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THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL TRIM, COUNTY MEATH

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VOLUME TWO OF TWO

❖ **CHAPTER 7**

ST PATRICK'S CHURCH

The documentary evidence

In October 1540, when the extent of the possessions of St Mary's Augustinian priory at Trim were being made, it was recorded that 'the church of the monastery has from time immemorial been used as a parish church'.¹ This statement led Bradley to suggest that St Patrick's Church 'functioned merely as a chapel' during the middle ages.² Despite the 1540 reference, however, St Patrick's Church had been referred to by 1353 as 'the church of Trim',³ and as early as 1366 as '*ecclesia parochiali Sancti Patricii de Trym*', clearly attesting that it was a parish church.⁴ Similarly, in the fifteenth century, St Patrick's is consistently referred to as a parish church.⁵

On 18 March 1332 a court was held in the church before the bishop of Meath, and the same venue served for the election of a rural dean of Trim on 4 December 1382.⁶ In December 1428 the bishop of Meath summoned certain clergy of the diocese to appear before him in St Patrick's Church,⁷ and a consistory (a court concerned with diocesan ecclesiastical administration) was held there on 27 February 1459.⁸ In August 1483 John Payne was installed as bishop of Meath by the clergy of the diocese in St Patrick's Church, and Butler records that 'the bishops of Meath have always been enthroned in this church'.⁹ Throughout the middle ages, visitations by the archbishops of Armagh of the diocese of Meath took in (and frequently commenced at) St Patrick's Church.¹⁰ All of this indicates not only that St Patrick's was a parish church but also that, for all practical purposes, it was the centre of the diocese of Meath (despite being a diocese,

¹*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 302-3.

²Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, p. 164.

³*Cal. papal letters, 1342-62*, p. 476.

⁴Smith, *reg. Sweteman*, pp 118-19, 236-7.

⁵*Cal. papal letters, 1404-15*, pp 71-2; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 41, no. 8, p. 60, no. 291; *Annats, Ulster*, pp 61, 62, 103; *Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 100-1, no. 123; *Cal. papal letters, 1458-71*, pp 465-6.

⁶N.L.I., MS D. 17,001; *Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, pp 159-65.

⁷*Reg. Swayne*, p. 114, no. 476.

⁸*Reg. Octaviani*, i, 43, no. 191; ii, 193-4, no. 191.

⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 165; Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 81. As for Butler's assertion, Ware records only that Richard Tennison was enthroned in St Patrick's Church in 1697, see Harris/Ware, p. 162.

¹⁰Walsh, *Fitzralph*, pp 338-9; Smith, *reg. Sweteman*, pp 236-7, no. 240; *Reg. Fleming*, p. 121, no. 85, pp 151-2, no. 207; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 39, no. 435, p. 75, no. 378, p. 77, no. 66, p. 114, no. 476, pp 119-20, no. 434.

Meath had no official cathedral—the church of the Augustinian canons at Newtown Trim served that purpose from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the dissolution).¹¹

It is also known that St Patrick's Church contained at least two chapels in the middle ages. For the purpose of the ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland in 1302-6, 'the church of Trim, with chapels', was valued at £40 9s 2d, and consequently had to pay a tithes of £4 11d (one tenth of the total value).¹² At least four chaplains of St Patrick's Church are recorded from the fifteenth century.¹³ According to Archdall, there was in the church 'a perpetual chantry of three priests, one in the chapel of St Laurence the martyr, another in that of St Patrick, and the third in the Roode chapel'.¹⁴ No details of the medieval chapels are known, but in 1660 Alexander Sharp, who had previously been appointed rood priest in St Patrick's Church, requested to be reappointed, stating that due to the 'commotion of war ... the office and practice [had become] neglected'.¹⁵ In 1680 Phillip Conway was chosen as 'Master of the Roode Guild of St Catherine, in St Patrick's Church'.¹⁶

From sometime towards the end of the twelfth century, a certain Galfrido was chaplain of Trim.¹⁷ He was one of the witnesses to John of Rouen's charter granting property in Trim to St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in or before 1188.¹⁸ 'Gaufrido capellano de Atrum' was a signatory to at least two other documents between 1177 and 1191, while two charters dating to between 1192 and 1218 are witnessed by 'Galfrido decano de Trum' and 'Galfrido decano de Adtru' respectively, indicating that Geoffrey had, by that time, been installed as dean.¹⁹

¹¹Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 97-8, 190.

¹²*Cal. doc. Ire., 1302-07*, p. 256, no. 713, p. 265, no. 714.

¹³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 166b, no. 14; *Reg. Swayne*, pp 60-1, no. 291, p. 76, no. 66; *Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 534, no. 458.

¹⁴Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 582.

¹⁵*The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 621 (1 November, 1885), p. 292, from Town Records.

¹⁶*The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 621 (1 November, 1885), p. 292, from Town Records.

¹⁷*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, i, 157.

¹⁸*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, i, 231.

¹⁹*Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, pp 34-5, p. 49, note 3, p. 92; *Reg. Tristernagh*, p. 90, *litera ix*.

The rural deanery of Trim was established to replace an early Irish See which was suppressed according to the principles laid down at the council of Kells in 1152, and repeated in the synod of Meath held at Newtown Trim by Simon de Rochfort, bishop of Meath, in 1216.²⁰ Trim was one of the twelve rural deaneries of Meath. In November 1214 the dean of Trim (whose initial is given as 'P') was one of three clergymen appointed by Pope Innocent III as judges in a dispute between Richard Cadel, a knight, and the canons of Llanthony in Meath.²¹ In October 1225 the dean of Trim was again appointed to judge a dispute between the abbot and community of St Mary's, Dublin, and the prior and canons of Holy Trinity.²² In November 1227 the dean of Trim was among those appointed to judge the dispute between the prior and canons of Llanthony near Gloucester and Michael, a cleric of Dublin.²³ Llanthony participated in the election of the rural dean of Trim, from at least the fourteenth century.²⁴

Confusion has been caused by a twelfth-century reference to the church of 'Trum'. On 26 July 1193 John, count of Mortain, lord of Ireland, granted his church of Trum to make a prebend in St Patrick's Church, Dublin.²⁵ Archbishop Alen appears to have believed that the 'Trum' in question was Trim, Co. Meath, but MacNeill, Monck Mason and Butler each argued that the church was in fact at Crumlin, Co. Dublin.²⁶ John's grant seems to have been for a term of twenty years because on 30 July 1213 a further grant was made to the archbishop of Dublin of the 'King's church of Trum in frankalmoign (i.e. a grant of property by a lay person for the benefit of an ecclesiastical body), to form a prebend in the church

²⁰Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 23, no. 186, note 2; H. J. Lalor, 'A fresh authority for the synod of Kells, 1152' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxvi (February 1922), sect. C, no. 3, pp 16-22; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 547; Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland*, pp 106-7; T. J. Westropp, 'Slane in Bregia', County Meath: its friary and hermitage' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxi (1901), pp 405-30, 408; Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Aubrey Gwynn: The Irish church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Dublin, 1992), p. 252.

²¹Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, i, 167-8, no. 86.

²²Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, i, 259-60, no. 173.

²³Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 23-4, no. 186.

²⁴E. St John Brooks, '14th-century monastic estates in Meath' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxxiii (1953), pp 140-9, at p. 148.

²⁵Gilbert, *Crede Mihi*, 45-6; *Reg. Alen*, p. 23, no. 104 (270).

²⁶*Reg. Alen*, p. 23, no. 104 (270), note 1; William Monck Mason, *Hibernia Antiqua et Hodierna: being a topographical account of Ireland and a history of the establishments in that kingdom, ecclesiastical, civil, and monastick* (Dublin, 1819), p. 4, note g; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 157.

of St Patrick in the suburbs of Dublin'.²⁷ H.S. Sweetman took it that this was again a reference to the church of Trim. If this were the case, it would fit in well with the fact that the church of Trim was in crown hands in both 1193 and 1213.

That the church in Trim formed a prebend (the source of funding for the stipend of a canon) of St Patrick's, Dublin, is attested by the fact that two of Trim's earliest recorded rectors, Nicholas de Geneville (c.1293)²⁸ and Walter de Istelep (c.1324),²⁹ were canons of St Patrick's Dublin while also holding the rectory of Trim. In addition, in February 1325 the papal *camera* received 350 florins from 'parte of the fruits of an annate of a prebend of St Patrick's, Dublin, and of the church of Trym'.³⁰

Sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century, probably between 1215 and 1241, St Patrick's Church, Trim (*ecclesiam beata patricii de Trum*), was granted by Walter de Lacy, in frankalmoign, to the church of SS Mary and Laurence of Beaubec, near Drogheda.³¹ One of the witnesses to this grant was a certain Nicholas de Ebroicis, who also acted as a signatory of other grants made by de Lacy to Beaubec in the 1230s.³² De Ebroicis had been made seneschal of Meath by 1234,³³ and it is possible that the grant of the advowson of St Patrick's dates to about this time. If, as appears to have been the case for the grant of 1193, the grant of 1213 had been for a term of twenty years, it would mean that it came up for renewal in 1233. By this time Walter de Lacy had been replevied of his lands in Ireland and Trim was in his hands once again, enabling him to grant the church there to the monks of Beaubec.

In 1258 an agreement was made by which Geoffrey and Matilda handed over their claim to the advowson of the church of Trim, for themselves and their heirs, to

²⁷*Rot. chart.*, p. 194b; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171-1251, p. 77, no. 475.

²⁸*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1293-1301, no. 45.

²⁹*Cal. papal letters*, 1305-42, p. 241.

³⁰*Cal. papal letters*, 1305-42, p. 480.

³¹P.R.O., DL 27/296; B.M. Add. Charter 19,803; n. 1965: p. 1492.

³²*Cal. pat. rolls*, 1340-43, pp 52-4.

³³*Cal. pat. rolls*, 1340-43, p. 53; *Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, p. 214, note 3; *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xxxv, app., p. 34; *Reg. Tristernagh*, p. 94 (and notes 2, 3 and a).

Hugh, bishop of Meath, and his successors.³⁴ The advowson (the right of recommending or appointing a member of the clergy to a vacant benefice) of St Patrick's in Trim was particularly important as the office of rector there was especially well remunerated. Consequently, as with 'the golden prebend' of Swords, the benefice of St Patrick's Church, Trim was one of the most sought after.³⁵ Indeed, by the sixteenth century, the rectory of Trim (worth an estimated £65 6s 8d annually) had overtaken that of Swords as the most valuable in Ireland.³⁶

In 1283 the advowson of St Patrick's Church was in the king's hand due to the vacancy of the bishopric of Meath. By April of that year the church of Trim was also vacant and Nicholas de Geneville was appointed rector there.³⁷ De Geneville still held the position in 1293, at which time he was also canon of St Patrick's, Dublin.³⁸ He had been replaced as rector of Trim no later than 1307,³⁹ but when he died, in 1325, he was buried at Trim.⁴⁰

In 1307 an inquisition was ordered to determine who should have cognisance of pleas arising in the tenements of St Patrick's Church, Trim, and William de Sydan, rector of the church, was summoned with his tenants by the sheriff.⁴¹ The matter arose during another vacancy in the bishopric of Meath. The sheriff of Dublin asserted that the lands of St Patrick's Church were crosslands (*incroceatos*), and were thus exempt from the jurisdiction of the liberty court. Previously, these lands had been part of the liberty of Trim and the de Genevilles, like their ancestors, had been accustomed to having cognisance of pleas there. Although church lands within a liberty were usually considered part of the royal jurisdiction, it was not unknown for justice in some crosslands to be administered

³⁴*Reg. Alen*, p. 89, no. (12).

³⁵Mills, *Account roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity*, pp 169-70.

³⁶Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 169.

³⁷*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, no. 2072.

³⁸*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1293-1301, no. 45.

³⁹*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, 1305-7, p. 391.

⁴⁰*Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 147; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 100-1.

⁴¹*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, 1305-07, pp 391-2.

by the liberty court.⁴² Unfortunately, the outcome of the case in Trim is not known, although the advowson of the church had certainly reverted to the bishop of Meath by 1350, in which year he made a payment of 100s for it.⁴³ By 1369 the tenements 'to the north of the parish church of St Patrick, Trim' were held by the archbishop of Armagh who used revenue from them to fund part of an annual pension (of 20s) granted by him to Richard Clyntoun, his chamberlain.⁴⁴

From early in the 1320s, Walter de Istelep was the rector of Trim, and in September 1324 he received permission from the pope to remain as a canon in St Patrick's, Dublin, in addition to his position as rector of Trim church.⁴⁵ De Istelep's term of office at Trim seems to overlap, however, with that of a certain Sir William de Clebury. De Clebury, one of Roger Mortimer's treasurers in Trim in 1317,⁴⁶ had been made rector of Trim by 1321,⁴⁷ and was still 'parson of the church of Trymm' on 30 October 1344, when he was issued with a summons.⁴⁸ Although Butler believed that de Clebury was *rector* in 1324,⁴⁹ it is possible that there was a break in his tenure as rector, allowing de Istelep to hold the position in the mid 1320s.

In any case, de Clebury had been replaced in the rectory by 1348 at the latest. In that year, a certain Thomas de Meltoun was listed as a witness to a document in the form *reverendis et discretis viris magistris Thoma de meltoun iuris ciuilis professore rectore ecclesie parochialis de Trym*.⁵⁰ Certainly by the fourteenth century, the value of the rectory of Trim was being matched by the qualifications of its incumbents. On 4 March 1352 Archbishop Richard FitzRalph preached a sermon in St Patrick's Church, and in August his nephew, Richard Radulphi, was

⁴²G. J. Hand, 'English law in Ireland, 1172-1351' in *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, xxiii, no. 4 (Winter, 1972), pp 393-422, at 398.

⁴³Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 158.

⁴⁴Smith, *reg. Sweteman*, pp 116-17.

⁴⁵Mills, *Account roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity*, pp 169-70; M. H. MacInerny, *A history of the Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1916), p. 384; *Cal. papal letters, 1305-42*, p. 241.

⁴⁶N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, MS 13., f. 150.

⁴⁷*Cal. close rolls, 1318-23*, pp 360, 530.

⁴⁸*Cal. Carew MSS, v, Howth*, p. 462.

⁴⁹Butler, *Trim* (1861), p. 170.

⁵⁰*Reg. Fleming*, p. 154, no. 215.

made rector of Trim.⁵¹ Richard Radulphi was an M.A. scholar of theology, who, by 18 January 1353, also had a canonry and prebend of Emly, and Kilmacdonagh in Cloyne, and provision of the canonry and prebend of Clone in Ferns.⁵²

Archbishop FitzRalph preached a second sermon in Trim on 26 April 1355 at the beginning of a visitation of the diocese of Meath.⁵³ It was for another visitation that, in October 1366, the archbishop of Armagh wrote to the bishop of Meath requesting his presence at St Patrick's Church the following January.⁵⁴ The archdeacons of Meath and Kells and the clergy of the deanery of Trim were also to be present on that day, and the laymen of the parishes of the same deanery were to come the day after.

In August 1381 Walter de Brugge was appointed rector of St Patrick's Church in Trim and was also made the second baron of the court of the exchequer.⁵⁵ Within one month, Robert Sutton, keeper of the rolls, had been appointed to the parish of Trim, under the great seal.⁵⁶ The reason for the duplicated appointment is not clear, but it seems that de Brugge remained as rector. In August 1388 he and John Reigne (constable of Trim Castle) were given permission to receive the full profits of their church and castle, respectively, during their absence.⁵⁷ De Brugge was still rector of Trim in 1393,⁵⁸ at which time he was in England.⁵⁹ In May of that year he nominated Robert Eure and William Piresfield as his attorneys in Ireland for one year, and by the end of the fourteenth century, he had exchanged his position as rector of Trim with a certain Richard Peter for the rectory of Burwell in the diocese of Norwich.⁶⁰ In return, Peter was assigned to the rectory of Trim,

⁵¹ Walsh, *Fitzralph*, p. 244; J. B. Leslie, *Ferns clergy and parishes: being an account of the clergy of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Ferns, from the earliest period, with historical notices of the several parishes, churches, etc.* (Dublin, 1936), p. 57; *Cal. papal letters, 1342-62*, p. 476.

⁵² *Cal. papal letters, 1342-62*, p. 476.

⁵³ Walsh, *Fitzralph*, pp 338-9. Most of the sermon consisted of a warning to the litigious Palesmen concerning their obligations in justice.

⁵⁴ Smith, *reg. Sweteman*, pp 236-7, no. 240.

⁵⁵ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 110, no. 9, p. 118b, no. 118; Hickey, 'Arms on the cathedral of Trim', p. 150; Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 158-9.

⁵⁶ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 117b, nos 71-2.

⁵⁷ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 137b, nos 233-4.

⁵⁸ N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, MS 13., ff 145-6.

⁵⁹ *Cal. pat. rolls, 1391-6*, p. 278.

⁶⁰ *Cal. papal letters, 1404-15*, pp 71-2.

the value of which did not exceed 150 marks. The exchange was carried out by Henry, bishop of Norwich, with the assent of Alexander, bishop of Meath.

The high revenue of the rectory of Trim meant that appointments to it were sometimes contested, candidates for the office were tempted to lie in order to succeed and, once installed, incumbents were notoriously difficult to remove. In 1400 John Belyng, chaplain, wrote to the king asking him to annul the ratification of Richard Peter as incumbent of St Patrick's Church, Trim.⁶¹ Belyng complained that Peter's appointment had been procured by fraud as he (Belyng) had already been presented to that benefice by Richard II. Subsequently, 'a certain person by the connivance of the said Richard and others conspiring to defraud the said John obtained a presentation to the church'. Peter had also claimed that St Patrick's Church was taxed at a rate of 20 marks whereas in fact the figure due was £20. On 1 April 1400 Henry IV revoked Peter's letters of ratification.⁶²

By 1403 Richard Peter had been reinstated to the rectory of Trim and on 19 June Henry IV granted him permission to go to England for one year and, during his time abroad, still to receive the profits of his church in Trim.⁶³ Within a month, Peter had left Ireland and nominated attorneys in his place.⁶⁴ By a bull dated at Viterbo on 20 January 1406, Pope Innocent VII gave Peter a five-year licence to receive, while studying at any University, or residing in the Roman court (*curia Romana*), or in any of his benefices, the revenues and incomes of the rectory of Trim, and of all other benefices he then held, or should obtain in future.⁶⁵ Peter was subsequently taken prisoner by the Scots, but received a licence to pay his captors a ransom of £100.⁶⁶ In 1408 he paid a further 100s to the king for a pardon,⁶⁷ but was still rector of Trim on 1 July 1409 when he had a licence for a further two years' leave of absence.⁶⁸

⁶¹Connolly, 'Irish material in the class of ancient petitions', p. 86.

⁶²*Cal. pat. rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 251.

⁶³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 170, no. 57.

⁶⁴*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 170, nos 58, 61.

⁶⁵*Annats, Ulster*, p. 83; *Cal. papal letters, 1404-15*, p. 91.

⁶⁶Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 160-1.

⁶⁷Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 155.

⁶⁸*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 192b, no. 141.

In November 1408, Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, wrote to Robert Montayne, bishop of Meath, concerning the organisation of a metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Meath for the following year.⁶⁹ The visit to St Patrick's Church, Trim, was to take place on 11 March 1409 and, in addition to the bishop, the presence was also requested of the archdeacons of Meath and Kells, and the clergy, with laymen, from each parish of the deanery of Trim. The bishop and his clergy were to pay 60 marks, by way of procurations at the beginning of the visitation. The visitation took place as planned in 1409,⁷⁰ and on 14 March 1412 the archbishop was back at St Patrick's Church as part of another visitation of the diocese.⁷¹

On 4 May 1412 the king confirmed the appointment of John Prene as rector of Trim.⁷² Nonetheless, it seems that on 8 June 1412 a certain John Tanner had letters from the king presenting him to St Patrick's Church, Trim, and directing him to take custody of the clergy of the bishopric of Meath.⁷³ Robert Montain, bishop of Meath, had died on 24 May and a successor had not yet been installed.⁷⁴ Tanner also held the 'golden' prebend of Swords (c.1411-14) and the rectory of Kilberry (c.1410).⁷⁵ His tenure as custodian of the clergy of Meath, however, was short-lived and Edward Dauntsey was installed as bishop of Meath in May 1413.⁷⁶ It may have been at about the same time that Tanner was replaced as rector of Trim by his predecessor, John Prene.

Prene held the position until 1425 when he proposed to resign, 'being so broken with age and bodily weakness that he cannot exercise the cure in person'.⁷⁷ The pope accepted Prene's resignation and ordered the bishop of Kildare to collate and assign St Patrick's Church to Patrick Prene. Patrick was to resign his current

⁶⁹*Reg. Fleming*, p. 121, no. 85.

⁷⁰*Reg. Fleming*, p. 124, no. 100, p. 126, no. 106.

⁷¹*Reg. Fleming*, pp 151-2, no. 207.

⁷²*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 200, no. 80.

⁷³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 200, no. 81.

⁷⁴Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 79.

⁷⁵Leslie, *Biographical succession list*, ii, 623.

⁷⁶Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 79.

⁷⁷*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 399; *Reg. Swayne*, pp 60-1, no. 291; *Annals, Ulster*, pp 93-4.

position as vicar of Tallaght,⁷⁸ and he and his successors were to pay to John 'for life, such a yearly pension as shall content him'. John sought and was granted a pension of 20 marks.⁷⁹ Patrick's position as rector of Trim was confirmed 'by delivery of the bishop's biretta and placing it on his head'.⁸⁰ Among the witnesses present were Thomas Schirloke, chaplain, Walter Madoke, literate,⁸¹ and John Madoke and Robert Lockerleye, both laymen.

In 1428, Pope Martin V found out from Thomas Russell, canon of Lincoln, that John Prene, at the time he held the rectory of Trim, had also been dean of Dublin.⁸² The pope consequently adjudged the appointment of Patrick Prene to the rectory of Trim to be null and invalid. Edward, bishop of Meath, believing the appointment to be in his gift, assigned Russell himself to the rectory of Trim.⁸³ Russell still held the position in June 1428 but when it was brought to the pope's attention that the appointment ought not to have been made by the bishop of Meath, he required Russell to resign, but absolved him from any censures he might have incurred.⁸⁴ On the same day, however, the pope issued a second mandate, by which Patrick and certain others were summoned before the bishop of Adria and the abbots of Trim and Duleek, and it was ordered that Russell be reinstated as rector of St Patrick's, Trim (the value of which did not exceed 150 marks).⁸⁵ Effectively, these mandates cancelled Russell's (perhaps illegitimate) appointment by the bishop of Meath, and replaced it with a valid one sealed by the pope.

In a further twist, however, it was found that Russell already held the perpetual vicarage of St Peter's, Drogheda, the prebend of Asgarby in Lincoln and had bulls for two more prebends in the diocese of Dublin (including that of Swords), and it

⁷⁸Patrick Prene had certainly resigned the perpetual vicarage of Tallaght by 1430, see *Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, p. 154.

⁷⁹*Reg. Swayne*, pp 60-1, no. 291.

⁸⁰*Reg. Swayne*, pp 60-1, no. 291.

⁸¹A literate is, usually, one who has been admitted to Holy Orders without a University degree.

⁸²*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 57-8.

⁸³*Annals, Ulster*, pp 93-4.

⁸⁴*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 57-8.

⁸⁵*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, p. 58.

seems that Patrick Prene was re-appointed to the rectory of Trim in his stead.⁸⁶ Patrick Prene was certainly rector of Trim by February 1429, when he was given licence to have a portable altar, to choose his own confessor, and to celebrate or cause to be celebrated, privately, mass and other divine offices in places under interdict.⁸⁷ In October 1429 Patrick Prene (by now styled 'M.A.') was given dispensation to hold for seven years, in addition to St Patrick's, any other benefice up to a value of twelve marks.⁸⁸

A three-month metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Meath began on 10 January 1427 in St Patrick's Church,⁸⁹ and by October the archbishop of Armagh was planning another visitation.⁹⁰ Archbishop Swayne notified Edward Dauntesy, bishop of Meath, of his intention to hold a visitation of St Patrick's Church, Trim the following January. The bishop was to summon the archdeacons of Meath and Kells as well as all divine celebrants in the deanery of Trim to appear on 19 January. The usual payments were to be made to the archbishop. The visitation began as planned on 19 January 1428,⁹¹ but on 15 December the bishop of Meath issued a mandate by which certain clergy were to be cited who had not paid procurations due to the primate for his metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Meath.⁹² These clergy were to appear before the bishop in St Patrick's Church, Trim, the following 12 January, to show reasonable cause why the bishop should not deprive them all of their benefits.

In 1435 a certain Robert Dyke was appointed rector of St Patrick's Church, Trim, despite the objections of William Yong, archdeacon of Meath, John Stanyhurst, archdeacon of Kells, guardians of the spiritualities of Meath (the see was at that time vacant), and John Ardagh, chaplain.⁹³ Leslie records that Ardagh, prebend of Newcastle (Dublin), had been nominated to the Trim position by Yong and

⁸⁶*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, p. 58; *Annals, Ulster*, pp 93-4.

⁸⁷*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 126, 128, 129.

⁸⁸*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, p. 169.

⁸⁹*Reg. Swayne*, p. 39, no. 435, pp 119-20, no. 434.

⁹⁰*Reg. Swayne*, p. 75, no. 378.

⁹¹*Reg. Swayne*, p. 77, no. 66.

⁹²*Reg. Swayne*, p. 114, no. 476.

⁹³*Reg. Octaviani*, i, 26, no. 123; ii, 100-1, no. 123.

Stanyhurst, but that their nomination was superseded by the royal brief presenting Dyke to the Trim rectory.⁹⁴

On the death of William Silk, bishop of Meath (1434-50) in 1450, custody of the temporalities of Meath was committed to Sir William Ouldhall, chamberlain to Ruchard, duke of York.⁹⁵ It was Ouldhall's brother, Edmund, however, a Carmelite friar, who was promoted by the Holy See to the bishopric of Meath.⁹⁶ At the request of Edmund and the duke of York, in October 1450, Pope Nicholas V granted to Edmund, 'towards his more befitting maintenance', the parish of St Patrick's, Trim, *in commendam*, for five years.⁹⁷ By this time, the yearly income from the parish did not exceed 120 marks sterling.

There was a complication. Believing that the advowson of the rectory of Trim was in his hand, King Henry IV had presented Philip Norreys to bishop Edmund for institution to the said church.⁹⁸ At this stage, Edmund was unaware that he himself had been nominated to the rectory of Trim by the pope, and by the time he realised, Norreys already held the position. Edmund wrote to the pope explaining the situation and stating that he had 'no hope of recovering from him [Norreys], on account of the favours which he enjoys, the said church'. On 5 February 1451 the pope confirmed his earlier grant of the church of Trim to Edmund, on the condition that the latter could obtain it in peace from Norreys. If he could not persuade Norreys to resign peaceably, he was permitted to 'hold any other benefice, with or without cure, secular or regular of any order, of any value, even if elective, provided that it be not a claustral office or a conventual priory, even if it be of his collation or presentation'.

It is unlikely that Edmund secured a peaceful hand-over of the rectory of Trim as Norreys was still rector there in December 1455, when he received a licence to hold for five years any one or two other benefices, not exceeding 100 marks

⁹⁴Leslie, *Biographical succession list*, ii, 624.

⁹⁵Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 80-1.

⁹⁶Leslie, *Biographical succession list*, i, 8, 625.

⁹⁷*Cal. papal letters, 1447-55*, p. 72; *Annals, Ulster*, p. 99.

⁹⁸*Cal. papal letters, 1447-55*, pp 233-4.

sterling in value, in addition to Trim.⁹⁹ Ouldhall died in 1459 and was buried at Ardbraccan.¹⁰⁰ Cogan records that ‘a splendid monument was erected over his remains, which, with many other tombs, was swept away, some years ago, when a site was being cleared for the erection of the present Protestant church’.

Beneath the south window of the ruined chancel at St Patrick’s Church is a large rectangular slab set up as a table tomb on a low side panel. This is the memorial of Walter Thombe who died in June 1458. Thombe had been granted certain properties in Meath after the death of Edmund Mortimer in 1425, and he may have become rector of Trim sometime after that.¹⁰¹

By 1460 the rectory of Trim was held by Master Thomas St Just, orator, chaplain, ‘distinguished musician’,¹⁰² and almoner to Richard, duke of York.¹⁰³ In that year St Just was granted leave to go to England for one year with the duke. During his absence, he was permitted to receive, through his servants, deputies and attorneys, ‘all manner of oblations, tithes, fruits, advantages and all other profits accruing and proceeding from the said church’.

Before June 1466 James Porter, clerk of the diocese of Meath alleged (having heard by public report) that John White, archdeacon of Meath and rector of St Patrick’s church in Trim, had dilapidated, amongst other things, the goods of the said church, and had committed other excesses and crimes.¹⁰⁴ White was summoned before Porter who, although finding White not guilty, deprived him of the archdeaconry and rectory. White appealed this decision, but in the mean time William Thoundet was appointed as rector of St Patrick’s. It appears that Porter himself was rector of Trim by 1479-80,¹⁰⁵ although Leslie records that a certain Thomas Hart was vicar of St Patrick’s at that time.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹*Cal. papal letters, 1455-64*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁰Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 81.

¹⁰¹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 236, no. 81.

¹⁰²Johnson, *Duke Richard of York*, p. 21.

¹⁰³*Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 794-7.

¹⁰⁴*Cal. papal letters, 1458-71*, pp 465-6.

¹⁰⁵Ellis, ‘The common bench plea roll’, pp 44-5.

¹⁰⁶Leslie, *Biographical succession list*, ii, 628.

From c.1480 Richard Walsh, *in decretis bacallario*, was rector of Trim.¹⁰⁷ In August 1483 a certain Edward Wellsley alleged that Walsh had committed perjury, and had him brought before the prior of the house of St John at Newtown Trim.¹⁰⁸ Walsh was forced to resign as rector of Trim and Wellsley was appointed in his place. Walsh, pleading his innocence and claiming that he was treated unjustly, petitioned the pope who issued a mandate to the abbot of St Mary's without the walls of Dublin, and to the dean and precentor of Dublin, ordering them to summon Edward and Richard and all those involved, to hear both sides, and to make judgement on the matter. The archdeacons of Armagh and Kells and the vicars of Termonfeckin and Laracor were appointed as arbitrators in the dispute and the two contenders swore on the Gospel, before the archbishop, to remit the decision of their case to these arbitrators.¹⁰⁹ It appears that during the dispute, John White was recalled as guardian of the spiritualities of St Patrick's.¹¹⁰

By February 1484 it had been decided that Edward must renounce any of his alleged rights over the said rectory, and must permit Richard to take free possession of the same, and be of support both to Richard and his friends.¹¹¹ In return for his advice and support for Richard, and on the conditions that he would take orders, not take a wife, and not seek either the episcopal or archidiaconal dignity of Meath, Edward was to receive an annual pension of 40 marks from certain tithes, *extra parochiam*, belonging to the rectory of Trim. Edward was also commanded to hand over to the bishop of Meath all the documentation in his possession concerning both the case itself and the said rectory. Edward was to be employed as an advisor to the clergy of Meath, for which service he was to receive a pension. Having been ordered to forget all their past hatred and enmity, Richard and Edward agreed to this by exchanging the kiss of peace. Certainly by

¹⁰⁷ *Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 149-50, no. 154; Leslie *Biographical succession list*, ii, 625; Anthony Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest from the episcopal archives of Armagh, 1265-1508' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 31 (1989), pp 9-102, at pp 47-8, 58.

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. papal letters, 1471-84*, pp 820-1.

¹⁰⁹ *Reg. Octaviani*, i, 34, no. 156; ii, 152, no. 156.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. papal letters, 1471-84*, pp 820-1.

¹¹¹ *Reg. Octaviani*, i, 40-1, no. 184; ii, 183-4, no. 184.

April 1484 Walsh had been reinstated at St Patrick's church, and he was still rector in 1485.¹¹²

By 7 April 1497 the rectory of Trim had been vacant for so long that its collation had reverted to the apostolic see.¹¹³ Richard Willy, alias Keryn, however, had detained the church, 'without any title or support of law', and the pope commanded the abbot of the monastery of Clonard and two other canons to summon Richard before them to make judgement on the matter. If they found that the rectory, whose value by now did not exceed 100 marks, was lawfully vacant, they were to collate and assign it, with all rights, appurtenances, fruits and obventions, to Walter Wellysy, a cleric in the diocese of Meath. The details of their judgement are not known, but the rectory of Trim was again vacant by 1501, in which year Thomas Darcy was presented to the benefice by Henry VII.¹¹⁴

John Payne, bishop of Meath, however, refused to admit Darcy to the rectory. Darcy petitioned Archbishop Octavian of Armagh to remedy the negligence of his suffragan and to admit Darcy to his rectory. The archbishop wrote to Payne in April 1501, exhorting him to act with promptness in this regard, and to admit Darcy to the rectory. The bishop was warned that were he to refuse to act, the archbishop would not hesitate to admit Darcy himself. By 17 April Payne had failed to carry out the orders and so Archbishop Octavian personally admitted Darcy to the rectory.¹¹⁵ Soon afterwards, the archbishop wrote to Christopher Dowdall, archdeacon of Meath, requesting him to induct Darcy to the rectory of Trim.¹¹⁶

A memorial now set into the east wall inside the tower at St Patrick's Church commemorates a certain John Ward, *decretorum doctor, quondam istius ecclesiae rector qui obiit xxvi die februarii Anno D. mdviii* (see below). The obituary of John Ward is recorded in the registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, where

¹¹² *Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 534, no. 458; p. 552, no. 462.

¹¹³ *Cal. papal letters, 1492-98*, pp 508-9; *Annals, Ulster*, p. 103.

¹¹⁴ *Reg. Octaviani*, i, 57, no. 238; ii, 262-3, no. 238.

¹¹⁵ *Reg. Octaviani*, i, 60, no. 250; ii, 276-7, no. 250.

