusped semi-pointed heads and simple, switch line tracery. The mullions are roughly lozenge-shaped ones with flat-ended nibs inside and out. A short segment of the top of each mullion is either replaced or re-tooled.

The original bar-holes and glazing grooves (if such were present) have been obscured by modern cement and putty. In the semi-pointed embrasure the stones of the soffit of the window head are tooled with light pocking. The rest of the reveal has ashlar blocks with light vertical tooling, and in most instances there is a plain rim around the edge of each block. A faceted moulding smoothly worked runs down the centre of the embrasure and terminates in triangular-shaped stops on either side. An engaged pilaster-shaft with moulded capital and base occurs on each side of the embrasure. This pilaster continues above each capital to form an inner ‘soffit’ moulding. The moulded shaft on the right is ogee-shaped in section. That on the left is of similar form but is attached to a further rectangular sectioned shaft that continued beyond the window soffit and that seems to have ended in a (now absent) decorated finial. This engaged shaft has a recess with a small, cusped, semi-pointed head at the top. The lowermost segment of the moulding on the right hand side of the embrasure has been deliberately cut away at some stage.

The lower portion of each side of the embrasure is decorated in each case with the Lynch arms. The arms are in a plain shield with semi-pointed base and flat chief and are carved in false relief. Below this, in each instance, is a figure of an angel in high relief. Each angel holds an object in its outstretched hands. In both instances most of the angel's head and the object it carried has been destroyed. This destruction was brought about, according to tradition, by the Cromwellian soldiers in 1652. Enough remains to show that the objects held by the angels were heavily moulded and cresset-shaped (like a wide, squat candlestick). These figures are curly-haired and each wears a long garment that is taken in at the waist. The garments have a U-shaped collar and large plain cuffs. The garments are straight except at the middle where folds are visible, otherwise it falls in straight pleats. The ends of the garments are scalloped and the underside of each figure - which is shown without legs - is decorated with curvilinear folds. The wings are delicately modelled and though cut in lower relief than the rest, the treatment of the feathers is highly detailed. Traces of paint and what looks like gesso or an old limy coating occur on the hair and wings of the figures and some black substance is visible in the folds of the garment of the angel on the right. In the centre of the window above the tomb *mensa* is an unornamented plaque measuring 48cm by 46cm bearing an inscription in roman capitals:

```
+ STIRPE CLARVS
   AMOR · MILITVM
 TERROR · INIMICOR
 VM · AETATE · IWENIS
 SENEX · VITVTIBVS
 MVNDO · NON · DIGNO
 EXALTATVR · AD · CAE
 LVM · 14° MARTII ANO
 DOMINI ·1644 · STEPHA
 NVS · LYNCH.
```

Hardiman (1820, 252), gives an accurate reading of the inscription but inserts modern punctuation where it does not occur. Berry (1912B, 65), gives a translation of this inscription as follows: ‘Stephen Lynch of illustrious lineage, the darling of his soldiers and the terror of
the enemies, in years still a young man, but old in valour, of whom the world was not worthy, was exulted to heaven the 14th of March, A.D. 1644.

The inscription is cut in low false relief and is very carefully worked. Some of the letters bear reamed lines. There are clear traces of narrow, incised, lay-out lines for each line of the inscription. What appears to be paint occurs in the background to the lettering. The plaque is otherwise plain and the area around it is plastered flush with its surface. Lozenge-shaped stops occur between the words.

The mensa is plain and has been partly restored with cement and stone in modern times. The underworks are surrounded by a simple chamfered frame and the ashlar within this frame is all plain. Part of the mensa has been altered and a short ‘extra’ segment of its moulding projects from under the left hand base of the monument. The frontal part of the underworks consists of large, plain ashlar blocks, partly obscured by a modern radiator. Some of the slabs have apparently been partly re-tooled but retain traces of off-white paint and some darker ‘staining’ that someone has attempted to remove in modern times. Substantial traces of dark paint also remain in the background of the shields with the Lynch arms. These would have had an azure (blue) background when painted in their proper heraldic tinctures.

A narrow bowtell-like moulding runs along the outside of the soffit of the window-embrasure. A narrow five-sided moulding with U-shaped terminations also occurs near the centre of the soffit. A single finial seems to have originally been present at the top of the engaged rectangular pilaster on the right hand side. There is no trace of a corresponding feature on the left side though there was probably one there originally.

Externally the window has a plain hood-mould with stepped stops. The moulding has a hollow internal chamfer. The window is set in rebuilt masonry and has no externally visible relieving arch.

**Dimensions:**

W: 2m.61cms. (of mensa), W: 1m.82cms. (across lights of window);

**Dated:** 1644.

**References:**

Cooke 1895, 294, *passim*.

Fleetwood Berry 1912, 64, *passim* and illustration opposite p.66.

Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins) 1989, 64, *passim* and illustration opposite 66.

Hardiman 1820, 252.

Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 211-213 and *illus.* 212.


Lynch, J. 1913-14, 90-91.

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Fig. 50A, C54. Niche Tomb-cum-Window with the Lynch arms and panel dated 1644. (B) Composite monument in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1972).
(E) Traceried and Canopied Wall-Tomb (C55).

This is an extremely good example of the type of late-Medieval traceried and conjoined niche-tomb found commonly in the Irish Late-Gothic period. As will be seen in the discussion, this is a fine but late example of a monument that is found in the west and lower midlands of Ireland. The origin and spread of this type of traceried monument and the identification of new monuments of this type as well as a suggested explanation of their origins, development and dating is provided in the Discussion Volume.

The best known tombs of this type include the monuments at Dungiven Priory (Co. Down), Athenry and Kilconnell (Co. Galway), Strade and Clare Island, Co. Mayo and Ennis, (Co. Clare).
**Location:** Built into the east wall of the South Transept (The Lynch Transept) of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** A fine flamboyant, traceryed and canopied wall-tomb traditionally associated with the Lynch family and sometimes, incorrectly, with the Joyces. No inscription survives however. The tomb is a well-preserved one with elaborate tracery, crocketed finials and decorated and niched panels on either of its sides. The base is moulded and ornamented with arcaded recesses. The section of wall in which the tomb is incorporated projects inwards into the transept and is topped by a sloping moulded stone coping. This suggests that it post-dates the building of the transept wall in which it is set.

The *mensa* has a plain upper surface but has an elaborately moulded surround. This moulding runs down the sides of the stone but is absent from the bottom of the monument. The tomb front, (which is enclosed by this moulding), is divided into seven plain arcaded panels topped with ogee-shaped arches. The outside of each moulded arcade is decorated with crocketing consisting of formalised vine leaves topped by a single leaf at each terminal. The arcades are divided from each other by six finials that spring from between each pair of recesses. These finials are also decorated with floral buds. The foliage that form the crocketing on the outside of each arch are linked by two stems in each instance. The altar frontal (apart from the moulded surround) is made from just a single stone. The splayed sides of the tomb that rest in the *mensa* have heavy moulded abaci or capitals and bases with rectangular panels between them. Each side has a recessed panel decorated with ogee-shaped arcading, ornamented in each case with elaborate crocketed finials. That on the left is cusped and a small leaf pattern springs from the end of each cusp. A small triangular panel in each cusp is also decorated with trifoliate patterns.

The right panel has identical finials and crocketing above its arched top and like the left side the foliage is linked by two twisted narrow strands. At the centre of the ogee-headed panel there is a depiction of Christ displaying the Five Wounds. Christ is shown crowned and with an elongated face. He wears a crown with foliate terminals. The hair is parted in the middle and some of it is visible along the right side of the face. The stomach is shown exposed to the waist. The figure wears a long cloak over the shoulders. This is fastened at the chest by an annular ring-brooch with a straight pin. Above this at the neckline a V-shaped collar or neck-line is visible but no other trace of the garment to which this belongs is visible. The chest and stomach are shown bare and the lance wound is shown in the figure's right side. The cloak mentioned above is brought across the lower body in S-shaped folds and two folded-over bands of cloth cross each other at the middle of the abdomen above this. Beneath the cloak, part of a further habit-like garment is shown. This reaches to the top of the feet. This is pleated and the hem ends in formalised S-shaped patterns. The upper part of this garment is not visible. The hands are shown raised with the palms facing outwards to show the nail holes. That in one hand is clearly visible, the other hand is somewhat damaged. The rib-cage is clearly visible, as is the wound in Christ's right side. Traces of paint are still clearly visible especially in the folds in the drapery, the hair, brooch and crown. The ogee-shaped panel in which the figure is shown has moulded pilasters and the centre of the panel above is crocketed. Each piece of foliage is linked to the next by a double strand. A piece of crocketing also occurs on either side of the panel and a small segment of undercut ornament at the end of each crocket has apparently been broken away.

The panel on the left opposite has closely similar ornamentation except that it has no figure. Instead it has an ogee-shaped outline and cusps that end in a pair of foliate ornaments that meet in the centre. The middle of each cusp has a smaller piece of foliage set within a sub-triangular recess. The crocketing on the frontal panel below the *mensa* at the bottom of the tomb is very similar to that of each of the carved panels described above. Beneath each
foliate terminal, however, are further, narrow block-like crockets with bud-like decorations. There are seven of these in all.

The interior of the arched top of the tomb is decorated with an elaborate pierced screen of tracery. The tracery is surrounded by deep moulding. The tracery itself forms a repeating pattern along its central axis. Sixteen mouchettes occur on each side and each is cusped. A further cusped triangular segment occurs near the bottom of the openwork screen. Seven cusps occur along the edge of the indented lower edge of the tracery. Above the tracery itself is an elaborate moulded surround. This is bordered on its outer edge by a row of crocketing and a finial - also moulded and crocketed - spring from each side and from the apex of the tomb-top. Each finial is decorated both with moulding and miniature recesses in the form of triple-headed lancets. The tomb was originally painted and traces of paint, now faded to a grey and black colour, survive in places especially in the creases and folds in the depiction of Christ showing the Five Wounds for example. Killanin and Duignan (1962, 284) note that ‘…it has lost its polychrome colouring”.

**Dimensions:**
W (at base): 2m 43cms, D: 64cms, H (of side panels): 1m 8cms, Total H (from left finial to present ground level): 5m 63cms. Panels of frontal, l:220cms, H: 84.5cms (total). Present depth of mensa: 64cms.

**References:**
Fleetwood Berry 1912 154 and illustration opposite 77.
Fleetwood Berry (ed. Higgins) 1989 154, and illustration opposite 77.
Hardiman 1820 Miscellaneous Plate opposite 316.
Hayward 952, 44-6, (Refers to this as the ‘Joyce’, tomb).
Higgins 2006 Cat. No. 28.
Hunt 1974, 149 (Vol. 1), plates 260 and 261 (Vol. 2)
Killanin and Duignan 1962, 248.

Fig. 51, C55. A flamboyant traceried and canopied tomb in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Drawing by J.S. Keel from Fleetwood Berry (1912).
(Type F) Crocketed Finials (From either tomb-canopies, windows or doorways).

(C56-C58)

The type of objects represented by this small group could have fulfilled many functions. The first finial (C56) is a definite finial, which by analogy with many examples from the Irish Late-Gothic architecture could have come from a window, door-case or a tomb, and it would now be impossible to prove from which of these the finial came as it is out of its original context. The other two objects in this group are also out of context having been probably brought from Galway City and reused together to form the keystone of an arch at the entrance to Menlo Castle, Menlough, Co Galway. Again, the range of possible functions for these crocketed fragments is equally wide and they are catalogued here for the sake of completeness.