¹¹⁶ *Reg. Octaviani*, i, 60, no. 251; ii, 277, no. 251.

it states *Ob. Johannes Ward decretorum doctor atque ecclesie parochialis sancti Patricij de Trym quondam rector qui legavit priori et conventui in moneta v. marcas cuius anime propicietur deus amen*'.¹¹⁷ The title 'Decretorum Doctor' is apparently synonymous with Doctor of Canon Law,¹¹⁸ and Ward was clearly rector of Trim sometime before his death in 1509.

On 19 February 1523 Richard Wilson, newly installed bishop of Meath,¹¹⁹ wrote, from the monastery of Drax, to Wolsey in reply to the latter's letter, recently received, in which Wolsey had stated his wish that the bishop of Elphin, commendatory of Welbeke, should have the benefice of Trim in the diocese of Meath.¹²⁰ Wilson had, on 10 February, sent 'his collation of the said benefice to Ireland, with his authority for the institution thereof, not knowing Wolsey's pleasure'. Wilson apologised and suggested that Wolsey could 'revoke all the bishop's proceedings by his legatine authority, if he please'. The bishop spent most of his tenure in England and seems to have made little contribution to the running of the diocese.¹²¹

The history of St Patrick's Church in the sixteenth century is marked by absentee rectors and short-lived appointments. By 1524 John Ricard had been installed as rector, but he was absent from 20 November until 6 August 1525.¹²² Ricard's position as rector had been taken by John Sheffield by 1530, but he too was absent from 16 March 1530 to at least 28 October, contrary to a statute of 3 Richard II.¹²³ Five years later, on 13 April 1535, Sheffield was still absent.¹²⁴ By now the land around Trim was devastated by war and the reason that rectors of the parish (and indeed Bishop Wilson) were frequently absent can be easily understood. In 1534 it

¹¹⁷ Refaussé with Lennon, *The registers of Christ Church*, p. 45

¹¹⁸ Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), pp 395-7.

¹¹⁹ Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 83-4.

¹²⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1521-3*, no. 2838.

¹²¹ Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 83-4.

¹²² Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 10, no HVIII 20/81.

¹²³ Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 30, no HVIII 52/92.

¹²⁴ Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 39, no HVIII 69/102.

was ordered that the rector of Trim should send a company of two 'able archers, or gonners, appoynted for the warre', to 'ostynges and journeyes'.¹²⁵

In 1538 Thomas Agard wrote to Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, concerning the town and rectory of Trim:

'of late I have procuryd a benefyce for a sune of myne here, whoo is but 15 yers of age, and for lakke of knowledge, I entryd therin, and have it in possechon [... but], I have noo lycence. Mooste humblye beseching your honorable Lordschipe to be my good lorde, that I may have a lycens therfor [...]. But, unles it be by your good Lordschipes helpe, that I maie have the Kynges letters, that the poore towne of Tryme maie be excused from ostynges and jurneys for 7 yers, with the lordschipe of the Bektyffe [...]. The be the Kynges towns, and the sorriste in dekey of enye place in the Inglische pale in Irlande, and more lyke to flee owtt of the townne, than to abyde, onles they have ayde the soner'.¹²⁶

It appears that Agard's request was acceded to, insofar as his son, Francis, was allowed to remain as rector of Trim.

However, on 5 May 1541 it was found that Francis Agard was absent from his rectory of Trim, contrary to statutes of 1380 and 1458.¹²⁷ Agard was still absent on 21 June 1543, by which time the rectory of Trim had decreased in value to £100 per annum.¹²⁸

Although William Copland, one of the king's chaplains, had been appointed to the church of St Patrick in 1542,¹²⁹ the following year Henry VIII communicated with the lord deputy regarding the benefice of Trim, saying 'We mynde not in this cace to derogate our graunte made unto you in the gift of the same; so you shal understande that We be well pleased, at your special sute and contemplation, that the sayd [Francis] Agard shall enjoye the sayd benefice, either by your gift, or by his former possession, as justice woll permit and bere accordingly'.¹³⁰

¹²⁵*S.P. Hen. VIII: part iii, correspondence, 1515-38*, ii, 212-13. Butler was of the opinion that the number of men required for the hostings was at the will of the deputy and that he sometimes abused this power, see Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 166-7.

¹²⁶*S.P. Hen. VIII: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 568-9.

¹²⁷Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 87, no HVIII 141/132.

¹²⁸Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 102, no HVIII 170/141.

¹²⁹*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, p. 40, no. 353 (14).

¹³⁰*State papers... Henry the Eighth: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 484, 486.

Agard may have held the rectory of Trim until as late as 1546, but in that year Henry VIII confirmed William Nugent as rector.¹³¹ Nugent's tenure lasted no more than four years, however, and he too had been replaced, by John Petit, by 1550.¹³² Petit, who also had licence to receive the profits of the suppressed monastery of Kilbeggan, was still rector of Trim in 1558.¹³³

¹³¹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, no. 81, p. 123.

¹³²Griffith, *Cal. inquisitions*, p. 126, no. EVI 25, pp 126-7, no. EVI 27.

¹³³*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, iii, 305, no. 106 (40).



FIG. 7.1 General view of St Patrick's Church, Trim, from southeast.

The architectural evidence

The present St Patrick's church at Trim, which has been the cathedral for the Church of Ireland diocese of Meath and Kildare since 17 March 1955, was built in 1802 and renovated in the late 1860s and is situated in the northwest of the town, off St Loman Street. On the highest ground in the town, the present building was built on the site of the medieval church and incorporates a tower and parts of the nave wall of the earlier structure. To the east of the existing nave, two ruinous walls of the medieval chancel stand to a height of almost six metres. The medieval church was clearly much larger than the present building, measuring perhaps as much as 45m in length and 26m in width (giving it an area as much as 4.5 times that of the present structure).

The tower

Incorporated into the northwest corner of the nineteenth-century church is an medieval tower with a slight base-batter. The rectangular structure, which functions as a belfry and entrance hall for the present church, is almost eighteen metres in height and consists of five storeys, two of which are vaulted. The tower is plainly ornamented with a single string-course slightly more than one third of

the way up; on the east side, however, the string-course is much lower, and the wall above it is set back a full forty centimetres. On the northwest angle of the tower is a projecting stair-turret which is lit by eight narrow slit windows—six on the north façade and two on the west. The tower is topped by a battlemented parapet and the wall-walk is supported on a drainage course. The modern roof of the tower is flat and the stair-turret rises above the wall-walk level.



FIG. 7.2 Tower viewed from west.

Some fragments of masonry project from the east face of the tower and it has been suggested that these may indicate the presence of a (north) aisle in the medieval church,¹³⁴ or perhaps a buttress.¹³⁵ Another possibility is that there was a much wider nave at one time in which the above-mentioned chantry chapels may have been located.¹³⁶ Evidence for the former existence of a wall at this location is also present in the form of a low ridge parallel to the existing north wall of the church and in line with the masonry projecting from the tower.

The ridge may reflect the presence beneath the ground of a collapsed wall or its foundations. It is also possible that the bulge in the lower courses of the north wall of the present nave, close to the tower, represents the line of the north wall of the medieval nave.

¹³⁴Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan, *The buildings of Ireland: North Leinster* (Dublin, 1993), p. 515; Galloway, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, p. 208.

¹³⁵Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, p. 165.

¹³⁶Galloway, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, p. 208.

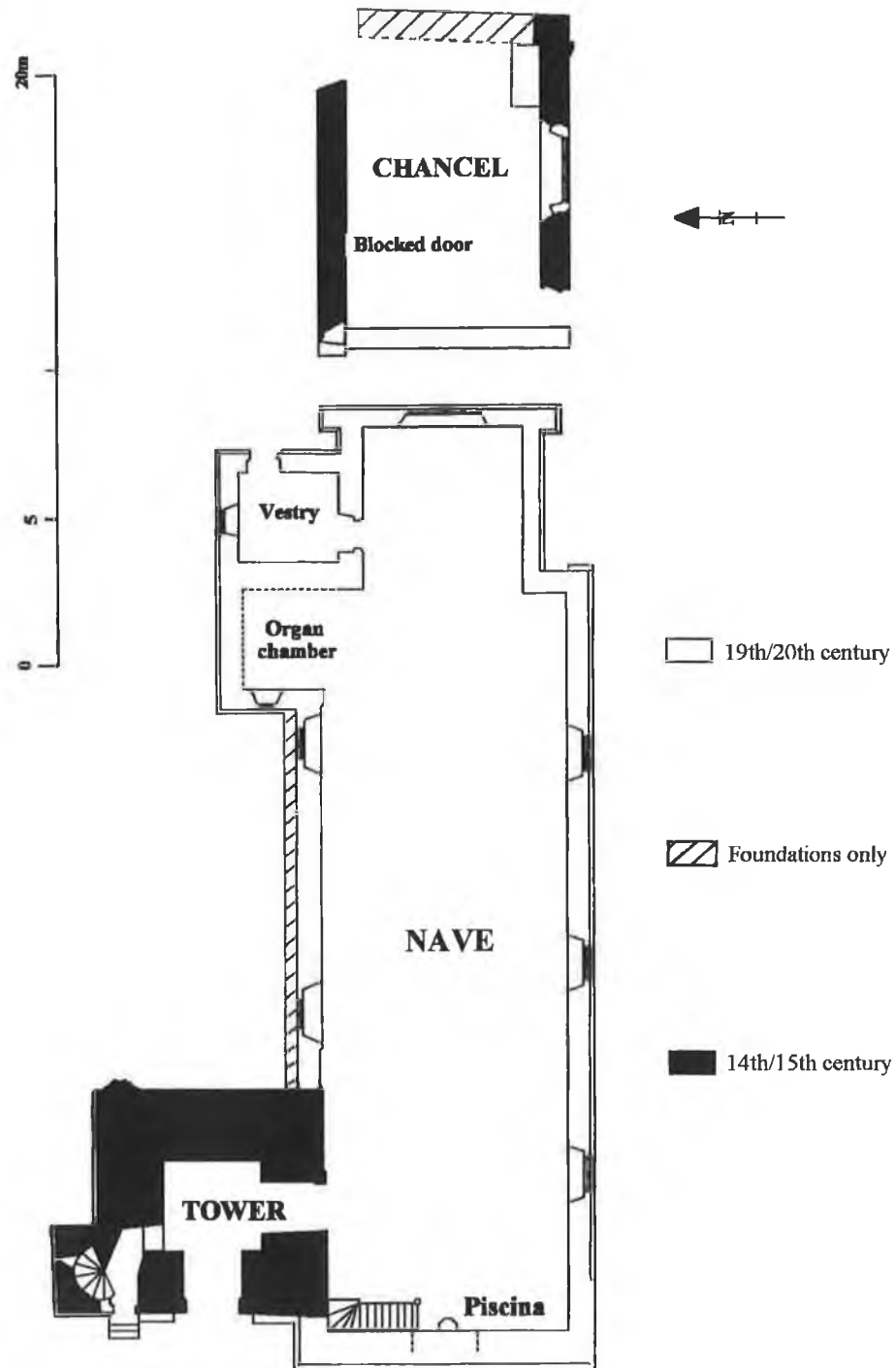


FIG. 7.3 Ground floor plan of St Patrick's Church (adapted from Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, fig. 51).

The ground floor of the tower has a round barrel-vaulted roof. A plain pointed door in the south wall gives access to the present church. Originally access to the spiral stair was through a doorway in the north wall of the tower, but this opening

has been blocked up and the stair is now accessed directly from outdoors through a modern pointed door in the west wall. Several fragments of medieval masonry have been reused in the construction of this doorway. The first floor is featureless with the exception of a plain, rectangular, deeply splayed window in the west wall. The second floor has a blocked rectangular window in the north wall—the outline of the original opening can be clearly identified in the north façade of the tower. The third floor has a splayed rectangular window in the east wall. The fourth floor, which is the belfry stage, has a pointed twin-light transomed window in each wall, with smaller cusped, pointed or ogee-headed single-light windows placed above in the east, south and west walls. The twin-light window in the south wall, into which a large nineteenth-century clock (1863) has been inserted, has what appear to be modern mullions. Above it is a small limestone head with a pointed face wearing a flat cap.



FIG. 7.4 Armorial shield in west wall of tower.

Two thirds of the way up the west face of the tower is an armorial shield showing the arms of de Burgh and Mortimer quartered; the shield is surmounted by a small bearded head carved into the same stone. From a study of this shield, Hickey has proposed a date somewhere between 1372 and 1425 for the construction of the tower, adjudging that it was erected during the tenure of either the third, fourth, or fifth earl of March and Ulster.¹³⁷

However, it has also been suggested that the tower was constructed by Richard, duke of York, lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1447 to 1460, who is known to have

¹³⁷Elizabeth Hickey, 'Arms of the earls of March and Ulster on the tower of the cathedral of Trim, Ireland' in *The coat of arms*, v, no. 126 (summer, 1983), pp 148-52, especially p. 152.

resided in Trim for a time in 1449.¹³⁸ William Elliot, an 18th-century rector of Trim, described the arms as those of Richard, duke of York and that tradition was been maintained by many writers subsequently.¹³⁹ Hickey disproved this attribution, however, showing that the arms were those of the duke's mother's family, the Mortimers.

Even if Hickey's dating of the shield to 1372x1425 is correct—which it probably is—the attribution of the tower itself to this period relies heavily on the assumption that the shield was incorporated into the tower as it was being built. This is difficult to prove. Although there is no evidence outside the frame of the shield for it being a later insertion (the stonework all blends together neatly), the fact that the frame is larger than the shield itself suggests that it may not originally have been assembled in this way.

In any case, it is doubtful if much time separated the construction of the tower and the incorporation of the shield. On the balance of evidence it would seem that the tower was constructed before 1460. This would also fit in with the fact that the building of large towers abutting one end of a parish church seems to have been a feature primarily of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁰

The chancel

Just two metres to the east of the present church stand the remains of a medieval chancel. The north and south walls survive to a height of approximately six metres but only the foundations of the east wall remain. The walls are built of roughly-coursed limestone and have a core of rubble. In the early seventeenth century it was recorded that the church and chancel were in good repair (*ecclia et cancella repantur*),¹⁴¹ but the church was sacked and burned in the rebellion of 1641 and the medieval chancel has remained roofless since that time.¹⁴² Bishop Dopping's

¹³⁸Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, p. 4; Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 26.

¹³⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 163.

¹⁴⁰Friar, *A companion to the parish church*, pp 450-6.

¹⁴¹Nat. Archives, RC 15/1, p. 76; *The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 621 (1 November, 1885), p. 291.

¹⁴²Marsh's Library, MS ZI.2.31, p. 73; C.C. Ellison, 'Bishop Dopping's visitation book 1682-5' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, v, no. 2 (1972), p. 8.

Visitation Book also records that cure was supplied every Sunday, there were bells, the windows were glazed, the floor was of clay, the roof was slated and the churchyard was enclosed by a stone wall.



FIG. 7.5 Medieval chancel viewed from southwest.

During a visit to Trim on 15 May 1795, Austin Cooper recorded that ‘on the opposite [east] end [are] the walls of an old chancel, with a low arched room adjoining on the north side. This is an apartment I observe in many of the oldest churches we have and I suppose them from their contiguity to the altar to be used for the purpose of keeping the plate, etc, necessary in administering the sacrament’.¹⁴³ Nothing remains of the ‘low arched room’ now, but a door in the north wall of the chancel, now blocked up with a medieval memorial slab, may once have given access to it. From Cooper’s description, it is possible to envisage the ‘low arched room’ being aligned with the posited north aisle of the nave.

The remains of a splaying window jamb can also be seen in the inner side of the north wall, but the outer side is completely ivy-clad and no features are discernible. The remains of sandstone mouldings of a window are present at the west end of the south wall, and incorporated into the same wall, to the east of the

¹⁴³Price, *An eighteenth-century antiquary*, p. 99.

present window, a similar moulding can be seen. It is clear that the east end of the south wall has been rebuilt.



FIG. 7.6 Heads on terminals of hood moulding on window in medieval chancel.

The most striking feature of the south wall is the triple-light, cusped, ogee-headed window. This square window, which replaced an earlier pointed opening, has open spandrels and slender limestone mullions. Much of the sandstone frame of the earlier window is still *in situ*, and the basal corner stones can be seen to the right and left of the present window (see FIG. 7.7). The earlier opening was at least 50cm wider than what now exists. The sandstone suggests a thirteenth-century date.

The present window measures 2.2m in width by 2.3m in height. Externally, it is surmounted by a rectangular hood-moulding. The label is dentilled and each end terminates with an anthropomorphic head. Although the sculptures are quite weathered, much of the detail remains very clear and Casey and Rowan described the sculptures as being 'characteristic of International Gothic'.¹⁴⁴ The carved head on the east side is that of a bishop, the tip of whose decorated mitre fits neatly into

¹⁴⁴Casey & Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland*, p. 515.

a small ogee-arched canopy. On the west side is the head of a longhaired, bearded man who is wearing a crown (perhaps a ducal coronet). Writing in 1960, Leask was unaware of any other such figure from Irish medieval sculptures.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the figure represents Richard, duke of York, and, partly on this evidence, the window has been dated to the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁴⁶ However, several other commentators maintain that the window is more likely to be of sixteenth-century date, and Bradley considers Leask's duke of York suggestion as 'nothing more than fanciful'.¹⁴⁷

The style of this inserted window can be paralleled with the east window at Moymet Church,¹⁴⁸ not far from Trim, and it is also possible to make comparisons with windows at Rathmore Church, near Athboy,¹⁴⁹ and St Fechin's church at Fore in Co. Westmeath—the example at Fore is also an insertion.¹⁵⁰



FIG. 7.7 The basal corner stones of the earlier window can be identified to the left and right of the present chancel window.

¹⁴⁵Leask, *Churches, III*, pp 185-6.

¹⁴⁶Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 186; Galloway, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, p. 209, also dates the window to the mid fifteenth century.

¹⁴⁷Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, p. 164; Casey & Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland*, p. 515.

¹⁴⁸Casey & Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland*, p. 515

¹⁴⁹Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 17.

¹⁵⁰Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 114.

Memorial monuments

1: Thirteenth/fourteenth-century cross-slab

Set at floor level into north end of the west wall inside the tower, this small, coffin-shaped limestone cross-slab probably dates to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It has an incised cross, the terminals, knop and centre of which are formed from compass-made circles. It was discovered during restoration work in 1937, 'built into the north wall of the church, near the present organ chamber'.¹⁵¹ [Length: 69cm; Width: 26cm at top, decreasing to 16cm at bottom; Depth: 15cm].

2: Thirteenth/fourteenth-century Purbeck slab

This monument was set by Butler into a disused doorway in the north wall of the ruined chancel. A recent examination confirmed that this badly decayed memorial slab, now in two pieces, is of stone imported from the Isle of Purbeck in Dorsetshire.¹⁵² Although usually described as 'marble', the stone from Purbeck is in fact a dark, fossiliferous limestone, favoured by masons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁵³ This late-thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century, coffin-shaped slab also has indents for a marginal Lombardic brass inscription, enclosed on both the inside and outside by a 1cm-thick border.¹⁵⁴ Conwell noted that there was a speck of greenish metal remaining in the inscription when he inspected it in the early 1870s.¹⁵⁵ With the exception of a small number of letters, the lettering on the matrix is now indecipherable. Even when Conwell was writing in the 1870s it was impossible to decipher the name of the ecclesiastic, but he was able to identify a cross followed by the letters *WID* and space for about six more letters.¹⁵⁶ The name is followed by an inscription which Butler recorded as ...*HIC: RECTOR: ET: ARC[HILEVITES]: HIC: JACET: IRA: DEI:*

¹⁵¹Information from typed notice once pinned to notice board in the tower (now in possession of the present writer).

¹⁵²Brian Gittos and Moira Gittos, 'Irish Purbeck: recently identified Purbeck marble monuments in Ireland' in *Church Monuments: journal of the Church Monuments Society*, xiii (1998), pp 5-14, especially pp 5 and 13.

¹⁵³Stephen Friar, *A companion to the parish church* (London, 2000), p. 369; Arthur Gardner, *A handbook of English medieval sculpture* (Cambridge, 1937), pp 173-96.

¹⁵⁴H. A. King, 'Irish memorial brasses to 1700' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xciv, no. 4 (1994), pp 111-40, esp. 123-4; Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), pp 400-01.

¹⁵⁵Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), p. 400.

¹⁵⁶Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), pp 400-1.

*PACIFICETVR: EI:.*¹⁵⁷ The word *archilevites* has been translated as archdeacon.¹⁵⁸ In England, monuments of this type are known from as early as the 1270s,¹⁵⁹ but the presence at the head of this slab of what was once identifiable as the bust of an ecclesiastic under a pinnacled and crocketed canopy, led King to suggest a date in the first decades of the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁰ A monument of similar style is the tomb of Sir Richard de Boselyngthorpe, at Buslingthorpe in Lincolnshire, which dates to c.1290.¹⁶¹ [Length: 200cm; Width: 80-75cm; Depth of indent: c.2mm).

3: Fourteenth-century sandstone slab (FIG. 7.8)

The central of three memorials set into the east wall inside the tower, this rectangular slab of red sandstone, now in two pieces, is decorated in high relief with a male (left) and a female bust side by side above a crucifixion. The male has curled hair that descends to level with his chin, which is bearded, while the lady wears a barrette with vertical pleats attached to a coif over which a veil descends to her shoulders. This variant of the wimple-and-veil headdress is known widely from slabs of this style in England, but only five examples have been recorded in Ireland.¹⁶² There is a possible pillow or headrest behind the busts. Christ is nailed to a floriated, mid-ribbed cross with two angels above his head swinging censers. He has a halo and his feet are crossed. John and Mary stand on either side, each haloed and dressed in a cloak and tunic. At the base of the slab is a twin-bodied beast biting the foot of the cross. From each tail of the beast grows an undulating stem of foliage that rises to support John and Mary respectively.

¹⁵⁷Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 155.

¹⁵⁸Fitzgerald, 'St Patrick's Churchyard', p. 221; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 155.

¹⁵⁹H. W. Macklin, *The brasses of England* (3rd edition, London, 1913), p. 14.

¹⁶⁰King, 'Irish memorial brasses', p. 124.

¹⁶¹Macklin, *The brasses of England*, p. 17.

¹⁶²Hunt, *Irish Medieval figure sculpture*, i, 35; F. H. Crossley, *English church monuments, 1150-1550: an introduction to the study of tombs and effigies of the mediæval period* (London, 1921), pp 195, 233-4.

The stem on the right (as one views it) is smooth and rounded (like the leaves at the top of the cross) and the leaves resemble fleur-de-lis, while the stem on the left is angular and the leaves may be those of a vine. The slab has no inscription. What is now the base of the slab has had a plaster or cement moulding of two shamrock leaves attached to it, but it seems likely that this base section was added to the slab in order to fill the nineteenth-century moulded surround. The edges of the entire slab may have been redressed to make it rectangular. Hunt dates this slab to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁶³ This is almost certainly the memorial of a wealthy merchant and his wife. A slab of similar style is to be found in Kells (Co. Meath).¹⁶⁴ [Length: 191cm (174cm excluding basal panel); Width: 52cm].



FIG. 7.8 Fourteenth-century sandstone slab (c.1325-50).

¹⁶³Hunt, *Irish Medieval figure sculpture*, i, no. 209, pp 35-7, 215-16.

¹⁶⁴Hunt, *Irish Medieval figure sculpture*, i, no. 188, p. 206, ii, plate 33.

4: Fifteenth-century slab (Walter Thombe, d. 1458)

This large rectangular slab has been set up as a table tomb on a low side panel at the base of the window in the ruined chancel. An incised marginal gothic inscription reads *HIC: IACET: [W]ALTERVS: THOVMBE: DE TRVM: Q': OBIIT: XVIII: DIE: JVNII: A:D: M: CCCC: LVIII*. The letters on the first three sides of the inscription are spaced wide apart (c.12cm), whereas those on the fourth side closer together (c.3cm). The central portion of the slab is undecorated, with the exception of three rows of three small circular depressions arranged in a square towards the base of the slab. It is not known what this design represents, although it seems to be contemporary with the Latin inscription. When Austin Cooper visited the churchyard on 15 May 1795 he recorded the inscription and wrote that 'there was another which I could not read'.¹⁶⁵ It is not clear what exactly he meant by this. [Length: 212cm; Width: 110cm; Thickness: 12cm].

5: Sixteenth-century slab (John Ward, d. 1509) (FIG. 7.9)

This memorial slab is the southernmost of the three memorials set into the east wall inside the tower. It was uncovered, face-down, at a depth of 5 feet, during the preparation of the foundations for the present chancel in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶ The slab was then inserted into the floor of the porch and remained there until at least 1906 (this may explain why the surface of the slab is so smooth, almost polished).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵Price, *An eighteenth-century antiquary*, p. 99.

¹⁶⁶Callary, 'The tower & church', p. 35; W. L. M. Giff, *The story of St Patrick's Cathedral, Trim* (No place, 1959), p. 17; Fitzgerald, 'St Patrick's Churchyard', p. 219; J. P. Kelly, 'Rectors of Trim—fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' in *Riocht na Midhe*, iii, no. 4 (1966), pp 388-9.

¹⁶⁷Anon, 'Excursion, Wednesday, October 3rd, 1906' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxvi (1906), pp 448-50, at p. 448.

It is a plain rectangular limestone slab with a marginal gothic inscription that reads *HIC JACET/ JOHANNES WARDE DECRETORUM DOCTOR QUONDAM ISTIUS ECCLESIAE/ RECTOR QUI OBIIT XXI/ VI DIE FEBRUARII ANNO D Mo D VIIIo*). In the inscription, the second part of one letter is regularly used to form the first part of the next. The obituary of John Ward is recorded in the registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, where it states *Ob. Johannes Ward decretorum doctor atque ecclesie parochialis sancti Patricij de Trym quondam rector qui legavit priori et conventui in moneta v. marcas cuius anime propicietur deus amen*.¹⁶⁸ The title ‘Decretorum Doctor’ is apparently synonymous with Doctor of Canon Law.¹⁶⁹ [Length: 188cm; Width: 78cm; Thickness: Conwell was able to give the thickness of the slab as 5” [c.13cm]].¹⁷⁰



FIG. 7.9 Sixteenth-century slab (John Ward, d. 1509).

¹⁶⁸Refaussé with Lennon, *The registers of Christ Church*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁹Conwell, ‘A ramble round Trim’ (1874), pp 395-7.

¹⁷⁰Conwell, ‘A ramble round Trim’ (1874), p. 394.

6: Sixteenth-century slab (Martin/Delapatrik 1541 *et seq.*) (FIG. 7.10)

This coffin-shaped limestone slab was discovered by gravediggers in the old chancel in 1844, erected by Butler in the porch, removed, broken and stored in the rectory coach-house until it was inserted by Archdeacon Berry into the north wall of the vestry.¹⁷¹ It was still in the vestry in 1906 but was subsequently set into the east wall inside the tower, where it is the northernmost of the three memorials.¹⁷² The four broken pieces of the slab have been crudely reassembled and the whole is set in modern stone frame. The lower part is decorated with a plain, short, eight-armed cross in false relief within a circle, rising from five steps. The cross has a diamond shaped centre within which is a small Greek cross, and below the circle [on the left as one views it] is a Tudor rose. The remainder of the slab has a raised and incised gothic inscription, much of which is now missing (one detached flake, measuring 12 x 13cm x 4mm, with part of the inscription, is stored in a display cabinet at the back of the nave). There is a comma after each word of the inscription, which reads *HIC I[ACET W]ALTERUS MARTI INUS [QUONDA]M DE TRYM[EN] [BURGENSIS] CŪ PARENTIBUS/ [AVIS ET PR]OAVIS SUIS ET ETIĀ/ [JENETA D]ELA PATRICK UXOR EIUS/ [QUI OBIIT MEN]SE IUNII ANNO SAL/[UTIS 15]41. HIC QUOQue JACET/ [NICHOL]AUS MARTINUS FILIUS/ [DICTI W]ALTERI ET IENETE CUM/ [UXORE] SUA KATHERINA ASPOLL/ QUI OBIIT XXV^o DIE IUNII ANNO DÑI 1590 CUIUS FILIUS WALTERUS, MA[RTINUS] ET JEN[ETA] GERRY EIUS/ [UXOR HOC MONUMEN]TU FIERI FE/..... A break in the slab has made a line illegible here (it may have given the date of the erection of the memorial).*

¹⁷¹Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), pp 397-8.

¹⁷²'Excursion, 1906', p. 448.



FIG. 7.10 Sixteenth-century slab
(Martin/Delapatrik 1541 *et seq.*)

Beginning upside-down on the right side of the bottom step of the cross (first three words) and then running vertically up the left side of the slab is an inscription that reads *HOC EST SIGNŪ/ HUMANE REDĒPTIONIS ET INSIGNE XCIANŪ/ BAPTISIMATE/* (the word *BAPTISIMATE* appears on the steps) *DATŪ QUO MORS XCI RECOLITUR ET DIABOLUS/ FUGATUR/*. Beneath the word *FUGATUR* is the Tudor Rose. To the right of the cross (as one views it) there is an incomplete vertical inscription (running downwards), in a different style of lettering, which reads *YMIA NOS G[ANUIT]... NITIS YMIA GA:!/... ASTRA COLUNT ANIMAE CORPO[RA TERRA T]ENET*. There is also a raised 'black-letter' inscription on the shaft of the cross, which has not been recorded, and is now illegible. It was possibly the sculptor's name.

[Length: 165cm; Width: 70cm at top, decreasing to 57cm at base; Thickness: Conwell was able to give the thickness of this slab as 4" [c.10cm]].¹⁷³

¹⁷³Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), p. 397.

7: The 'Thomas A' Beckett stone' (FIG. 7.11)

Uncovered in the 1860s by workers digging the foundations of the new chancel,¹⁷⁴ this slab was for a time (until at least 1906)¹⁷⁵ set into the north wall of the ruined chancel (to the left of no. 2, above), but is now attached by iron supports and cement to the wall above the 'fire-place' inside the tower. It is a rectangular granite slab decorated in false relief with two panels, on the smaller of which is the bust and torso of an archbishop, slightly off centre beneath a cusped ogee-headed canopy. The archbishop's right hand is held to his chest, perhaps clutching a pectoral cross, or in a gesture of blessing, while in his left hand he holds a simple knopped cross-staff. He wears a mitre, a pleated cassock and a collared chasuble. The other panel, which takes up almost two thirds of the slab, has eight circles enclosing triskeles arranged in three rows with two cusped semi-circles at either end of the middle row. The slab has a carved frame on three sides, but the fourth side is open, indicating that there may originally have been a further panel. Roe suggested that this slab may be a copy of the shrine of Thomas A' Beckett.¹⁷⁶ [Length: 88cm; Width: 136cm; Thickness: 10cm].



FIG. 7.11 The 'Thomas A' Beckett stone'

¹⁷⁴Callary, 'The tower & church', p. 46; Fitzgerald, 'St Patrick's Churchyard', p. 221; Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), p. 401.

¹⁷⁵'Excursion, 1906', p. 449.

¹⁷⁶Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, p. 169.

Miscellaneous medieval masonry

Carved heads

The carved heads of a woman with long hair, a bishop wearing a mitre, and a crowned man have been incorporated into the exterior surround of the west window of the present nave. The window was built in the nineteenth century, but the heads seem to be medieval in origin. The male heads show similarities with the heads on the chancel window.



FIG. 7.12 Three carved heads of possible medieval date have been incorporated into the nineteenth-century window at the west end of the church.

Hexagonal shaft

This freestanding hexagonal shaft is now located in the ground floor of the tower, but it has been suggested that it was brought here from Ratoath.¹⁷⁷ The shaft is decorated with the carved figures of six bearded and moustached apostles (see FIG. 7.13). The figures have curled hair and flat caps and they wear tunics and mantles. Each apostle is identifiable due to his individual iconographic attributes—Bartholomew, who was flayed to death, is depicted holding a flaying knife; James Minor carries a fuller's club—the implement used to beat wool and cloth and with which James was slain; John, often associated with an eagle, is holding what seems to be a feather; Matthias is shown with an axe—the weapon with which he was beheaded; Andrew, who was crucified, is depicted with a saltire cross, while Thomas holds a spear to represent the manner of his death. Each apostle also carries a book in his left hand, and is set in a crocketed, cusped and pinnacled ogee-headed niche.

¹⁷⁷Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, p. 169.



Bartholomew James Minor John Matthias Andrew Thomas

FIG. 7.13 Carved figures of six apostles from hexagonal shaft.

The base has a small mortise and the upper part is broken. The upper part may have had another set of six figures (presumably the other six apostles) because the lower part of three figures can be seen on one side. This piece is among the finest sculptures produced in Ireland during the middle ages. Although its function is unknown, the stem of the apostle font in All Saints' Church, Norwich, is similarly decorated,¹⁷⁸ and the shaft of a cross now housed in the Château Comtal at Carcassonne (France), also bears a striking resemblance (see FIG. 7.14). [Height: 80cm; Width: 26cm at top, increasing to 33cm at bottom; Depth: 20cm].

Possible gargoye

Now located in the tower, this loose rectangular block of sandstone was used to mark the grave of an individual who died in 1767. That the stone had previously served another function is evident as part of a carved head with a mane of hair appears above the eighteenth-century inscription (which reads *PRAVAL/ IIVMPRIS/ DEPARTED/ THIS../ LIFE V/ NOVE/ MBER 1767*). It seems that this stone originally functioned as a gargoyle. [Height: 74cm; Width: 20cm; Thickness: 20cm].

¹⁷⁸Gardner, *A handbook*, pp 302-4.



FIG. 7.14 Cross with hexagonal shaft (above), the upper part of which is decorated with the carved figures of six apostles (three of which are shown here, ~~left~~_{below}). Château Comtal, Carcassonne (France).



Fish plaque



FIG. 7.15 Fish plaque.

A number of medieval slabs and various pieces of masonry have been assembled into what resembles a decorative fire-place in north wall of the porch. Among the slabs is a rectangular sandstone plaque with three horizontal fish below a what seems to be a form of crown. This slab was for a time set into the north wall of the ruined chancel and Conwell records that, in addition to the three fish,

seven loaves were present on it.¹⁷⁹ In 1906 the plaque was still in the chancel and in that year it was described as ‘a small armorial stone bearing three pikes in pale, surmounted by a coronet on which were seven fleur-de-lis, and a little leac on which a wheel-cross is incised’.¹⁸⁰ A number of families have three fish in their coats of arms (e.g. Keane, Hackett, O’Gahan, Roache), and it is likely that this is indeed a heraldic plaque. It is now decaying rapidly in the damp conditions of the porch and is almost entirely covered in a dark green fungus. The wheel-cross is no longer visible and the edges of the slab are beginning to flake. [Height: 63cm; Width: 54cm].

Piscina

Set into the back wall of the present nave is a possible fifteenth-century piscina.¹⁸¹ The receptacle and the shaft to which it is attached were brought here from the ruined chancel and were assembled by Butler in the nineteenth century.¹⁸² As a piscina, it is unusual in that it seems to have been designed as an almost freestanding feature rather than something that was set into a recess or fenestella.

¹⁷⁹Conwell, ‘A ramble round Trim’ (1874), p. 401.

¹⁸⁰‘Excursion, 1906’, p. 449.

¹⁸¹Walter Fitzgerald, ‘Trim: St Patrick’s Churchyard’ in *The Journal of the Irish Memorials Association...*, xi (1921-5), pp 71-6; H. M. Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath* (Navan, 1968), pp 100-105; Elizabeth Hickey, ‘Royal heraldry and some Irish arms at Trim, County Meath’ in *Riocht na Midhe*, viii, no. 2 (1988-9), pp 129-40.

¹⁸²Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 163-4.

The half-octagonal shaft must have been positioned against a wall and probably sat on a stone base.



FIG. 7.16 Piscina as assembled by Butler.

The round bowl, which is 11cm deep, has a small drainage hole which must originally have drained into some form of channel to allow the water to be evacuated. As the drainage hole is not at the base of the bowl, a later channel was chiselled to enable even the last drops of water to drain out. The bowl is surrounded externally by a double moulded rim, which also seems to be octagonal (not all sides are visible), above a thick chamfered band. This concave band is decorated with zoomorphic carvings in relief. The first animal (from left) is a dragon.

The second creature resembles a manticora, described in medieval literature as a beast from India with ‘a threefold row of teeth meeting alternately, the face of a man, with gleaming blood-red eyes: a lion’s body: a tail like the sting of a scorpion, and a shrill voice.... it hankers after human flesh most ravenously’.¹⁸³

The manticora in Trim is reminiscent of a thirteenth-century illustration in which the human head of the ‘manticore’ is also wearing a hat. The Trim manticora has hooved feet, which is unusual, but there is known to have been some confusion between the manticora and another Indian beast, the leucrota, which *does* have hooves.¹⁸⁴ In Trim, the tail of the manticora interlinks with that of a creature with a line of angular ridges along its spine, namely a *Crocodyllus*. Although this creature looks little like what we today would know as a crocodile, it is clearly a

¹⁸³T. H. White (ed.), *The book of beasts: being a translation from a Latin bestiary of the twelfth century* (London, 1954), pp 51-2, 247; Richard Barber (tr. and intr.) *Bestiary: being an English version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764 with all the original miniatures reproduced in facsimile* (London, 1992), pp 64-4.

¹⁸⁴White, *The book of beasts*, pp 48-9.

crocodyllus as represented in medieval bestiary.¹⁸⁵ The illustration of the crocodyllus in White's *The book of beasts* suggests that it was drawn by someone who had never seen a crocodile but to whom a description of the animal was given. It has sharp claws, a long tail, a ridge along its back and long teeth. At the right of the frieze is a fox with a goose in its mouth. The animal frieze curves outwards slightly where it is attached to the wall on each side and on the right hand side it is 'closed' by the curving, bushy tail of the fox.



FIG. 7.17 Zoomorphic carvings on piscina: manticora (left), crocodyllus, and fox with goose.

Beneath the animal representations, and in marked contrast to that theme, four vertical rectangular panels, each measuring 18 by 34cm, are decorated with armorial shields. Each panel is framed by a flat moulding and the shields are held by winged angels. Also within each panel, at the base of the shield, is a decorative wavy line. Traces of red, yellow and blue tinctures survive on the shields. Although these may derive from nineteenth-century oil paint, it is quite possible that they are all that remains of the original tinctures. One of the shields is blank, but the other three can be identified (see also FIGS 7.20-1).¹⁸⁶

Shield 1 (from left): The arms of Butler (or, a chief indented azure). Hickey believed that this shield represented James Butler (the White Earl), fourth earl of Ormonde. Butler and Richard, duke of York were long time allies and, at the time of his death in 1452, Butler was York's deputy.¹⁸⁷

Shield 2: The arms of Edward III (quarterly France ancient and England).

¹⁸⁵White, *The book of beasts*, pp 49-51, 202, 242.

¹⁸⁶Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', pp 129-31.

¹⁸⁷Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, p. 103.

Shield 3: Quarterly England and France modern, over all a label of three points, the arms of Richard, duke of York impaling quarterly Mortimer and de Burgh. The top of this shield is broken—two points only of the label can be seen and no torteaux are visible. Pinches gives the arms of Anne, countess of Cambridge (1390-1411), as quarterly France ancient and England with a label of three points argent charged with as many torteaux, impaling Mortimer and de Burgh quarterly—this shield exactly.¹⁸⁸ Hickey points out that since 1405 France modern was used in the royal arms of England and goes on to state that ‘there can be no doubt but that this shield represents the arms of Anne Mortimer [*sic*], grandmother of Edward IV and mother of Richard, duke of York’.

Shield 4: There is a slightly raised ridge running vertically down the centre of this shield, but otherwise it is blank. Every part of the panel, including the hand of the angelic messenger holding it, is perfectly carved, so there is no reason to believe that it is unfinished. There are some very small patches of red tincture and Roe was of the opinion that the arms on this shield were originally shown by colour only.¹⁸⁹ Hickey suggested that the shield may represent a royal infant who died before he was granted arms.¹⁹⁰ A blank shield can be found on the Great Gate of Trinity College, Cambridge (built between 1490 and 1535). Hickey posited the view that the blank Trim shield represented George of Windsor, the infant son of Edward IV. Born in 1478, George was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, but died the following year (1479).

The piscina is set on top of a moulded octagonal limestone slab which in turn rests on a sandstone capital with fluted scallops. The orange colour of the sandstone capital does not blend in well with the rest of the font, but it is half-octagon in shape and it is easy to see why the person erecting this ensemble thought it would be appropriate. The sandstone piece is Romanesque in style, and may have been brought here from St Mary’s Augustinian priory. [Dimensions of piscina: Height: 53cm; Width: 60cm; Diameter: 52cm; Diameter of basin: 11cm].

¹⁸⁸Hickey, ‘Royal Heraldry’, p. 130, referring to J. H. and R. V. Pinches, *Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 66.

¹⁸⁹Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, pp 102-3.

¹⁹⁰Hickey, ‘Royal Heraldry’, p. 131.

Set vertically into the wall behind this piscina is a shallow, octagonal, limestone basin. This feature almost certainly functioned originally as a piscina. Some late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century piscinas have two basins; one for rinsing the communion vessels and the other for washing hands—although the Trim example surely dates to the fifteenth century, it may also have had two basins originally.¹⁹¹

The piscina at Trim is one of a series of fonts and piscinas from Co. Meath. The fonts at Dunsany, Killeen and Clonard have shields held by winged angels,¹⁹² while monsters appear on fonts at Crickstown and Kilcarne.¹⁹³ The piscina at Trim also bears a number of similarities to a series of elaborate fifteenth-century English fonts, all from churches in East Anglia.¹⁹⁴ Several of these fonts are octagonal, each side having a vertical rectangular panel, on a number of which a winged angel holds an armorial shield. Wild beasts are also commonly represented on these fonts.

¹⁹¹Friar, *A companion to the parish church*, p. 346.

¹⁹²Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, pp 22, 28, 34, 50, 53, 102.

¹⁹³Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, pp 40 (Crickstown), 60-6 (Kilcarne).

¹⁹⁴Friar, *A companion to the parish church*, p. 203.



FIG. 7.18 The font at Framlingham in Suffolk.

The font at Framlingham in Suffolk is particularly reminiscent of the Trim piece. Angels displaying armorial shields feature in a number of fifteenth-century contexts in English churches. They are to be seen, for example, in the architecture of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (c.1480),¹⁹⁵ on the holy-water stoup at Endellion (Cornwall, c.1500),¹⁹⁶ and on fifteenth-century tomb chests in Lowicke (Northamptonshire, c.1419), Swine (c.1420), Harewood (Yorks, c.1420), Bottesford (Leics), Merevale (War), Ashbourne (Derbyshire), and Ewelme (Oxfordshire, c.1473).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵Gardner, *A handbook*, pp 293, 296.

¹⁹⁶J. C. Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English church furniture* (London, 1907), pp 237-8.

¹⁹⁷Gardner, *A handbook*, pp 17, 346, 349-51.

2 heraldic plaques

Among the medieval plaques and slabs mounted on the wall of the vestibule are two rectangular fossiliferous limestone tablets each comprising three rectangular compartments. As with the piscina, each of the compartments is decorated in false relief with an angel carrying an armorial shield. The arms on the first plaque are:

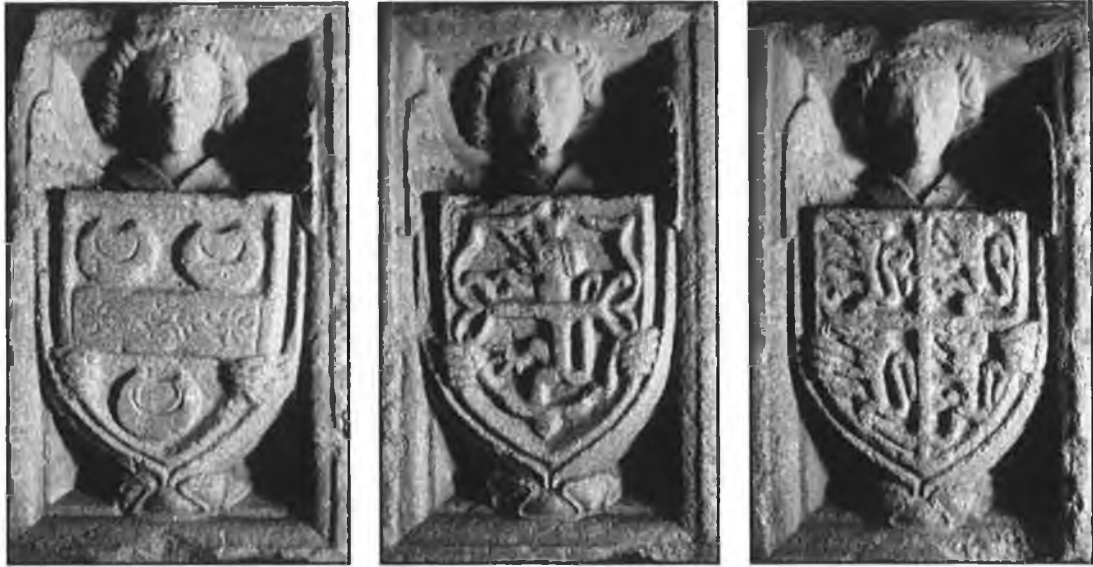


FIG. 7.19 3 shields from heraldic plaque no. 1.

1) Sable on a fess between three crescents as many estoiles. These arms have been tentatively identified with the Fitzsimon family, although the connection with Trim is unclear.¹⁹⁸

2) A very unusual shield. A lion rampant debriused by a fess, within a border wavy. Hickey suggested that it may represent the arms of the de Lacy family, usually or a lion rampant purple, but this is by no means certain.¹⁹⁹

3) Or, four lions rampant in quadrangle; 1 and 4 sable; 2 and 3 gules (arms of Queen Phillipa, wife of Edward III and mother of Lionel, duke of Clarence). Hickey suggested that this shield may represent a member of the de Bathe family, who were prominent in Dublin and Meath in the fifteenth century.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', p. 132; Fitzgerald, 'St Patrick's Churchyard', p. 76.

¹⁹⁹Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', p. 132.

²⁰⁰Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', p. 133; see also Bradshaw, *Irish constitutional revolution*, pp 56-7 and Edmund Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century* (London, 1894).

The shields on the second plaque show:

1) Quarterly, 1 and 4, w bend, in sinister chief a tower (Plunkett). 2 and 3 a field chequy (a chequy shield appears on the fifteenth-century Plunkett Tomb at Dunsany and possibly represents a member of the same family—Hickey suggested that it was a gentleman (perhaps a Warren) whose daughter and heiress married one of the Plunketts).²⁰¹

2) This shield is badly cracked. quarterly, 1 and 4, a lion rampant with a bordure engrailed; 2 and 3, two lions passant. Hickey believed that the arms were those of Talbot and Strange quartered.²⁰²

3) A heart pierced in saltire by two swords. These arms were first used in the fifteenth century to represent the Virgin Mary and often appear in churches dedicated to her. In Ireland, this coat of arms can be found on the fifteenth-century Maud Plunkett tomb in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Malahide (Co. Dublin), and on a tomb of the same period in St Mary's Church at Killeen (Co. Meath). On the font in the ruined medieval church at Dunsany (Co. Meath), one of the angels holds a shield depicting a heart pierced saltire-wise by two swords.²⁰³

It is clear that these plaques and the piscina belong to the same ensemble, and the available evidence suggests that they date to the fifteenth century.²⁰⁴ The possible de Lacy shield, the arms of the Virgin Mary and the fact that both the duke of York and Edward IV made grants to St Mary's Abbey²⁰⁵ have prompted Hickey to argue that the plaques, together with the piscina, may originally have formed part of an armorial scheme in the Abbey of St Mary at Trim.²⁰⁶ There is evidence, however, that these items were indeed original to St Patrick's Church. A seventeenth-century manuscript in Trinity College Dublin contains drawings of

²⁰¹Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', p. 133.

²⁰²Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', p. 133.

²⁰³Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, p. 22.

²⁰⁴Roe, *Medieval fonts of Meath*, p. 132; Fitzgerald, 'St Patrick's Churchyard', p. 76; Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, p. 169.

²⁰⁵*Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 42-7.

²⁰⁶Hickey, 'Royal Heraldry', pp 129, 134.

some heraldic shields from churches in Meath, and includes illustrations of three of the shields from the St Patrick's piscina under the heading '*in ecclesia de Trim*'.²⁰⁷ [Dimensions of the plaques: Height: 35cm; Width: 60cm; Depth: c.4cm].

Other heraldic shields

Among the sketches of heraldic shields under the heading '*in ecclesia de Trim*' in T.C.D. Ms 807 are several unidentified shields no longer present in the church (see FIGS 7.20-1).²⁰⁸ It is possible that some of the drawings represent shields from the piscina, but it is not clear what form the others took—i.e. wood, stone, wall paintings, flags. The first shield illustrated here shows the arms of England (three lions passant gardant) impaling those of Mortimer and de Burgh, and may represent Roger Mortimer (d. 1398). The second are the arms of France and England quartered with a label of three points charged with torteaux and almost certainly belongs to Lionel, duke of Clarence (d. 1368). The third is harder to identify but the chequy quarters suggest a connection with the Warren family. The martlet, as on the fourth shield, usually represents a fourth son, and the shield may be that of the Neville family (Cicely Neville (d. 1495) was married to Richard, duke of York). The fifth shield (quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, fretty or, a chief or, 2 and 3, argent, three barnacles gules) may represent Anthony St Leger, while the sixth (quarterly France ancient and England) is clearly the arms of Edward III (d. 1377; father of Lionel, duke of Clarence). The seventh shield is enigmatic, but the second quarter undoubtedly represents Geoffrey de Geneville (azure, three pairs of barnacles expanded in pale or on a chief ermine a demi lion rampant issuant gules). The eighth shield bears the arms of the Butler family (or, a chief indented azure).

²⁰⁷T.C.D., MS 807, fol. 380.

²⁰⁸T.C.D., MS 807, fol. 380.

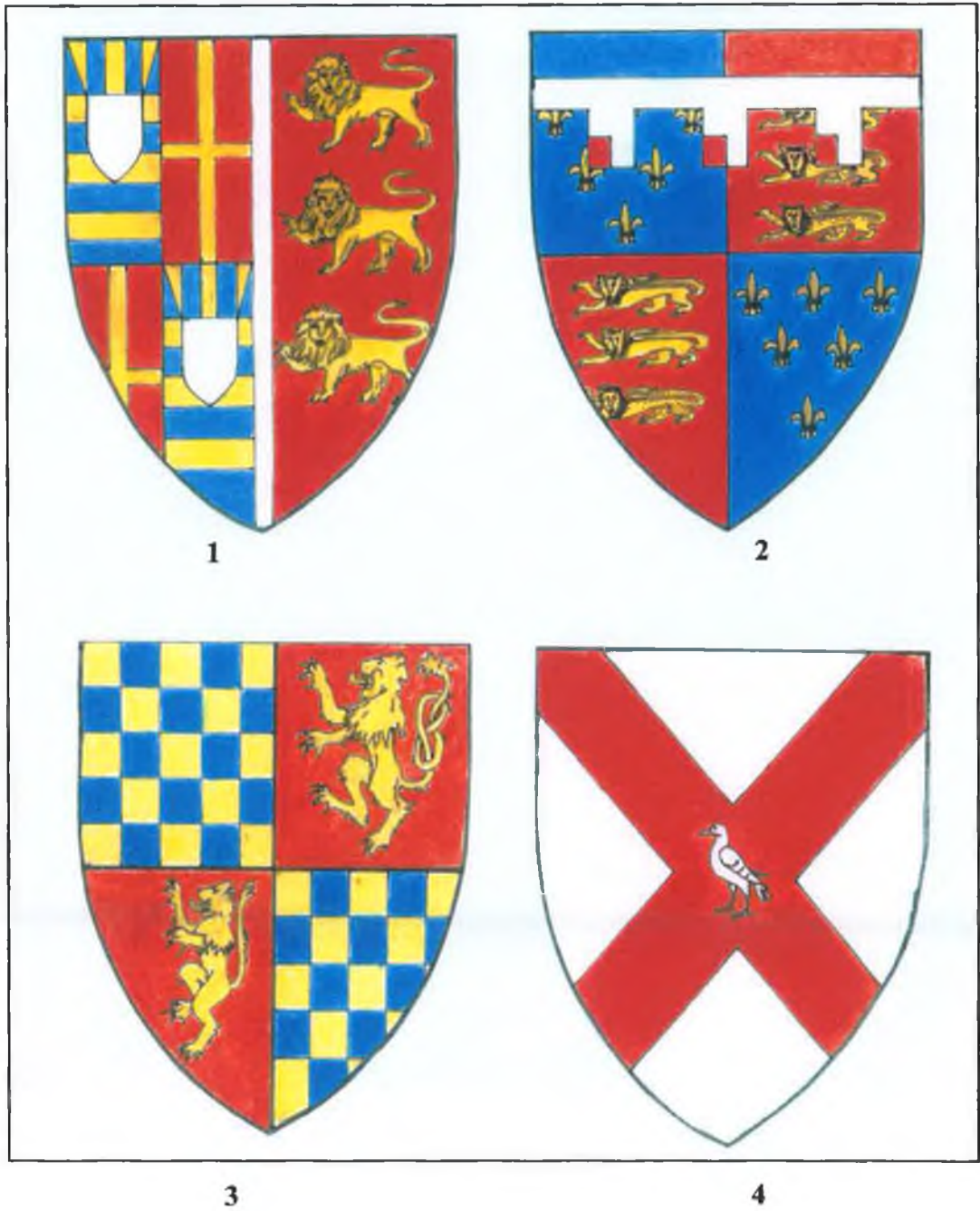


FIG. 7.20 Four armorial shields apparently once displayed in St Patrick's Church, Trim. Drawn by the author following notes and sketches in T.C.D. MS 807, fol. 380.

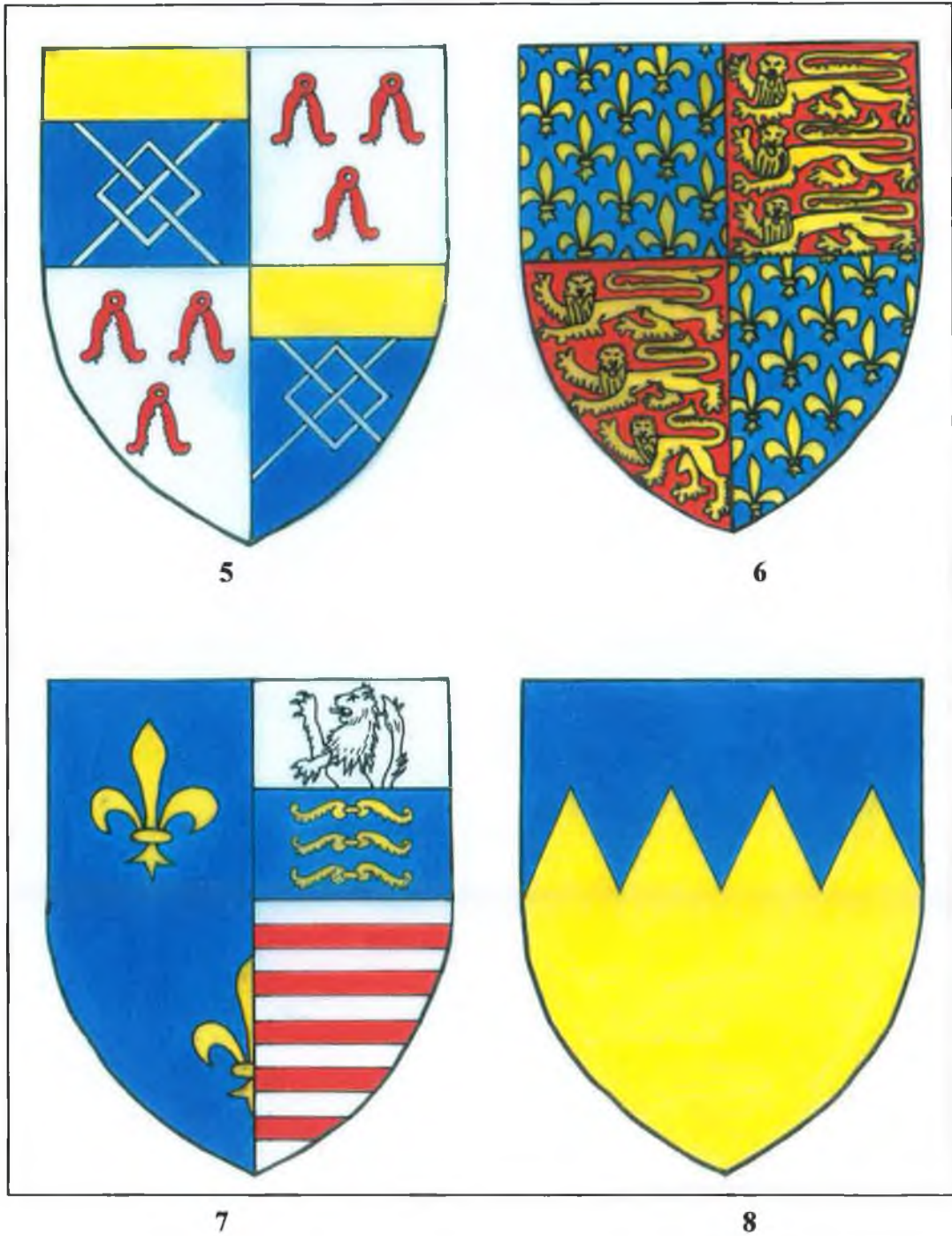


FIG. 7.21 Four further armorial shields apparently once displayed in St Patrick's Church, Trim.
 Drawn by the author following notes and sketches in T.C.D. MS 807, fol. 380.

Missing Font

Harbison mentions the existence of a large baptismal font dating to *c.*1200 at the back of the church, but this appears to be a mistake.²⁰⁹

Miscellaneous medieval remains



FIG. 7.22 Miscellaneous fragments of medieval masonry stacked beside chancel.



FIG. 7.23 Carved stone (capital or base of architrave?) stored beneath table-tomb to west of church.



FIG. 7.24 Carved stone stored beneath table-tomb to west of church.

At least fifty fragments of medieval masonry, mainly of window tracery, can be seen in the vicinity of the church. Most of the pieces have been gathered together and piled at the west end of the medieval chancel, but others are to be found underneath some of the table tombs in the graveyard, and several decorated pieces have been placed in the vestibule of the tower. Among the various slabs and pieces of masonry that have been assembled into a 'fire-place' are some window mullions with grooves for glazing. Two mullions are each decorated with an undulating branch of ivy and oak leaves in relief. A number of ogee headed windows are also represented among the scattered vestiges, at least one of which was at least triple-light. There are also pieces of door jambs and capitals as well as gable fragments and part of a carved stone drain or gutter. A number of worked sandstone blocks were reused in the construction of the west door of the tower (see FIG. 7.29).

²⁰⁹Peter Harbison, *Guide to national and historic monuments of Ireland* (Dublin, 1992), p. 272.



FIG. 7.25 Carved sandstone capital stored in ruined chancel—probably thirteenth century.

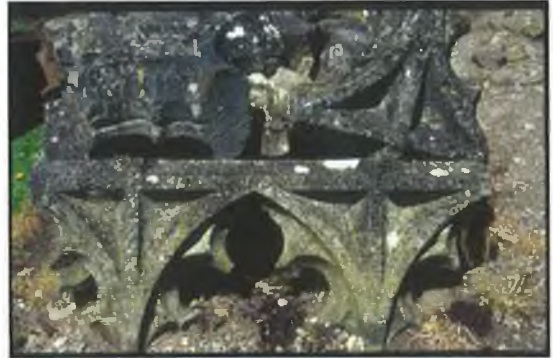


FIG. 7.27 Fragments of triple-light window.



FIG. 7.26 Stone carved with floral decoration. Stored in ruined chancel.



FIG. 7.28 Piece of door frame stored in chancel.



FIG. 7.29 Fragment of medieval masonry incorporated into architrave of tower door.

In 1885 it was recorded that ‘some years ago... the remains of another tomb and of a carved doorway [from Newtown Trim], for greater security were also inserted in the porch at the east end of Trim Church’.²¹⁰ Butler also brought some decorated floor-tiles from Bective and others from Newtown Trim to St Patrick’s

²¹⁰*The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 620 (15 Oct. 1885), p. 277.

Church where he placed them in the wall of the vestry.²¹¹ In 1906 the tiles were still present, but they are not visible today.²¹² The ‘vestry’ of which Butler writes seems to be the ground floor of the tower, now used as an entrance porch. The present vestry was a later addition. In Butler’s time, the entrance to the church was through a door in the west wall of the nave. When the door was being blocked up, Butler took the opportunity to insert the piscina into the new wall.

A flat, perforated, rectangular stone, measuring 35cm in height and 40cm in maximum width, has been incorporated into the wall of a shed beside the Old Rectory across the road from St Patrick’s Church (see FIG. 7.30). The left hand portion of the stone is missing and it appears that, when complete, the stone would have measured at least 50cm across. At what would have been the centre of the stone, the three tear-shaped holes form a triskele similar to those on the ‘Thomas A’ Beckett stone’, above (see FIG. 7.11). This piece may have functioned as a window or for ventilation. Its provenance is not known, but it may have been brought here from the church across the road.



FIG. 7.30 This perforated stone has been incorporated into the wall of a shed beside the Old Rectory across the road from St Patrick’s Church. It may have been brought here from the church.

²¹¹Butler, Trim (1854), p. 168; Butler, ‘A memoir of the Richard Butler, p. 117.

²¹²‘Excursion, 1906’, p. 449.

The archaeological evidence

The renewal of water- and sewage-pipes in Trim in 1996 involved the digging of trenches along most of the major streets in the town. During this work, which was monitored by archaeologists,²¹³ a mortared limestone wall was located beneath St Loman Street (at the gate of Souhans Engineering). The wall, which was 40cm wide, ran in a north-south direction. This was interpreted as a possible boundary wall for St Patrick's Church and graveyard.²¹⁴ A ditch or pit was exposed immediately outside the church and two shallow pits were uncovered opposite the entrance to Church Lane.

Context and date

The medieval ecclesiastical remains at St Patrick's Church in Trim can be seen in the context of a series of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century churches in the Meath area. The window in the chancel has been compared to others at Moymet, Rathmore and Fore. It is also similar to the easternmost window in the south wall of the chancel of Killeen Church (a window that is in exactly the same position in the chancel as the example at Trim).²¹⁵ At Trim, there are fragments of masonry and parts of a lintel protruding from the south wall to the east of the window. In the corresponding position at Killeen, there is a corner tower—perhaps there was once such a tower at Trim also. The Plunkett churches at Rathmore, Killeen and Dunsany were all erected in the early- to mid-fifteenth century.²¹⁶

The tower at Trim is paralleled most closely with an example at the church on the Hill of Skryne,²¹⁷ also in County Meath. Similarities can also be seen with the belfry tower at Seatown, Dundalk,²¹⁸ where the stair-turret, on the north-west angle of the tower, rises above the battlemented parapet. As at Trim, the windows of the tower at Seatown are small and simple, except for those on the belfry stage, which closely parallel those at St Patrick's.

²¹³Rosanne Meenan, 'Trim' in Isabel Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1996: summary accounts of Archaeological excavations in Ireland* (Bray, 1997), p. 89.

²¹⁴Meenan, 'Trim', p. 89.

²¹⁵Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 13.

²¹⁶Leask, *Churches, III*, pp 14-16.

²¹⁷Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 26.

²¹⁸Leask, *Churches, III*, pp 21-2.

Since no archaeological excavations have taken place at St Patrick's Church, it is very difficult to propose a date for the earliest ecclesiastical structure on the site. Trim has Patrician associations from at least the seventh century, however, and it is possible that a church dedicated to Patrick was in existence from that time.²¹⁹

Of the present fabric, it is possible that none pre-dates the fifteenth century. If, however, one accepts the mid-fifteenth-century date proposed by Leask²²⁰ for the chancel window, and also that this window was inserted into the wall to replace an earlier pointed opening,²²¹ then it is not unlikely that the chancel was erected prior to the fifteenth century. Hickey has also suggested a possible fourteenth-century date for the tower,²²² using heraldic evidence from the armorial shield on its west face. This evidence suggests that the upstanding medieval remains at St Patrick's Church in Trim may well have been erected in the fourteenth century.

²¹⁹*Bk Arm., Pat. doc.*, f. 16^f b, lines 7-16; Bieler, *The Patrician texts*, p. 167; *Trip. life*, ed. Stokes, i, 66-9; *Trip. life*, ed. Mulchrone, pp 43-5.

²²⁰Leask, *Churches, III*, p. 186.

²²¹Casey & Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland*, p. 515.

²²²Hickey, 'Arms on the cathedral of Trim', p. 152.

❖ **CHAPTER 8**

**RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND THE
HOSPITAL**

I - The Augustinian priory

The documentary evidence

The church of St Mary's at Trim was a pre-Anglo-Norman foundation, but when exactly it was established, and when it came under the Augustinian rule, is not known.¹ Sometime between 1191 and 1198 Pope Celestine III wrote to Elias, abbot of St Mary's, stating that the community there was being taken under the protection of the Apostolic See and confirming to them their rule, possessions, rights, privileges and immunities.² A confirmation was made of tithes that they had held for forty years, indicating that the church had been established no later than the 1150s.

The pope also ordered that 'the rule of St Augustine and the Arroasian institution (*Aroensum fratrum*) shall be perpetually observed', but it is unlikely that these were new developments.³ In the late 1130s St Malachy had visited the abbey of Arrouaise in Artois, whose regular canons had adopted special observances based partly upon those of the Cistercians and approved by St Bernard.⁴ According to Gaultier (a twelfth-century abbot of Arrouaise) in the *Cartulary of Arrouaise*, Malachy, who worked as papal legate in Ireland from 1140 until his death in 1148, introduced this rule in nearly all of the cathedral chapters and in many other places in Ireland.⁵ Hadcock argued that the first Irish monasteries to adopt the observance of Arrouaise were those that were already Augustinian before 1140,⁶ and he stated that 'on account of its position and religious importance, Trim was, with little doubt, one of the many Irish places which adopted the Arroasian observance at the

¹Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 195.

²Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, i, 86-8, no. 30.

³*Cal. papal letters, 1362-1404*, pp 210-11; Theiner, *Vetera mon.*, pp 354-5.

⁴Hadcock, 'The origin of the Augustinian order in Meath', pp 124-5.

⁵P. J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in medieval Ireland' in *I.H.S.*, iv, no. 16 (Sept. 1945), pp 297-315, at pp 299-300, referring to J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus patrum Latinorum* (221 vols, Paris, 1844-64), ccxvii, cols 67-68; the original MS (no. 1077), 'Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Arrouaise... rédigé sous l'administration de l'abbé Gaultier de Cambrai (1180-93) avec additions: actes de 1097 à 1287' is in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Amiens, France.

⁶Hadcock, 'The origin of the Augustinian order in Meath', p. 125.

instance of St Malachy soon after 1140'.⁷ This was a turbulent time for Meath and the annals record that Trim was burnt on at least two occasions, in 1143 and 1155.⁸ The church (*teampal*) that was burnt in 1155 may have been St Mary's.

Interpreting the reference to the burning of the churches of Trim in 1127,⁹ a number of commentators have concluded that the church of St Mary was destroyed in that year and have erroneously ascribed its rebuilding and colonisation with canons regular of St Augustine to (Hugh de Lacy in) the 13th century.¹⁰ Although the dating here is clearly wrong (the Hugh de Lacy associated with Trim died in 1186), de Lacy did found a number of monasteries in Ireland in the decade before his death, including the Augustinian priory at Clonard (Co. Meath) and the Benedictine house at Fore (Co. Westmeath).¹¹ It appears that he also rebuilt the Arroasian abbeys of Kells (Co. Meath) and Trim at this time.¹² Gwynn and Hadcock suggested that de Lacy's aim was to bring in canons of his own nationality, but this is little more than speculation.¹³

Almost nothing is known about the Augustinians of Trim in the early part of the thirteenth century, although there is an indication that the poet, scholar, Augustinian canon and abbot of Cirencester, Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), visited Trim during those years.¹⁴ A line in one of his poems refers to both Trim and Drogheda—*Ecce Boing qui Traum celer influit, istius undas subdere se salsis*

⁷Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 156, 195; Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in medieval Ireland', pp 297-315; T. J. Walsh and Denis O'Sullivan, 'Saint Malachy, the Gill Abbey of Cork, and the Rule of Arroaise' in *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, liv, no. 180 (July-Dec. 1949), pp 41-60.