It is possible that the two Menlo fragments came from the same finial. (C57 and C58). Such a long finial would not be unusual projecting from the springing on apex of the arch of a doorcase, window or tomb.
Location: This crocketed finial is now loose and is displayed on top of the Lynch Tomb (C47) in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church to where it was brought (from the graveyard) by the writer in 1984.

Description: The stone is a finial with Late Gothic vine-derived foliage forming a crocketed pattern on three of its sides. The front and two sides have been divided into narrow arcaded panels with thin, lancet-like arcades having cusped heads. Above and around these a narrow, moulded frame occurs. This rises to a point above the heads of the arcaded recesses and the crocketing is, in turn, attached to the outer edges of these features. The crockets are composed of thick, ‘hairy’ foliate fronds, ‘bound’ near the top by a narrow moulding. The top of the finial consists of five thick, stem-like strands.

The back of the stone which is thicker and crudely worked and was originally set into a wall above. The carved surface projects between 11.5 and 12.5cms. from the roughly cut ‘backing’ to the crocketed part of the finial.


Date: Late 15th to 16th century.

References:
Higgins and Heringklee (1992), figure on p.261.

Fig. 52, C56. A crocketed finial, perhaps from a tomb (or equally possibly from a window or doorway) St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
C57 and C58 (Type F), Plate 98B

**Location:** Incorporated in the entrance gateway to Menlo Castle, Co. Galway.

**Description:** Together these two stones, bearing crocketed ornament, are reused to form the key of the arch. The edges of the stones are lightly carved to form shallow, somewhat bulbous ‘bosses’ of leaf-like form. The stones may be portions of finials from a wall-tomb, doorway or window but their function is uncertain. They have been included here for the sake of completeness.

Virtually all the carved stones originally at Menlo Castle have been removed, apart from an *in situ* doorway with fleur-de-lis decoration to its stop blocks in the tower-house portion of the mansion, and several others in the decorative turrets flanking this ornamental gateway. Remnants of an elaborate late 16th-17th century doorway and some moulding which are now in the Marian Grotto at Coolough Church. Most of the carvings were all taken to Menlo from Galway City in the 19th century and formed part of an antiquarian collection assembled by the 14th Viscount Blake.

**Dimensions:** Could not be reached safely or measured accurately.

**Date:** Late 15th to Late 16th century.

**References:**
Previously unpublished.

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Fig. 53, C57 and C58. Finial fragments possibly from a tomb or other decorative feature now incorporated in a 19th century arch at the entrance to Menlo Castle. (B) C59 G(i) Funerary Wall-Panels with Heraldry and/or Merchants’ Marks. Sketch by Mark Keane.
C59 Type G (i) Funerary Well-Panel (Heraldic) (See also C47A)

Only two items that are not very similar to each other can be classed under this heading. The first of this is set above the Lynch tomb in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Church. C47A has already been dealt with above, along with C47 with which it originally formed part of the same monument. The latter C47A is grouped typologically with C59 in the present category of monuments.

The parallels for the grouping of the armorial shields (bearing arms as well as Merchant’s marks) on C47A, as we shall see in the discussion, are rare in Ireland but the feature does have a lot in common with the panel bearing the arms of Henry VII on Lynch’s Castle and both of these in turn have as we shall see, continental parallels. Whether the centre of this panel bore further heraldry or a painted inscription, or whether it was used to display the funeral hatchment of whoever was most recently buried in the tomb below it is now impossible to say, but any or each of these functions might have been served by this moulded panel.

Heraldic panels like C59 that were incorporated into the walls of buildings are common in Galway where some fifteen examples occur. In Kilkenny numbers of such panels occur both in facades of buildings and also in wall-tombs while many more are in situ. The panel from the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street, bears the arms of a Viscount Blake and is likely to be a representation of a specific Blake individual who added a chapel to the Franciscan Abbey that was sited near its present location. The panel was probably set within a moulded frame and this in turn was undoubtedly set into a wall. Whether it came from a wall-tomb or not is open to debate but since the Blake individuals who can be identified with this specific coat of arms are known from historical sources to have been buried at the Franciscan Abbey, it seems as likely as not, that the plaque was incorporated in their funerary monument (Higgins 1989D, 54-57).

The type of heraldic panel represented by C59 is well-attested in Galway City as we shall see in the Discussion, and it also finds its parallels with the mantling and other heraldic features of the Browne Doorway now at Eyre Square, which is dated to 1627.
**Location:** Grounds of the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. This stone is now incorporated in the wall of a building in the grounds of the Convent where it is positioned above an early 17th century doorway (but like the door-case not in its original position).

**Description:** The plaque bears the Blake achievement of arms carved in relatively high false relief. It bears the Blake crest - *a cat-a-mountain passant* stands on a large crest-wreath and nobleman's helmet. From this issues heavy foliate mantling with large, boss-like spirals of foliage that continue down the sides of the shield and terminate in heavy tassels.

The shield has a straight top and sides and an ogee-shaped base. The charge on the shield is an unusual one; that usually found is a simple fret on which the corners of the central lozenge do not project and cross at their ends. The charge present is a ‘fretty’ rather than simply a ‘fret’. The arms also bear an inescutcheon indicating that the bearer was a baronet and a small Maltese Cross perhaps used as a mark of difference.

The background has been cut away completely and there is a blank space below the arms that may have been intended to take an inscription. This was either never carved or alternatively, may have simply been painted. No layout lines survive for any lettering however. It is probable that the plaque originally had a stone frame around it.

A piece of moulded stone (probably from the entablature of a doorway) rests on top of this stone but obviously did not form part of an original frame around it. The plaque rests on a rough piece of ashlar of unknown function.

This stone is most likely to be associated with one of several Sir Valentine Blakes, one of whom built a chapel at the Franciscan Church (See Higgins 1989D, 54-9).

**Dimensions:** Unavailable.

**Date:** Probably Early 17th century.

**References:**
Higgins 1989D, 23 and 54-57 (Cat. No. 39, Plate 3) and f.n. 14-17, 65.

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Fig. 54, C59. Armorial panel with the arms of Blake, possibly from a funerary monument or from the Chantry Chapel of the Blakes at the Franciscan Friary, now in the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street.
Panels of this form with little elaboration or moulding are common in England in particular in the post-Reformation period. This example (C60) is one of the few non-elaborate examples of its type to occur. This can be compared to another recumbent slab in the main catalogue (C12), which is also unusually plain, despite its heraldry) and may be contrasted with the nearby Eyre monument to Jane Eyre among the (uncatalogued) post-1700 monuments that is extremely elaborate but of the same white marble and limestone materials as C60 and may have been made in the same sculpture workshop, or, at minimum, have had their lettering carved by the same craftsman.
C60, (Type G (ii))

**Location:** Incorporated in the South Wall of the South Aisle of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** A white marble plaque in a grey-blue limestone frame. The inscription is an incised, common-case one with both upper and lower case letters. Lower-case and capital scripts are mixed throughout. The first part of this inscription is also incised on the gravestone in St. Patrick’s Chapel. The section from ‘Erected This Monument’ onwards has narrow incised layout lines whereas the upper part of the inscription has none. The frame around the plaque is incised with a running pattern of tulip-like leaves with fleur-de-lis occurring at the corners. These do not correspond exactly, and in one instance there is a large, blank space big enough to accommodate another segment of foliage. A small, extra lozenge occurs at the joining of leaves at the top of the stone. It is possible that the frame has been reassembled or more likely that the sculptor simply misjudged the spacing in laying out the design. The ‘w’ of Edw in line 15 is shaped like an ‘n’. Note the use of ‘U’s for ‘V’s in this inscription.

Before it was repainted in 1995 the paint varied from reddish-brown to black in colour. The inscription that is incised and has been repainted in black, reads as follows:

Near This Place are Interr’D the Remains of Edward Eyre ESQ\(^R\), son of Giles Eyre oF Brickworth near SaliSBURY in WILTshiRe ESQ\(^R\). TOGeTheR with his wiFe Jane Eyre, A Ver-TUOUS, ChariTable, Pius & in aLL RespecTs an ExceeD inG GooD Woman, Three Sons & two DAuGHTers Their ChilDren

He was a Thorough Honest Englishman Which pLain Character Bespeaks him EminentLy possess’D oF aLL GooD & Vertuous QualLities

He LiveD Greatly BeLoveD By aLL that Knew him & DieD Much LamenteD on y’\(^14\)th oF ApriL 1683

In Memory oF so Worthy a Father & Mother their Duteous Son Edward eyre of GaLLway ESQ\(^R\). has ErecteD this Monument

Here also Lies EdiV\(^4\), Eyre Esq’. Who Erected This Monum’. He DieD y’\(^5\)th of Nou’. 1739 Aged 76 y’\(^\#\)

He married Jane y’ Daughter of S’ W’\(^m\) Maynard of Walthamstow in Essex Bar’ By her he had 4 sons & 5 Dau’\(^\#\), His Wife & 3 Dau’\(^\#\) Suruiued him

He left LarGe Charity to Build an Alms House and to Maintain 12 Poor for Euer

The original paint occurred in both the inscription and in the incised foliate ornament of the frame. It was renewed in black paint when the monument was cleaned in 1995 (Very Revd. Canon Brian McCarthy, *Pers. Comm.*).

**Dated:** 1683 and 1739, but early 18th century.

**References:**
Burke’s Peerage 1976, 395-8 (For a detailed genealogy of those commemorated).
Fleetwood-Berry 1912B, 70-71.
Hardiman 1820, 253.
Hely-Dutton 1824, 306-7 and 352.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 238-240, Cat. No. 406 and illus. 239.

Fig. 55, C60. The Eyre wall monument in the South Aisle, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, dated 1683 and 1739. (After Higgins and Heringklee 1992).
(Type H) Stone Blocks (From Wall and Niche-Tombs) with Busts and Heads (C61-65).

This small group consists of C61, C62, C63, C64 and C65, which form a stylistically closely related group. Several of these (C63, C64 and C65) undoubtedly came from the same monument. They are all now distributed within several hundred metres of the site of the Franciscan Abbey and probably all came from funerary monuments at that site.

By analogy with other Irish examples (notably on complete monuments) it is clear that all the carvings in this group came from entablatures of wall-tombs and all of them date to the first few decades of the 17th century. They were positioned on blocks that were usually projected out above key-blocks and above columns or pilasters. They frequently occurred on the level of the cornice of the entablatures of such monuments. The finest examples of a tomb with closely similar blocks is the tomb of the 1st Viscount Mayo at Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo (Higgins 2011, 103-116).
**C61, (Type H), Plate 75A**

**Location:** A female bust carved on a rectangular fragment from a wall-tomb. The object used to be inserted in secondary position in the wall above the entrance to the Galway Bakery Company store in Mary Street until 1992 when the building (which contained some medieval fabric and had cut-stone quoins) was demolished. It was subsequently incorporated over a doorway to the right-hand side of the facade of Azad Kashmir Indian Restaurant that was built adjacent to the site of the former GBC store.

**Description:** The object is a rectangular limestone block carved in fairly high relief with the bust of a woman with an elaborate hair-style. The woman has a long, slightly plump face with slightly curled pouting lips and prominent cheeks. The nose, which seems to have been moderately long and narrow originally is now slightly damaged. The eyes are large and almond-shaped and like C62, C63 and C64 have been carefully outlined by a narrow rim to show the eyelids. The hair is combed high from the front of the head to form four large wavy curls that are turned outwards and downwards in the middle. Large, thick parallel strands of hair are shown. No ears are shown and the upper side of the head is covered with four large wave-like curls of hair on each side of the face. A narrow ledge of plain stone occurs on the top of either side of the block but this does not continue along the front of the stone where the hair is combed upwards onto the top of the head. The neck is narrow and a small four-lobed item, probably representing a jewel or brooch is shown at the centre of the chest. The sides and underside of the block of stone are all crudely but evenly worked apart from a flat ‘edge’ of smooth tooling on the sides of the block.

This object was not intended to form a small keystone for a doorway for example. The tooling on the sides indicate that it was wedged between two stones that hid the non-projecting part of the stone. Its most likely position seems to have been in a wall-tomb in which it projected forward at one end or perhaps, more likely, from the centre of a moulded string course or entablature above the recessed opening of a wall-tomb. As will be seen in the Discussion, it is most likely to have come from an early to mid-17th century wall-tomb like one which is still almost intact at Ballintubber Abbey Co. Mayo. C62, C63 and C64 are also likely to have come from similar monuments. Up until 1991 the object had been thickly coated in numerous layers of paint. These were removed by sand-blasting prior to the incorporation of the object in the restaurant wall. None of the paint now survives. The back of the stone was previously rough but has been simply trimmed to shape with a stone-saw.

**Dimensions:** W: 18, H: 25cms.
**Date:** Early to mid-17th century.
**References:**
Higgins 1989, 46, *passim*.

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**Fig. 56, C61. Fragment from a wall-tomb, a female bust from the entablature of tomb, in the façade of Azad Kashmir Restaurant, Mary Street. Sketch by Mark Keane.**
**C62, (Type H), Plate 75B**

**Fig. 57**

**Location:** A fragment from a wall-tomb. This is a block of worn limestone with the head and neck of a woman shown in fairly high relief. The object lay loose in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy until 1989 when it was set in the wall of the cloister for display and safe-keeping. (Higgins 1989, 16-17, 45-6).

**Description:** The object has previously been described by the writer. It is a rectangular block of limestone, now slightly weathered, showing the head and neck of a woman. A narrow plain ledge of stone runs along each side of the stone. The sides of the stone and its underside are smoothly, but somewhat roughly, tooled and were obviously meant to be hidden. The woman's face, which projects upwards 14.5cms. from the back of the block, is long and she is shown with an elaborate hairstyle. The cheeks are wide and the lips are full and slightly curled. They are damaged in places. The nose is partly broken and somewhat weathered. The eyes are oval and carefully sculpted and outlined to indicate the pupil and eyelids. The forehead is high and the hair is combed back from the top of the forehead and is plaited in strands that are tied back close against the head and over the ears. The hair of the sides of the head is also visible in large strands that curve back above the plaits just mentioned and are visible at the sides of the stones both above and below the plaited bands of hair. A small curl of hair seems to occur beneath each ear. The hair at the front of the head is not very well preserved above the forehead due to weathering and there may also be a plain headband across the front of the forehead. The ears are carved in some detail. The nose is long and relatively narrow but its tip is now somewhat damaged. The eyes are badly worn and are closely set. They seem to have been oval in shape. Each eye seems double-contoured with the pupil and eyelids both being represented. A definite ridge occurs above each eye socket. The chin projects slightly but is broken in places. The neck is relatively short but narrow and emerges from above a wide, thick collar of a garment. The collar is formed in two layers and is wide and U-shaped. The lowermost rim or edge of collar is mostly broken away. A plain rim of stone projects from the top of each side. Like the Mary Street block (C61), the sides, underside and top are roughly tooled though a plain line of smoother tooling also occurs along each of the sides of the block.

**Dimensions:**  H: 28, T: 21 to 22.5, W (at front): 12 to 12.5cms.

**Date:** Early to mid-17th century.

**References:**
Higgins 1989, 16-17, 45-46 and plate 1.

Fig. 57, C62. Fragment of a wall-tomb with a female bust, Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. Sketch by Mark Keane.
C63, (Type H), Plate 74A

Fig. 58

**Location:** Now incorporated in the facade of the Abbey Church (Franciscans), Francis Street.

**Description:** A sub-rectangular block of limestone from a wall-tomb decorated with a female bust carved in false relief. The stone has a slight projecting ledge on either side where the edges curve out slightly and form a projecting band of stone along each long side. Low relief lozenge-shaped ornament occurs in the background to the higher relief bust in the foreground. The lozenges form a diaper pattern and have slightly concave sides. One piece of decoration with a comma-shaped, curved ending also occurs.

The face is long but has chubby cheeks and high cheekbones. The nose is long and relatively narrow. The lips are full and curl inwards slightly in each corner. The eyes are large and are defined by a double-contoured shape defining both the pupils and eyelids. The forehead is high. The hair is combed back from the forehead and up onto the front of the head where it forms six large curls of hair at the top and side of the head. All the hair is defined by thick curling strands. The hair also occurs on the upper sides of the head and face. The chin is small and projects slightly. Around the neck there is a closely-fitting necklace of beads or pearls, and in the centre of this necklace is a drop-pendant of roughly lozenge-shaped form. The neck-line of a garment, that is open at the front and lightly pleated is also shown.


**Date:** Early to mid-17th century.

**References:** Previously unpublished.
Location: This stone is located on the same facade as C63 but to the left of the main entrance to the church. A block carved with a bust of a woman and incised ornament. Probably from a wall-tomb.

Description: This object is virtually identical to C63 with only some minor differences. The decoration in low relief in the background of the carving bears some pieces of irregular foliate-like ornament in its upper right-hand corner. This is Renaissance style ornament of a debased form and similar ornament is found in C62 and C63. These vaguely leaf-shaped pieces of ornament occur among the concave-sided 'boxed' lozenges and the fragment of spiralling decoration that also occur in the background to the bust. Again the incised ornament would seem to have been carried onto flat stones on either side.

The nose of the female face is somewhat damaged in this example but this and C63 form an almost identical pair and were carved by the same craftsman who also carved C62 and C63 and obviously came from the same monument. Again the stone is heavily worn and patinated. Despite having had its patination removed by sandblasting about five years ago, it, like C62 and C63, has now been rubbed smooth as part of a modern-day ritual of blessing ones-self and then rubbing the stone head on the way in and out of the church.

Date: Early to mid-17th century.
References: Previously unpublished.
Location: Part of a wall-tomb with a cherub now incorporated in the facade of the 19th century Abbey Church, St. Francis Street.

Description: A sub-rectangular block of stone with a slightly projecting ledge on each side of the top of the object. Probably from the centre of the entablature of a wall-tomb. By analogy with surviving examples this very likely formed the central block of an entablature with a moulded string course running both above and below it.

The stone bears a winged cherub carved in relatively high false relief. The face of the cherub is plump but it has fairly mature-looking features. The lips are large and slightly curled. The nose is small and has been somewhat damaged. The nostrils are clearly indicated. The eyes are double contoured and large and are heavily outlined. The hair is curly and large curls are combed back in thick strands from the forehead.

The wings project from directly behind the face and no shoulders are indicated. Both primary and secondary feathers are shown in some detail. The head has suffered some wear and damage and was sandblasted about five or six years ago. Parts of the face are nevertheless now patinated and polished again and the tradition of touching the face after one blesses oneself with holy water from the stoup below the carving is still observed. This has also lead to the present polished appearance of the two female busts (C63 and C64) which seem to have come from the same monument as this carving.


Date: Early to mid-17th century.

References:
Higgins 1989, 25-27, 35, 60 and Plate 5, No. 43.

Fig. 60, C65. Fragment of a wall-tomb bearing a depiction of a cherub, reused in the façade of the Abbey (Franciscan) Church, Francis Street. Sketch by Michael Lenihan.
(I) Fragment of a Cherub’s Head (from either a Niche-Tomb, Wall-Tomb or from a Trinity Panel) C66

The fragment at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street is an irregular, sub-triangular piece of stone broken around its outer edges. Protecting from the front of which a very worn, apparently male, head with shoulder-length hair. A row of large prominent feathers occur about the neck and chin of the head.

This fragment has no original sides, top or base surviving and would seem to be too wide to have formed the sort of block from an entablature of a tomb as Walsh (1991) suggests.

The writer has suggested that it may have formed part of a Trinity Panel (Higgins 1989, 25-27 and Higgins 1989-90, 155-8). Whatever its function, it is clearly related stylistically both to the Trinity Panel at the Franciscan Cemetery (C44B, as well as to C65 of Group H above). Again, the fragment belongs to the first few decades of the 17th century and whether it formed a block from an architrave or entablature or whether it came from a panel depicting The Trinity, it still undoubtedly once formed part of a funerary monument. The likelihood is that it came from the same sort of wall-tomb as C61-C65 came from.
Location: Now built into the wall of the Galway Social Services Centre which backs onto the nun's cemetery in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street.

Description: A fragment, possibly from a funerary monument bearing an angel face and a grouping of feathers, possibly part of a wall-tomb or a Trinity Scene from a tomb or plaque. The carving occurs on an irregularly shaped fragment from a limestone panel and is carved in fairly high false relief. The stone is somewhat weathered and the nose, mouth and chin have, in particular, been damaged. The head, which is clearly a male one, has a rather skeletal appearance that is due to its weathered condition rather than to the style of carving. The fragment depicts a male with long shoulder-length hair which is shown as thick closely-set strands that curl inwards to form a large spiral of hair below either side of the head. The hair is apparently parted in the middle. The head is pear-shaped and the cheeks are now prominent and puffed out in the areas above the mouth. The mouth and chin are badly worn. The nose is now worn flat. The eyes are closely set and are almond-shaped. They are double contoured and the pupil and eyelids are clearly defined. There is a prominent ridge above each eye and the forehead is high.

A semi-circular wreath of feathers consisting of two rows is shown beneath and around the sides of the head up to the level of the cheeks on either side. The collar-like arrangement of feathers is carefully cut in low false relief while the head is in higher relief. There may be a suggestion of a ‘wing’ rather than just a decorative grouping of feathers in the slight upturning of the feathers on one side of the head. No shoulders are indicated nor are any ears shown.

The face is that of a middle-aged or mature man and is not that of a young person. It does not seem to have been intended to represent a cherub (pace Walsh 1991). The writer has argued elsewhere (Higgins 1989; Higgins 1989-90) that it may have come from a panel representing the Trinity in which it would have represented the Holy Ghost (or Holy Spirit). Being part of a Trinity Scene would not preclude it from deriving from a funerary monument in which a plaque represented the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

Depiction of the Trinity occurs on three other Galwegian items, two of stone and a silver chalice and these have been published by Roe (1979).


Date: Early to mid-17th century.

References:
Higgins 1989-90, 155-158 and Plate 1.
Roe 1979, 101-150.

Fig. 61, C66. Fragment with a cherub head built into the back wall of the Galway Social Services building and visible from the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street. Sketch by Mark Keane.
Cross forms such as this are not very commonly found as funerary monuments. Their form is more common in wayside or market-type crosses of the Late Medieval period in Ireland.