⁸*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1143, 1155.

⁹*A.U.*, s.a. 1128; *Ann. Inisf.*, 1128.7; *A.L.C.*, s.a. 1128; *Ann. Clon.*, s.a. 1108 [sic]; *Misc. Ir. Annals*, pp 18-19 (Mac Carthaigh's Book).

¹⁰Casey & Rowan, *North Leinster*, p. 515; Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 294.

¹¹Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 5.

¹²Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 5, 195-6; Harris/Ware, p. 264.

¹³Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196; Neville Hadcock, 'The origin of the Augustinian order in Meath' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, iii, no. 2 (1964), pp 124-31, at p. 129.

¹⁴*D.N.B.*; Mario Esposito, 'On some unpublished poems attributed to Alexander Neckam' in *E.H.R.*, xxx (1915), pp 450-71.

Dropheda cernit aquis.¹⁵ The only documentary references to the Augustinian priory for the first half of the century are in the form of incidental mentions of abbots.¹⁶ For example, in 1236 Pope Gregory IX wrote to the bishop of Meath, the abbot of St Mary's, Trim, and the prior of St John's, Newtown Trim, instructing them to command the prior and monastery of St Catherine near Leixlip to be obedient to the abbot and community of St Thomas, Dublin.¹⁷

In 1254 Brothers John and Thomas, canons of St Mary's, Trim, travelled to see the king at his camp in Bergerac, Gascony, to ask for a licence to elect an abbot to replace Patrick, who had recently died.¹⁸ On 7 July of that year the king granted the prior and convent such a licence, commanding them to elect an abbot who would be fit to rule the church and who would be useful to the king and to Ireland. At the same time, in order to save the newly elected abbot travelling all the way to France to obtain royal assent, in the way that Brothers John and Thomas had done, the king instructed the justiciar of Ireland to give the abbot possession of the temporalities, once he was elected and confirmed. This is all part of a clear pattern that emerges in the second half of the thirteenth century whereby an abbot dies, royal permission to replace him is sought by the community and granted by the king, and the government is ordered to confirm the subsequent appointment. It seems likely that the canon presenting himself for elevation to a vacant abbacy was the one then charged with securing a royal licence for the election.

A new licence to elect an abbot was granted to St Mary's in 1261, and on 27 April the king commanded the justiciar and escheator of Ireland to restore the priory and its temporalities to the new abbot.¹⁹ After the death of Abbot Thomas, the king granted a further election licence in 1270, and on Christmas Eve that year he empowered the escheator of Ireland to give royal assent to the election, to inform

¹⁵Thomas Wright (ed.), *Alexandri Neckam: De naturis rerum, libri duo* (London, 1863), p. 417; the lines are reproduced in Camden, *Britannia*, p. 754.

¹⁶Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 57-60, no. 220, pp 66-7, no. 229; *Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, pp 49-50; *Reg. Alen*, p. 99, no. 205.

¹⁷Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 66-7, no. 229.

¹⁸*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, pp 57-8, no. 366.

the metropolitan, to receive fealty from the newly elected abbot and to restore the temporalities to him.²⁰ In 1276 Brother Milo, one of the canons of Trim, went to the king to ask for permission for the priors and convent to elect an abbot to replace Gilbert, who had recently passed away.²¹ The king granted the licence accordingly, commanding the electors to choose a devout abbot who was fit to rule their church and who would be faithful and useful to the king and his kingdom. The king commanded the justiciar of Ireland to give royal assent to the election and, on confirmation of the election by the diocese, to take fealty from the abbot and to restore the temporalities to him.²² The king again licensed the priors and convent to elect an abbot on the death of Abbot Milo in March 1278, and made all of the usual commands.²³



FIG. 8.1 Seal of 'M', abbot of Trim and Durrow. Actual size. Source: Butler, *Trim* (1854), plate following p. 198.

The National Museum of Ireland has a monastic seal inscribed on one side with the words 'M., Abbot of St Mary's, Durrow', and on the other with 'M., Abbot of St Mary's, Trim' (see FIG. 8.1 and CATALOGUE).²⁴ On the basis of the form of lettering as well as the style and workmanship of the object, this bronze seal has been dated to the latter part of the thirteenth century. It seems that at the date of manufacture the person identified as 'M' was abbot of both Durrow and Trim. The

¹⁹*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 113, no. 706.
²⁰*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 152, no. 892.
²¹*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 225, no. 1233.
²²*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 225, no. 1234.
²³*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 301, nos 1533-4.
²⁴*Dub. Penny Jn.*, i (15 June 1833), p. 408.

only known abbot of St Mary's Trim whose initial was 'M' is Milo (d. 1278) and his term as abbot would tie in roughly with the suggested date of the seal.²⁵

For the purposes of the ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland in 1302-6, the temporalities of St Mary's were valued at 12 marks.²⁶ In addition, the priory had temporalities worth 5 marks in Mullingar.²⁷ Little in the way of written record survives for St Mary's for the majority of the fourteenth century—all that remain are some erratic mentions of abbots (a certain John was abbot in 1307),²⁸ and annalistic references to the burning of the church on 17 October 1368.²⁹ Abbot Thomas died in 1348 and the temporalities were seized into the king's hand from 20 October until the following December when they were restored to Peter Morgan who was then confirmed as abbot.³⁰ Philip must have been elected abbot soon after that as in April 1350 he was replaced by Thomas.³¹ This may have been canon Thomas Whittington who was certainly abbot by 1359 and to whom the temporalities were restored on 10 November 1362.³² At the request of William, bishop of Meath, and certain canons, Richard II ordered the deposition of Whittington as abbot in 1381 and John de Leghton was elected in his place.³³ On 10 December de Leghton had a writ to the escheator for the delivery of the temporalities.

In July 1375, the privilege signed by Pope Celestine III in the 1190s was beginning to decay and was inspected at Villeneuve, near Avignon.³⁴ At that time Pope

²⁵*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, p. 301, nos 1533-4.

²⁶*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1302-7, p. 257, no. 713, p. 265, no. 714.

²⁷*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1302-7, p. 259, no. 713.

²⁸T.C.D., MS 654, fol. 130^r.

²⁹Camden, *Britannia*, p. 831; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 397; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 154-5; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 168; Coleman, *Dominican foundations*, p. 32, says that it was the Dominican church that was consumed by fire in this year.

³⁰T.C.D., MS 579/1, fol. 99; T.C.D., MS 654, fol. 130^r.

³¹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 201.

³²T.C.D., MS 579/1, fol. 99; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 201.

³³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 118, nos 82-3.

³⁴*Cal. papal letters, 1362-1404*, pp 210-11; Theiner, *Vetera mon.*, pp 354-5.

Gregory XI granted protection to the abbot and convent, with confirmation of their possessions, which were enumerated.

The early years of the fifteenth century are also marked by various references to death, burial and elections at St Mary's. In 1400, for instance, Alexander Petit [also known as Alexander de Balscot, after the place of his birth in Oxfordshire], bishop of Meath, and recently justiciar of Ireland, died at Ardraccan and was buried at St Mary's, Trim, on 10 November.³⁵ In 1414 John Warung, abbot of St Mary's, died, and in November the canons there were granted a licence to elect a replacement.³⁶ In 1418 Edmund Mortimer obtained a licence to grant to the abbot of St Mary's the advowson of St Mary's Church in Kildalkey (8km to the west of Trim), in pure and perpetual alms.³⁷

In October 1420 the abbot of St Mary's was a certain William Surlag, who had been elected after the death of Abbot Thomas.³⁸ In the autumn of 1421 a petition was presented to Pope Martin V on behalf of Surlag. It stated that Surlag, a canon, had been elected unanimously after the death of Abbot Thomas, and that the appointment had been confirmed by Edward Dauntsey, bishop of Meath, who also gave Surlag his abbatial blessing. For a year Surlag had ruled and governed the monastery and administered its property 'in a praiseworthy manner'. Some controversy had arisen, however, over the legitimacy of his election and its confirmation. The Pope stated that he was not in a position to make a judgement on the matter and the prior of Newtown Trim was asked to enquire into the validity of the appointment and whether the confirmation was canonical.³⁹

³⁵T.C.D., MS 579/1, fol. 99; Butler, *Trim* (1861), p. 183; John Lynch, *De praesulibus Hiberniae: potissimis catholicae religionis in Hibernia serendae, propagandae, et conservandae auctoribus* (Dublin, 1944), pp 162, 376; *Gormanston reg.*, pp x, 26-7; *N.H.I.*, ix, 475; Ware/Harris, pp 147-8, 411.

³⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p 210, no. 196.

³⁷*Annats, Ulster*, p. 87.

³⁸*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 192-3.

³⁹*Annats, Ulster*, p. 90.

In November 1421 William was still abbot, and the prior of Newtown Trim was asked to confirm the donation in frankalmoin to St Mary's, formerly made by Edmund Mortimer, of the patronage of the parish church of Kildalkey.⁴⁰ In December 1422 the prior was again asked to confirm the donation, and by this time Scurlag, still abbot, had also taken up the position of rector of Kildalkey.⁴¹ On 12 October of the same year Scurlag had been paid £46 by Alexander de Ferentinis, of the fellowship of the Albertini, who was at that time dwelling in London.⁴²

The election of Scurlag appears to have been validated, for he was still abbot in 1428.⁴³ Sometime before 1435, Scurlag resigned as abbot and reverted to his old position as canon.⁴⁴ The election to replace him was not without controversy either. In March 1435 one of the other canons, Edmond Porter, was elected abbot and sought to have the election confirmed by the bishop of Meath, who appealed to the archbishop of Armagh.⁴⁵ Confirmation of the election was refused and an enquiry was held into Porter's election.⁴⁶ The enquiry pronounced the election null and void because of 'Porter's gross ignorance and other just causes', and John Acton, another canon, was appointed abbot in his stead. On 27 March Henry VI granted royal approbation to the appointment of Acton as abbot and ordered that the temporalities of the priory be restored to him.⁴⁷ Porter continued to dispute Acton's appointment and almost two years later, in April 1437, he wrote to the Pope stating that when Scurlag resigned as abbot, the convent unanimously elected him (Porter) to the vacant position.⁴⁸ The Pope ordered the abbot of St Mary's in Navan (Co. Meath) to summon to his presence Acton and all those concerned and to resolve the matter accordingly. It is unclear exactly what the resolution was, but it seems that Acton was confirmed as abbot, and by 1440 Porter had been arrested

⁴⁰*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 194.

⁴¹*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, p. 292; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 230, no. 114.

⁴²*Cal. close rolls, 1422-29*, p. 477.

⁴³*Annats, Ulster*, p. 60; *Reg. Swayne*, p. 77, no. 66.

⁴⁴*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 654-5.

⁴⁵Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 203-5.

⁴⁶*Reg. Swayne*, pp 153-4, no. 523.

⁴⁷*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 259, no. 3.

⁴⁸*Reg. Swayne*, pp 168-70, no. 276; *Annats, Ulster*, p. 96; *Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 654-5.

and was imprisoned in the bishop's gaol.⁴⁹ The king issued a writ ordering the bishop to bring Porter before him and to explain for what reason he had been arrested. When the bishop refused to comply, he was fined 40s.

In 1447 the abbot of St Mary's died of the plague.⁵⁰ Felim O'Reilly, heir to the lordship of Breiffny, also died of the plague in 1447 and was buried at St Mary's.⁵¹ It is recorded that O'Reilly was wickedly taken prisoner by Furnival after he had been invited to Trim, and that he died after seven weeks in prison there.

In 1452 Abbot Nicholas Turvey resigned and was replaced by James Bertram, who obtained royal assent.⁵² Bertram's abbacy was brief, however, as in 1454 Robert Acton, a canon, was elected abbot and appears to have held that position until at least 1460.⁵³ The community would usually have been required to have a licence to elect a new abbot, and after the election, to have it ratified by the king. Parliament ordained that no such licence was now needed.

Christopher White was abbot of St Mary's from at least 1461 until 1480.⁵⁴ He probably replaced Robert Acton in 1460-1. In 1461 White was indicted for feloniously taking with an armed force, four cows (each valued at 40d) from Sir Robert Barnewall at Trimblestown.⁵⁵ White was acquitted by the jury, however, and in the same year he was permitted one year's leave of absence, during which time he was entitled to receive tithes and other income belonging to St Mary's.⁵⁶

⁴⁹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 262b, no. 23(b).

⁵⁰O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 219.

⁵¹*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1447; O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 219; Gilbert, *Viceroy's*, pp 349-50; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, p. 107.

⁵²T.C.D., MS 579/1, fol. 99; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207.

⁵³Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, pp 682-5.

⁵⁴*Stat. Ire.*, 12-22 *Edw. IV*, pp 42-7, 762-3; *Stat. Ire.*, 1-12 *Edw. IV*, pp 536-7, 558-9, 834-5; S. G. Ellis, 'The common bench plea roll of 19 Edward IV (1479-80)' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 31 (1984), pp 19-60, 40, 45.

⁵⁵Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207.

⁵⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 268b, no. 33.

White was back in office by 1466 in which year he was among those imprisoned in the castle of Carbury after the English of Meath and Leinster had been defeated in Offaly.⁵⁷ The English of Dublin later succeeded in releasing the prisoners. In 1472-3 White travelled to England with a message for the king.⁵⁸ Parliament enacted that no one should take any pledge or coigne or livery on any possession, spiritual or temporal, from the house of St Mary during the abbot's absence.

On 13 October 1471 the king requested that a special mass be sung daily in St Mary's Abbey for the soul of his most noble father and the souls of his noble progenitors.⁵⁹ For this, the king granted to the abbot and convent an annual rent of £10 to be levied and received of all the lands and tenements in Kildalkey for 8 years. The duke of York had previously granted to the monastery over fifty acres of land in Trim in a field called the Porchfield, and a weir on the Boyne called 'Fraunces Warre', which was very close to the said field, in return for an augmentation and continuation of divine service in the said house. In 1485 Henry VII confirmed, for perpetuity, the grant made by his predecessors to St Mary's, of the mill and the Porchfield, for a rent of £16 6s 8d per annum,⁶⁰ while in 1495 parliament confirmed grants made to the priory by the duke of York.⁶¹

Various farms, houses, tenements and gardens held by St Mary's had been granted out at very low rents 'by coercion of the great temporal lords having at that time the rule and governance of this land', and in July 1478 parliament restored these lands and properties to Abbot Christopher and St Mary's.⁶²

In October 1473 Maurus Oschota, a canon of St Mary's, was given permission to migrate from that monastery to Aughrim, in the diocese of Clonfert, as there was

⁵⁷*A.F.M., s.a.* 1466.

⁵⁸*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 112-3.

⁵⁹*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 114-5.

⁶⁰Quinn, 'English financial records', p. 23.

⁶¹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 209.

⁶²*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 630-1.

already a sufficient number of canons in Trim, but quite few in Aughrim.⁶³ Among the canons of St Mary's in c.1484 were Patrick Offele and Roger Queytrode.⁶⁴ The death of the latter in 1516 is recorded in the registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, where his obit reads *Ob. Rogerus Queytrot canonicus domus sancta virginis de Trym M.d.xvi.*⁶⁵ Similarly, the death of Sir Thomas Nugent, another canon of St Mary's Abbey, is recorded in the priory breviary under 3 September 1521.⁶⁶

In 1483 the abbot of St Mary's was brother Alexander Roche,⁶⁷ and he was still abbot in 1485.⁶⁸ The death of a certain 'Abbot Elysander Roche' is recorded in the registers of Christ Church under 4 January 1437, but it may be that this should read '1487'.⁶⁹ Abbot Alexander of Trim was certainly gone from St Mary's by 1488 because in that year Abbot John received a pardon for his part in the Lambert Simnel rebellion.⁷⁰ John died later that year,⁷¹ and by 1493 a certain William had been elected abbot.⁷²

The fifteenth century witnessed the increasing use of St Mary's for non-religious functions. On 6 November 1427 in a chamber there, the lord lieutenant had an order for 40 marks, for expenses enabling him to oppose Gerald O'Kevenagh, who 'had assembled a multitude of kernes for the destruction of the king's lieges'.⁷³ St Mary's was also capable of hosting parliament, and did so on at least three occasions between 1484 and 1491.⁷⁴

⁶³*Cal. papal letters, 1471-84*, p. 370.

⁶⁴*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 534, 540, no. 458; Anthony Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest from the episcopal archives of Armagh, 1265-1508' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 31 (1989), pp 9-102, at p. 58.

⁶⁵Refaussé with Lennon, *Registers of Christ Church*, p. 63.

⁶⁶T.C.D., MS 84, f. 5. For a description of the breviary, see CATALOGUE, below.

⁶⁷*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 534, no. 458; Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest', p. 58.

⁶⁸*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 552, no. 462.

⁶⁹Crosthwaite, *Book of obits*, p. 5; Refaussé with Lennon, *Registers of Christ Church*, p. 40.

⁷⁰Gairdner, *Letters and papers*, ii, 370; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 209; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196.

⁷¹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 209.

⁷²*Stat. Ire., Ric. III-Hen. VIII*, p. 119.

⁷³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 245b, nos 3, 4, 31.

Little is known of the history of St Mary's for the first part of the sixteenth century. Geoffrey Dardis was abbot from some time in the 1520s and in September 1527 he was issued with a licence to acquire lands to the value of £20 per year, for the use of the priory.⁷⁵ In 1534 it was ordered that 'ThAbbot of Trym' should send a company of three 'able archers, or gonners', to 'ostynges and journeyes'.⁷⁶ Dardis was still abbot of Trim when the dissolution of monasteries began in Ireland in the second half of the 1530s.

Within the region known as the Pale, religious foundations were especially numerous in the area centred at Trim and so, when the agents of the suppression sought a place to begin their work, it was to this area they turned.⁷⁷ The Cistercian abbey at Bective was dissolved in 1536 and the Augustinian priory of St Peter's at Newtown Trim was closed by 1537.⁷⁸ On 15 May 1539 Dardis surrendered St Mary's to Henry VIII's commissioners and it was dissolved.⁷⁹ This is recorded twice in the patent rolls, the sole difference between the entries being that the second qualifies that the surrender was made 'with the consent of the convent'.⁸⁰

On 20 July Dardis was granted an annual pension of £15 for life.⁸¹ He also seems to have held onto the breviary of St Mary's after the suppression and his obit is recorded in it under 24 February (year unknown).⁸² The death of Canon Patrick Smart in 1577 is also recorded in the calendar section of the manuscript, suggesting that the breviary was in the care of somebody connected to St Mary's until at least the last quarter of the sixteenth century.⁸³

⁷⁴Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196.

⁷⁵*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 8, no. 19 (406).

⁷⁶*State papers... Henry the Eighth: part iii, correspondence, 1515-38*, ii, 212-13.

⁷⁷Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 113.

⁷⁸Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 128 [Bective], 190 [Newtown].

⁷⁹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, 57; *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 305.

⁸⁰*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, 136.

⁸¹*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 13, no. 75 (79); *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, 59, 64.

⁸²T.C.D., MS 84, f. 1^v.

⁸³T.C.D., MS 84, f. 5^r.

Along with Dardis, eight canons were granted pensions in July 1539 (William Harte, John Ashe and Robert Lawrence were to receive 20s 8d each; Dominic Longe was granted 26s; while Walter Caddell, Patrick Smart, Patrick Finglass and David Yong were each allocated 20s). These pensions were to be paid out of the ‘revenues and profits of Kildalke, Wodtowne, Le Grange, Cerokee, Laderath, Rocheston, Fresan and Ryngerston’—lands all formerly belonging to the priory at Trim.

When the extent of the possessions of the priory was made on 12 October 1540 the jurors (who were all ‘true and lawful men of the county [of Meath]’, many from Trim itself, at least two being former canons of St Mary’s) found that ‘the church of the monastery has from time immemorial been used as a parish church’.⁸⁴ It is hard to know exactly what the significance of this claim is. The main parish church of Trim was St Patrick’s and there is nothing to suggest that it did not continue to function as such in the first half of the sixteenth century (see CHAPTER SEVEN). Nor is there any other evidence for the division of Trim into two parishes, although that remains a possibility. Significantly, in the case of at least thirty-five other religious houses (fifteen of which were Augustinian), those who compiled the extents in 1540-1 recorded that the church of the house functioned as a parish church.⁸⁵ Many of these churches, such as at Kells (Co. Meath), Clonmel and Fethard (both Co. Tipperary), were in towns where a separate parish church had long existed. It may be that the description of the monastic church serving as a parish church was simply a way of saying that the parishioners sometimes congregated there.

In October 1540 all of the buildings at St Mary’s were still standing as they had been at the time of the dissolution.⁸⁶ The buildings were still lived in (among the inhabitants was Thomas Agarde, an ‘English Cromwellian’) but were reserved for

⁸⁴*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 302-3.

⁸⁵*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 49, 73, 81, 126, 143, 144, 150, 151, 157, 178, 181, 185, 188, 203, 207, 213, 228, 250, 260, 264, 276, 311, 323, 325, 327, 329, 330, 331, 333, 336, 347, 348, 358, 367, 374.

the use of the king's deputy (Sir Anthony St Leger) 'when he comes into those parts'. In addition to the four orchards and three gardens associated with the buildings, St Mary's had held forty acres on the north side of the Boyne and sixty acres on the south, including a close called the asshepark in the Porchfield, with an eel-weir worth 8s 4d. There were two watermills on the Boyne, both of which were in disrepair. Not long before the extents were made, the mills had been worth £6, but their value had subsequently decreased to 60s. At the time of the dissolution St Mary's owned sixty tenements in Trim, and a garden near the 'Mawdeleyns'.⁸⁷ Other property of the monastery included over 800 acres, excluding unmeasured common pasture and other plots, messuages, tenements and cottages, a castle or *fortalice*, two watermills and three appropriated rectories, with a total value of £125 14s 1½d. Some of these properties had been granted to St Mary's by Richard duke of York and by Edward IV in the mid fifteenth century.⁸⁸ In addition, many messuages and other properties were not valued in 1540, being in ruin or burnt by the king's enemies.

The sale of chattels raised £206 15s 2d, while four bells remained unsold. This sum is higher than that raised by the sale of chattels at any other Augustinian house in Ireland.⁸⁹ Only two other houses yielded more than £50: Kells (Co. Kilkenny), with £191 20d, and Connall (Co. Kildare) with £56 16s 2d.⁹⁰

In June 1542 a lease was granted to Thomas Agard (assistant to vice-treasurer William Brabazon), consisting of Bective, the rectory of St Mary's, Trim, and certain other possessions of that monastery, to hold for twenty-one years.⁹¹ The property was then valued at £111.⁹² In August 1549 Agard was issued with a pardon 'of alienation and intrusion [...] of two watermills and a tucking mill on the

⁸⁶*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 303.

⁸⁷*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 303.

⁸⁸*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp xli, 42-7, 114-5; Hardiman, 'The statute of Kilkenny', p. 51, note.

⁸⁹*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*; Charles McNeill, 'Accounts of sums realised by sales of chattels of some suppressed Irish monasteries' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lii (1922), pp 11-37.

⁹⁰*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 163 [Connall], 193 [Kells].

⁹¹*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 37, no. 318 (236).

⁹²Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 237.

Boyne near Trym, formerly belonging to the monastery of the B.V.M., of Trym, and the whole river Boyne from the mill of Newehagard, to the bridge of Trim'.⁹³

On 14 November 1542 St Mary's, with all appurtenances (including, it would seem, some appropriated churches), was granted to Sir Anthony St Leger, in consideration of 100 marks.⁹⁴ This property, including the porchfields, was to be held forever, for the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee and a yearly rent of 3s 4d. St Leger had collected rent on behalf of the king for land within the precincts of the priory in 1540.⁹⁵ St Leger was one of only a few men issued with a licence to purchase ecclesiastical properties at the time of the dissolution,⁹⁶ and he was able to make a large profit through this licence.⁹⁷ In 1543 St Leger wrote to Henry III asking him to make official his grant of two watermills formerly belonging to St Mary's.⁹⁸ A grant was issued to St Leger in January 1544 for the mills (complete with watercourse and weirs), which were valued at £3 per annum.⁹⁹ St Leger was to pay £60 and would also have possession of 'the water, watercourse, and soil of the river', from Newhaggard mill to Newtown Trim.

On 29 May 1565 Sir Thomas Cusack granted to Patrick Sarsfield (of Baggotrath), William Sarsfield (of Dublin, a merchant), William Dowdall and Robert Cusack (of Lesmollen, a chaplain), the whole house, site and precincts of St Mary's, together with the church, bell tower, cemetery, cloister, dormitory, and other buildings.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, all of this property seems to have become the possession of Geneta Sarsfield, wife of Thomas Cusack. Part of the text is missing from Griffith's

⁹³*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part ii, 1546/7-53, p. 126, no. 357 (246).

⁹⁴*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 39, no. 340 (434); [J.T. Gilbert], *On the history, position and treatment of the public records of Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1864), p. 135; [J.T. Gilbert], *Record revelations resumed: a letter to the right hon. William Monsell, M.P., Colonel Francis P. Dunne, M.P., and Colonel Fitz-Stephen French, M.P., on statements recently made in parliament, on the public records of Ireland, and on the 'calendars of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland', lately published by authority of the treasury, under the direction of the master of the rolls of Ireland* (London, 1864), p. 137.

⁹⁵*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 304.

⁹⁶Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 189.

⁹⁷*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, passim.

⁹⁸*State papers... Henry the Eighth: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 485-6.

⁹⁹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz., i*, 104, no. 31.

transcription, but it appears that this land included some buildings within the precincts of St Mary's, the Porchfield, four orchards, an enclosure of twenty acres, the chamber called the earl's chamber and a house beside the abbot's castle.

In July 1567 Queen Elizabeth directed Henry Sidney and the lord chancellor to grant letters patent to Luke Dillon, attorney general, and his male heirs, of the late priory of St Mary, Trim, for 41 years.¹⁰¹ In 1572 the barons of the Exchequer at Dublin Castle recited how St Leger had been seised of St Mary's Abbey, Trim, with the church, bell tower, cemetery and precincts and two fields called Porchfields, containing eighty acres nearby, a garden outside the Porchgate and various other properties and lands in Trim.¹⁰²

In 1617 James I granted to Sir Thomas Ashe, of Trim, the rectories, churches and chapels of St Mary's, Trim. Later, in 1658, the Down Survey recorded that 'there stood an ancient abbey in the Navan and north part of [Trim] with a church, both very strongly vaulted which had a steeple eighty feet high, the only watch tower in the barony. The abbey and church are demolished—only the vaults and some old walls [are] repaired and inhabited. The steeple stood undefaced until 1649 in which year there happened a siege'.¹⁰³ Archbishop Dopping, in his visitation book of 1682-5, recorded that the church and chancel of St Mary's, were down.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, p. 205, no Eliz66/46.

¹⁰¹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, 511, no. 27.

¹⁰²Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

¹⁰³Charles McNeill, 'Copies of Down Survey Maps in private keeping' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 8 (Mar., 1938), pp 419-27, at p. 424; *The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 624 (15 Dec. 1885), p. 340.

¹⁰⁴Ellison, 'Bishop Dopping's visitation book', p. 12.

The miraculous statue

The wealth of the Augustinian priory at Trim was due in large measure to the presence there of a 'miraculous statue', which seems to have begun to attract pilgrims in the fourteenth century. In 1397 'Hugh McMahon recovered his sight by fasting in honour of the Holy Cross of Raphoe and the image of [the Blessed Virgin] Mary at Ath-Truim'.¹⁰⁵

According to letters patent dated at Ardbraccan on 6 September 1400, Henry IV granted protection to all people, whether Irish rebels or liege subjects of whatsoever condition, going to St Mary's on pilgrimage in honour of the Virgin.¹⁰⁶ The abbot and convent had written to the king showing that they and their predecessors had long enjoyed this privilege and that pilgrims had, until recently, been free to come there, stay, and leave without impediment. In recent times, however, certain pilgrims coming to honour the Blessed Virgin had been arrested and imprisoned, to the detriment of the abbot and convent. The abbot was particularly worried because the oblations made by such pilgrims were the primary source of income for the priory. By the grant of 1400, the king confirmed 'an ancient privilege of immunity of such pilgrims from all suits of the king, of the lords of Meath, or of any other person whatsoever'. The grant was confirmed in 1402 and again on 10 March 1415.¹⁰⁷ Although the 1397 reference is the earliest known mention of the image of Mary at Trim, the fact that the pilgrims' right to immunity was described as 'an ancient privilege' in 1400 suggests that Trim was a destination for pilgrims for quite some time before that.

Annalists recorded that in 1412 the image of Mary at Trim wrought great miracles,¹⁰⁸ and in January 1423 the pope granted a 'relaxation, during ten years, of enjoined penance to penitents who visit and give alms for the repair of the church of the Augustinian monastery of St Mary, Trym, in which by the merits of the same

¹⁰⁵ *A.F.M.*, s.a. 1397.

¹⁰⁶ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 207b, no. 139.

¹⁰⁷ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 207b, no. 139, p. 165, no. 218.

¹⁰⁸ *A.F.M.*, s.a. 1412; *A.U.*, s.a. 1412.

Virgin the Lord works many miracles'.¹⁰⁹ In 1444 it is said that 'Greate miracles worked through St Maryes image in Ath-truim, to wit, gave his eyes to the blind, his tongue to the dumbe, his legges to the creeple or lame, and the reaching of his hand to one, that had it tyed to his side, and catts brought forth by a bigg-bellied woman that was thought to be with child'.¹¹⁰

O'Donovan wrote that the miracles attributed to the image at Trim were 'not more wonderful than the miracles wrought by other images of the Blessed Virgin at the same period in other countries. On the 23rd of July 1418 a Swiss soldier struck with his dagger a stone image of the Blessed Virgin, placed at the corner of the Rue aux Ours and of the Rue de Salle-au-Compte, in Paris; and the blow made blood spout forth in abundance from the stone statue'.¹¹¹

In addition to enjoying papal support, the image at Trim continued to receive royal protection throughout the fifteenth century. In 1450 Henry VI issued an order 'that all Irishe and Englishe commynge in pylgrimage to our ladie abbey in the towne of trim shall have free libertie comminge and goinge without impediments to be geven to themselfe or ther goods soe the same pilgrimes doe in the meane tyme well and loyally demeane themselfe against the kinge and his subjectes'.¹¹² On 6 September 1461 Edward IV granted to abbot Christopher and the convent of St Mary's, certain watermills, weirs, fisheries, and timber in Trim in return for 'the ordaining, institution, and renewal and perpetual continuance of a wax candle continually from day to day and from night to night burning before the image of our Blessed Lady in solace of our Lady, in the church of the said house and for the sustentation, institution, ordaining and renewal of four other wax candles continually burning before the image aforesaid at the Mass of St Mary, the anthem of Our Lady, in honour of God and our said Blessed Lady, for the good estate of

¹⁰⁹*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 254-5.

¹¹⁰O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 205; *A.F.M.*, s.a. 1444.

¹¹¹*A.F.M.*, p. 936, note n.

¹¹²*Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, p. 176, ca. 22.

our said sovereign Lord, Cecily his mother, and of her children, and for the souls of their progenitors and ancestors.¹¹³

In 1472 an act was passed confirming to St Mary's, the grant of the watermills, timber and underwood for building the mills and bringing water to the mills, and the customs and services of the villeins of the manor of Trim in return for erecting and maintaining a perpetual wax light before the image of the Virgin, and for supporting four other wax lights before the said image on the mass of St Mary.¹¹⁴ The 1472 act also confirmed both a grant of £10 to fund a perpetual mass in the said house for the repose of the souls of Edward IV's father and progenitors, and the grant by Richard duke of York of 51½ acres with half a stang and thirteen perches of land in Trim, a field called Porchfield, and a weir called 'Fraunces Warre'.

In 1472/3 parliament also extended the protection that had earlier been granted to pilgrims coming to Trim.¹¹⁵ It was enacted that anybody despoiling or robbing any pilgrim coming to the Blessed Lady should be attainted as a felon.

Trim remained a place of pilgrimage in the sixteenth century on account of the miraculous image of Mary. On 7 September 1529 Karl O'Reilly was absolved by the Primate of Ireland 'from all censures, excommunications, etc., incurred by him on account of his invasion into Julianstown'.¹¹⁶ O'Reilly took an oath to make restitution to the injured tenants in accordance with the terms of a *Scriptum Obligatorium* made out by Gerald Fleming of the parish of Drumconrath, and to obey the mandates of the church. For penance he was ordered a) to pay two cows towards the support of the Cathedral of Armagh; b) to make the pilgrimage either to the purgatory of St Patrick or to the statue of Our Lady of Trim; c) to give five *denarii* to the poor; d) to recite the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary fifteen times

¹¹³*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp xli, 42-7; Hardiman, 'The statute of Kilkenny', p. 51, note.

¹¹⁴*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp xli, 42-7.

¹¹⁵*Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 112-3.

¹¹⁶T.C.D., MS 557/12, pp 422-3; *Reg. Cromer*, ix, no. 1 (1937), p. 38.

during the octave; and e) to protect the church and its tenants. Bernard McKyn was commissioned to absolve all those who had aided and abetted O'Reilly.

An integral part of the mid sixteenth-century Reformation was the confiscation of church property and the destruction of religious images and statues. Letters patent issued on 3 February 1539 ordered the king's commissioners 'to investigate, inquire and search where within the said land of Ireland, there are any notable images or relics to which the simple people of the said lord the king were wont to assemble superstitiously and as vagrants to walk and roam in pilgrimage, or else to lick, kiss or honour, contrary to God's honour; and the same to break up and remove and so to carry off entirely with all the things pertaining, annexed and adjoined thereto, that no such mockeries should from thenceforward be visited in the said land [of Ireland]'.¹¹⁷ The board of commissioners comprised John Alen (chancellor), William Brabazon (vice-treasurer), Robert Cowley (master of the rolls), George Brown (archbishop of Dublin) and Thomas Cusack esq. (who was to profit greatly from the dissolution, becoming a significant landholder in Meath).¹¹⁸ A letter of 7 April 1539 addressed to these men from the Royal Commission in England complained of 'the pernicious worship of idols [...] in monasteries, abbies, priories and other places [in Ireland]'.¹¹⁹

On 20 June 1538 Brown had written to Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's vicar-general, about the image of Trim saying 'there goithe a commen brewte amonges the Yrish men that I entende to ploke downe Our Lady of Tryme, with other places of pilgramages, as the Holy Crosse, and souch like; which in deade I never attempted, although my conscience wolde right well serve me to oppresse souche ydolles'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷McNeill, 'Sales of chattels', pp 11-12.

¹¹⁸*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, pp 88-90; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, vol. 1 (1521-58), pt. 1 (1521-46/7), p. 35, no. 309 (430); Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-6, no. Eliz66/46; *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 255-60.

¹¹⁹*Cal. pat. close rolls Ire., Hen. VIII*, pp 54-5.

¹²⁰*State papers... Henry the Eighth: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 35.

On 20 October 1538 one Thomas Alen wrote to Cromwell complaining that when the king's council were holding judicial sessions in Trim three members of the council (Brown, Brabazon and Cowley) 'wold not come in the chapell, where the Idoll of Trym stode', and that 'my Lord Deputie [Lord Gray] [was] veray devoutely kneleng befor Hir, [and] heard thre or fower masses'.¹²¹ Alen's letter highlights the differing attitudes that existed towards the image at Trim, even among the king's supporters, but also shows that the image was still *in situ* in October 1538.

It would appear that the image of Mary at Trim was taken down and burned late in 1538.¹²² Ware stated that it was in that year that 'among other famous images, whereunto pilgrimages were designed, the statue of the B.V. Mary was burnt, then kept at Trim in the abbey of the canons regular of St Austin, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away from thence'.

The destruction of the miraculous statue at Trim was just one part of the campaign against ecclesiastical images and shrines in the late 1530s.¹²³ Other major targets were the shrine of the *Baculus Jesu* in Christ Church, Dublin, and the Holy Cross of Ballyboggan, another renowned place of pilgrimage in Co. Meath.¹²⁴ In fact, it seems that those charged with eradicating shrines and images operated with particular determination in Dublin and Meath.¹²⁵

The commissioners would almost certainly have found gold and silver buttons, crosses and beads, as well as other jewels, wax, iron, bells, etc. They may have taken the contents of the oblations boxes, candles and any other portable objects of

¹²¹*State papers...Henry the Eighth: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 103.

¹²²*A.F.M., s.a. 1537; A.L.C., s.a. 1538; T.C.D., MS 579/1, fol. 99; Ware, Annals of the reign of King Henry VIII*, p. 96; Crosthwaite, *Book of obits*, p. xviii; John Healy, *History of the Diocese of Meath* (2 vols, Dublin, 1908), i, 98; Philip Callary, 'The Yellow Steeple of Trim' in *I.E.R.*, iii (Jan.-June 1898), pp 438-48, at pp 446-7; Gilbert, *An aphorismical discovery*, i, 32.

¹²³*A.F.M., s.a. 1537; A.L.C., s.a. 1538; Caitriona MacLeod, 'Some late mediaeval wood sculptures in Ireland' in R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxvii (1947), pp 53-62.

¹²⁴*State papers...Henry the Eighth: part iii (continued), correspondence, 1538-46*, ii, 35; Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, pp 101, 104.

¹²⁵Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, pp 104-5.

value. Precious metals could have been melted down and perhaps re-minted into coins. It seems that £40 was raised from the destruction of the statue of Mary at Trim, while, of the other two major images to be removed, that of the *Baculus Jesu* yielded £35 15s 6d, while the Holy Cross of Ballyboggan raised a mere £1 6s.¹²⁶ These figures—even the £40 from Trim—seem remarkably low when compared to, say, the £52 8s produced by the simple parish churches of Duleek and Dundalk between them.¹²⁷

A number of sources state that the Trim statue was not fully destroyed in 1538 and that it survived for a further century.¹²⁸ According to this ‘rival tradition’, the statue was rescued by a member of the Hamon family who took care of it until 1641 when a son of Sir Charles Coote, lodging in the Hamon house, found the statue and broke it up to make a fire for his father.¹²⁹ This story smacks heavily of later embellishment and it is far more likely that the Trim statue was destroyed during the Reformation.

¹²⁶Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 105.

¹²⁷Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders*, p. 105.

¹²⁸Callary, ‘The Yellow Steeple of Trim’, pp 446-7; Gilbert, *An aphorismical discovery*, i, 32.

¹²⁹Gilbert, *An aphorismical discovery*, i, 32.



FIG. 8.2 *The Yellow Steeple, at Trim*, by Gabriel Beranger (c.1730-1817). Source: Peter Harbison (ed.), *Gabriel Beranger: drawings of the principal antique buildings of Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 195.

The archaeological and architectural evidence

The surviving remains of the priory consist primarily of the east wall and part of the south wall of a seven-storey square belfry tower, known locally as the ‘Yellow Steeple’, situated on the east side of the town on a ridge overlooking the river Boyne and Trim Castle to the south. There is nothing yellow in the appearance of the tower and the derivation of its name is unclear. Butler was of the opinion that it had been called the Holy Tower, becoming ‘hallow’, ‘yallow’, and in turn ‘yellow’, but this explanation is impossible to substantiate.¹³⁰

At 38.5m, the ‘Yellow Steeple’ is arguably the tallest medieval building in Ireland. It has four moulded stringcourses externally and, on the east face of the tower, two clasping corner buttresses rise to the top and protrude as turrets above

¹³⁰Butler, ‘A memoir of Richard Butler’, p. 33.

the level of the wall. The buttresses, which have a slight base-batter, step back slightly at each stringcourse. When the tower was complete there would almost certainly have been a buttress and turret at each of the four corners.

The predominant (c.97%) stone-type used in the construction of the tower is a 'light to dark grey micritic limestone with abundant lamination and fossiliferous layers'.¹³¹ The tower is composed primarily of coursed rubble masonry (occasionally ashlar) with a slight base-batter. While limestone was used for rubble and ashlar masonry as well as for some dressed quoins, sills, steps, and other architectural features, sandstone was employed in the construction of the pointed-arch window, doorway and ledge on the southern elevation, and a small number of sandstone blocks are present, scattered (randomly) through the walls. The sandstone elements show decorative punch-work and the limestone has a chiselled finish. The

sandstone is 'cream, rarely green, [and] fine-grained [with] a similar texture and mineralogical composition to those [*sic*] studied in other monuments in Co. Meath' (e.g. Skreen church).¹³² Pavia and Bolton concluded that the source for the building stone of the Yellow Steeple, both limestone and sandstone, was local (Meath) carboniferous formations (although the sandstone may derive from local ordovician formations).

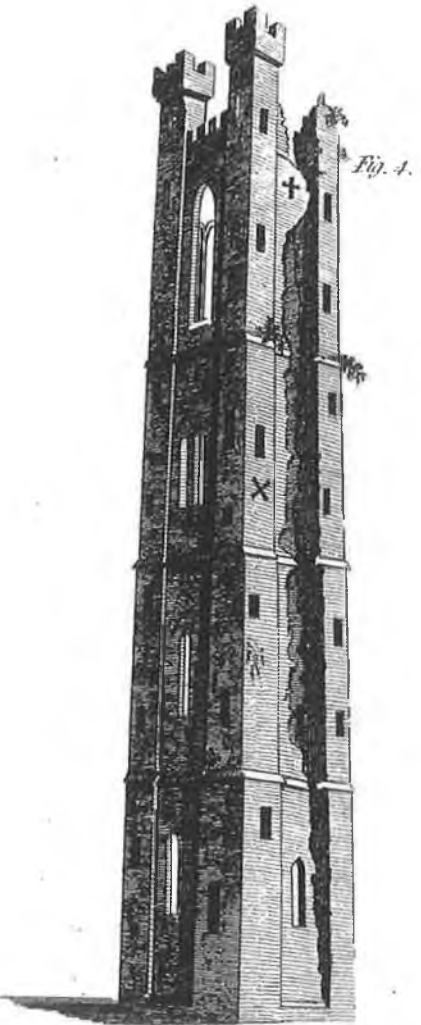


FIG. 8.3 The Yellow Steeple.
Source: *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, liv (Feb. 1784), fig. 4.

¹³¹Sara Pavia and Jason Bolton, *Stone monuments decay study 2000* (The Heritage Council, Kilkenny, 2001), pp 137-9.

¹³²Pavia & Bolton, *Stone monuments decay study 2000*, pp 128-31, 139.

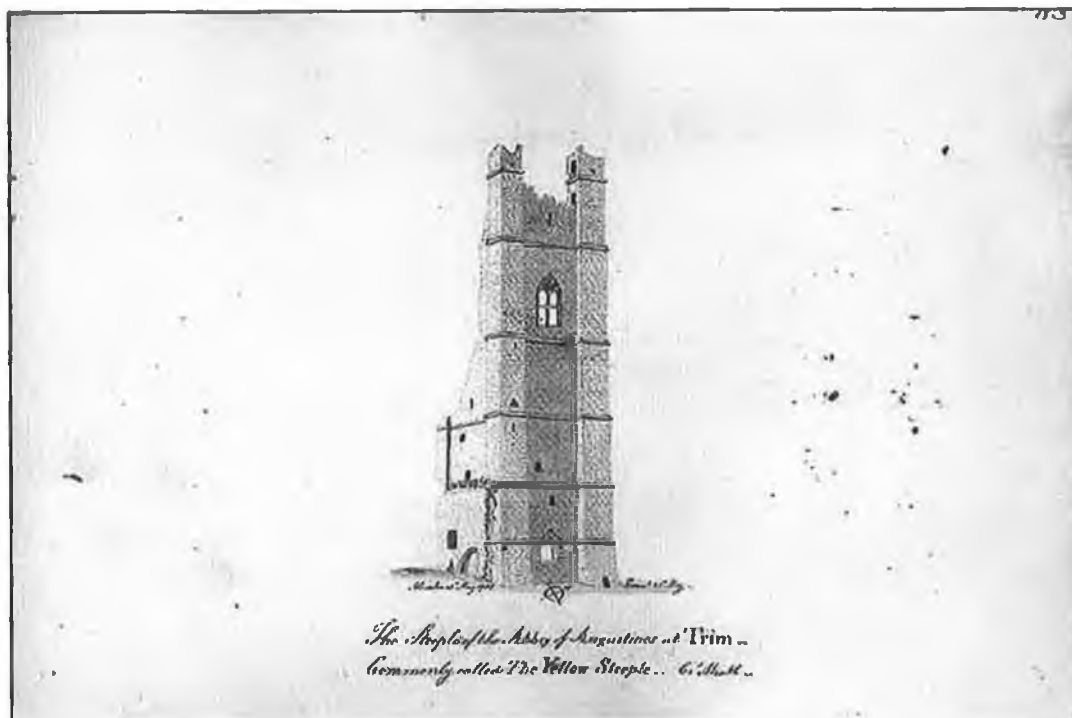


FIG. 8.4 *The Steeple of the Abbey of Augustines at Trim*, by Austin Cooper (1759-1830). Source: Peter Harbison, *Cooper's Ireland: drawings and notes from an eighteenth-century gentleman* (Dublin, 2000), p. 179.

The drawing (c.1780?) of the Yellow Steeple by Gabriel Beranger (c.1730-1817), based on an original by Colonel Charles Vallancey (1721-1812), shows the south and east walls of the tower with three intact corner turrets (see FIG. 8.2). A somewhat stylised drawing of the tower, viewed from the northeast, appeared in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* in February 1784 and it too showed the south and east walls extant, as well as the three turrets—only the north and west walls were missing¹³³ (they may have been demolished during the alleged siege of 1649).¹³⁴ These eighteenth-century drawings suggest that the collapse of the western side of the south wall and the southwest turret did not occur until after 1784. That is also the impression given by a certain 'A.M.T.' in the description that accompanied his 'inelegant yet tolerably just representation' of the Yellow Steeple in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (see FIG. 8.3). 'Above one fourth of it is now ruined,

¹³³ *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, liv (Feb. 1784), fig. 4.

¹³⁴ McNeill, 'Down Survey Maps', p. 424; *The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 624 (15 Dec. 1885), p. 340.

having been blown up by Cromwell', he wrote, 'this tower is now undermined just at one of the angles, and probably will soon fall.'¹³⁵

On the other hand, Austin Cooper's May 1785 drawing of the Yellow Steeple shows the tower lacking the west side of the south wall from the third floor up (see FIG. 8.4).¹³⁶ The southwest turret is also missing and the tower appears much as it stands today. All illustrations of the Yellow Steeple from the end of the eighteenth century onwards show that all that remained of the tower at that time was the east wall and the lower sections of the south wall. While it is possible that the south façade collapsed in 1784-5, there is no documentary record to that effect, and none of the other evidence is conclusive. Butler described the illustration in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* as a 'rude engraving'¹³⁷ and, in his diary, Cooper complained about both the illustration and the description accompanying it.¹³⁸ One gets the impression that Cooper did not believe 'A.M.T.' to have provided a 'tolerably just representation'.

¹³⁵*The Gentlemen's Magazine*, liv (Feb. 1784); Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 216.

¹³⁶Peter Harbison, *Cooper's Ireland: drawings and notes from an eighteenth-century gentleman* (Dublin, 2000), p. 179.

¹³⁷Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 215.

¹³⁸Harbison, *Cooper's Ireland*, p. 178.

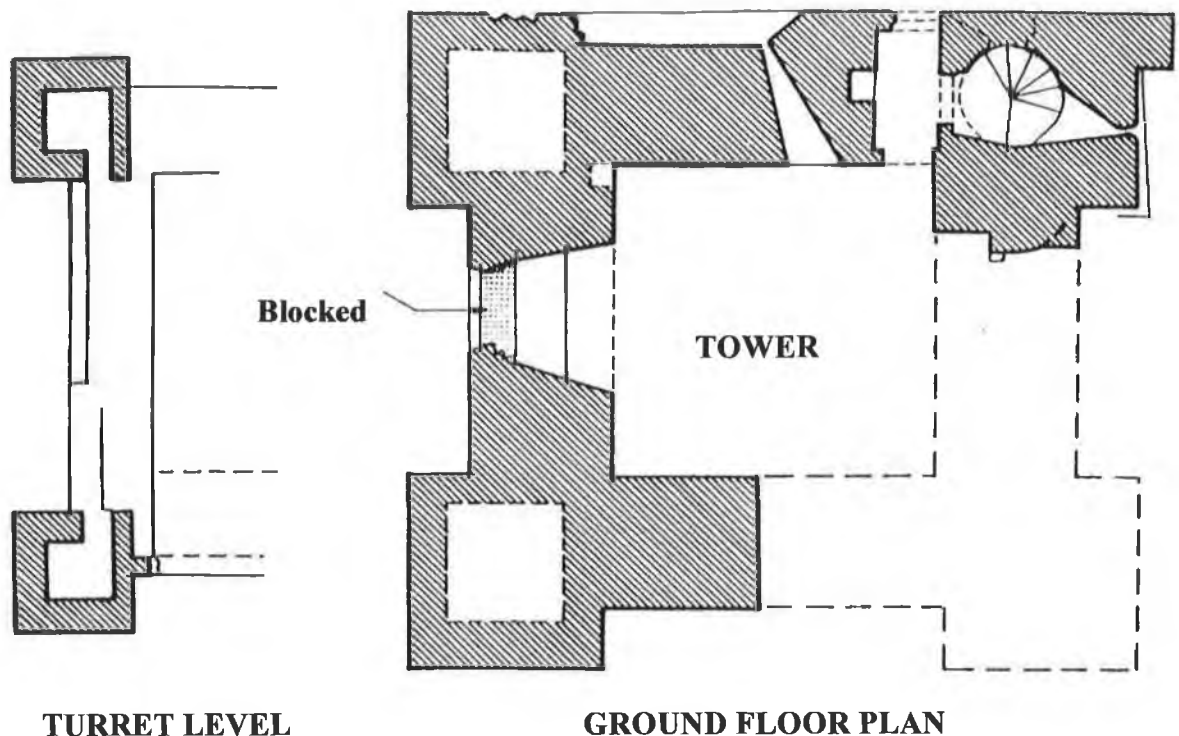


FIG. 8.5 The 'Yellow Steeple': plans. Source: Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, fig. 52.

The ground floor

The ground floor of the tower is entered on the south side through a linteled door that has been reassembled with fragments of tooled sandstone window mouldings. Immediately above the door is a pointed window (also recently assembled and inserted?). This floor had a barrel vault and there is a blocked rectangular window in the east wall. There is now no access to the upper floors but originally they were reached by a spiral stair in the southwest angle turret. Each step of the spiral stair is brought to a sharp point so that there is no newel but in its place a gentle spiral line. The Rev. Daniel Beaufort, visiting Trim in 1787, noted that 'the winding stairs in the Yellow Steeple are bevelled off underneath, which is very neat and rare'.¹³⁹

First and second floors

The first floor has a single ogee-headed light with a hood-moulding, in the east wall. The second floor has a cusped round-headed window in the east wall with window-seats internally; in the south wall is a linteled window.

¹³⁹Casey & Rowan, *North Leinster*, p. 516.

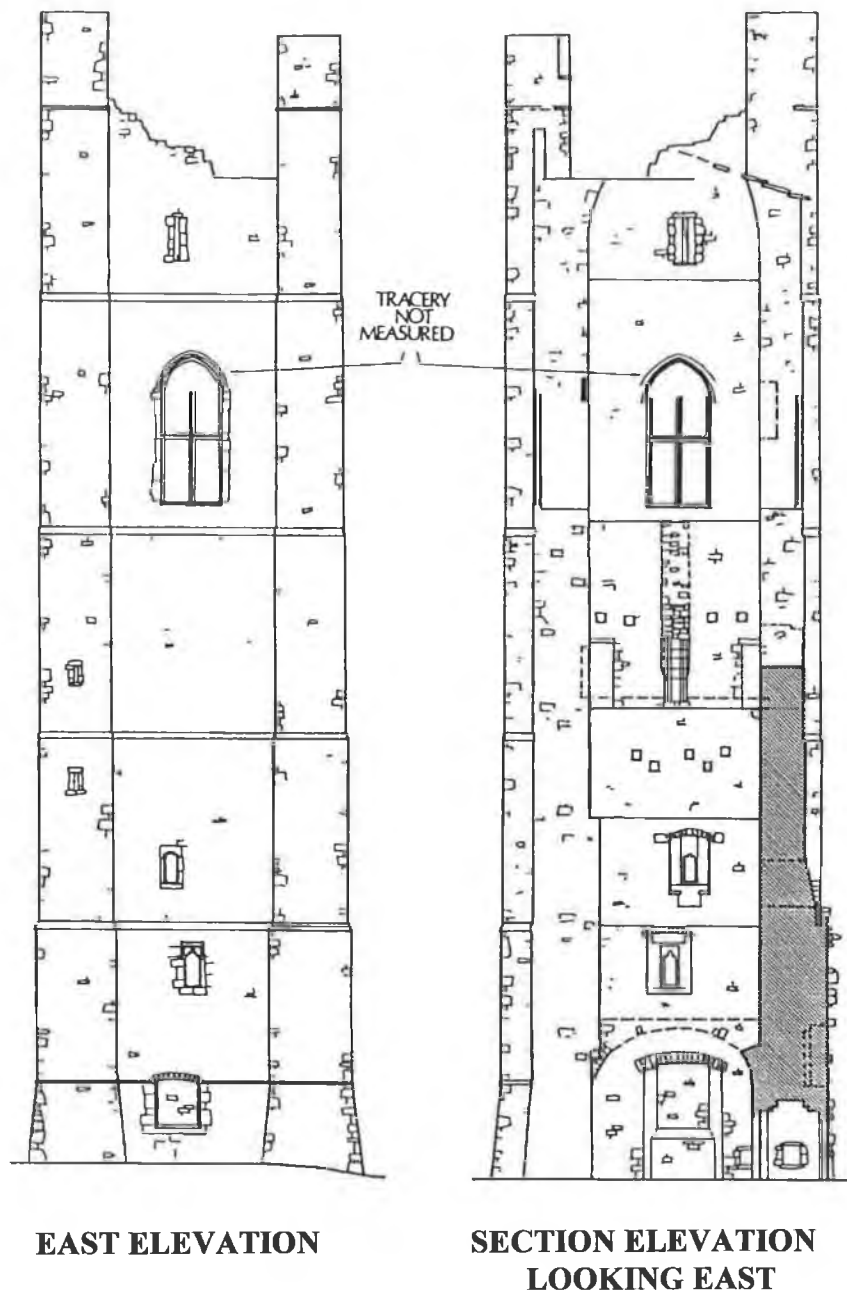


FIG. 8.6 The 'Yellow Steeple': elevations. Source: Bradley, Urban archaeol. surv., Meath, fig. 53.

Third and fourth floors

The third floor was lit by a narrow rectangular slit in the south wall. Two linteled doors are present in the east wall at fourth-floor level together with the fluted springers for a central arch bearing the floor above; there is a single ogee-headed light with external hood in the south wall.

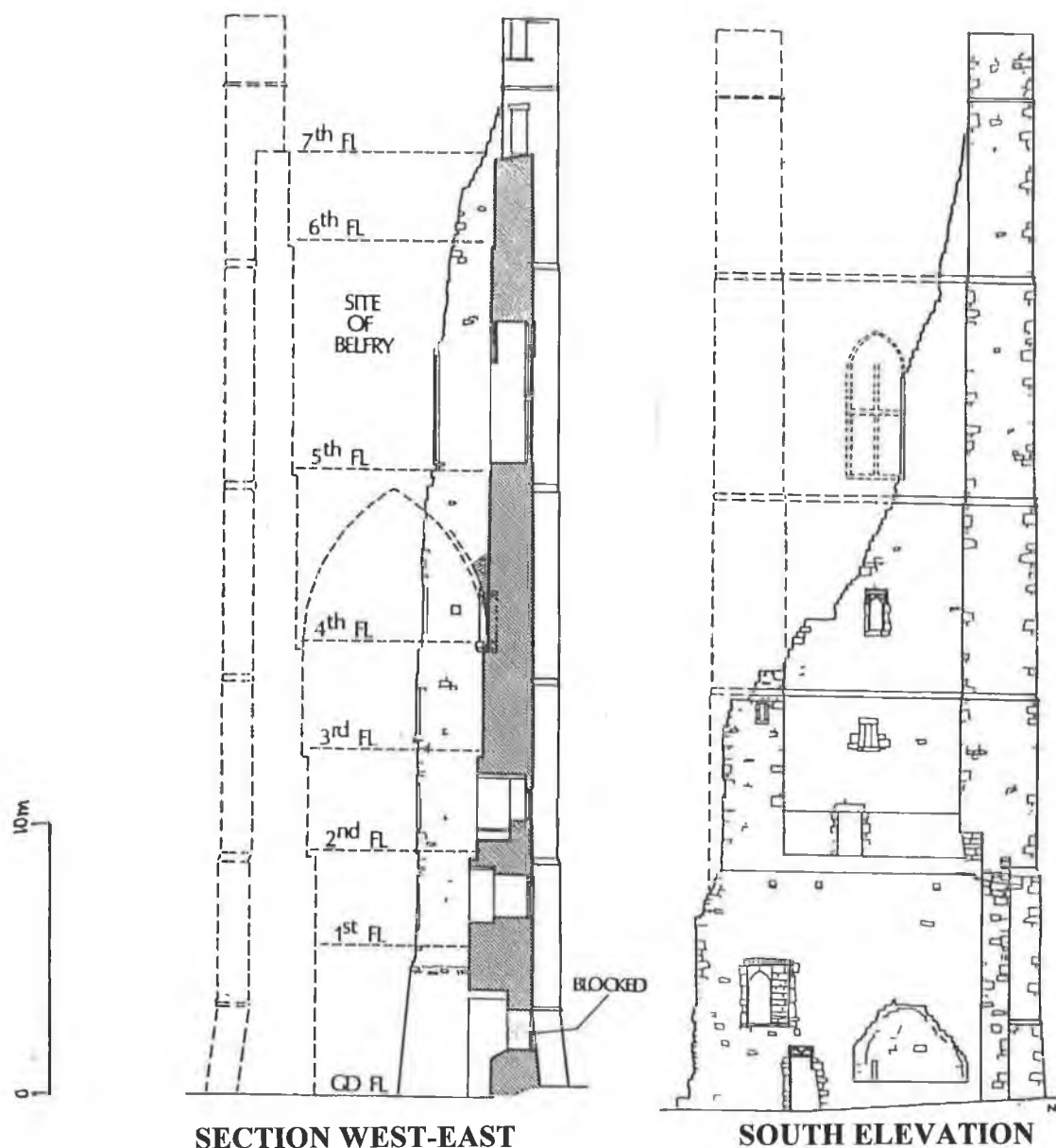


FIG. 8.7 The 'Yellow Steeple': section and elevation. Source: Bradley, Urban archaeol. surv., Meath, fig. 53.

Fifth, sixth and seventh floors

The fifth floor (the belfry stage) had a tall pointed window divided into two transomed lights in each wall. The sole surviving window has simple, curvilinear, uncusped tracery, with a flowerlet formed at the centre of the pattern. This floor would almost certainly have housed the four bells that remained unsold after the

dissolution.¹⁴⁰ The sixth floor has a narrow linteled slit in the east wall. The seventh floor was the parapet level with the turrets rising above.

Dating the tower

The belfry has all the appearance of a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century tower, and it may have been built in about 1423, in which year the pope granted a 'relaxation, during ten years, of enjoined penance to penitents who visit and give alms for the repair of the church of the Augustinian monastery of St Mary, Trym, in which by the merits of the same Virgin the Lord works many miracles'.¹⁴¹

Such a date could well be too late for the Yellow Steeple, however, and it may date to a phase of rebuilding that possibly took place in the wake of the burning of the church in 1368—perhaps during the abbacy of Thomas Whittington.¹⁴² Leask certainly believed that the tower was of fourteenth-century date,¹⁴³ and this would tie in well with the generally accepted date of c.1370 for Minot's Tower at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.¹⁴⁴ This tower, at the northwest corner of the cathedral, is the closest parallel to the Yellow Steeple and it was rebuilt under the auspices of Archbishop Minot after an earlier tower was badly damaged by fire in 1362.

Other parts of the monastic complex

The south wall of the belfry provides the key to the position of the church in relation to the tower. This wall, which is in places built of rubble, was clearly never intended to be exposed as exterior architecture. At one point it appears to have accommodated a structure with a high pointed profile (a canopied funerary monument perhaps?), which would probably have been located on the north side of

¹⁴⁰*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 306.

¹⁴¹*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 254-5.

¹⁴²Camden, *Britannia*, p. 831; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 397; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 154-5; *Cal. Carew MSS, v, Howth*, p. 168; Coleman, *Dominican foundations*, p. 32, says that it was the Dominican church that was consumed by fire in this year.

¹⁴³H. G. Leask, *Irish churches and monastic buildings, II: Gothic architecture to AD 1400* (Dundalk, 1966). p. 153.

¹⁴⁴Leask, *Churches, II*, pp 81, 136; E. C. Rae, 'The medieval fabric of the cathedral church of St Patrick in Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cix (1979), pp 29-73, at p. 30; Victor Jackson, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin* (The Irish Heritage Series, no. 9, Dublin, 1982).

the church—or even in a north aisle. It is tempting to suggest from this that the Yellow Steeple stood in a line with the chancel gable of the church, or else, as at Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, half way down the north side. Certainly the church at St Mary's stood south of the belfry.

The scale of the belfry leads one to believe that the church, almost certainly in scale with the tower, was also a massive structure. It may have been aisled and probably contained several chapels. One of these chapels, dedicated to St George the Martyr, is mentioned in the register of the archbishop of Armagh in 1484.¹⁴⁵

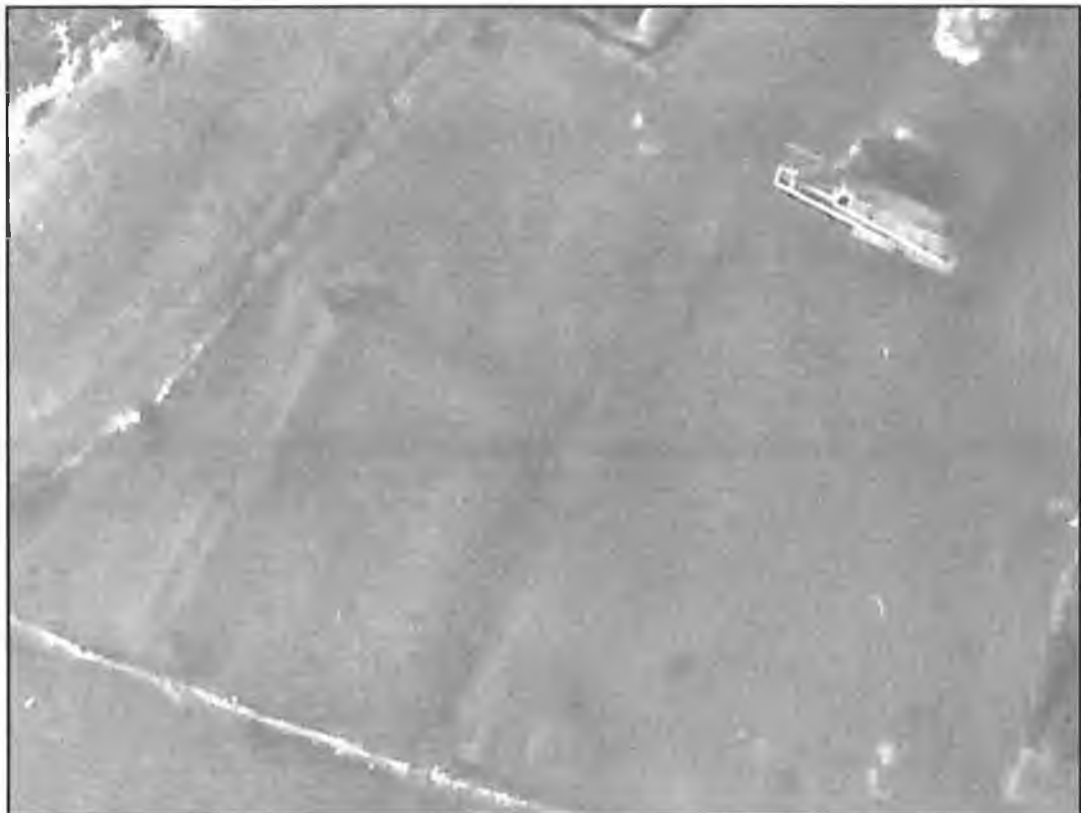


FIG. 8.8 Traces of rectilinear earthworks are visible to the southeast of the Yellow Steeple.

A series of rectilinear earthworks to the southeast of the Yellow Steeple may represent further subterranean remains of the monastic complex (see FIG. 8.8), but in the absence of any archaeological investigations here little more can be said about these features.

¹⁴⁵*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, 535-40, no. 458; Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest', p. 59.



FIG. 8.9 Talbot's Castle is situated to the southwest of the Yellow Steeple.

It is the assumption of many that the Yellow Steeple is the only part of St Mary's to survive above ground level, but it is possible that the vaulted basement of the nearby Talbot's Castle once formed part of the monastic buildings (See FIGS 8.9-11 and section on Talbot's Castle in CHAPTER NINE). Perhaps this is what the 1658 Down Survey was referring to in recording that 'the abbey and church are demolished—only the vaults and some old walls [are] repaired and inhabited'.¹⁴⁶



FIGS 8.10-11 The vaulted basement of Talbot's Castle.

¹⁴⁶McNeill, 'Down Survey Maps', p. 424; *The Irish Builder*, xxvii, no. 624 (15 Dec. 1885), p. 340.

II - The Dominican friary

The documentary evidence

The Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, first reached Ireland in 1224 from England, establishing houses in Drogheda and Dublin.¹⁴⁷ By the end of the thirteenth century, twenty-four communities had been formed in Ireland. Chronologically, Trim was the seventeenth foundation.¹⁴⁸ A fragmentary extract from the medieval register of that friary, which has not yet been published, records that it was founded in 1263.¹⁴⁹

Although Geoffrey de Geneville is generally acknowledged as the founder,¹⁵⁰ some commentators have attributed the foundation to the Hussey family, barons of Galtrim.¹⁵¹ In an effort to explain the Hussey connection, O'Heyne suggested that the rights of Geoffrey de Geneville, as founder, switched to the Hussey family when John Hussey married one of de Geneville's granddaughters (the eldest of the five daughters of Simon de Geneville).¹⁵² Although this may be the case, if such a transferral of founder's rights ever did take place, it seems logical that it would have been to Roger de Mortimer, who married de Geneville's eldest granddaughter, Joan, in 1307.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷T.C.D., MS 579/2, fol. 343; Smith, *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁸T. S. Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans, 1536-1641* (Dublin, 1993), p. 2; Finbar Ryan and Ambrose Coleman, *St Dominic and the Dominicans and the Dominicans in Ireland* (Dublin, n.d.), p. 18.

¹⁴⁹T.C.D., MS 579/2, ff 343, 345; also Rawlinson B. 484, fol. 36; Clarendon MSS B.M. Add. 4789, ff 206-7.

¹⁵⁰Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp 262-5; Ambrose Coleman, *The ancient Dominican foundations in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1902), p. 32; Hugh Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682' in *Riocht na Midhe*, iii, no. 1 (1963), pp 15-23; Philip Callary, 'The black friary of Trim' in *I.E.R.*, vii (Jan.-June, 1900), pp 400-11, at p. 400; Cogan, *diocese of Meath*, i, p. 305; Anon, 'Proceedings at meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute', in *Arch. Jn.*, lxxxviii (1931), pp 325-99, at p. 368.