Only a small fragment of a Market or Wayside-type cross (C70) occurs in Galway City but it would not have been topped by a disc-headed cross of the type under discussion. The present example clearly functioned as a funerary monument and may have been set upright in the manner of a headstone above a grave. It bears the vocational symbols of a farmer along with the letters I.P. that would seem originally to have read R.I.P. This example did serve as a headstone and is the earliest example of its type from Galway City. On the other hand, it could just as easily have been mounted on top of part of another monument originally (just as it is now), though it is not likely to be coeval with the panel onto which it is attached at present.
This is the only such disc-headed cross to survive from Galway City. Given the fact that it bears the vocational symbols of a farmer it is clear that it was erected to commemorate an individual rather than being a Wayside Cross or Market-type Cross. It differs dramatically in its style from the panel bearing the Demi-Effigy (C53) onto which it has been set and was clearly a separate monument originally.

**Location:** Now in the cloister area in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street, Galway. Prior to 1984 this stone and those to which it had been attached (C53 and C70) were located over an arched gateway at the entrance to the Convent of Mercy. In 1986 these and other fragments from the site were gathered together and relocated in the cloister area under the supervision of the writer.

**Description:** This is a late disc-headed cross with a solid disc at the centre and relatively narrow, stubby arms and shaft. The disc is decorated in low false relief with depictions of a plough share and plough sock. To the right of these a sub-rectangular ‘recess’; which looks crude and unfinished and which may not have been part of the original decoration occurs. Below these is a long rectangular recessed area containing the initials I.P. and the date 1649, all of which are carved in low false relief. Some areas of crude pocking made with a pointed chisel survive on parts of the stone. The right hand arm is slightly damaged and the whole of the surface is slightly weathered as a result of recent sand blasting. The back of the stone is plain and is somewhat more crudely worked than the front. The stone is attached to the top of C53 and seems to have been fastened using a metal bar set in lead. These two carvings did not ever form part of the same monument.

**Dimensions:** W (across arms): 46.5, H: 46cms.
**Dated:** 1649

**References:** Higgins 1989, C18, 12-14 (and cover for illustration).
(K) Key-blocks from Wall-Tombs, Doorways Tomb-Niches
(C68 and C69)

The two objects that form this small group could just as easily have been positioned between the curved or straight spandrels of a doorway, niched wall-tomb or a chimney-piece. This is by analogy with surviving complete examples of such that occur in Galway City and elsewhere. Unfortunately because they are isolated fragments there is no definite way of telling from which of the three types of objects they came. The two items catalogued have therefore been included for the sake of completeness.

C69 may, given the presence of a female face incised on it, may be indirectly paralleled with the female busts and cherubim’s heads found on C61-C66 and which without doubt, came from wall-tomb, all of them from the vicinity of the Franciscan Cemetery, C68 is more enigmatic.
C68, (Type K), Plate 99A

**Location:** A key-block from either a wall-tomb, doorway or fireplace, now displayed on the Lynch tomb (C47) in the corner of the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

**Description:** The stone was found by the writer in 1984 during the demolition of part of the boundary wall of the graveyard on the northern side and was brought into the church. The key-block has a corbel-shaped front, with a gently curving section, and an angular, truncated, pyramidal lower surface. A fragmentary twisted cable of barley-sugar type runs across the top of the stone just below its upper edge. The sides of the object are rebated and are cut to the same shape as a pair of chamfered spandrels that were set into its sides. This helped to hold the stones of the arch of the tomb, doorway or fireplace together securely.

**Dimensions:** H: 22.6, W (at front): 22, T: 25.2cms.
**Date:** Early 17th century.
**References:** Previously unpublished.

Fig. 63, C68. Key-block at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Sketch by Mark Keane.
Location: A key-block from a demolished building in Middle Street where the present Cornstore premises now stands. The block was found during excavations by Miriam Clyne on the site of the present Cornstore complex that occupies an area between Middle Street and St. Augustine Street. It was found among rubble from a demolished walling at the site. The stone was in storage in the Galway Corporation Depot at Sandy Road until 2004 when it was deposited in Galway City Museum/Músaem Cathrach na Gaillimhe by the writer.

Description: A small, narrow key-block with a corbel-shaped front of S-shaped profile, a bevelled, rectangular base and a flat top. The front of the corbel-shaped block has an S-shaped profile and bears a very lightly incised border and a pattern consisting of a depiction of a hanging piece of cloth or drapery. On each of the sides are incised S-shaped scrolls with tightly coiled terminals and formalised foliage, probably derived from acanthus leafage. The incised patterns would clearly have to have been painted originally for the ornament to be visible as the incisions were only very lightly carved.

Date: Early 17th century.
References:
Higgins 2004, C[2](33), 52.

Fig. 64, C69. Key-block from Middle Street. (Drawing by Jenny McKenna).
(L) Crenellated Fragment (C70)

This fragment is very difficult to parallel closely in an Irish context but by analogy with British medieval examples it would seem to have formed part of either a mensa at the top of a funerary monument. Its context, too, would also suggest that it had a funerary function. Such crenellated ornament is commonly found on the tops, bases of English tombs and alabasters and the inspiration for this limestone feature may be derived from such a source as we shall see in the text volume.
C70, (Type L), Plate 67A

**Fig. 65**

**Location:** Possible tomb-chest fragment or wall-top coping with a crenellated edge set in the ground in the display of carvings in the cloister, Convent of Mercy, Francis Street.

**Description:** An architectural fragment of uncertain function but perhaps part of a tomb (or altar). The object, which is of limestone, is part of a larger feature and is incomplete in itself. Two rows of crenellations or billets occur on the front and on one side of the stone. Each crenellation has a narrow plain band of stone projecting slightly from its top. It has a hollow moulded chamfer on its front and this continues along its right side only. The billeting on its upper edge also continues along the front and right side. The left side of the stone is plain and another section of moulding and ornament was obviously once attached to this side. The stone was obviously bedded on other masonry and projected from the top of some feature. The underside is roughly worked. The stone may have come from the top of a wall or stone screen, or possibly from the upper edge of a tomb-chest. The possible functions of the fragment have been discussed by the writer elsewhere (Higgins 1989, 18-19 and 46-7) and are explored in further detail below (see Discussion). Its most likely function is as a portion of a decorative coping to a monument of unknown form. The fact that the inner edge of the top is rough and that the upper surface itself is fairly crudely worked would seem to indicate that it does not come from an altar mensa or from the top of a table tomb however. The stone bears closely pocked tooling of various sizes.

**Dimensions:** H:20, W:78cms.

**Date:** Probably 15th or possibly Early 16th century.

**References:**
Higgins 1989, 18-19, 46-7, Fig. 6, No. 25, 28, Plate 4 and also front cover.

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Fig. 65, C70A. Crenellated fragment at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street (After Higgins 1989) and C53 and C70. Drawing by Caroline Daunt.
(M) Headstones (C71, C72 and C73)

Only three headstones bearing decoration from Galway bear dates in the 17th century and all date from the latter half of that century. These early examples typify the type of low unobtrusive upright monument that began to become popular again in the late 16th and more particularly in the first half of the 17th century in Ireland and Scotland for example.

The early Galwegian headstones can be massively thick and triangular headed like C71, or can be bow-topped like C68 which is dated 1690.
C71, Type (M), Plate 100A

**Fig. 66**

**Location:** This early example of a headstone is in the cemetery of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church where it has been reused along with other funerary monuments to retain the edge of a pathway that was made around the cemetery in the 19th century.

**Description:** A thick, low-sized headstone with a triangular head and straight sides. The stone is deeply embedded in the ground. It is plain apart from an incised inscription in Roman capitals, this reads as follows:

```
1666
EDWARD
MERRICK
AND HIS 3
CHILDREN
```

The N and D of the word AND are conjoined. The word CHILDREN is wrongly spelt. The inscription would seem to have been laid out with the help of guidelines. The upper sides are badly broken in places and part of the D of EDWARD is spalled away.

**Dimensions:** H: 46.2, W: 49, T: 22 cms.
**Dated:** 1666
**References:**
Fleetwood Berry 1912A, 4.
Higgins and Heringklee 1992 Cat. No. 64, 29 and illus. opposite.

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Fig. 66, C71. Headstone of Edward Merrick and his children, 1666, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Drawing by Jenny Mc Kenna.
Location: St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Now loose on the top of the Lynch tomb in the south-east corner of the South Transept.

Description: The stone is a low, round-topped headstone of early type with an inscription in Roman capitals that are cut in low false relief. The inscription is in lettering of two different sizes and the stone is obviously a palimpsest. The first two lines are in smaller lettering and may relate to an earlier phase of use of the stone, possibly by relatives of Patience and John Jenckin to whom the main part of the inscription relates.

[A]LEXANDER
AND-HENRY-JENCKIN
HERE-LYETH-THE
BODY-OF-PATIENCE
JENCKIN-WHO
DIED-THE-27 DAY
OF-APERIL-1681
ALSO-THE-BODY-OF
JOHN-JENCKIN-WHO-DIED
THE-24-OF-MARCH
1685

The inscription is well cut and laid out and small stops occur between many of the words. Traces of lay-out lines for the inscription are visible. It used to be set on the ground in a secondary and recumbent position and served as paving in a pathway in the cemetery but was brought into the church in 1989 for its better preservation. The stone bears no decoration. The back and sides of the stone are plain.

Dated: 1681 and 1685
Location: The graveyard of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.

Description: A low headstone with a bow-shaped top, straight sides, and an inscription which is incised and bears an inscription in Roman capitals that reads as follows:

1690
HERE·LYE THE·THE·BODY
OF JOHN·NORDIN
AND·HIS·3·CHEILDRIN
FEBERVARY·THE·8

A small inverted V or an A has been incised inside the O, possibly making the likely reading of the surname to be Noardin, although this awkward-sounding name and spelling may not necessarily be the correct interpretation of the name. Nordin sounds more realistic or feasible. The inscription is incised in Roman capitals. Some of the words have conjoined letters based on a common vertical item-line. The inscription seems to have been cut with a flat-bladed querk. The stone is now somewhat worn.

Dated: 1690
References: Higgins and Heringklee 1992, C70, 32.

Fig. 68, C73. Headstone to the Nordin family dated 1690, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
(N) Demi-Figure (possibly a weeper from a tomb) (C74)

This small headless figure was undoubtedly set into a larger funerary monument. It is difficult to parallel in the general Irish context but seems to have been inset in a rectangular recess in a larger monument. The fact that the robed figure would seem to have originally clasped a saintly attribute of some sort in its hands (and these are also joined in a prayerful attitude) would seem to suggest that it was a weeper or a depiction of a saint which was attached to a funerary monument of some sort. Its general shape (but perhaps not the angle at which it was set) is vaguely echoed in the depiction of an angel with its hands joined in prayer that acts as a supporter to the finial above the arms of Henry VII that are displayed on Lynch’s Castle (Higgins 1996-7, Plate 2). Whatever position it came from on a monument or wall, the carving is undoubtedly of ecclesiastical significance as its context suggests.
Location: Now displayed in the cloister at the Convent of Mercy, Francis Street.

Description: A small boss with a demi-effigy. This was attached originally to a larger monument, perhaps to a funerary monument. The joined hands holding an unidentified object or attribute suggest that the item may have formed part of a large funerary monument on which the object represented a mourning weeper or saint and was set at some height, perhaps in some sort of wall-tomb. It is not winged and is not therefore an angel.