¹⁵¹John O'Heyne, *Epilogus chronologicus exponens succinte conventus et fundationes sacri ordinis praedicatorum in regno Hyberniae* (Louvain 1760); ed. and trans by Ambrose Coleman as *The Irish Dominicans of the seventeenth century*, together with Ambrose Coleman, *The ancient Dominican foundations in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1902), pp 40-1; Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264.

¹⁵²O'Heyne, *Epilogus*, pp 40-1; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 220.

¹⁵³Wood, 'The muniments', p. 328, deed vii; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1307-13*, p. 33.

As with the later attribution to the Plunkett family of the foundation of the Franciscan friary in Trim, the association between the Husseys and the early days of the Dominican friary may have more to do with developments in the fifteenth and later centuries than any true connection at an early date. On 29 June 1418 Matthew Hussey, baron of Galtrim, died and was buried at the friary in Trim.¹⁵⁴ Matthew Hussey was apparently a great benefactor of the friary.

Interestingly, however, the records of an Exchequer Inquisition in 1541 (a copy of which survives in the archives at St Mary's Dominican Priory, Tallaght) show that the names of the founders of the friary at Trim were at that time unknown.¹⁵⁵ Had the Husseys truly been the founders, one would expect this to have been well-known, especially in light of the fact that 'the last prior was named Hussey'¹⁵⁶—probably the Peter Hussey who also acted as a juror on the day the friary's possessions were surveyed and valued in October 1540.¹⁵⁷

Nonetheless, several other connections exist between the Hussey family and the Dominicans. Williams has suggested that other members of the family may have been Dominican benefactors, in particular John Hussey, or his family, from Athenry in County Galway.¹⁵⁸ Secondly, a letter written by Pope Urban V in April 1364 mentions a certain William Husee, a friar preacher, and it may be that he was an Irish Dominican—in fact Fenning goes so far as to say that 'it is not unlikely that he was a member of the convent of Trim', although it is difficult to identify the grounds on which this assertion is made.¹⁵⁹ Thirdly, a certain Richard Hussey was a prior at Newtown Trim in the fifteenth century,¹⁶⁰ while, fourthly, Thomas Hussey, a prior of the Dominican community of Trim, died in 1786 at Donore, where the

¹⁵⁴Marleburrough, *chronicle of Ireland*, p. 27; Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264; Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 580.

¹⁵⁵St Mary's Dominican Priory, Tallaght: McNerney Note-book Z:3 (1914 copy of 1541 Exchequer Inquisition), pp 37-8, 44.

¹⁵⁶McNerney Note-book, p. 38.

¹⁵⁷*Extens Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

¹⁵⁸Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin', p. 159.

¹⁵⁹*Cal. papal letters, 1362-1404*, p. 7; Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 17.

¹⁶⁰T.C.D., MS 654, fol. 130^r.

Trim community had been re-established in the seventeenth century.¹⁶¹ Thomas Hussey had been a member of the community at Donore from at least 1756, at which time the prior there was also a close relative of the Husseys of Galtrim.¹⁶²

Despite all of the associations between various members of the Hussey family and Dominican communities, all that can be said with relative certainty regarding Trim is that Matthew Hussey was a benefactor of the friary there, where he was buried in 1418. Other associations with the Husseys are primarily post-dissolution. On balance, it is fair to conclude that the true founder was Geoffrey de Geneville, in 1263.

At the end of September 1308, having handed over possession of his lands and estates to the de Mortimers, de Geneville retired to spend the rest of his days at the Dominican friary in Trim.¹⁶³ He died on 12 November 1314 and was buried in the church of which he was almost certainly the founder.¹⁶⁴

The de Genevilles had a history of establishing religious houses and churches. Geoffrey's great-grandfather, Geoffrey de Joinville III, for instance, is said to have been the founder of four houses in the Champagne region of France, including a Cistercian Abbey at Ecuiré and a Premonstratensian House at Jouvillier.¹⁶⁵ In addition, he founded a church, dedicated to St Laurence, in the castle at Joinville, where, in 1263, Jean de Joinville (friend to and biographer of St Louis) was to

¹⁶¹Callery, 'The black friary of Trim', p. 410; Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', pp 19-20; idem, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1713-1833' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, ii, no. 4 (1962), pp 21-32, at pp 27-8, 30; Cogan, *diocese of Meath*, i, p. 309; Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp 264-5.

¹⁶²Cogan, *diocese of Meath*, i, p. 308; check Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp 264-5.

¹⁶³Luard, *Annales Monastici*, iv, p. 560; Camden, *Britannia*, p. 807; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 281, 293, 337-8; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 170; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 54-5; Marleborough, 'The chronicle of Ireland', p. 4, gives the year that 'Lord Jeffery Genvill became a Fryer at Trym, of the order of the preachers' as 1309.

¹⁶⁴T.C.D., MS 583, fol. 15^r; T.C.D., MS 579/2, fol. 376; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 343-4; Camden, *Britannia*, p. 810; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁵Natalis de Wailly (trans.), *Jean, Sire de Joinville: histoire de Saint Louis, credo et lettre á Louis X* (Paris, 1874), pp 544-7; Francisque Michel and A. F. Didot, *Mémoires de Jean, Sire de Joinville ou histoire et chronique du très-chrétien roi Saint Louis* (Paris, 1867), pp lxxv-lxxviii.

found the chapel in which he was buried in 1317.¹⁶⁶ In an interesting parallel, then, the two brothers, Geoffrey and Jean, each founded a church in 1263, and each was buried there on his death, over fifty years later, in 1314 and 1317 respectively.

Coleman noted a reference (unprovenanced) to the death of Geoffrey de Geneville in 1301 [*sic*] which also records the expenditure by him of 12,000 marks: '*Obitus domini Galfridi de Genfyl qui fuit dominus Mediae et potuit expendere duodecim millia marcarum qui suis ultimis diebus factus est frater ordinis Praedicatorum in conventu de Truym Anno Domini 1301*'.¹⁶⁷ It is not clear what this very large sum of money was spent on.

The de Geneville association with the Dominican friary in Trim continued after Geoffrey's death and in 1324 Nicholas, grandson of Geoffrey and son and heir of Simon de Geneville, was buried there.¹⁶⁸ On 2 April 1347 Simon's wife, Joan FitzLeones, was also buried at the friary.¹⁶⁹

In 1291 'a great meeting of the Irish bishops took place in this convent [Trim] on the Sunday after St Matthew's Day [21 September]', at which they formed an association to defend their rights against the encroachments of secular power.¹⁷⁰ A stimulus for the convening of this meeting must have been the efforts earlier in the year by Edward I to levy a tax on the Irish Church.¹⁷¹ Elaborate arrangements had been drawn up for the assessment and collection of this tax, but reaction within the ecclesiastical community in Ireland was, as one might expect, hostile.

¹⁶⁶Michel & Didot, *Mémoires de Jean, Sire de Joinville*, p. lxxv.

¹⁶⁷Ambrose Coleman, '*Regestum monasterii fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry*' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, i (1912), pp 201-21, at p. 214.

¹⁶⁸Camden, *Britannia*, p. 818; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, p. 362; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 147.

¹⁶⁹Camden, *Britannia*, p. 829; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, p. 390; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *Howth*, p. 165. In May 1290 Joan and Simon were given dispensation to marry, despite being distantly related, see *Cal. papal letters, 1198-1304*, p. 513.

¹⁷⁰*Reg. Swayne*, pp 3-4; Ware/Harris, *History of the Bishops of Ireland* (1739), pp 70-1.

¹⁷¹John Watt, *The church in medieval Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1998), p. 178.

Partly in response to this, the objective of the Trim meeting was to strengthen and consolidate the powers of the church, and to defend its rights and privileges against the encroachments of civil power. In order to ensure mutual support and united action, those who attended the meeting bound themselves by oath to a list of enactments. For instance, they swore that if any one of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties or customs, were to be impeded in any way by any lay power or jurisdiction whatsoever, the others would unite to support, maintain and defend that person, church or community. Presided over by Nicholas Mac Mael Isa, Archbishop of Armagh, in the presence of two other archbishops and several bishops, this extraordinary meeting, although ultimately unsuccessful, was highly significant, and the fact that it took place in Trim is indicative of the standing of the friary there at that time.

A Dominican chapter was held in Trim in each of the years 1285, 1300 and 1315.¹⁷² Archdall refers to these meetings as ‘general chapters’ of the order, while Coleman calls them ‘provincial chapters’.¹⁷³ It would seem however, that they were neither, as there was no Irish Dominican Province at that time—from 1275 the Irish houses formed a vicariate under the rule of the English provincial. The chapters held in Trim in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may simply have been chapters of the Irish vicariate.

Little is known of the subsequent history of the friary, with just incidental references to burials and meetings there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On 19 January 1367, for instance, the archbishop of Armagh held his metropolitan visitation in the guesthouse (*in domo hospitium*) of the friary.¹⁷⁴ A great number of the clergy of Meath were in attendance, including Thomas Whittington, abbot of St Mary’s Augustinian friary, Trim, John Whyte, prior of St Mary’s, Mullingar.

¹⁷²T.C.D., MS 579/2, fol. 343.

¹⁷³Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 580; Coleman, *The ancient Dominican foundations in Ireland*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁴*Reg. Sweteman*, pp 238-9, no. 241.

Some commentators have written that the Dominican friary of Trim was destroyed by fire in 1368,¹⁷⁵ but the evidence suggests that it was in fact St Mary's Augustinian friary that was burned in that year.¹⁷⁶

In 1376 Thomas de Bermingham, who had decorated the Dominican friary of Athenry, Co. Galway, and had given land to the community, died and was buried at the Dominican friary, Trim.¹⁷⁷ His body was later exhumed and returned to Athenry by John Wallys and John Michel. It is not known what the connection was between Athenry and Trim, but the Husseys seem to have been benefactors of the Dominican communities in both towns.¹⁷⁸

On 10 May 1397 John Pole was transferred from the Dominican friary of Trim to that of St Botolph at Boston in Lincolnshire.¹⁷⁹

1447 Felim O'Reilly died of the plague and was buried in Trim.¹⁸⁰ Although O'Reilly may have been buried at the Franciscan Friary, he had been imprisoned by the parliament held in the Dominican friary the previous year, and it is possible that he may have been buried there too.¹⁸¹

In 1537 John Alen, master of the rolls, wrote to the King's commissioners in Ireland that 'it shalbe requysit that the castell ther [at Trim] be suffyciently repayred; and the tymbre, and stonys of the monasteris of Seint Peter the Bettye [Priory of Ss Peter and Paul, Newtown Trim?], and, if nede be, of the Blackfryers [Dominican Friary] ther, be drawn thither for the same purpose, and also that 4

¹⁷⁵ Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 580; Coleman, *The ancient Dominican foundations in Ireland*, p. 32; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 230; Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, p. 171; Anon, 'Proceedings at meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute', p. 368.

¹⁷⁶ Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 220; Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 17.

¹⁷⁷ Ambrose Coleman, '*Regestum monasterii de Athenry*', p. 205.

¹⁷⁸ Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin', p. 159; Marleborough, *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 27; Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264; Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 580.

¹⁷⁹ Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 18, referring to *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum historica* (Rome, 1966), xviii, p. 195.

¹⁸⁰ *A.F.M., s.a. 1447; A.U., s.a. 1447*; O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 219; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, p. 107.

¹⁸¹ Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 18.

or 500 greate okes be fellid in Offally [...], and caryed the next somer towards the byldeing of the said castell'.¹⁸² It is not known whether timber and stones were removed from the Dominican friary at this time, but it is quite possible that at least some parts of the complex were dismantled as by 1540 the hall, kitchen, and dormitory were 'convenient for the farmer, but were worth nothing above repairs'.¹⁸³

The friary must have been suppressed in or before April of 1540 because on the twenty-sixth of that month a twenty-one-year lease was issued to David Floyd, a soldier from Dublin, of the site of the friary with appurtenances in Trym, Tullyard and elsewhere, at a rent of 40s.¹⁸⁴

In October a survey or 'extent' was made of the nature and valuation of its material possessions and resources. On that day it was found that the church, cloister, chancel, and other houses and buildings of the friary of Trim had been sold by the king's commissioners to the bishop of Meath for an unknown sum.¹⁸⁵ It was not unusual for the church of a monastery to be sold by the suppression commissioners at the time of the formal dissolution—similar deals were made at Naas, Cashel and Waterford.¹⁸⁶

At Trim, the commissioners noted that the orchard, garden, and cemetery covered four acres, and that there was a 3-acre close of pasture adjacent to the wall of the house. Within the precinct, three houses, each with a garden, were rented out for an annual fee of between 4 and 6s, while the community also held at least sixty-three acres in the common field of Trim. Thirty acres of this land were held by David Floyd, along with six acres at Tullyard, for which he paid a total of 1s per

¹⁸²*State papers, 1515-38*, ii, part III, p. 481.

¹⁸³*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

¹⁸⁴*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, 1 (1521-58), pt. 1 (1521-46/7), p. 19, no. 129 (396).

¹⁸⁵*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

¹⁸⁶Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, pp 27-8.

acre per year.¹⁸⁷ The lessee of the other thirty-three acres (thirty of arable and three of moor) in the common field was one John Fyan, who paid 30s annually and a quarter of beef on the feast of St Dominic. The 30s was almost certainly for the 30 acres of arable, at the standard rate of 1s per acre, and so the quarter of beef seems to have been the rental due for the three acres of moor. This also suggests that by this time the strict law of perpetual abstinence from meat was no longer observed at Trim.

Fyan held the land according to a deed that was indentured on 27 May 1537, and the land was leased to him for thirteen years.¹⁸⁸ This early date suggests an attempt by the Dominicans at Trim, realising that dissolution was on the way, to lease out their lands in order to avoid losing them indefinitely. In a similar manner, the prior of the Dominican house at Cashel had leased out a considerable portion of that friary's lands and tenements in 1535-6.¹⁸⁹

Despite these efforts, if indeed that is what they were, the Dominicans at Trim failed to save everything. Apart from the lands and tenements, the chattels of the house were sold and raised £14 13s 4d. This amount was about average for the houses for which figures are known, although the sale of chattels at Kilkenny made almost £58 while at Dublin the valuation was slightly more than £37.¹⁹⁰ All that remained unsold at Trim was a single bell. Bells were not particularly sought after at this time it seems (perhaps due to their weight and inconvenience), and others remained unsold at the Dominican priories of Athy, Carlingford, Cashel, Dublin, Kilkenny, Mullingar and Naas.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷A townland at Tullyard (3km north of Trim) retains the name *Friarspark*. Interestingly, just 800m north of the site of the priory, another townland is called *Blackfriary*, suggesting that the Dominicans held land here too.

¹⁸⁸*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

¹⁸⁹Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, p. 29.

¹⁹⁰Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, p. 34.

¹⁹¹*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 54, 166, 173, 201, 246, 292, 335.

The records of the 1541 Exchequer Inquisition show that the friary was known as the 'Blake Freyro of Trym'.¹⁹² The convent and church are described as ruinous, but a list is given of the buildings that were still present on the site.¹⁹³ Among these were a belfry, a chapter house, a dormitory, a hall, three chambers, a kitchen, a pantry and a stable. The messuages, gardens, orchard and cemetery recorded in 1540 were mentioned again in 1541.¹⁹⁴

With seventy-two acres, the Dominican estates at Trim were the third largest in the country; only the friaries in the cities of Kilkenny (c.181 acres) and Dublin (90 acres) had more land.¹⁹⁵ The four acres enclosed by the conventual precinct at Trim was a larger area than was enclosed at any other Dominican foundation in Ireland, for which records survive.¹⁹⁶ Dublin, with three acres, was the next largest, while the precincts at Arklow, Cashel, Kilkenny and Kilmallock each contained two acres. In addition to the ecclesiastical buildings contained within the precinct at Trim, there were at least three houses or cottages, each with a garden.¹⁹⁷

An orchard was an important source of fruit, and Trim was among seven priories known to have one—the others being Athy, Cashel, Cork, Drogheda, Mullingar and Kilkenny (where there were two).¹⁹⁸

On 24 May 1542 a grant was made, by letters patent, to Sir Thomas Cusack of the house, site and precinct of the Dominican friary of Trim, to hold forever.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the three messuages and the sixty-three acres in the common field mentioned in the survey of 10 October 1540, Cusack was granted with all messuages within or near the friary, one park in Trim, and 'all messuages and lands

¹⁹²McInerney Note-book, p. 37.

¹⁹³McInerney Note-book, pp 38, 43-4.

¹⁹⁴*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308; McInerney Note-book, pp 38, 43-4.

¹⁹⁵Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, pp 30-1.

¹⁹⁶Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, p. 27.

¹⁹⁷*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

¹⁹⁸D. D. C. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans: the Friars Preachers in the history of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin, 1957), p. 46.

¹⁹⁹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.,* p. 88; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I, 1* (1521-58), pt. 1 (1521-46/7), p. 35, no. 309 (430).

which were parcel of the possessions of the said friary'. Cusack, as receiver for the crown, had also taken possession of the nunnery at Lismullen in July 1539.²⁰⁰ He bought the nunnery buildings and leased its lands in County Meath, later obtaining a licence to purchase the site. In addition, Cusack was able to purchase a parcel of land in Meath belonging to the Dominicans of Dublin, and the Augustinian friary at Skryne, also in County Meath.²⁰¹ At the time of the dissolution, it was not unusual for former Dominican houses to be acquired by merchants or speculators—others purchased in this way were Arklow, Cork, Drogheda and Naas.²⁰²

Despite the change in ownership of the land and properties formerly held by the Dominican friary in Trim, leases and indentures drawn up before Cusack took possession seem to have been honoured, and David Floyd, who had leased 36 acres for 21 years in 1540, was still the occupant in 1548.²⁰³

The former friary and its properties remained in Cusack hands until the end of the sixteenth century. On 28 April 1572 Thomas Cusack's heirs still owned 'the site of the former Dominican friary of Trim, with the church, bell-tower and all other buildings there, 3 messuages, 69 acres and a pasture field and all other lands in Trim'.²⁰⁴ In May 1584 Bishop Robert Draper, parson of Trim, wrote a letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England proposing that Trim be chosen as the site for a new university.²⁰⁵ The description he gives of the town includes a reference to the friary: 'The said Edward [Cusack, of Lesmollen] hath also a friary in the said town, a very fit place for a college, which also may be easily be gotten of him'. No university was ever founded in Trim and in 1598 Edward Cusack sold the premises to a certain Roger Jones, albeit without the Queen's licence.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 255-60.

²⁰¹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, pp 88-90; Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-6, no. Eliz66/46.

²⁰²Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans*, p. 37.

²⁰³Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 230.

²⁰⁴Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-6, no. Eliz66/46.

²⁰⁵Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 290-2.

²⁰⁶Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 215, 222.

The Trim annals

Three copies survive of a seventeenth-century manuscript entitled '*q. Annal Coenob. Dominic. Trim*' and '*Chron. Cuiusdam fratris ord. Praedicatorum*'.²⁰⁷ Each document consists of extracts transcribed from the Dominican annals of Trim, preceded by a chronological list of twenty-four thirteenth-century Irish Dominican foundations (beginning with Dublin and Drogheda in 1224 and ending with Kilmallock in 1291) and a list of Dominican provincial chapters ending with that of 1347.²⁰⁸ The annals themselves cover the period from 432 (the coming of Patrick) to 1274 (the foundation of the Dominican houses at Rathfran and Derry).

Of the thirty-three entries up to 1260, twenty-five are virtually identical to entries in the *Annals of Multyfarnham*, suggesting that a common source was used for the compilation of both sets of annals.²⁰⁹ After 1260 the similarities cease. As the Trim friary was not established until 1263, it is to be expected that information for the pre-1263 section of the annals would have to be sourced elsewhere, and it is also logical that after that date the annals would be compiled independently, annually, at Trim itself. It has been suggested that the source for the earlier section was an older set of annals from the Dominican friary of either Drogheda or Mullingar, but this is difficult to prove.²¹⁰ Unfortunately, the original Trim annals do not survive, and little is known about the copied extracts that do.

²⁰⁷T.C.D., MS 579/2, ff 343-5; Rawlinson B. 484; Clarendon MSS B.M. Add. 4789, ff 206^v-207^v.

²⁰⁸Bernadette Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2000* (Dublin, 2001), pp 142-68, at pp 150-1.

²⁰⁹Smith, '*Annales de Monte Fernandi*'.

²¹⁰Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin', p. 151.

‘Pembridge’s Chronicle’ (1162-1347) and its continuation (1347-70)

One of the most useful chronicles for the student of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Ireland is the ‘*Annales Hibernie ab anno Christi 1162 usque ad annum 1370*’, more often referred to as ‘Pembridge’s Annals’ or ‘Pembridge’s Chronicle’. These Latin annals are extant in two fifteenth-century manuscripts;²¹¹ they were published in 1607 by Camden and were partly (and unsatisfactorily) edited by Gilbert in 1884.²¹² At the end of the entry for 1347 in the T.C.D. manuscript is written ‘*hic finitur cronica Pembrigii*’.²¹³

A series of references in his chronicle betray Pembridge’s keen interest in Meath and in particular in the de Geneville and de Mortimer families.²¹⁴ Flower concluded that ‘it may be worthwhile suggesting that Pembridge was a follower of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, who played so great a part in Irish history between 1308 and 1321’.²¹⁵ A certain Richard Pembridge was indeed a follower of Roger de Mortimer at this time,²¹⁶ but, although the chronology would fit, recent research has shown that he was not the author of the chronicle of that name.

Thanks to Connolly’s work on the medieval Irish Exchequer documents, Williams has been able to identify the compiler of ‘Pembridge’s Chronicle’ as John de Pembridge, a Dominican prior in St Saviour’s, Dublin in the fourteenth-century.²¹⁷ He was prior there, either permanently or intermittently, from 1319 or before to at least 1337.²¹⁸ As there seems to be no direct connection between John de Pembridge and Meath or the de Geneville/de Mortimer families, it is possible that his interest in Trim and these families was simply due to the presence of a friary of his order there and the fact that de Geneville was its founder.

²¹¹T.C.D., MS 583; Bodleian Laud Misc. 526.

²¹²Camden, *Britannia*, pp 794-832; *Chartul. St Mary’s, Dublin*, ii, 303-98.

²¹³T.C.D., MS 583, fol. 34^v.

²¹⁴Camden, *Britannia*, pp 799, 800, 805, 807, 810, 811; *Chartul. St Mary’s, Dublin*, ii, 315, 317, 318, 330, 332, 337-8, 343-4, 345, 348, 358.

²¹⁵Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish interest’, p. 321, note 7.

²¹⁶*D.N.B.*, Pembridge.

²¹⁷Williams, ‘The Dominican annals of Dublin’, pp 151-68.

²¹⁸Connolly, *Exchequer payments*, pp 337, 342, 345, 351, 357, 408.

The continuator of 'Pembridge's Chronicle', 1347- c.1370

Pembridge ceased making entries in his chronicle in 1347. It may be that he suffered the same fate as the Franciscan annalist at Kilkenny, John Clyn, who seems to have died of the Black Death in 1348.²¹⁹ Whatever Pembridge's fate, somebody else took on to continue his chronicle from 1347. Analysing the internal evidence, Gwynn suggested that this continuator, who made entries down to c.1370, was without doubt 'an Anglo-Irish Dominican friar, who was most probably resident in the great Dominican convent of Trim'.²²⁰ Gwynn also believed that Pembridge's successor inserted entries in the earlier section (at for example 1204, 1210, 1212, 1219, 1231, 1234...), and that these entries evidenced his particular interest in Meath, in aristocratic genealogies and in the Dominican order in Ireland (with interests such as these, one can see why the de Genevilles would figure prominently in his work).

John Aubry, prior of the Dominican friary of Trim, was elected Bishop of Ardagh in 1373 and was confirmed and consecrated by the archbishop of Armagh.²²¹ Two of the other candidates for the position opposed the appointment, however, and Aubry never occupied the see. Fenning has suggested that Aubry, who was also prior of Dublin for a time in the 1350s may have been the continuator of *Pembridge's Chronicle*.²²²

Although theories such as these are almost impossible to substantiate, the possibility that Pembridge's Chronicle and/or its continuation was written at Trim, combined with the known friary register, provide enough evidence to suggest quite a degree of literary activity in the Dominican friary of Trim in the Middle Ages.

²¹⁹Butler, *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, s.a. 1348*.

²²⁰Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church', pp 322-3; Mac Niocaill, *The medieval Irish annals*, p. 38.

²²¹*Reg. Sweteman*, pp 241-2; Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp 60, 465; J. J. McNamee, 'Ardacha Dominicana' in *Journal of the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society*, no. 12 (1951), pp 5-27, at pp 5-7.

²²²Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 18, referring to T.C.D., MS F.4.23 [now MS 654].

The friary seal

The pointed oval brass seal of the Dominican friary of Trim (which, inexplicably, turned up in Lincolnshire in the 1860s) shows the Blessed Virgin, crowned and attired in the Dominican habit, standing on the woven branches of a tree, and presenting floral chaplets to (probably) the founder and his wife, who are standing on the roots of the tree.²²³ The female figure, in full-length dress, carries a lamp in her left hand while her right hand grasps *her* chaplet. The male figure wears an ankle-length hooded cloak and his hands are raised in prayer to receive *his* reward. The legend surrounding the seal, beginning at the top

right (as one looks at it), reads *RECIPIENS SALVE CREDE SECRETA TE GE*. At the upper point of the seal is a patté cross—representing the assumption—an image that fits in well with Burke's statement that the friary was dedicated to St Mary of the Assumption.²²⁴ At the lower point is the de Geneville coat of arms—three pairs of barnacles expanded (instruments of torture used during the Crusades) above all a demi lion rampant. The allegorical representation of the seal has led at least one commentator to suggest that it was designed during the monastic life of Geoffrey de Geneville (1308-14).²²⁵



FIG. 8.12 Seal of the Dominican friary of Trim (drawn by author, after Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), p. 390).

²²²Fenning, 'The Dominicans of Trim: 1263-1682', p. 18, referring to T.C.D., MS F.4.23 [now MS 654].

²²³Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), pp 390-1; Romuald Dodd, 'Geoffrey de Joinville - Lord of Trim' in *The Watchman*, v, no. 10 (autumn 1939), pp 3-7, at p. 4.

²²⁴Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264.

²²⁵Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim' (1874), p. 391.

The site/architectural remains

The Dominican friary was situated outside the walls, near Athboy Gate, to the north of the town. Writing in 1762, Bishop Burke recorded that a few years before that time the walls of the house and chapel gave evidence of their original magnificence—*paucis abhinc annis muros videre erat, licethaud integros tum domus, tum aedium sacrarum, qui antiquae structurae magnificentiam ad oculum demonstrabant. Nuperime autem eo loco versans, paucissima duntaxat deprendere potui rudera, saxa siquidem inde ablata fuerunt et pro alienis fabricis diventita.*²²⁶ By the time Burke made his subsequent visit to the site, however, the stones were sold and used in the building of houses, stables, boundary walls and fences.²²⁷

On his visit to Trim on 15 May 1795 Austin Cooper recorded that ‘a small distance north of the church [St Patrick’s] are a few remaining heaps of old wall (like rocks) of a castle or some other building’.²²⁸ Some fragments of the buildings remained to at least the middle of the nineteenth century, and these were recorded by William Wilde.²²⁹

The 1837 OS map (sheet 36) shows the ‘Blackfriary’, with a small rectangle indicating the presence of some minor remains. Just to the northeast of the town walls is marked ‘Abbey Well’. In view of the friary’s non-riparian location, a well would have been a very important source of water for cooking, drinking and cleaning. The ‘Abbey Well’ is still visible on the ground.

Today, the site of the friary is a green field of c.2ha surrounded on all sides by houses and commercial premises. Six small mounds of masonry are all that remain above ground of the original structure. One of the chunks of masonry incorporates what seems to be a rounded arch, and this may have been part of a spiral staircase.

²²⁶Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264.

²²⁷Conwell, ‘A ramble round Trim’ (1874), p. 388.

²²⁸Price, *An eighteenth-century antiquary*, p. 99.

²²⁹W. R. Wilde, *The beauties of the Boyne and its tributary the Blackwater* (3rd edition, Dublin, 1949), p. 74.



FIG. 8.13 One of the chunks of masonry at the site of the Dominican friary, Trim

The field is covered with a series of earthworks. Towards the centre of the site are two conjoined rectangular enclosures, the banks of which average 5m in width and are up to 1m in height. South of these features, further banks may represent the foundations of a building. Much of the site, especially to the south and east, is enclosed by a double bank and ditch.

Professor William Jerald Kennedy of Florida Atlantic University carried out a geophysical survey (including soil resistivity, proton magnetometry surveys and low altitude, infra-red aerial photography) at the site in June and July 1988.²³⁰ This survey showed subsurface features, which Dr Kennedy identified as different parts of the monastic buildings. Figure 4 in the survey report (now in the files of Dúchas: The Heritage Service) outlines a possible layout including kitchen,

²³⁰W. J. Kennedy, An archaeological survey of the Black Friary site, Trim, Ireland (Unpublished report prepared for the Office of Public Works, 1989. Now in files of Dúchas: The Heritage Service).

cloisters, living quarters, refectory, tower, chancel and entrance. Unfortunately, the excavations that were proposed to follow the survey have not taken place.



FIG. 8.14 Aerial view (1994) of site of Dominican friary, Trim.

Miscellaneous fragments

In 1966 a 'carved stone from vanished ruins of Black Friary of Trim' was acquired by the museum of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, Trim.²³¹ The location of this piece is not known. Several other fragments of medieval stonework that may have come from the Dominican friary are now in the possession of Mr Jim Reynolds, at Butterstream Gardens.

²³¹J. P. Kelly, 'Hon. Secretary's report', in *Riocht na Midhe*, iii, no. 4 (1966), pp 397-8, at p. 397.

III - The Franciscan friary

The documentary evidence

A Franciscan friary was founded at Trim in the second half of the thirteenth century. It was possibly established as early as 1260,²³² and was almost certainly one of the twenty-seven Franciscan convents in existence in Ireland by 1282.²³³ The friary is likely to have been founded during Geoffrey de Geneville's tenure as lord of Trim (1252-1308). It may first have been dedicated to Bonaventure (c.1217-1274; canonised in 1482),²³⁴ but an indult of 1430 shows that it was then dedicated to St Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order.²³⁵

The foundation of the friary at Trim has been attributed variously to King John,²³⁶ the Plunkett family,²³⁷ and William Rufus de Burgo,²³⁸ but none of these is satisfactory. The mistaken attribution to John goes back to at least the early seventeenth century, although even at that stage it was recognised that this association was impossible, on chronological grounds at least—there were no

²³²Joseph Moloney, 'Brussels MS 3410: a chronological list of the foundations of the Irish Franciscan province' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 6 (Nov. 1934), pp 192-202, at p. 194; Brendan Jennings, 'Brevis synopsis provincia Hiberniae Ff Minorum' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 6 (Nov. 1934), pp 139-91, at p. 152.

²³³Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 260; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xv, p. 417.

²³⁴Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 579.

²³⁵Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, pp 105, 184-5.

²³⁶L. A. Alemand, *Histoire monastique d'Irlande* (Paris, 1690), pp 243, 370; Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 579; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, ix, 144; Burke, *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 744; Harris/Ware, *History of Ireland*, p. 278; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 223; Evans, *Trim: its ecclesiastical ruins, its castle, etc., together with a collection of documents not hitherto published and notes of Trim and its environs for past two centuries* (Dublin, 1886), p. 3; Donagh Mooney, 'A history of the Franciscan order in Ireland' in *The Franciscan Tertiary*, vi, no. 10 (Feb. 1896), pp 289-93, at p. 291; Brendan Jennings, 'Brussels MS 3947: donatus moneyus, de provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 6 (Nov. 1934), pp 12-138, at p. 92; Healy, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 112; Liam Price (ed.), *An eighteenth-century antiquary: the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper (1759-1830)* (Dublin, 1942), p. 100; Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 310.

²³⁷Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 223; Healy, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 112; C. P. Meehan, *The rise and fall of the Irish Franciscan monasteries and memoirs of the Irish hierarchy in the seventeenth century* (5th edition, Dublin, 1877), p. 93; Harris/Ware, *History of Ireland*, p. 278; Philip Callery, 'The grey friary of Trim' in *I.E.R.*, ii (July-Dec. 1913), p. 474; Evans, *Trim*, p. 3.

²³⁸Jennings, 'Brevis synopsis', p. 152; Callery, 'The grey friary of Trim', pp 475-6.

Franciscan friaries in Ireland in the time of King John (d. 1216).²³⁹ This association perhaps stemmed from the proximity of the friary to Trim Castle and the fact that John was present there early in the thirteenth century.²⁴⁰ Gwynn and Hadcock suggest that a hospital dating to the time of King John may have been granted to the Franciscans when they arrived at Trim, as among their possessions in the sixteenth century was a ruin called 'Mawdelin's chapel', a leper hospital dedicated to Mary Magdalene.²⁴¹ At least two seventeenth-century authors go so far as to say that King John had a secret passage from his bed-chamber in Trim Castle to the church of the Franciscan friary, where he attended divine service!²⁴²

The association with the Plunketts is also spurious—it is unlikely that this family, who came to prominence in Meath in the fifteenth century, had the means or reason to found a religious house two hundred years earlier. While they may have acted as benefactors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is possible that their name became linked with the foundation as late as the seventeenth century, at which time several members of the family were among the Franciscan community in Trim.²⁴³ In 1662, for instance, Richard Plunkett, 'a poor brother of the Franciscan Convent at Trim', compiled a Latin and Irish dictionary.²⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that the foundation of the Franciscan friary at Drogheda is also sometimes attributed to the Plunketts.²⁴⁵

Jennings states that the friary in Trim was believed to be founded by William Rufus de Burgo sometime after Hugh de Lacy's rebellion in 1228.²⁴⁶ Although the de Burghs were well known founders and benefactors of Franciscan foundations (for

²³⁹Jennings, 'MS 3947', p. 92; idem, 'Brevis synopsis', p. 152; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 105; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 7, 260.