Other possible functions could be offered. It may have been set on a wall or incorporated in a tomb, shrine, pulpit or, for example, an altar reredos, though it must be admitted that no such items with figures of this sort are known to the writer to have survived in stone from Ireland. The object has previously been described by the writer. It is a roughly rectangular piece of sandstone with a square socket hole in the back. The socket hole is leaded and originally contained a piece of metal that is now rusted away but originally helped to secure it to a larger piece of stone work. The object itself may furthermore have been set into a rectangular rebate in a stone panel or panels.

The front of the object is carved to represent a small demi-figure in false relief. The head of the figure is now missing. The person is shown in a pleated loose-fitting garment with a V-shaped collar. The hands are joined across the middle of the breast in an attitude of prayer and seem to have held a long attribute or object. Unfortunately this item and the vicinity of the carved hands is damaged and the attribute cannot be identified with any certainty though traces of foliate forms would seem to occur. A scar in the stone is all that survives. There may also be traces of a boss-like object, perhaps a brooch or clasp. There seems to be a loose collar around the neck. The long deep folds of the garment have been relatively deeply cut. The figure was obviously meant to project form and to be seen from a height.


Date: Probably Late 15th to Late 16th century.

References: Higgins 1989, Fig. 5, C22, 15-16.
(O) Miscellaneous Funerary Monuments of Uncertain Type (C75-C79)

Since most of these monuments are lost and are known only from 19th century descriptions, it is now impossible to know what form they took. Of these, only C81 - a panel bearing the arms of Dominick Browne (who died in 1596) is extant. In the case of this panel, however, it is impossible to know whether the slab was part of a box or wall-tomb, and the stone is therefore included in this miscellaneous category. The latter stone is dated 1596 but as can be seen from a reference to it in Hardiman’s History the inscription on it is part of a longer one. It would seem to have been incorporated into an early 18th century monument or originally been part of one (perhaps a box-tomb) but that tomb has been since dissembled and this is the only part of it which remains. Stylistically the carving looks as if it could be later and by analogy with monuments elsewhere in Galway (like Cat. No. L.M.V of the Later Monuments that is dated 1720) and another at Tuam which is dated to 1713 and 1732, it may date to as late as the 18th century despite its date of 1596 (Higgins and Parsons 1995, 87).

The two lost monuments at the Dominican Cemetery (C75 and C76) are probably late medieval recumbent slabs, though only their re-discovery would prove this. In 2001 a FÁS Scheme at the Dominican Cemetery uncovered a large number of mainly 18th and 19th century monuments but C75 and C76 were not among them. The monuments were covered over again after it was realised that this work should only have been carried out by an archaeologist, if at all, and even then under licence from the National Monuments Service. The exposed monuments were recorded by the writer before being covered over under his supervision.

C77-C79 are included for the sake of inclusiveness and because they would seem to have included 18th and 19th century monuments which have since been dismantled, but that would seem from Hardiman’s description of them, to have incorporated or reused parts of earlier monuments relating to the same family. Bearing in mind how C17, a 17th century recumbent slab, has been recut and has an inscription dated to 1833 added where some of the original carving has been erased, it seems likely that these monuments may have been incorporated elsewhere.

C80 consists of fragments which Hardiman (1820) associated with C18 and that might have been funerary in nature.
C75, (Type O), Not illustrated

**Location:** Formerly in the graveyard of the Dominican Abbey, Claddagh but no longer visible.

**Description:** In the footnotes that accompany Hardiman's description of the Dominican foundation at Galway he concludes with a short note on two inscriptions which he describes as ‘the earliest inscriptions now remaining’. The first of these he gives as follows:

> ‘Hic jacet Corpus Mauricii O‘Ferrall - Propicietus Deus-A’, 1588’

Though he does not say so this monument may well have borne ornament of some type. The form of the monument is unknown though it may well have been a recumbent slab. It is included here for the sake of completeness.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.
**Dated:** 1588
**References:**
Hardiman 1820, 271, f.n. C.
C76, (Type O), Not illustrated

**Location:** Formerly in the graveyard of the Dominican Abbey, Claddagh, but no longer visible.

**Description:** Like C66 this is simply mentioned by Hardiman in a footnote and no details are given apart from the inscription which is as follows:

‘Orent pro anima fratris Tho Linic Anton, Ord' Pred defuncti Anno 1627’.

Like C63 this might well have been a recumbent slab and it seems unlikely that it would not have borne some sort of decoration. Like C74 it is included here for the sake of completeness.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.

**Dated:** 1827.

**References:**
Hardiman 1820, 271, f.n. C.
C77, (Type O), Plate 88A

Location: The Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith. Probably a free-standing table-tomb, rebuilt in the 18th century. It may perhaps, have incorporated elements of an earlier monument as its inscription suggests.

Description: Hardiman (1820), f.n. i, 269, No.10, describes a Quin monument that may have had sculpted decoration as follows: ‘10. At a short distance from these lies the monument of the Quin family and on it inscribed:

‘This tomb was first erected in the year 1649 by James Quin of Galway, merchant and Eleanor Joyces, his wife. In memory of whom, James Quin of Galway, aforesaid, merchant, one of the descendants of said James, caused the same to be entirely repaired and ornamented, in the year 1762. Requiescant in pace’.

Whether any sections of the late medieval monument mentioned above survived the 18th century repair it is impossible to say (nothing identifiable as such now survives). The only piece of the tomb now identifiable is a large uninscribed plaque bearing the Quin arms within an elaborate escutcheon from part of the 18th century repair-work to the original monument. This is now located under a fuel tank in the inner yard (formerly a garden) behind the Priory buildings.

Cooke (1895) lists it among the monuments that he could no longer identify.

Dimensions: Unknown.
Dated: 1649.
References:
Cooke 1895, 295
Hardiman 1820, 269, f.n. i, No. 10.
C78, (Type O), Not illustrated

Location: Formerly in the centre of the Franciscan Graveyard.

Description: Hardiman (1820) in his list of monuments mentions ‘The tomb of the ancient family of O’Nolan of Loughboy .. ’ that was then ‘situate in the centre of the churchyard’ and bears the following inscription -

“This tomb was first erected in the year of Our Lord 1394 by the O’Nolans of Loughboy and is now rebuilt and ornamented by Michael O’Nolan, Merchant, Galway, one of the representatives of said family”.

Unfortunately it is not now possible to say whether this monument (Hardiman’s No.1) retained any of its original fabric or whether or not it bore sculptured ornament. Jennings, however, has noted that ‘The O Nolan tomb is said to date from 1394 but the actual monument is a much later restoration’.

Dimensions: Unknown

Dated: Probably 19th century but may have incorporated earlier material and sculpture.

References:
Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. i, No. 1.
Jennings 1947, 118, f.n. 3, passim.
Location: Formerly in ‘the Church of the Friars-minors of Galway’, presumably at the Franciscan graveyard, a Penrise sepulchre.

Description: In listing a number of families which were previously of importance in Galway, Hardiman (1820) 6, and ibid. f.n. S, refers to the family of Penrise, and in a fn. on the family, as the following to say: ‘This ancient family which is long since extinct, was descended from Rise, one of the Welch princes, after whom they were called Rhesi, Risi or Ap-en-Rise. Their sepulchre, until lately remaining in the church of the friars-minors of Galway, pointed out their former consequence ...’. Unfortunately, Hardiman gives no further details of the nature of this sepulchre and though it may well have borne carved decoration, given its importance, it is not now known whether it was ornamented or not. Since Hardiman tended to record only medieval and late medieval monuments it can be presumed that the monument was an ancient one.

Dimensions: Unknown.
Date: Unknown, presumably Medieval or Late Medieval.
References:
Hardiman 1820, 6 and ibid. f.n. S.
C80, (Type O), Not illustrated

**Location:** Lost fragments of uncertain form but probably of a funerary nature. Previously at the Franciscan Church, Francis Street.

**Description:** Hardiman, (1820) in a footnote, describes part of an arch and some other remains that he thought to be associated with C18. He describes them as being present at the lower entrance to the side chapel at the former Franciscan Church. **C18** is a late recumbent slab and cenotaph to William Liath de Burgo, which has all the appearance of being complete in itself. If this is the case then these items, if we can rely even partly on Hardiman's interpretation might well have been part of some sort of funerary monument. An arched element would suggest a wall-tomb of some description but is unlikely to have been really associated with **C18**, which is a recumbent slab.

Unfortunately the description is too vague to allow one to do anything other than just speculate on the nature of these lost fragments.

**Dimensions:** Unknown.

**Date:** Unknown.

**References:**
Hardiman 1820, 267, f.n. h.
(P) Surviving Tomb-Fragment of uncertain type (A Table-Tomb, Box-Tomb or Wall-Tomb of the Browne Family). (C81)

As will be seen below, this example is difficult to classify. The fragment which survives is just part of a larger monument and the inscription is complete in itself but Hardiman (1820) supplies a longer version of this inscription. The ‘missing’ segment of the epitaph would not seem to have occurred below the arms on the present panel as, though there is more space below the segment already mentioned, the bottom of the slab is partly blank.

The possibility remains that the second segment of the inscription was carved on a separate stone. The monument itself may have been a multi-period one and if that is the case, the inscription might even have been an addition.

The second inscription (or the latter half of it) as given by Hardiman bears reference to it being a ‘family tomb’. The slab may have been incorporated into a later monument. For this reason, the monument has been described here in the Main Catalogue as C81.

It was common in the 18th or early 19th century for recumbent slabs or panels from other sorts of monuments to be reused by being incorporated into the sides of a box-tomb. Examples of this sort of reuse occur at Ross Errilly Friary, Co. Galway and at Old Rahoon Cemetery, Galway.
Location: Incorporated in a modern boundary wall at the Franciscan Graveyard, Newtownsmith, part of a Browne family monument.

Description: Only part of this monument (probably a panel from a table-tomb or though less likely, a wall-tomb) has survived and it seems likely that this stone had, at some stage, been incorporated in a larger monument to the Browne family erected in the 18th century. It also seems highly likely that on stylistic grounds, though the present segment is dated 1596, that the carving with its archaic-looking heraldry and may date to the 18th century. It seems possible that this stone like several other monuments at this site and that the stone was incorporated in the early 18th century along with elements of an earlier monument to form a single 'Refurbished' tomb. Carvings of closely similar style from Tuam and St. Nicholas' Collegiate Church, Galway (Higgins and Parsons 1995, 87) are dated in their inscriptions to 1713 and 1732 and to 1720 respectively (see Discussion below). The surviving stone is inscribed as follows:

PRAY FOR THE SOVLE OF ALDERMAN DOMNICK BROWNE & HIS POSTERITY WHO DYED IN THE YEAR 1596.

The H and E of the first THE and the three letters of the second THE are conjoined. Numerous traces of lay-out lines for the cutting of the inscription survive. Hardiman 1820, 268, f.n. i, no.3) gives the above inscription (but with minor differences) in a somewhat longer form. The rest of the inscription - which Hardiman records - is as follows:

'Here lies the Body of Captain Andrew Browne, of Gloves, Esq. whose family tomb this is, which was erected in the year 1596'.

The present stone has a space after the first part of the inscription. The second part of the inscription must therefore have been carved on a separate stone suggesting that a panelled tomb of box-like shape was involved. This is despite the fact that there was still room below the surviving inscribed section for a longer epitaph. The Browne arms is carved in low false relief. The charge on the shield is a double-headed eagle displayed. The shield has a flat chief, slightly outwardly-splaying sides and a triangular base. The crest is an eagle-head (which should perhaps be a demi-eagle) on a helmet. Spirals of formalized foliate mantling spring from behind the helmet and fall down the sides of the shield and terminate in a pair of tassels. Jennings (1947) simply refers to the stone in passing as the tomb of 'Dominic Browne of Gloves'.

Dated: 1596
References: Cooke 1895, 295, passim.
Jennings 1947, 118, f.n. 3, passim.
(Q) Memento Mori (C82)

This is an unusual monument that has since the 1840’s been incorporated in the Lynch Memorial Window. It is a memento mori which may have been part of a funerary monument of some sort. However, even if it did not come from a funerary monument, it is likely to have been located at the entrance to, or within, a cemetery as a reminder of death. A 19th century example (with a ‘false’ date 1588) at the Dominican Cemetery, Claddagh would seem to have been based on it, or on a similar monument.

Memento Mori also occur at the entrances to graveyards and buildings as at Kildare Cathedral and elsewhere where one with a shield and cross bones of early 19th century date occurs (See Plate 35).
**Location:** Memento Mori incorporated in the so-called Lynch Memorial Window in Market Street is a plaque bearing a skull and cross-bones, the date 1626 and an inscription reading ‘VANITI OF VANITIES ALL IS BUT VANITI’. The panel was incorporated in the monument in 1848 when it was built.

**Description:** A memento mori with an inscription, skull and cross-bones and the date 1624, is now incorporated in the mid-19th century monument known as the Lynch Memorial Window in Market Street. It is known from engravings and from written description to have been incorporated above the doorway in a house on the opposite side of the road down to the 1830’s at least. An engraving in Hardiman (1820), (Miscellaneous Plate) shows the stone in that position, as does a preparatory drawing by Hardiman made c.1812-1814 for his 1820 volume. The stone may simply have been a memento mori set in the wall of a house or might have been taken from some religious establishment or graveyard. It might possibly have been part of a funerary monument but this remains unproven. It could equally well have been incorporated in a wall or above an entrance to a private house, to a cemetery or to a private burial place. Its inscription makes the latter two functions seem the most likely.

A tinted watercolour by James Hardiman made for the historian's book (Hardiman 1820) about 1812 to 1814 and now in Galway County Libraries, Cathedral Square, shows the plaque.

An engraving based on this coloured drawing was used in Hardiman's (1820) Miscellaneous Plate where it is captioned ‘No. 2. Dom. D.I. Lynch Mayor, 1493’, linking it with the popular legend relating to the Lynch Memorial Window (See Plate 19 of the present work).

A further two engravings, probably based on those of Hardiman occur accompanying a story called ‘The Warden of Galway’ in The Galway Vindicator for January 12th 1833. The engravings are captioned ‘Lynch House and Tablet over the Doorway Galway’.

The ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ was built in 1848 as a commemorative inscription on it states, and it remained more or less as it had been built until 1978 when the whole edifice was taken down and moved back from the road, being altered somewhat in the process. During its cleaning to remove a numbering system to aid reassembly which had been painted on it, the entire ‘monument’ was mechanically cleaned. This resulted in some erosion of the stone work and loss of detail. The structure is shown (prior to its re-siting) in Plate 35A in which a photograph dating to sometime in the 1950s or 1960s now in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church is shown. Plate 35B shows the monument after its relocation.

The object is a sub-rectangular panel with a moulded, triangular, pedimented top. The top of the object is more heavily moulded than the sides which also bear moulding. The bottom of the object has a bevelled inner edge and bears an incised inscription on the front. The inscription is lightly incised in Roman capitals and reads:

REMEMBER DEATH VANITI OF VANITI & AL[L] IS BUT VANITI

The centre of the plaque is occupied by a frontally faced skull carved in false relief and with a wide, deep groove running around the background to the ‘death’s head’. Below this, and cut in false relief is a pair of crossed long bones. The stone is now somewhat weathered and the edges of the mouldings are somewhat spalled. The inscription is also fairly worn both as a result of mechanical cleaning and natural weathering.

The stone, and indeed the whole monument, (which has been assembled from fragments collected from various places), has been the subject of a vast amount of folklore and speculation. It is traditionally said to commemorate the supposed execution of his son by James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, Mayor of Galway. His son Walter, according to numerous accounts (many of which derive from an account by James Hardiman which the historian
admits to elaborating and embroidering), is supposed to have killed a Spaniard, Gomez in a love quarrel and to have been tried and executed by his own father for this crime. The monument itself then, is a totally 19th century creation dating from 1848 and rebuilt in 1978. The rebuilding of the structure against a new reinforced concrete wall led to the loss of over half the original fabric of the structure. The carvings incorporated in it include window and door fragments, a fireplace keystone and ashlar of a variety of types. As presently constituted the structure contains plaques and architectural features of 15th-16th and late 20th century date. The fabric is described in Higgins and Heringklee (1992, 259-266) and the legend and its growth are documented by Rabbitte (1917-18, 27-49), Mitchell (1966-71, 5-72) and Mitchell (1981-2, 31-44).

**Dimensions:** H: 64, W: 43.5cms.

**Dated:** 1626

**References:**
Hely-Dutton 1824, 222-3.
Fleetwood Berry 1912, 62.
Fleetwood Berry, (ed. Higgins) 1989, 62-4 and opposite 64, f.n. 64.
Fox, Leonard and O’Dowd 1979, 14 and illustration 15.
Hardiman 1812, (not paginated).
Hardiman 1820, Miscellaneous Plate.
Higgins 1984, "The so-called Marriage Stones of Galway".
Higgins and Heringklee 1992, 258-266 and illustration (from Hardiman, 258).
For general illustrations of the Lynch Memorial Window see 260 and back cover of Higgins and Heringklee *ibid*. The plaque itself is described in detail on 262.
Mitchell 1966-71, 5-72 and illustration opposite 64.
Mitchell 1981-2, 31-44.
Rabbitte 1917-18, 27-49.
Rabbitte 1920, 27-49.
Semple 1969 and 1972, 67 (upper).

**Other Photographic Sources:**
Among the photographs in the National Library of Ireland, one in particular shows this stone in fairly good condition and part of the rest of the ‘Lynch Memorial Window’ in some detail as it was prior to 1881 when the belfry tower of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (which can be seen in the background of the photograph) was altered and crenellated. The photograph is captioned ‘Fitz Stephen Memorial Galway, 903.W.L.’.

![Fig. 71, C82. *Memento Mori* incorporated in the Lynch Memorial Window. (After Hardiman 1820, enlarged).](image)
(R) Wayside, or ‘Church Yard’ Cross Fragment (C83)

There is only one octagonal-shafted cross fragment surviving from Galway City. This segment probably came from a tall cross-shaft of ‘Wayside’ or ‘Market’ or ‘Churchyard’ type. Unfortunately, the form of the head and base of the cross are missing and can only be postulated upon on the basis of extant examples. Plain-shafted octagonal, sectioned examples are common in Connacht and West of the Shannon from the 17th century in particular.

Though Wayside crosses are common in the midlands from the 15th and early 16th centuries onwards, they only became common in Counties Galway, Clare and Roscommon in the early and mid-17th century as we shall see in the discussion below.
(Q) C83, (Type R), Plate 89, Fig. 72.

Location: Now re-erected on a modern rectangular plinth with a circular base near the north-west corner of the church in St. James’ Cemetery (Teampaill), Ballybane, Galway. The fragment had previously been reused as a headstone to the west of its present location inside a former entrance gate (now blocked up) to the cemetery.

Description: The plain octagonal fragment of the shaft of a ‘Market’ or ‘Wayside’ Cross which survives at St. James’ Cemetery near Gleninagh Heights, Ballybane, has been previously described by the writer (Higgins 1996, 75-6). Though the fragment is a plain one, it has been included here for the sake of completeness and because it is likely that, when complete, it had some carved, decorated or possibly inscribed elements. By analogy with many such monuments found in the Midlands and Connacht, it may also have been erected in memory of a deceased person and though it was likely commemorative but not commemorative and funerary it, like the Memento Mori, included in this Catalogue (C82) can be classed as being related to the funerary monuments which are described here.

The object is a long and plain segment of the shaft of a market-type or wayside cross. It is octagonal in section and is now featureless but by analogy with similar crosses from elsewhere in County Galway and further afield, the top of the object was probably decorative and carved and there might (as is frequently the case) have been a commemorative inscription of some sort.

The sides of the present fragment have simply been worked smooth to form plain facets.

Dimensions: H: 60, each facet measures between 8.5 and 9.2cms.

Dated: Late 16th to first half of the 17th century.

References:
Higgins 1996, 75-6 and illus. 76.

Fig. 72, C83. Wayside Cross fragment at St. James’ Church, Gleninagh Heights, Ballybane. Drawing by Mick Ganley showing the fragment reused as a grave marker in 1989.
Between the late 17th and early 19th centuries a number of rectangular, pillar-like Leachtáí or Leachtáí Cuimhneacháin. The term Leachtanna Cuimhne (literally “memorial monument” is also used to describe these monuments especially on Árainn (Inish Mór, the Aran Islands) and in mainland Co. Galway as well. In all, nearly eighty such monuments survive, many of which have been published by Robinson (1991), and Alcock, de h-Óra and Gosling (1999, 349-50).

The Mionlach/ Menlough feature belongs to a category of monument which is common in part of County Galway, and to a much lesser extent in North County Clare. The largest number by far is a group of thirty two Leachtái Cuimhneacháin on Árainn (Inish Mór, the largest of the Aran Islands, County Galway). These Árainn funerary centographs have been catalogued and published in a monograph by Robinson (1991). They consist of rectangular pillars with panels bearing inscriptions (and sometimes symbolism) set in their sides, sometimes one, other times two plaques occur. They are often topped with free-standing crosses. Robinson ibid. sees the Árainn monuments as having been inspired by two Leachtái dedicated to FitzPatrick family, landlords of Árainn in the 18th Century. Unusually, and unlike the other Árainn cenotaphs, the FitzPatrick monuments are not located near the road.

Of the thirty two leachtanna cuimhne on Inish Mór Árainn all but the two 18th century FitzPatrick ones date to between 1811 and 1876.

Despite the preponderance of such monuments in Árainn, their ultimate place of origin is not however on the Aran Islands, it is likely to lie elsewhere on mainland County Galway where twenty or so some similar monuments respectively are known.

The so called Market Cross at Ardrahan, County Galway is possibly the inspiration behind the general form of 17th century monument type on which the general monument form is based (See Spellissy 1999, 281-282). It is of cut stone and is set on a stepped base. The pyramidal cap which projects from the rectangular shaft somewhat is socketed at its peak and the socket now contains a modern replacement cross at its apex.

Another finely cut stone monument which is of the same general type is to be found at Kilnaboy, Co. Clare. In County Galway there are examples which are composed of roughly dressed rather than carefully tooled stone as well. These include examples at Abbeyknockmoy, County Galway where there is an example with a rough string course on top. An octagonal cross shaft emanates from its top. There is a recess for a plaque but no plaque survives.