²⁴⁰T. D. Hardy, *A description of the patent rolls in the Tower of London; to which is added an itinerary of King John, with prefatory observations* (London, 1835) [after p. 180, no page numbers given]; Orpen, *Normans*, ii, 247-9; G. H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle: its early history, with notes on some neighbouring castles' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxvii (1907), pp 257-76, at pp 260-1.

²⁴¹Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 260; *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 307.

²⁴²Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, ix, 144; Jennings, 'MS 3947', p. 92.

²⁴³Callery, 'The grey friary of Trim', pp 485, 488.

²⁴⁴Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 226; Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 580.

²⁴⁵Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, pp 247-8; Callery, 'The grey friary of Trim', p. 474.

²⁴⁶Jennings, 'Brevis synopsis', p. 152; see also Moloney, 'MS 3410', p. 201.

example, at Galway,²⁴⁷ Limerick²⁴⁸ and Moyne²⁴⁹), there is no evidence to suggest a connection with Trim at this time. The earliest notable de Burgh association with Trim dates to 1368 when Philippa, countess of Ulster and daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence and Elizabeth de Burgh married Edmund de Mortimer.

The earliest surviving contemporary reference to the Franciscan friary at Trim dates to 1318. When Rosina de Verdun died in January of that year she was to be buried at the friary in Trim but the Dominicans of Mullingar refused to hand over her body for burial.²⁵⁰ A mandate was sent from Pope John XXII at Avignon ordering the prior of Tristernagh and the archdeacon and precentor of Meath to hear the case 'between the guardian and Friars Minor of Trim and the prior and Friars Preachers of Mullingar'. Possession of the body could generate important income for the religious community, deriving mainly from funeral offerings and from the prayers and masses that would be said for the deceased.²⁵¹ Disputes over burial rights were not uncommon, and similar cases are known to have occurred the previous year (1317) between the Franciscans of Carrickfergus and the Dominicans of Drogheda, and in 1291 between the Cistercians and Franciscans of Dublin.²⁵² The outcome of the de Verdun dispute is not known.

A division developed within the Franciscan community in Ireland in 1325 and the order split between what became known as 'Irish' houses and 'Anglo-Irish'

²⁴⁷William de Burgh founded the Franciscan convent at the Island of St Stephen [Galway], in 1280—see James Hardiman, 'The pedigree of Doctor Dominick Lynch, Regent of the college of St Thomas of Aquin, in the city of Seville, AD 1674, from a coeval manuscript' in *Ir. Arch. Soc. misc.*, pp 44-90, at pp 46, 49; Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 286, states that this convent was not founded until 1296.

²⁴⁸Burke, *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 745; Jennings, 'MS 3947', p. 62.

²⁴⁹The Franciscan friary at Moyne in Tirawley was founded in 1460 by MacWilliam Burke—see John O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland from the year 1443 to 1468' in *Ir. Arch. Soc. misc.*, pp 198-302, at p. 241.

²⁵⁰*Cal. papal letters, 1305-1342*, p. 171; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 105; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi, 366.

²⁵¹F.J. Cotter, *The Friars Minor in Ireland: from their arrival to 1400* (New York, 1994), p. 62; Healy, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 98-9; Colin Platt, *The English medieval town* (London, 1976; reissued 1986), p. 162.

²⁵²*Cal. papal letters, 1305-1342*, p. 171; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, pp 104-5; Theiner, *Vetera mon.*, p. 197; Patrick Conlon, *Franciscan Ireland* (Gigginstown, Mullingar, 1988), p. 16.

houses.²⁵³ By 1331 Trim had become grouped with the friaries at Dundalk, Multyfarnham, Downpatrick and Carrickfergus, under the custody of the Franciscans of Drogheda, as a union of 'Anglo-Irish' houses.²⁵⁴

In 1330 there was a series of unusually violent storms and a great flood, especially along the Boyne.²⁵⁵ Almost all of the bridges (both of wood and of stone) were carried away, mills were destroyed, and further damage was caused at Trim and Drogheda. The storms, which were on 25 November, 6 December and Christmas Day, caused great destruction at the Franciscan friaries of Trim and Drogheda.

In addition to its ecclesiastical functions, the friary at Trim served as a venue for meetings, councils and parliaments. On 3 October 1391, for example, a meeting was convened in the church of the friary to elect a new justiciar for Ireland.²⁵⁶ In June 1418 a chamber in the friary was the venue for a meeting of the chancellor, deputy treasurer and other members of the king's council in Ireland,²⁵⁷ and in April 1428, 'in the fraternity of the friars minor at Trym' a conference was held between Lord Grey, Lieutenant of Ireland, and Edward Dauntsey, bishop of Meath and Grey's deputy, to devise measures against 'Irish rymers, outlaws and felons'.²⁵⁸ The friary was also considered a safe place to store important documents and, for instance, the charters from Henry III granting Trim to the de Genevilles were kept there for a time.²⁵⁹

²⁵³Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 120.

²⁵⁴Richard Butler (ed.) *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* (Dublin, 1849), p. 39; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, pp 133, 163-4; Jennings, 'Brevis synopsis', pp 144, 152; Jennings, 'MS 3947', p. 26.

²⁵⁵*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 372; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *The Book of Howth*, p. 156; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 132; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 16-7.

²⁵⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, pp 148-148b, nos 42-3; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 166.

²⁵⁷A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The background to the arrest of Sir Christopher Preston in 1418' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 29 (1980), pp 71-94, 79; P.R.O. E. 163/7/12

²⁵⁸*Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 34-7; James Hardiman (ed.), 'The statute of Kilkenny, which was enacted there in the time of Lionel Duke of Clarence, in the xl^h year of the reign of Edward III' in *Tracts relating to Ireland* (printed for the Irish Archaeological Society, Dublin, 1843), ii, 42.

²⁵⁹*Gormanston reg.*, p. 7.

At the beginning of June in 1430 an indult was issued by Pope Martin V on behalf of the Franciscan community at Trim.²⁶⁰ The buildings of the friary had been severely damaged by injurious wars (*noxios guerrarum*), and urgent assistance was required to carry out a range of long-term repair works there. Attention was drawn to the fact that a great deal of work and preaching was carried out by members of the community, but that they did not have any property or possessions of their own. Instead, they relied on pious donations and alms to enable them to encourage divine worship and to teach the faith.

Consequently, a grant of indulgence was offered to all who would aid the friars in their work of restoration. The indult lays down the conditions of the indulgence and states that it could be gained on the feast of Pentecost and its octave, on the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September) and on the feast of St Francis of Assisi (4 October), each year for ten years.

The granting of papal indulgences to those who contributed, either financially or manually, to the restoration of Franciscan friaries was not unusual. In 1398 Boniface IX granted indulgences to those who came on specified days to the friary at Athlone 'to visit and help repair [the church] ... which needs much repair and cannot be repaired without the support of the faithful'.²⁶¹ Similarly, the following year an indult encouraged the laity to 'visit and give alms for the conservation or repair or for the fabric of the church of St Patrick of the Friars Minor's house of Kinalehin [Co. Galway]'.²⁶²

When Felim O'Reilly, heir to the lordship of Breifny, died of the plague in prison in Trim in 1447 he was buried in the 'monastery of the friars' there.²⁶³ Although it is not clear which monastery is meant by this, Felim's grand uncle, Cuconnaught

²⁶⁰Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, x, 204, 558; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, pp 184-5; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vii, 135.

²⁶¹*Cal. papal letters, 1362-1404*, p. 348; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 132.

²⁶²Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 169; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vii, 83.

²⁶³*A.F.M., s.a. 1447; A.U., s.a. 1447; O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68'*, p. 219; Gilbert, *Viceroy*, pp 349-50; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, p. 107.

O'Reilly, had joined the Franciscan friars in 1365, and so Felim may have been laid to rest at the Franciscan friary.²⁶⁴ It was certainly in the Franciscan cemetery at Trim that Donnell O'Fallon, who 'for a period of thirty years diligently taught and preached throughout Ireland', was buried.²⁶⁵ O'Fallon was later described as the preacher who had done 'most service to Irishmen since Patrick was in Ireland'.²⁶⁶ A Franciscan friar, he served as Bishop of Derry from 1485 until his death, 'of an inward disease', in 1500.²⁶⁷

From the late fourteenth century a movement within the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian orders sought a return to stricter observance of the original monastic rule. This reform spread to Ireland early in the fifteenth century. A new series of Observant houses was founded and a number of the older establishments were reformed. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Franciscan Observants were the last to emerge, but they quickly became one of the most influential groups. The community at Trim appears to have adopted the Observant reform at about this time, although it is not known exactly when this occurred. While suggestions of a date as early as 1325 can clearly be discounted,²⁶⁸ there is evidence that the change had already come about by 1506.²⁶⁹

Although there is some reference to Trim's observant status ending in 1525 (*statui observantiae cessit anno 1525*), this seems unlikely.²⁷⁰ In August of that year, a grant was made 'to the warden and convent of the friars minor observants in Trym',²⁷¹ and on 5 September Dongh O Makyne, 'frethir observaunt of Trym' was

²⁶⁴*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1365; *A.U.*, s.a. 1365.

²⁶⁵*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1500; Gwynn, *Med. province Armagh*, p. 192.

²⁶⁶*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1486.

²⁶⁷Harris/Ware, *History of Ireland*, p. 291.

²⁶⁸Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 579; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 223; Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 310.

²⁶⁹Canice Mooney, 'The Franciscans in Ireland' in *Terminus*, x, no. 11 (Nov. 1954), pp 245-50, at p. 250.

²⁷⁰Jennings, '*Brevis synopsis*', p. 152; see also Moloney, 'MS 3410', p. 201.

²⁷¹*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 7, no. 9 (481).

listed as a witness to a property deed.²⁷² Indeed, the friary was still referred to as 'Observant' at the time of the dissolution.²⁷³

In August 1518 a grant was made to the warden of the friary at Trim, and to his successors, of the park of Trim, not exceeding an annual value of twenty shillings.²⁷⁴ This seems to have been reissued seven years later when, in August 1525, a grant was made 'to the warden and convent of the friars minor observants in Trym; of land called the parke of Trym, valued at 20s sterling a year. To hold for ever, in pure alms, without account'.²⁷⁵ This land, also known as the King's Park, comprised eighty acres and was still held by the Franciscans at the time of the dissolution.²⁷⁶ The King's Park was also claimed by the portreeve and commonalty of the town on the grounds of a royal grant.

A certain Maurice was prior at the suppression and when an extent was made in April 1540, it was found that 'the church, chancel, and other buildings are still standing and have not been thrown down. The church and chancel can be thrown down, and are very necessary for the building of a mansion to be erected there'.²⁷⁷ The site, together with a cemetery and a small garden, would be worth 13s 4d once this mansion was built. Also within the precinct was a water-mill which was 'waste and unoccupied' and worth nothing. John Tyrrell rented a garden outside the town walls, near the Porchfield, for 12d a year. The Franciscans also held a field called 'Mawdelynsfeld', containing twenty acres arable and two acres of pasture, which was rented from them by John Hamon for 18s a year, and a weir on the Boyne near the Porchfield, worth 6s 8d.²⁷⁸ The sale of chattels raised £12 13s, while two bells remained unsold. Archdall states that at the suppression there were also three

²⁷²Mac Niocaill, *Crown surveys of lands 1540-41*, p. 274.

²⁷³Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46;

²⁷⁴Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, p. 579; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 224; Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, i, 310.

²⁷⁵*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 7, no. 9 (481).

²⁷⁶*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

²⁷⁷*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 307.

²⁷⁸*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 308.

chambers and sundry other offices in the precincts, as well as twenty-nine acres in Trim (twenty acres of arable, eight of pasture and one of meadow).²⁷⁹

Sir Anthony St Leger bought the friary together with its lands and possessions for £56, and on 10 July 1542 a grant was made to Lewis Tudor and certain others, to hold from St Leger the friary, lands and a church 'for ever, by the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee, and a rent of 2s 10d'.²⁸⁰ These men were also granted 'a garden without the Portchgate [presumably the one previously rented by John Tyrell], the Mawdlen chapel, the Mawdlen church yard, an eel weir on the Boyne, a park extending from the weir to Lynces park, land extending from the river to St Thomas Park, near the Mawdlen chapel, between the bishop of Meath's land and Brownisland, by the Salepark, and between St Thomas' land and the land of Peter Lynce, of Knocke by Forstereston, also the King's park alias the park of Tryme'. It appears that these lands and properties were all formerly held by the Franciscans.

Later, however, it was found that on 19 June 1543 St Leger had granted to Sir Thomas Cusacke, of Lismullen, certain properties in Trim including many originally held by the Franciscans, and some that had been granted to Lewis Tudor and others the previous July.²⁸¹ Among these were 'a ruined church or chapel commonly called the Maudlyn churchyard; a field stretching from an eel weir in the Boyne to the field called Lynce's park; 20 acres, of which 12 acres lie on the south of the Boyne beside the field called St Thomas' park, 4 acres beside the Maudlin chapel, 2½ acres beside the bishop of Meath's land and the land called Brownesland beside the Sale park, and 1½ acres between St Thomas' land and the land of Peter Linche of Knock near Fosterson, with all meadow, pasture, wood and moor thereto belonging; and a piece of land called the King's park, alias the park of Trym containing 80 acres; and all other lands in Meath which were reputed to be the property of the Observant Franciscan house of Trim, with the reversions and

²⁷⁹ Archdall, *Monasticon Hib.*, pp 579-80; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 260.

²⁸⁰ *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 37, no. 325 (436).

²⁸¹ Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

revenues of the same (excepting the house, site and precincts of the said Franciscan house, the church bell tower, dormitory, hall and cemetery of the same, an eel weir in the Boyne with access thereto, and an enclosure extending from the abbey between the king's castle and the Boyne, which are reserved to grantor [St Leger]).

In 1549 Sir Thomas granted to George Brudge, a merchant from Dublin, a number of former Franciscan properties in Trim including 'the said abbey with the site and bell tower, hall, castle cellar, brewhouse, kitchen, dormitory, and all other places in the precincts and between the abbey and the Porchfield, the churchyard, the great garden, the porchefeld, 4 orchards and an enclosure beside the porchefeld formerly belonging to the Observant friars of Trim, 20 acres next to St John's land, a wood or grove called the park of Trim formerly belonging to the Observants, a weir in the Boyne beside the Porchefeld with all the water of the Boyne from the Bridge of Trim to Newtown, a chamber or dwelling called the earl's chamber in which Henry Man, chaplain, then lived, a house beside the castle of the said abbey in which the wever [...] and the Maudlins near southboine [*sic*]',²⁸²

Brudge subsequently sold these properties to Sir George Stanley, and in 1558 'the guardian of the convent of the friars minor of Trim' complained that Sir George and several others held certain possessions of the convent without title.²⁸³ On 3 September William, bishop of Meath, John Petite, rector of St Patrick's Church, Trim, and others were ordered to investigate these complaints, but no record survives of their findings.

By a deed of 7 or 17 December 1597, certain lands and properties in Trim were granted to Patrick Locke, a yeoman from Ardraccon.²⁸⁴ Among these lands were 'a church, now prostrate, commonly called the Maudelyn's Chapell, and the

²⁸²Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

²⁸³*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I, i*, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 321, no. 241 (271).

²⁸⁴*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., 18-45, Eliz.*, p. 517, no. 5; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I, iii*, (1586-1603), p. 331, no. 6267 (6109).

cemetery; a small park or close which extends from the eel weir on the Boyne, to the park called 'Lions his parke'; 20 acres arable in Trim, commonly called the Maudelens' land, and a parcel of land called the King's park, or the park of Trim, containing 80 acres of wood, underwood and pasture; and all messuages, lands, tenements, moors, mills oblations, and obventions, in Trim, and elsewhere in Meath, which were ever reputed part or parcel of the Friars Minors of Trim (excepting the site and ambit of the late monastery, the church and dormitory, an eel weir upon the Boyne, and a close extending from the monastery between the castle and the Boyne').

From these property lists it can be seen that the Franciscans of Trim had held an eel weir on the Boyne, a water-mill, four orchards, the Porchfield, a garden outside the Porchgate, a 'great garden', an enclosure delimited by the friary, castle and river, at least 100 acres in and around the town, and almost certainly some other land elsewhere in County Meath. The friary itself comprised a church, a belfry, a dormitory, a kitchen, a hall, a cemetery, a brew-house, a cellar in the castle, 'the earl's chamber', and a house 'beside the castle of the said abbey' (later called 'the abbot's castle').²⁸⁵ The Maudlin Chapel functioned as a leper hospital, but it is not known when the Franciscans took charge of it.

Trim was one of the friaries recommended for restoration in 1554, but this request appears to have come to nothing.²⁸⁶ It is recorded that at the time of the dissolution the buildings of the friary were destroyed by the Protestants [*Hereticis*] and the church was taken over by the corporation for use as a courthouse,²⁸⁷ in the same manner as the church of the Dominican friary in Kilkenny functioned as a courthouse after the dissolution.²⁸⁸ There is a mention of the Trim courthouse in

²⁸⁵Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, p. 206, no Eliz66/46.

²⁸⁶*Cal. S.P. Ire, 1509-73*, p. 145, no. 42.

²⁸⁷Jennings, '*Brevis synopsis*', p. 152.

²⁸⁸William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), iii, 179.

February 1577 when Chancellor Gerrard commented that the 'court at Trim [is] like an English penfold for cattle'.²⁸⁹

It is not clear, however, which of the friary buildings were dismantled at the dissolution and which remained standing. In May 1584, for instance, when Robert Draper wrote to the Lord High Treasurer of England, proposing that Trim be chosen as the site for a new university, he mentioned that Edward Cusack, of Lismullen 'hath also a friary in the said town, a very fit place for a college, which also may be easily gotten of him.'²⁹⁰ The reference to 'the church and dormitory' of the friary in 1597 also suggests that more than just the church survived the dissolution.²⁹¹

Of the whole complex, however, the nave of the church was the only section still standing and roofed in the seventeenth century,²⁹² and although in 1820 Mr McLoughlin, an elderly Trim resident, could remember assizes being held in the hall or church of the Franciscan friary, not even the church survived into the nineteenth century.²⁹³

²⁸⁹*Cal. S.P. Ire, 1574-85*, p. 104.

²⁹⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 290-2; *Cal. S.P. Ire, 1574-85*, p. 513.

²⁹¹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., 18-45, Eliz.*, p. 517, no. 5; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, iii, (1586-1603), p. 331, no. 6267 (6109).

²⁹²Jennings, '*Brevis synopsis*', p. 152; Jennings, 'MS 3947', p. 92; Mooney, 'History of the Franciscan order in Ireland', vi, no. 10, p. 291.

²⁹³Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 225-6.

The site

Although almost exclusively associated with urban centres, medieval Franciscan friaries were usually situated on the periphery of the town or entirely outside its walls.²⁹⁴ Centrally located within the town, the friary at Trim was unusual in this regard—other examples to be situated within the town walls are at Clonmel, Drogheda, Kilkenny, New Ross and Waterford.²⁹⁵ Unfortunately, nothing remains of the friary at Trim, although its site, on the south bank of the Boyne, between the east end of Market Street and the northwest curtain wall of the castle, is still partly occupied by the county courthouse. This location had a number of advantages—its proximity to the river (almost all friaries were built beside a river) facilitated washing, fishing and gathering water, it provided easy access to riverine transport and enabled the friars to operate a water-mill and an eel weir. Being close to the bridge made the friary accessible to people living on both sides of the river, while propinquity to the castle may have provided the friary with a greater degree of security. The central location of the friary, which also adjoined the market place, made it a focal point within the town.

On the other hand, this site also had its disadvantages. Being situated on the riverbank made the friary liable to flooding—the disastrous results of which were felt at least once, in the winter of 1330²⁹⁶—and proximity to the castle also meant that whenever the castle was attacked the friary could also be caught in the line of fire. Such collateral assaults may have been responsible for the destruction that led to the need for major repairs in 1430.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴Bradley, *Walled towns in Ireland*, p. 36; Canice Mooney, 'Franciscan architecture in pre-Reformation Ireland, part 1' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxxv (1955), pp 133-73, at p. 165; Schofield and Vince, *Medieval Towns*, p. 166; Ian Soulsby, *The towns of medieval Wales: a study of their history, archaeology and early topography* (Chichester, 1983), p. 47; Jacques Heers, *La ville au Moyen Age en Occident: paysage, pouvoirs et conflits* (Paris, 1990), pp 390-1; Yves Esquieu, *La ville au Moyen Age: l'exemple français* (Joué-lès-Tours, 2001), pp 66-7.

²⁹⁵Canice Mooney, 'Franciscan architecture in pre-Reformation Ireland' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxxxv (1955), pp 133-73, at p. 165.

²⁹⁶*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 372; *Cal. Carew MSS*, v, *The Book of Howth*, p. 156; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, p. 132; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 16-7.

²⁹⁷Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, x, 204, 558; Fitzmaurice & Little, *Franciscan province Ire.*, pp 184-5.

The archaeological evidence

A series of burials were discovered by workmen laying sewage pipes in Castle Street in October 1951.²⁹⁸ The first burials were uncovered c.18m from the junction with Market Street and bones were visible in both faces of the trench for almost 14m in a southerly direction. A skull was found c.1.4m below the surface, and two further skulls were also recovered along with the incomplete skeletal remains of several other humans. Some of the bodies were aligned north-south with the head to the south, but others were oriented differently and no pattern was discernible. There were no coffins, no covering slabs and no grave-goods. Some patches of lime were visible and a sample of charred wood fragments was taken for analysis. The wood, which was found in association with the lowest bone scatter, was oak. Pieces of oyster shells, land shells and clay pipes were recovered from the upper layers, but nothing was found to help dating the burial levels.

The profile of the base of the pit suggested that the bedrock had been quarried at this point and the archaeologist believed that the pit had been left open long enough for silt to accumulate in it. Such a pit would have been a convenient location to dump the bodies of plague victims or executed criminals—this would also explain the presence of quicklime and the absence of coffins, covering slabs and grave-goods. Despite the proximity to the site of the Franciscan friary, the archaeologist who examined the site reported that the haphazard alignment of the burials and the absence of coffins and artefacts suggested that the burials were not associated with the friary.

Archaeological test excavations took place at the site of the friary in 1997 in advance of the construction of a new courthouse.²⁹⁹ The remains of three extended inhumations and a small number of medieval pottery sherds were uncovered. Unfortunately the full excavation results have not been published.

²⁹⁸Nat. Mus. Ire. files; copy also in files held by Dúchas: The Heritage Service.

²⁹⁹Delaney, 'Trim Courthouse' in Bennett, *Excavations 1997*, pp 145-6.

A second series of excavations took place on the site in 1999.³⁰⁰ Further burials were discovered, in addition to finds that indicated thirteenth-century activity on the site. Six medieval burials were excavated, most of which had been disturbed during the nineteenth-century construction of the courthouse. Scatters of disarticulated human and animal bone were found across the site, further evidencing the nineteenth-century disturbance. Among the artefacts discovered were fragments of medieval floor-tiles, medieval pottery and a bronze stick-pin. The ‘spatulate-headed’ stick-pin seems to belong to O’Rahilly’s *Type A*, and probably dates to the late twelfth or thirteenth century.³⁰¹ A single course of small stones sitting on lime mortar appears to have been medieval in date, although it was partially collapsed or robbed out. A large, U-shaped cut feature was also revealed but the nature of the excavation meant that it was impossible to establish its extent or function.

During the drainage works on the Boyne in Trim in the 1970s and subsequently, a number of fragments of medieval masonry were recovered from the riverbank. Among these were two fragments of a central mullion/pillar from a double arch that were found on the south side of the river beside the site of the friary, from which they may originally have come (see FIG. 8.15). These pieces probably once formed part of a fifteenth-century window.

Two projecting stone heads are present in the northwest gable wall of the westernmost Boyne Cottage—one of a terrace of houses facing the river close to the site of the Franciscan friary (see FIG. 8.16). The heads are now covered in brown pebbledash but their facial features can still be made out. The heads may have come from the friary and they probably functioned as gargoyles originally.

³⁰⁰Purcell, ‘Trim Courthouse’ in Bennett, *Excavations 1999*, pp 250-1.

³⁰¹Celie O’Rahilly, ‘A classification of bronze stick-pins from the Dublin excavations, 1962-72’ in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Bray, 1998), pp 23-34, at p. 29.



FIG. 8.15 (Left) Central mullion/pillar from double arch (in two pieces): found at site of friary, behind present courthouse.

FIG. 8.16 (Below) Two carved stone heads have been incorporated into the northwest gable wall of a riverside cottage close to the site of the Franciscan friary.



IV - The Leper Hospital of St Mary Magdalene

The documentary evidence

The earliest known reference to the leper hospital in Trim dates to 1335 when a payment of four silver shillings was made by the hospital of the Blessed Mary Magdalene.³⁰² Ware states that the bishops of Meath were either founders or benefactors of the hospital, but his source for this information is untraceable.³⁰³ Contemporary information relating to the hospital is scarce, but it seems that it was closely associated with the chapel in Trim Castle. In June 1375, Thomas Ripperis was ratified as 'chaplain of the chantry in the chapel of the castle of Trym in Ireland and warden of the house of St Mary Magdalene pertaining to the said chantry'.³⁰⁴ The first indication of the extent of the property dates to 1386 when Richard Molys acquired thirty acres of land in 'the Maudelyns', beside Trim, from Juda Dartz.³⁰⁵ The association with the chapel in Trim Castle was maintained well into the fifteenth century and on 18 September 1431 Henry VI granted Thomas Clement, chaplain, custody of the leper hospital of St Mary Magdalene, beside Trim, together with the chantry of the chapel within Trim Castle.³⁰⁶

The site seems to have been abandoned sometime after that, and it came into the hands of the Franciscans by 1540, in which year they held there an orchard, a ruinous church called the 'Mawdelin's chapel', and a close, called 'the Mawdelin's churchyard'.³⁰⁷ At that time 'Mawdelynsfeld', a field of 22 acres, valued at 18s, also belonged to the Franciscans and was held of them by John Hamon.³⁰⁸ In 1543 the ruined church and churchyard were granted to Sir Thomas Cusack,³⁰⁹ but six years later they became the property of George Brudge, a merchant from Dublin.³¹⁰

³⁰²*Reg. Kilmain.*, p. 60.

³⁰³Lee, *Leper hospitals*, p. 56.

³⁰⁴*Cal. pat. rolls, Ed. III, 1376-7*, p. 116.

³⁰⁵*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 125b, nos 40-2.

³⁰⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 255b, no. 119.

³⁰⁷Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 356, referring to Archdall, 579.

³⁰⁸*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 307.

³⁰⁹Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

³¹⁰Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

In December 1597 the cemetery, land and church 'now prostrate' were granted to Patrick Locke, a yeoman from Ardraccan.³¹¹

The reference of 1549 mentions twenty acres, formerly belonging to the Franciscans, next to St John's land, and it appears that the location of this land, referred to variously as Mawdelynsfeld, the Maudlins and Maudelens' land, was located c.750m to the east of the Maudlin Cemetery on the south bank of the Boyne.³¹² The area is called Friarspark and it is sandwiched between the townlands of Maudlin and Saintjohns.

Dedication to St Mary Magdalene

Saint Lazarus is the best-known patron of lepers, and leper hospitals are sometimes referred to as Lazar houses.³¹³ Lazarus' sister, Mary of Bethany, is thought by many to be the same person as St Mary Magdalene (i.e. Mary of Magdala, a village near the Sea of Galilee), and the latter was one of the most popular patron saints of leper hospitals in Ireland in the middle ages.³¹⁴ The hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Kildare is referred to in 1307,³¹⁵ while a hospital with the same dedication at Kilkenny is called a leper hospital in 1327.³¹⁶ Other leper hospitals in Ireland dedicated to St Mary Magdalene included those at Bright (Co. Down), Castledermot, Clane (both Co. Kildare), Dundalk (Co. Louth) and Thomastown (Co. Kilkenny).³¹⁷ The word maudlin (a corruption of the name Magdalene) is often associated with the site and grounds of leper hospital or their endowed lands.³¹⁸ At Trim, the graveyard is known locally as the Maudlin Cemetery, a house next to the site is called the Maudlin Cottage while the townland itself also retains the name Maudlin.

³¹¹ *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, ii, 517, no. 5.

³¹² Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

³¹³ Lee, *Leper hospitals*, pp 18-19.

³¹⁴ R. L. P. Milburn, *Saints and their emblems in English churches* (London, 1949), pp 174-5; Lee, *Leper hospitals*, pp 18-19.

³¹⁵ J. H Andrews, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 1: Kildare* (R.I.A., Dublin, 1986), p. 9.

³¹⁶ Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 352.

³¹⁷ Lee, *Leper hospitals*, pp 29, 50-1, 53, 54.

³¹⁸ G. A. Lee, *Leper hospitals in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1996), p. 19.

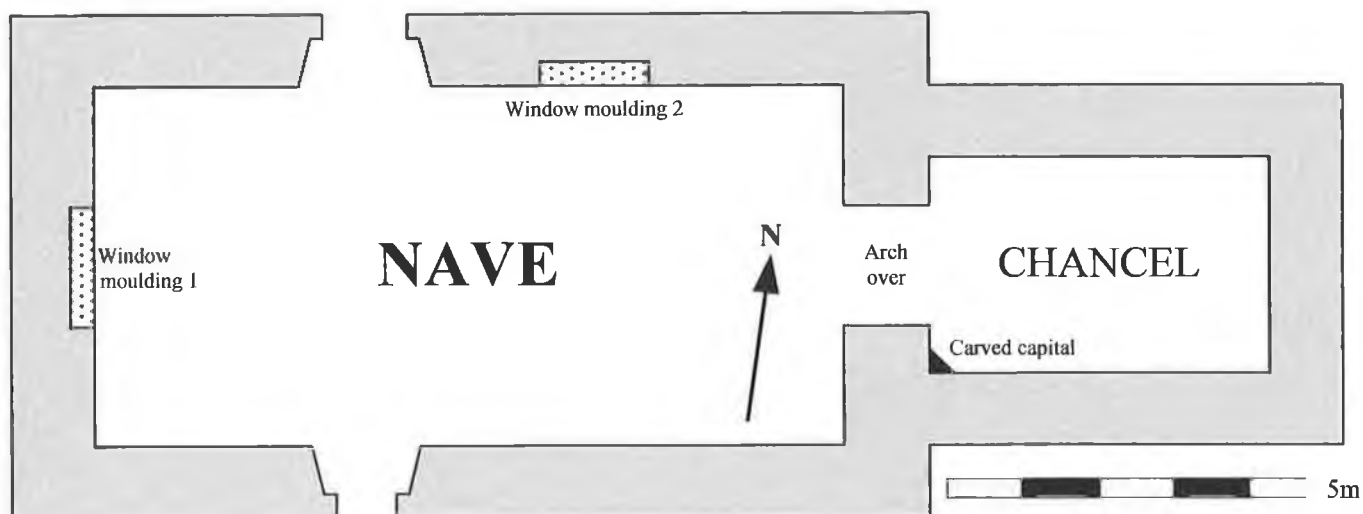


FIG. 8.16 Ground plan of church of St Mary Magdalene. Adapted from Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, fig. 54.

The architectural evidence

The leper hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Trim is situated south of the town just off the highest point of a slight rise overlooking the river Boyne. As with most leper hospitals, it is located outside the town on the downriver side (as at Kilkenny, for example).³¹⁹ The remains above ground consist of the lower courses of a small church. The masonry is of roughly coursed mixed stone, but little information can be derived from the stonework as the building was re-pointed when the site was being landscaped in the second half of the 1970s. The walls stand to an average height of just under 1m and a round-headed arch links the nave and chancel. The cross-wall in which the arch is situated survives to a maximum height of 3m. This wall contains four putlog holes on the west side (see FIGS 8.21-2) and a further four on the east. The building had two doors, almost directly opposed to one another, in the north and south walls of the nave (see FIG. 8.16). Internally, the nave measures 10.25m in length by 5.1m in width while the chancel is 4.65m long and 3.6m wide. The walls are uniformly almost 1m thick all the way round.

³¹⁹John Bradley, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 10: Kilkenny* (R.I.A., Dublin, 2000), pp 4, 22.

Three fragments of carved medieval stonework are incorporated into the remaining fabric of the church:

Window moulding 1 Set into the centre of the west wall of the church is the badly eroded limestone centrepiece of a cusped ogee-headed window (see FIG. 8.17). The fifteenth-century piece has recessed undecorated spandrels. It has been reinserted into the wall upside-down and evidently came from a window of at least two lights. No other fragments from this style of window are present on the site.



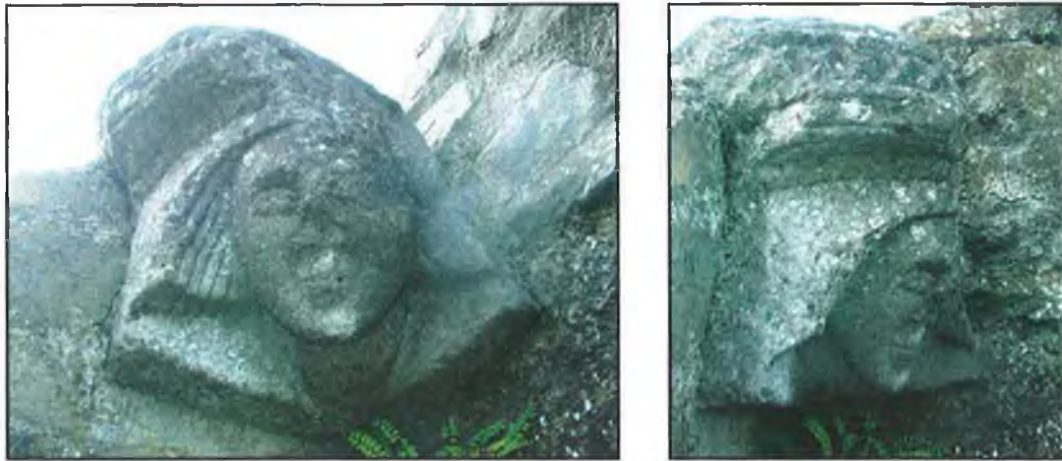
FIGS 8.17-18 Window moulding 1 (right) and window moulding 2 (below)



Window moulding 2 To the east of the doorway in the north wall is the badly decayed square basal section of what may once have been a window, although it may also have served a different function (see FIG. 8.18). This is not its original position and it was probably inserted here during the reconstruction work of the 1970s.