It would seem that the leacht cuimhne emerged from the tradition of constructing wayside cairns of stones along the route of the funeral of or were the place of death of a notable local personage. While wayside crosses were a feature of the Irish Midland Pale since the 15th century and were also erected by the families or spouse of a notable deceased person. Another type of cenotaph, the pillar-like Leacht Cuimhne by contrast emerged in the 17th century and was a feature of counties Galway and Mayo in particular.
Location: Monument Road Mionlach/ Menlough

Description: The monument is a tall square pillar of mortared limestone on a projecting base. It originally had a rounded blunt-pointed or beehive-shaped top, only part of which survives, and which is partly overgrown with grass and ivy. The monument is built on a rough base, the stones of which project in an irregular manner in places. The base is slightly splayed in places. Inset in a rectangular recess in the west side of the monument and facing the main road is a cut stone panel of limestone bearing an inscription. This panel is moulded on the left hand side and measures 43cms wide by 71.5cms in height. This inscription is in Roman capitals and is cut in low false relief. It reads as follows:

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HIS
PRAY: FOR•THE
SOVLE:OF:W
ILLIAM:CONN
NEL AND HIS•W
IFE CATHERIN
COYNE AND TH
ERE SON EDMON
D O CONNOR A
ND HIS WIFE S
ERA HE HEL: IOHN
CONNEL: AND HIS
WIFE MARGRET
FRANCIS 169?
```

The reading of the eleventh line is uncertain and its reading is enigmatic. Many of the letters are conjoined and small worn lozenge shaped steps or pairs of such stops occur between most of the words. The date is uncertain, it may be 1693, 1695 or 1698.

An undated drawing initialled M.L.A. which seems to be of 19th century date shows the monument in a more complete form and with what may have been a cross or finial emanating from the apex of the monument. This drawing is in private possession in Boston and would seem to be of 19th century date, the initials M.L.A may possibly be these of Muriel Lynch Athy who was leading member of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society and a frequent contributor to the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society journal. She contributed articles on the monuments and sites referred to in the Ordnance Survey Letters (See bibliography).

The writer is thankful to Michael D. Lynch for a photocopy of a tracing from the drawing which is reproduced in Fig. 72B.

Date: 1693 or 1695 or 1698
References: Athy, M.L. 1913-14, 129.
Gosling (ed.) 1993, 137 (site 792).
Semple 1972, 122.
Fig. 72 (A) Cenotaph (Leacht Cuimhne) at Mionlach, Menlough, C84 as it appeared prior to the loss most of its cap. The photograph which was probably taken in early 20th century was in the possession of the late Maurice Semple and is reproduced from his book ‘Reflections on Lough Corrib’ (Galway 1974). (B) A sketch of the same monument (undated). Courtesy of Michael D. Lynch, Galway.
DISMISSED CARVINGS

FORSTER STREET
Simple (?recent) pocked cross of roughly equal armed type, in a boundary wall of Magdalen Convent and former Magdalen Home, opposite Magdalen Terrace, Forster Street Hill. The cross looks 'fresh' and is relatively unweathered. It is cut on an unworked and irregular lump of granite.

AS ABOVE
Crudely cut cross on a piece of limestone inserted in the same wall as above. The cross is a simple pocked one with slightly expanded terminals. It is cut on an otherwise unworked stone in the wall and is otherwise featureless. It is somewhat weathered.

AS ABOVE
A simple crudely unused cross cut on grey granite.

PROSPECT HILL
A thick lump of limestone with a deeply and crudely cut cross with deep and widely splayed terminals. The block had a rebate around its upper edge. The object is likely to have been a Consecration Cross. The back and sides of the stone are crudely worked. The object is clearly not of a funerary nature. The cross occupies most of the surface of the block which was probably set in a wall. The stone was found reused in a wall to the rear of No. 27 Prospect Hill. The object is unlikely to have been associated with the late 19th century St. Patrick's Church. But probably came from St. Bridget’s Hospital. A sixteenth century Leper Hospital was close by or on the site of the lane running back from the site of St. Patrick’s Lane or ‘Smelly Lane’, which is its local name, contained until the 1990s a section of walling which was still referred to as ‘The Lepers’. St. Bridget’s Hospital is shown the Pictorial Map of Galway of c.1660.

It might have been related to the site of the Late Medieval Capuchin foundation, the site of which was also nearby but closer to Suckeen and to Wood Quay and is also marked on the mid-17th century Pictorial Map of Galway.*

DUBLIN ROAD
Previously built into the 18th or 19th century stone wall to the rear of the former Redemptorist College (the front entrance to which is on the Monivea Road). The stone had up until the early 1980s been built (in an upside-down position) into the drystone wall. The stone bears a cross and IHS monogram cut in low false relief. The stone seems to have been only crudely and slightly flattened on the front (which is the only worked surface) and is otherwise plain apart from the cross and IHS.

* See Hardiman (1820, 30) footnotes for the Index to the Pictorial Map of c.1660 including ‘On the East… St. Bridget’s Chapel, to the House of Lepers, under the title of St. Bridges and the House of the Capuchins’. See Hardiman ibid. ‘to face page 30’ for the map to which the index gives by Hardiman in this “Description of the Old Map of Galway” which is found on pp.24-30 of the same work. For the Capuchins see Hardiman ibid., 266 (f.n.g.) and ibid., 273-4. For St. Bridget’s Hospital and Chapel.
The monument is not funerary in nature. It has been suggested elsewhere by the writer that it might be a boundary marker or termon cross associated with the properties of St. James Parish Church, Ballybane.  

THE AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH, PRIORY LANE. 
Incorporated in the walling on the priory Lane wall-side of the building is a stone bearing a hammer and chisel. The stone is naturally flat and little working or smoothing of the surface has been done. The tools are lightly pocked or incised. The stone is irregular in outline and is otherwise unworked. It is not a fragment of a funerary monument and seems to be complete in itself (See Chapter 10, Vocational Symbolism, Occupational Tools, Weapons and Related Objects).

SHANTALLA ROAD 
On the corner of Shantalla Road and Newcastle Road, a small incised cross occurs in a block of limestone at the base of the boundary wall of the Clinic.

PRESENTATION ROAD 
A small thin single line cross on a block of limestone at the base of the wall which is of roughly hammered 19th century limestone ashlar.

FLOOD STREET 
A single line cross is cut on a reused late medieval architectural fragment which is reused in the wall of a former mill building on the corner of Flood St. and Chapel Lane. This is a small single line incised Latin cross with slightly expanded terminals.

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Plate 1 (A) and (B) Recumbent Slabs at the Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway; (C) and (B) C1, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church Galway.
Plate 2 (A) C36 plain Recumbent Slab, (B) C1 (details) and (C) C37 – all from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 3 Recumbent Slabs (A) and (B) C3, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (C) C2, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 4 (A) and (C) C18, (B) C23, The Franciscan Cemetery, (D) C9, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway. (B) and (C) are after Hardiman 1820.
Plate 5 (A) C15, (B) and (E) C16, (C) C14, (D) C22, (F) C15, and (G) C17. All at the Franciscan Cemetery. (D), (E) and (F) are after Hayward 1952.
Plate 6 (A) Detail of Cat. No. 15, (B) close-up detail of C14, The Franciscan Cemetery, Newtownsmith, Galway.
Plate 7 (A) C8, (B) C11, (C) C10, (D) C9, and (E) Post-medieval [not catalogued]. All at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 8 (A) C11, (B) C9, (C) C8, (D) C10, (E) un-catalogued post-medieval slab. All after Hayward 1952. (F) C11 and (G) C10. All at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 9 (A) C20, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, (B) and (C) Vocational Slabs at St. Canice’s, Cathedral, Kilkenny City.
Plate 10 (A) Post-medieval slab (B) C7, (C) C13, (D) C8. All from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway. (E) Recumbent Slab at The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway.
Plate 11 (A) Fragment with interlaced knots Corcomroe, Co. Clare, (B) Slab with vocational symbols, The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway, (C) Detail of C13, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 12 Slabs with Gaelic Renaissance interlace (A) C4, (B) C6 and (C) C5, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway (D) and (E) The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway.
Plate 13 (A), C19 now lost. Unprovenanced but perhaps from Galway City, (B) Fitz Gerald Tomb at Kilmallock c.1627, (C) Panels of interlace and other scribings at Gillie’s Hole, Knockmore, Co. Fermanagh (After Wakeman 1866-9).
Plate 14 Recumbent Slabs with Gaelic Renaissance interlace (A) C6, (B) C4, and (D) C5 at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway (all from rubbings), (C) Possible altar-mensa or tomb panel from Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo.
Plate 15 (A) and (B) Recumbent Slab with interlace at Portumna, Co. Galway. (C) Kilcorban, Co. Galway. (D) Masons’ mark at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 16 (A) – (C) Tomb-Panel and Recumbent Slabs from The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway. (D) Panel at the Parochial House near St. Catherine’s Church, Co. Dublin.
Plate 17 Recumbent slabs with Gaelic Renaissance Motifs (A) – (C) Athenry (Dominican Priory), Co. Galway, (D) Portloman, Co. Westmeath (After Crawford 1917A.), (E) Killybegs, (previously at Baragh Castle, Dunkineely) Co. Donegal (After Patterson 1872-3), (F) Ardfert, Co. Kerry (After Wakeman 1894) and (G) Devenish, Co. Fermanagh (After Wakeman 1889).
Plate 18 (A) – (D) Tomb fragment and slabs at Kilmallock Friary, Co. Limerick, (fragments of FitzGerald and Verdon monuments, 17th century).
Plate 19 The Miscellaneous Plate from James Hardiman History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway, 1820, C18, C23, C55 and C82 are illustrated.
Plate 20
Recumbent Slabs (A) to (D) Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, (E) Lisronagh, Co. Tipperary. Illustrations (A) and (B) show the slab of Donal O'Suibhne of circa 1577. Illustrations (C) and (D) are after Leask 1971.
Plate 21 Armorial Slabs (A) St. Mary’s Cathedral, Tuam, Co. Galway, (B) detail of (A) and (C). The Stannard Monument, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 22 Armorial Panels (A), (C), (D) and (E), the Stannard Monument, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway. (B) C81, The Browne Monument, Franciscan Cemetery, Galway.
Plate 23 (A) and (B) C47A, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway (The so-called ‘Empty Frame’).
Plate 24 (A) and (E) C47 The Lynch Tomb in the South Transept of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway. (B) (C) and (D) C47A (The so-called ‘Empty Frame’ which can be directly associated through its heraldry with C47).
Plate 25 Details of C47 and C47A (A), (B), (C), (D), (E) and (F) C47A, all in the South Transept, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 26 (A) and (B) Details of C47, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 27 (A–C) C47, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Plate 28 Further details of C47, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 29 Heraldic and floral details of C47, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Plate 30 Figural monuments (A) C45(I-III), The Franciscan Cemetery, (B) C51, The Dominican Priory, Galway.
Plate 31 (A) – (F) details of C45(I-III) at the Franciscan Cemetery.
Plate 32 (A) and (C) C44a, (B) and (D) C45(i). (After O’Brien (ed.) 1929).
Plate 33 (A) C48, C50 and C49 (left, centre and right respectively), at Galway Cathedral but originally from St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, (B) C44b, The Franciscan Cemetery.
Plate 34 (A) and (B) Monuments at Clare Abbey, Clare Island, Co. Mayo. (A) Canopied tomb-niche, (B) 17th century Heraldic Panel bearing the arms of O’Malley.
Plate 35 (A) and (B) C82 (details and general view respectively), The Lynch Memorial Window Galway, (C) Post-Medieval *Memento Mori* at The Dominican Cemetery, Fairhill, Galway.
Plate 36 Canopied tombs and doorways with crocketed finials. (A) and (B) St. Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick; the Galway-Butlingfort tomb. (C) and (D) west doorway of Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway and (E) Fragment of a Canopied Tomb in the Chancel of Clontuskert Priory.
Plate 37 (A) and (B) the O’Kennedy Tomb, Lorra, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 38 (A), (B) and (C) one of the O’Kennedy tombs at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 39 Canopied Niche-Tombs (A) Adare, Co. Limerick, (B) and (C) Kilconnell, Co. Galway.
Plate 40 Canopied Niche-Tombs (A) Dungiven, Co. Derry. (B) The Butlingfort tomb St. Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick City. (After Westropp, in Leask, 1971.)
Plate 41 (A) Early Niche-Tomb with an inserted armorial plaque to the De Burgo Family, (B) a decorated two light window. Both at Claregalway Abbey, Co. Galway.
Plate 42 Canopied Tomb-Niches (A) Ross Errilly Friary, Co. Galway, (B) Quin, Co. Clare.
Plate 43 (A) Traceried Niche and (B) and (C) a Traceried and Canopied Wall-Tomb, The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway.
Plate 44 (A) and (B) detail and general view of a Niche-Tomb at Athassel Priory, Co. Limerick.
Plate 45 Traceried and Canopied Wall-Tombs
(A) Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, (B) and (C) Kilconnell, Co. Galway and (D) Clare Island, Co. Mayo.
Plate 46 Tombs at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 47 (A) – (C) church of Ireland, Fethard, Co. Tipperary, (A) general view, (B) traceried screen inserted in a pier, and (C) armorial panel.
Plate 48 Strade Abbey, Co. Mayo, (A) Canopied and Traceried Wall-Tomb, (B) Detail of animal on (A), (C) Detail of the frontal (now fronting (A)).
Plate 49 (A) Strade Abbey, Co. Mayo, (C) Detail of (A), and (B) Depiction of St. Francis showing the stigmata at Askeaton Friary, Co. Limerick.
Plate 50 (A) and (B) Altar frontal, reredos or tomb fragments at Strade Abbey, Co. Mayo, (C) Carving of an angel (now missing) at Holy Trinity Church, Adare, Co. Limerick.
Plate 51 Canopied and Traceried Niche-Tomb (C55) St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 52 (A) and (C) Details of C55 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, (B) Detail of side panel from a similar tomb at Strade, Co. Mayo depicting Christ Showing His Five Wounds.
Plate 53 (A) to (D) Canopied and Traceried Tomb (probably of the O’Briens) Ennis Friary, Co. Clare. (E) to (G) Traceried and Canopied Tomb (probably an O’Malley Tomb) Clare Island, Co. Mayo. Drawings after Westropp, 1895.
Plate 54 The interior of St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church from Sketches made for Hardiman (N.D.). The ‘sketches’ (water colours were prepared for his *History of Galway* (1820). The so-called ‘Lepar’s Gallery’ is visible in the middle left of the sketch (See C46A – K).
Plate 55 C46A – H Parts of a dismantled (Lynch) Tomb reused in the so-called ‘Leper’s Gallery’, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (A) General view, (B) C46A-B, (C) C46C-D, (D) C46E-F and (E) C46G-H.
Plate 56 C46I-K (A) C46I, (B) C46J and (C) C46K, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Plate 57 Tomb niches and figure sculpture. (A) and (B) Ennis, Co. Clare (C) and (D) Askeaton Friary, Co. Limerick cloister and tomb niche (After Westropp 1904).
Plate 58 Figural Sculpture on tombs (A), (B) and (C) Kilconnell, Co. Galway.
Plate 59 Details of figural and non-figural sculpture on tomb-frontals. (A) Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary (the tomb of Pierce Fitz Óge Butler c.1526), (B) Kilconnell, Co. Galway, (C) Cashel Cathedral, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 60 (A) Panel with Ecce Homo, (B) interlaced cross and foliate or a pier and (C) the ‘Royal Tomb’ all at Ennis, Co. Clare.
Plate 61 (A) Wall-Tombs and other niches, Ardfert, Co. Kerry, (B) Niche-Tomb fragment showing a depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin and a portrait head between two eagles at Newtown Trim, Co. Meath.
Plate 62 (A)-(C)
Niche-Tombs at Ennis, Co. Clare,
(B) Architectural fragment at Kilcolgan Castle,
Co. Galway.
Plate 63 Crucifixion Scenes (A) Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny (B) Ross Errilly Friary, Co. Galway and (C) Athassel, Co. Limerick.
Plate 64 The Crucifixion flanked by Saints. (A) and (B) Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway, (C) Spiddal Church, Co. Galway, (D) Crucifixion flanked by Saints Mary and John, Kilmacduagh Cathedral, Co. Galway.
Plate 65 (A) Tomb Fragment Cashel, Co. Tipperary, (B) Tomb Niche Askeaton, Co. Limerick and (C) Seat at Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 66 (A) and (B) the ‘Royal Tomb’, Ennis Friary, Co. Clare, (probably an O’Brien tomb).
Plate 67 Convent of Mercy, Francis Street (A) C76, C53 and C70 (B) C53 and (C) C76.
Plate 68 (A), (B) and (C)
C54 The Lynch Altar-Tomb, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church (D)
Carving of an angel Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 69 (A) – (C) C54 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway.
Plate 70 Details of decorated panels of a Box-tomb at Fertagh, Co. Kilkenny.
Plate 71 Decorated tomb and altar panels at Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, (A) The O’Crean Tomb, (B) Panel from a tomb or altar frontal, and (C) Decorated Altar-Frontal.
Plate 72
Tomb panels with foliage decoration. (A) Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway, (B) and (C) The Dominican Priory, Athenry, Co. Galway.
Plate 73 (A) Tomb panel with fragmentary Crucifixion Scene, St. Patrick’s Rock, Cashel, Co. Tipperary, (B) Free-standing late Gothic cross at Devenish, Co. Fermanagh, (C) Panel with the arms of Blake (C59) Convent of Mercy, Francis Street and (D) C74, Convent of Mercy.
Plate 74 Key-blocks from the entablatures of Niche-Tombs. (A)-(C) (C63, C64 and C65 respectively). The façade of the Abbey (Franciscan) Church, St. Francis Street, Galway.
Plate 75 (A) C61, (B) C62, Convent of Mercy, Francis Street, Galway. (C) Angel head at the Franciscan foundation Ardfert, Co. Kerry. (D) C66, Convent of Mercy, Francis Street, Galway.
Plate 76 (A) The Eyre Wall-Tomb, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, (B) Wall-Tomb at Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway. (C) Effigial box-tomb of the Dillon family at Newtown, Trim, Co. Meath.
Plate 77 (A) The O’Connor Wall-Tomb, Sligo Abbey, Co. Sligo, (B) Armorial panel at Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway.
Plate 78 (A) and (B) Wall-Tombs and other Niches at Adare Friary, Co. Limerick.
Plate 79 (A), (B) and (C) Late Medieval panels incorporated into the 19th century Creagh monument, Ennis Friary, Co. Clare.
Plate 80 Sculpture at Roscommon Abbey. (A) Fragment of a Recumbent Slab with foliage. (C) Details of a frontal panel of the O’Connor tomb showing gallowglasses. (C) The in-situ fragments of a Canopied Wall-Tomb, and the likely original position of the panels is shown in (B).
Plate 81 (A) and (B) Wall-Tombs at St. Mary’s Church of Ireland, Kilkenny. (C) Wall memorial in the Church of Ireland, Fethard, Co. Tipperary.
Plate 82 C48 formerly in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway now in Galway Cathedral, from a slide by Mr. Donal Taheny.
Plate 83 C49 in Galway Cathedral but originally in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, from a slide by Mr. Donal Taheny.
Plate 84 C50 in Galway Cathedral but formerly in St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Galway, from a slide by Mr. Donal Taheny.
Plate 85 (A) Late monument bearing the Lynch and Bodkin arms, Forthill Cemetery, Galway, (B) Slab with the arms of Bodkin and Blake, Forthill Cemetery, Galway, (C) Recumbent slab with the arms of FitzPatrick, Dominican Cemetery, Claddagh / Fairhill, Galway.
Plate 86 Post-medieval monuments (A) The Rush Monument, (B) The Blakeney Monument. Both at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church Galway.
Plate 87 (A) Post-medieval monuments The O’Hara Monument, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (B) and (C) The French Monument, Old Rahoon Cemetery.
Plate 88 (A) Post-medieval monuments. Part of the Quin Monument, the Franciscan Cemetery and (B) The Murphy headstone, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Plate 89 C83 Fragment of a ‘Wayside’ or ‘Church Yard’ Cross, St. James’ Church, Ballybane, Galway.
Plate 90 (A) C29 (B) C28
Both at Merlin Park (in the grounds of Merlin Park Hospital).
Plate 91 (A) Recumbent slab C30 (Now covered over), St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (B) Detail of design on C30. (C) C40 from Sandy Road, a possible recumbent slab.
Plate 92 Recumbent slabs at Roscam (A) C31, (B) C32.
Plate 93 Various recumbent slabs (A) C33 Roscam, (B) C35 at Roshill House but originally from Roscam. (C) Location of a lost slab C38 on an old photograph of Kirwan’s Lane, Galway. (After Semple 1969).
Plate 94 (A) C41 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Monument to John Pope dated 1666, (B) C42 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Monument to James Vaughan and others dated 1684, (C) C43 St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, Monument to George Tayler of 1694.
Plate 95 Carvings with formalised foliage, (A) The Athy Doorway of 1577. (After Leask 1938-9), (B) at Jury’s Hotel (now covered over), (C) a small fragment with foliage, Queen Street, Galway.
Plate 96 (A) C52. The D’Arcy Tomb at the Franciscan Cemetery, it is presumed to have been buried. From a 19th century photograph album courtesy of Tom Kenny, Kenny’s Book Shop and Art Galleries, Galway. (B) The Franciscan Cemetery from a 19th century photograph.
Plate 97 Tomb of Sir Peter French and his wife Mary Browne at the Franciscan Cemetery (A) C44B, and (B) C44A.
Plate 98 Finials (A) C56, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church, (B) C57 and C58 finials reused as a keystone in an arch fronting the former gate-lodge of the entrance to Menlo Castle.
Plate 99 (A) Key-block, St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church. Now lost. (C68) Sketch by Alberto Sanchez 1992. (B) Key-block from Middle Street (C69 – drawing by Jenny McKenna). These could have come from wall-tombs, chimney-pieces or door-cases.
Plate 100 (A) The Merrick headstone of 1666, (B) The Jenckin headstone of 1681 and 1685 and (C) The Nordin (or Noardin headstone) of 1690. All at St. Nicholas’ Collegiate Church.
Plate 101 ‘Leacht Cuimhe’ or Wayside-Cenotaph (C84) Monument Road, Menlo.
Plate 102 Memento Mori (A), (B) C82 Lynch Memorial Window, and (C) Kildare Cathedral, Co. Kildare. (After Hardiman 1814).