Carved capital Set into the south corner of the chancel arch, level in height with the top of the arch is a limestone capital decorated with the partly damaged head of a woman with a round face and thick neck (see FIGS 8.19-20). The eyes are indented beneath an overhanging forehead, while the long hair is carved in straight lines away from the face. The nose has been badly damaged and the mouth is represented by a simple horizontal incision. The abacus is decorated with twisted cord and a crosshatched border. Although this is almost certainly not the original location of the head, it fits here neatly and must have been designed for display in

a corner. Perhaps this sculpture represents St Mary Magdalene. One of the most recognisable attributes of Mary in religious art is her long hair.³²⁰



FIGS 8.19-20 Carved limestone capital in the south corner of the chancel arch

The graveyard

The graveyard, which measures 64m east-west by 41m north-south, is no longer used but a number of large yew trees are present. There is a tradition locally that the graveyard was always used for the burial of the poor.

³²⁰Milburn, *Saints and their emblems*, pp 174-5.



FIGS 8.21-2 Remains of St Mary Magdalene Church, viewed from east (above), and west (below)



❖ **CHAPTER 9**

**TALBOT'S CASTLE AND
NANGLE'S CASTLE**

I - 'Talbot's Castle'

Introduction

Situated in Abbey Lane, off High Street, this extensive building, which continues to serve as a private dwelling, consists of two sections—one essentially medieval and the other essentially modern, but with some medieval features. The medieval part was reputedly built in 1415 for Sir John Talbot (c.1387-1453), lord lieutenant of Ireland (1414-16; 1416-18; 1418-19; 1425; 1446-7) and the most famous English commander of the latter stages of the Hundred Years War.¹ Although such a construction date is acceptable on architectural grounds, the Talbot connection is hard to substantiate as there is no known documentary evidence for Talbot's Castle in the middle ages.



FIG. 9.1 Talbot's Castle. South façade, with Yellow Steeple to the east.

¹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 59; Casey and Rowan, *North Leinster*, pp 516-7.

Talbot and his brothers were certainly present in Trim on a number of occasions between 1418 and 1447. On 30 May 1418 Thomas Talbot, deputy lieutenant and brother of John, held parliament in the town, and in June he summoned a council meeting to convene there.² Thomas was also seneschal of Meath in 1419.³ John Talbot himself was in Trim in March 1425,⁴ and on 5 December 1430 his younger brother Richard, archbishop of Dublin, received a royal grant of various tenements and lands in Trim.⁵ John was again in Trim in 1447,⁶ and he held parliament there in January.⁷ Despite all of this, there is no definite link between Talbot and the building known as ‘Talbot’s Castle’.



FIG. 9.2 Plaque on north wall at west end of Talbot’s Castle.

The only visible association with Talbot is a recessed sub-rectangular limestone plaque on the north wall at the west end of the present building (see FIGS 9.2 and 9.5). The plaque bears in relief the arms of John Talbot—quarterly, 1 and 4, [gules—no colours are present] a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed [or] (for Talbot); 2 and 3, [argent] a bend between six martlets [gules] (for Furnival

²Otway-Ruthven, ‘Background to the arrest of Christopher Preston’, pp 78-80; Cosgrove, ‘Parliament in Ireland’, p. 599.

³*Reg. Fleming*, p. 165, no. 260.

⁴*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 238b.

⁵*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 250, no. 16.

⁶*A.F.M.*, s.a. 1447; O’Donovan, ‘The annals of Ireland 1443-68’, p. 219; Gilbert, *Viceroy*, pp 349-50; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, p. 107; Katharine Simms, ‘The king’s friend: O’Neill, the crown and the Earldom of Ulster’ in Lydon, *England and Ireland in the later middle ages*, pp 214-36, at p. 221.

⁷Betham, *Dignities*, i, pp 365-6; Gilbert, *Viceroy*, p. 349.

(Talbot's wife)).⁸ The shield is supported by two talbots (a breed of hound, now extinct) passant. While the entire piece does not appear to be ancient, nothing is known of its origin.

Although the building has traditionally been called 'Talbot's Castle' (see APPENDIX SIXTEEN),⁹ locally it is more commonly known as 'St Mary's Abbey'. The latter name clearly derives from its proximity to the former St Mary's Augustinian abbey (see CHAPTER EIGHT), and it appears that some of the present building once formed part of the monastic complex. The building became the Diocesan School (sometimes known as the 'Latin School') for Meath in the eighteenth century,¹⁰ and in 1743 it was described as 'part of the building of St Mary's [Augustinian] Abbey'.¹¹ Indeed, a report of the Commission for Irish Education of 1827 described it as 'a very old building forming part of the quadrangle of St Mary's Abbey'.¹²



FIGS 9.3-4 One of two flights of stairs leading from basement to ground floor.

⁸A. C. Fox-Davies, *A complete guide to heraldry* (New York, 1909; reprinted 1993), p. 541, fig. 754.

⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 59, 293 ('from the Corporation Book, and inquisition').

¹⁰There had been a diocesan grammar school in Trim from at least 1567, but one cannot be sure of its location until the eighteenth century, see Michael Quane, 'Meath Diocesan School' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, iv, no. 5 (1971), pp 40-59.

¹¹Registry of Deeds, Book 110, Mem. 77310, p. 294.

¹²Quane, 'Meath Diocesan School', p. 53.

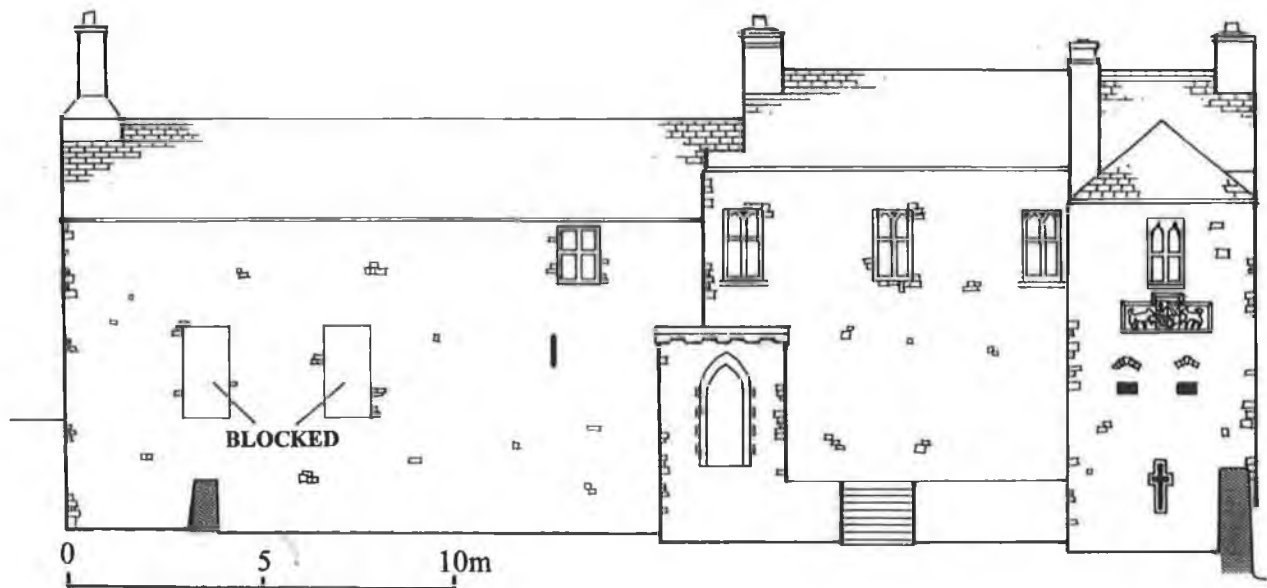


FIG. 9.5 Talbot's Castle: north elevation. After Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, fig. 49.

The architectural evidence

As it appears today, the building has a somewhat manorial appearance, resulting from a major phase of rebuilding carried out *c.*1909 by Archibald Montgomery (see FIGS 9.1 and 9.5). An attic storey was added with yellow brick gables to the west end, while a variety of pointed eighteenth-century sash windows and Gothic-French windows were retained throughout the rest of the building. Nonetheless, the medieval origins of the building are still clearly apparent.

The west end is particularly distinctive. It is a tower (measuring 9 x 4.5m) of two storeys over a vaulted basement with a square turret at the northwest angle. The punched limestone rubble and large square embrasures in the basement are similar to those of the Yellow Steeple and support an early to mid fifteenth-century date.

Adjoining the tower on the east is a longer (15m) range, also of two storeys over a basement. The basement of the entire building (including the tower) is vaulted and measures 25 x 4.5m internally. It has been suggested that this long undercroft functioned at some stage as the refectory of St Mary's Augustinian priory.¹³

¹³Lord Killanin and M. V. Duignan, *The Shell guide to Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1967), p. 445; Casey and Rowan, *North Leinster*, pp 516-7.



FIGS 9.6-7 Gallery in the southeast corner of the drawing room.

Two straight flights of stairs (see FIGS 9.3-4) lead from the basement to the upper storey, which contains large panelled rooms, created in 1909. At the east end is a drawing room, off the southeast corner of which opens a type of gallery or oriel window, roofed over by two bays of quadripartite vaulting, springing from octagonal shafts, all of punched grey limestone (see FIGS 9.6-7). Comparing this to the refectory building at Newtown Trim, Casey and Rowan suggested that ‘this is the characteristic position of the reader’s desk or gallery from which the scripture was read while the monks ate their meals’.¹⁴



FIG. 9.8 Medieval window heads and hood-moulds of probable fifteenth-century date were reused in the construction of several windows at Talbot’s Castle. These two are on second floor level on the south façade.

On the floor above, some windows in the south façade incorporate fragments of fifteenth-century, ogee-headed, cusped lights, presumably found on-site and reused (see FIGS 9.8-10). The decorated windows are surmounted by hood-moulding

¹⁴Casey and Rowan, *North Leinster*, p. 517.

externally and there are angel shield-bearers in the spandrels internally. Unfortunately, the shields are now blank and it is not known what arms they originally displayed. The timber mullions and transoms are later in date but the stone bases of the windows are medieval and grooves for glass are present (see FIG. 9.10).



FIG. 9.9 Interior of cusped ogee heads on one of the second floor windows



FIG. 9.10 The base of the windows is also medieval and grooves for glass are present.



FIGS 9.11-13 Carved head of female with long hair in garden at Talbot's Castle.

On the south side of the building is an enclosed garden stretching down to the banks of the Boyne (see FIG. 9.1). There are two semi-circular turrets at the waterfront, but the date of these features is not known. Scattered around the rockery and garden are a variety of medieval masonry fragments including window mullions, sections of architrave, at least one capital and the carved head

of a longhaired, crowned female (see FIGS 9.11-22). It may be that at least some of these pieces originated in other parts of St Mary's monastic complex.



FIG. 9.14 Capital reused in wall at south end of garden at Talbot's Castle.



FIGS 9.15-22 Miscellaneous fragments of medieval masonry in garden at Talbot's Castle.

II - 'Nangle's Castle'

Introduction

Situated in Abbey Lane immediately north of Talbot's Castle, this medieval building is completely neglected and has a galvanised roof allowing it to function as a farm-shed. The derivation of the name 'Nangle's Castle' is unclear and there is no known medieval documentary material relating to the building.



FIG. 9.23 The remains of Nangle's Castle: east façade.

The architectural evidence

The long axis of this rectangular building is aligned northwest/southeast and measures 17.1m externally. The short axis is 7m in length, while there is a slight inward batter of 4cm from ground to top. The walls, which are constructed of neatly cut blocks of limestone masonry, survive to first floor level only and large parts of the south and north walls show signs of modern re-building. Three modern doorways have been inserted into the south wall, which survives to a height of 2.9m. A single modern entrance has been punched in the north wall, which also reaches 2.9m in height. The end walls are slightly higher than the sidewalls, attaining 6.8m in maximum height.

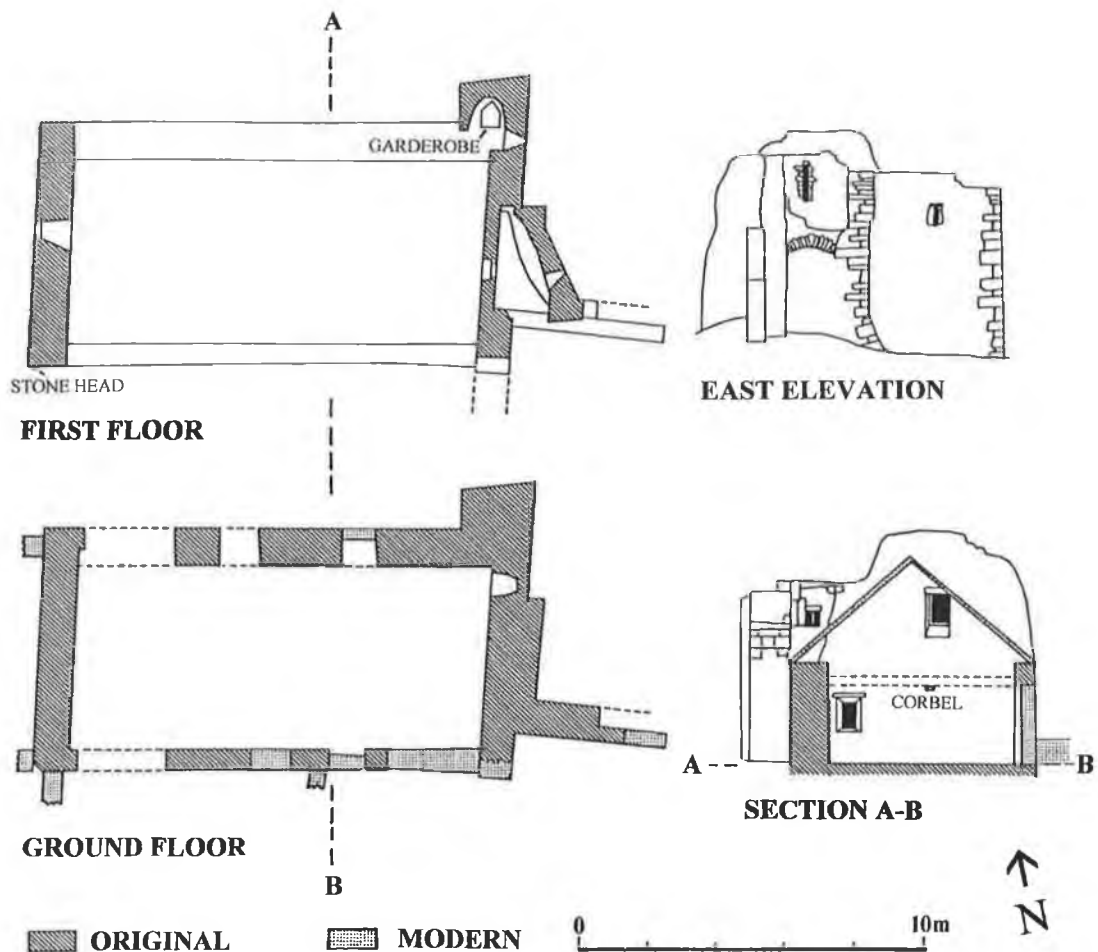


FIG. 9.24 Nangle's Castle: plans, elevation and section. Source: Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv.*, Meath, fig. 50.

The ground floor is featureless except for a recess in the east wall. There is a small rectangular annex in the northeast corner at first floor level, to accommodate a garderobe, which is lit by a straight lintelled slit with internal splay (see FIG. 9.24). The east wall, which shows signs of conservation work by the Office of Public Works (now *Dúchas: the Heritage Service*), has a corbelled extension at first floor level lit by a single straight slit. The west wall has a similar slit at first floor level. No trace of battlements survives.

On the first floor of the east wall are two window loops (1 and 2). On the exterior (or east façade) of the east wall are the remains of two turrets (A and B). Turret A stood at the southeast corner of the site. Between the inside of the south wall of this turret and the east wall of the site is a squinch, or arch, spanning the angle between the two walls. This feature is 2.3m above the ground, at first floor level,

below window loop 1. It consists of thirteen upright voussoirs with a triangular one at the centre. The centre is 30cm above the skewbacks on either side.

At the north end of the exterior façade of the east wall are the remains of Turret B which projects to the north of the site. Window loop 2 is situated in the east wall of the first floor of this turret

To the south of window loop 2 the east wall projects by 50cm, the base of which projection has a base batter on the north side. The batter is of 50cm and reaches a height of 1m from the ground. At 3.75m from the ground the corner of this projection projects a further 10cm to the east and 20cm to the north.

What appears to be an eroded stone head projects at the southwest corner of the west wall (see FIG. 9.25). It is likely that this feature was brought here from an earlier building, probably the nearby St Mary's Abbey. The head can be compared to the example from the north face of the turret in Clondalkin.¹⁵



FIG. 9.25 Eroded stone head.

Discussion

Despite its ruined and somewhat altered condition, and the absence of diagnostic dating features, enough survives of this building to indicate that it is an example of a late medieval fortified townhouse.¹⁶ The only original windows are narrow and are situated on the first floor. The existence of two turrets, a batter in the walls and a window loop defending a squinch, are standard features of a fortified house, while the garderobe on the first floor can also be paralleled at other sites within the

¹⁵Ben Murtagh, 'The fortified town houses of the English Pale in the later middle ages' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Archaeology, U.C.D., 1982), p. 79, plate xib.

¹⁶Bradley, *Urban archaeol. surv., Meath*, pp 157-8; Murtagh, 'The fortified town houses', pp 131-6.

Pale.¹⁷ No trace survives of an original doorway leading into the ground floor chamber, or a stairway leading from this chamber to the first floor, or of a fireplace on the first floor. It is possible that the original entrance was situated in the southeast turret (Turret A), in which it is likely that there was a timber staircase giving access to the first floor. Access to the main first floor chamber may have been from the east chamber, through a doorway in the wall separating them where there is now a modern window. It is likely that a wooden stairway connected the ground floor chamber with the one above it.

The site is not connected architecturally to the nearby Talbot's Castle. Unlike the latter, there is no evidence to suggest that it ever had a barrel vault. It is also architecturally unrelated to the nearby 'Yellow Steeple', despite a suggestion to the contrary by Killanin and Duignan.¹⁸ Nevertheless, its features and construction suggest a date somewhere in the fifteenth century for its erection.

¹⁷Murtagh, 'The fortified town houses'.

¹⁸Lord Killanin and M. V. Duignan, *The Shell guide to Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1967), p. 445.



CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

Research on the archaeology and history of urban Ireland has so far been focused on the country's largest towns.¹ In order to gain an overall understanding of urban development and town life in Ireland in the middle ages, however, it is essential to look not only to the most prominent of our medieval urban centres, but also to the smaller, more typical, market towns. The groundbreaking work of the Urban Archaeology Survey has not yet been followed up satisfactorily and, with the exception of a series of important research papers by Bradley,² and one or two other notable publications,³ Ireland's smaller medieval towns have been neglected. The present case-study has endeavoured to produce a comprehensive report on medieval urban life in Trim, but it is also intended as a contribution to the interpretation of the development of other towns in Ireland. By extension, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the growing corpus of work already published on medieval towns in Britain⁴ and on the Continent.⁵

¹Hurley and Scully with McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford*; M. D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway: the history of a Norman colony in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1942); P. F. Wallace, 'The origins of Dublin' in B. G. Scott (ed.), *Studies in early Ireland* (Belfast, 1981), pp 129-43; P. F. Wallace, 'A reappraisal of the archaeological significance of Wood Quay' in John Bradley (ed.), *Viking Dublin exposed: the Wood Quay saga* (Dublin, 1984), pp 112-33; P. F. Wallace, 'Archaeology and the emergence of Dublin as the principal town of Ireland' in John Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland* (Kilkenny, 1988), pp 123-60; P. F. Wallace, 'The archaeology of Viking Dublin' in Clarke & Simms, *The comparative history*, i, pp 103-45; P. F. Wallace, 'The archaeology of Anglo-Norman Dublin' in Clarke & Simms, *The comparative history*, ii, pp 379-410.

²John Bradley *et al*, Urban Archaeology Survey (unpublished reports prepared for the Office of Public Works, 1984-90); Bradley, 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland'; *idem*, 'The medieval towns of County Meath'; *idem*, *The topography and layout of medieval Drogheda* (Drogheda, 1997); *idem*, *Walled towns in Ireland*.

³T. G. Delaney, 'The archaeology of the Irish town' in M. W. Barley (ed.), *European towns: their archaeology and early history* (London, 1977), pp 48-84; Paul Gosling, *From Dún Deilca to Dundalk: The topography and archaeology of a medieval frontier town A.D. c.1187-1700* (Dundalk, 1993).

⁴Robert Bearman (ed.), *The history of an English borough: Stratford-Upon-Avon 1196-1996* (Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1997); M. O. H. Carver, *Arguments in stone: archaeological research and the European town in the first millennium* (Oxford, 1993); *idem*, *Medieval Worcester: an archaeological framework* (Worcester, 1980); *idem*, *Underneath English Towns: Interpreting urban archaeology* (London, 1987); Elizabeth Ewan, *Townlife in fourteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990); R. A. Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 1978); Peter Leach, *The archaeology of Taunton* (Gloucester, 1984); Michael Lynch, Michael Spearman and Geoffrey Stell (ed.), *The Scottish medieval town* (Edinburgh, 1988); Patrick Ottaway, *Archaeology in British towns: from the Emperor Claudius to the Black Death* (London, 1992); Platt, *The English medieval town*; Susan Reynolds, *An introduction to the history of English medieval towns* (Oxford, 1977); John Schofield and Roger Leech (ed.), *Urban archaeology in Britain* (The Council for British Archaeology, research report no. 61., London, 1987); Soulsby, *The towns of medieval Wales*.

⁵André Chédeville, Jacques Le Goff and Jacques Rossiaud, *La ville en France au Moyen Âge: des Carolingiens à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1980; 2nd ed. 1998); Noël Coulet and Olivier Guyotjeannin

The four editions of Richard Butler's nineteenth-century work on Trim remain the starting point for any research on the history of the town. Since Butler's time, however, much of the medieval fabric of Trim has been significantly altered and the urban landscape has been transformed. Indeed, the Watergate and large sections of the town wall have been demolished entirely. In addition, a fire in the Four Courts in June 1922 destroyed a vast section of the documentary records for medieval Ireland—records to which Butler clearly had access and to which he sometimes tantalisingly refers.

On the other hand, the researcher of the twenty-first century can build on the fruits of Butler's research. In the intervening years, an array of documentary sources of which Butler was unaware have come to light, archaeological excavation has added an important strand to the investigation of the past, and a rethinking of research approaches and techniques, particularly in terms of analysis and interpretation, has fine-tuned the methodology of the student of medieval Ireland. Consequently, it has been possible to expand on the narrative work of Richard Butler in an analytical way, to flesh out passing notices, to fill some of the gaps and to reassess some of his interpretations.

Lordship and town

In April 1172 Henry II issued Hugh de Lacy with a charter granting to him the whole of the ancient kingdom of Meath and the right to appoint officers for its government. De Lacy selected Trim as the *caput* of his new lordship and it was to become the administrative centre of Meath, with its focus of control and organisation at the castle, the construction of which must have got underway soon after Henry II made his grant to de Lacy. The land was fertile and productive, there was an established crossing point on the river, the location was known to traders and merchants, and a certain level of organisation was already in

(ed.), *La ville au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998), Georges Duby, *Histoire de la France urbaine* (2 vols, Paris, 1980); G. P. Fehring, *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1996); László Gerevich, *Towns in medieval Hungary* (Budapest, 1990); H. Schlederman, 'The idea of the town: typology, definitions and approaches to the study of the medieval town in northern Europe' in *World Archaeology*, ii, no. 2 (1970), pp 115-127; Esquieu, *La ville au Moyen Age*.

existence. Trim Castle was built on land belonging to the church, and rent for the site of the castle, town and bridge was paid to the church from the twelfth to the nineteenth century.

The development of Trim from the 1170s cannot be fully understood in isolation from the lordship of Meath. The importance of the town necessitated a strong emphasis on fortification and defence, the location there of government officers called for appropriate facilities, and the development of the town as a focal point attracted settlers, traders, religious orders, and of course thieves, cripples and beggars. Trim's central location and its prominent position politically also meant that it was a suitable venue for parliament, which convened there on no fewer than ten occasions in the fifteenth century alone.

Trim was a dual-purpose town. On the one hand, it functioned as the *caput* of a rich and extensive lordship, while on the other it developed as a fortified market town with extensive mercantile connections and an independent administration. In charting the political development of the lordship and the succession of its lords and ladies from 1172 to the division of Meath into two counties in 1541, it has been possible to trace the workings of the lordship and to identify the different strands within its administrative framework. The government of the town itself had its own responsibilities for, among other things, the upkeep of the town, the maintenance of the walls (from 1400), the collection of taxes, accounting to the exchequer and keeping the peace.

The lordship was held successively by three important families: the de Lacys; de Genevilles; and Mortimers, before being inherited by Richard, duke of York, in 1425. Throughout this time the lordship was periodically under pressure from various quarters. Geographically adjacent to a generally antagonistic Dublin administration that persisted in its efforts to seize the lands of the lordship and particularly its revenues, the extraordinary rights and privileges enjoyed by the lords of Meath also attracted envious attention and required constant defence. Sharing lengthy borders with Ulster, Connaught and Leinster also engendered

unease while, from within, instability was heightened by the actions of 'Irish enemies' and 'English rebels'. The running and defence of the lordship was further unsettled by frequently absent lords and especially by periods of minority and forfeiture. Interestingly, however, it is during such periods that records are fullest—the Dublin administration kept detailed accounts on aspects of finance, property, crime and punishment and building projects. Some of these records survive while most of those produced by the Trim administration disappeared mysteriously towards the end of the fifteenth century.

By the close of the fifteenth century the pressures on the lordship had grown too great. Declining revenues and the contraction of the area under government control meant that maintaining an extensive lordship was unfeasible. Even to govern such a large county became impossible, and its inevitable partition in 1541 signalled the end of an era.

When the lordship suffered, the town suffered, and with the declining fortunes and final abolition of the liberty, the wealth and importance of the town also faded. Although parliament was to sit there once more in the year after the county was divided, Trim was no longer a centre for anything more than local administration—and even that was considerably reduced by 1541.

Trade and commerce

A picture of the trading and commercial functions of Trim has been derived from an analysis of murage grants, town charters, and government and administrative records. This has been supplemented by the numismatic and ceramic evidence revealed through archaeological investigation and the chance discovery of artefacts. It has been demonstrated that there was a weekly market and an annual fair attracting merchants from around the country. Trade in cloth appears to have been particularly important, and there is evidence for merchants travelling from England and Flanders. Trade was strictly regulated, weights and measures were checked and taxes were levied and collected systematically. There is evidence that a variety of occupations were practised within the town: millers, bakers,

goldsmiths, cartwrights, tanners, shoemakers and leatherworkers are all attested, in either the documents or the archaeology, while carpenters, masons, metalworkers and other craftsmen were frequently employed in construction projects.

Topographical features

Trim Castle

The castle was the hub of the lordship government, housing the chancery, exchequer, treasury, prison, garrison and hall as well as functioning as the repository for all documentary records. It housed a chapel and chaplain's quarters and served as the primary residence of the lord and his inner household.

Excavations by Alan Hayden have revealed unequivocal evidence for the presence of a ringwork castle beneath the present masonry keep. The archaeological evidence can be neatly merged with the documentary record. The ringwork was first erected in 1172 but was destroyed and burnt by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair the following winter (1172-3). In the subsequent rebuilding of 1173 a new palisade was erected as well as a series of other structures. The annals known as *Mac Carthaigh's Book* record the building of a castle at Trim in 1176 and this may be a reference to the completion of the first phase of the masonry keep. A timber from the earliest phase of this stone structure returned a dendrochronological date of 1175±9 and it is likely that this year marked the end of the ringwork phase of Trim Castle.

While the plan of the keep can be compared to those at Warkworth Castle (Northumberland), Castle Rushen (Isle of Man), and Orford Castle (Suffolk), no structure offers a true parallel to the Trim keep and it must be viewed as unique. It has been shown that the walls, windows and doorways were laid out following a strict geometric plan, and that many of the measurements are multiples of a unit equivalent to 70cm, as is the case at Maynooth Castle. A study of the internal arrangements of the keep has revealed how the two essential roles of the

building—as an administrative headquarters and a private residence—were carried out simultaneously but independently.

Excavations also revealed the remains of a large three-aisled hall in the northwest angle of the curtain walls. This structure appears to have been built towards the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, coinciding with the transferral out of the keep of some of the domestic functions of the castle. Adjacent to the hall, an enlarged and renovated mural tower comprised a suite of rooms attached only to the hall itself and would have provided a convenient solar for the lord and his family.

Town defences

The medieval town was enclosed by a fortified wall. In addition to its role in defence, the wall served as a highly visible division between the town and the countryside. It was a physical expression of the legal separateness of the town, the civic identity of its inhabitants, and the power of the community. Gates served as collection points for tolls and represented for many incomers the first contact with town government, reminding them of the organisation and regulations they could expect to find within. Visible from afar, the walls and gates would have symbolised the internal order of the town. Their construction was expensive and as such they embodied substantial collective effort and investment.

Information on the course and development of the wall and the position of the gates at Trim derives from the documentary evidence of medieval murage grants and later antiquarian accounts, nineteenth-century maps and photographs, archaeological excavations, the alignment of property boundaries, toponymy, and on what survives of the town's defences. It is estimated that the combined walled areas, north and south of the river, enclosed an area of between twenty and twenty-three hectares, making it Ireland's eleventh largest walled town, similar in area to medieval Waterford and Wexford

Streets

Within the walled area, the unusual street pattern is a reflection of the various phases in the evolution of the town. The dominant curving pattern, from which most of the subsequent development stemmed, may follow the boundary of an early ecclesiastical settlement. The streets extending from the west and north of this curve represent later expansion, and the regular intervals at which they occur on this curve suggest that this was an organised development. South of the Boyne, the linear nature of Market Street (the widest street in the town) and the streets associated with it clearly represents an important phase of planned urban genesis. The most rigidly linear section of the town is extra-mural and may represent a suburban expansion of medieval Trim in the area centred on what is today Emmet Street and running south to Patrick Street and Newhaggard Road.

Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that the streets were cobbled and that the surfaces were repaired periodically and sometimes re-laid completely. Some of the streets may have been kerbed.

Burgage plots and property boundaries

It is a feature of most towns of medieval origin that contemporary property boundaries follow the lines of medieval divisions. The initial plot pattern was a remarkably stable element of the town-plan, due, in part, to the logistical difficulties involved in altering established divisions, but especially to the legal attributes of burgages. Unfortunately, no specific records relating to the medieval burgages of Trim survive in documentary form, and the best source of information is the town-plan itself.

The present property divisions suggest that long burgage plots were the standard form. An analysis of the 25 properties on the west side of Watergate Street and Emmet Street, revealed a high degree of regularity in the plot width. The layout of the properties appears to be based on a unit equivalent to 9.1m, and a similar pattern is discernible in other parts of the town. Conzen's analysis of the town-plan at Alnwick showed that almost 84% of the plots in the oldest part of that

borough fitted a 'standard' burgage width of 8.5-9.8m or some fraction or multiple thereof, much like the case identified at Trim. Conzen related this 'standard' measurement to the width of a two bay medieval building placed crossways on the plot. The statute perch measured 5.03m, but 'customary' (or local) perches are known to have varied from at least 3 to 7.3m. It is possible that the unit used in the laying out of the plots at Trim was a customary perch equivalent to 4.55m.

Bridge

One of the reasons for the early importance of Trim was the presence there of a ford. In time, the ford was replaced by a bridge, almost certainly of timber. The earliest reference to the bridge of Trim dates to 1194, and this may have been on the site of the present structure. The present bridge appears to have been constructed after an earlier one was destroyed by floods in 1330. On the basis of the architectural evidence and its similarity to Old Baal's Bridge in Limerick, the bridge at Trim can be dated to the period between 1330 and 1350, making it one of the oldest bridges still in daily use in Ireland.

St Patrick's Church

The parish church was a key component in any medieval town. The rectory of St Patrick's at Trim was one of the most valuable in Ireland and was much sought-after, leading to a number of disputes over appointments. By the late fifteenth century, however, many of the rectors were absent. Interestingly, the architectural evidence suggests a period of wealth, apparently generated by endowments, followed quite quickly by a period of decline.

The medieval ecclesiastical remains consist of a tower, a chancel and a collection of memorial monuments and miscellaneous masonry fragments. The evidence from these features indicates an important phase of construction at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The representation of a series of armorial shields on the piscina, a plaque on the wall of the tower, two plaques now within the tower and several other heraldic shields, now lost, demonstrates

that the Mortimers were important benefactors of this church. It also appears that Richard, duke of York was a benefactor and it is likely that the declining fortunes of the church coincide with York's death in 1460 and the subsequent transfer of Trim to crown hands.

Religious houses

Three religious orders were present in Trim in the middle ages. The Augustinians established a house on high ground on the north bank of the Boyne in the middle of the twelfth century and remained there until the dissolution. A Dominican priory was founded by Geoffrey de Geneville in 1263 outside the town walls to the north, while the Franciscans were located on the south bank of the river next to the castle.

Nothing remains of either the Dominican or Franciscan houses. The Yellow Steeple is the belfry of the Augustinian priory and was probably erected in the second half of the fourteenth century, after a fire in 1368. The church appears to have been attached to the south wall of the belfry, although no remains of this survive. The basement and ground floor of the nearby Talbot's Castle almost certainly formed part of the monastic complex.

Leper hospital

The earliest known reference to the leper hospital in Trim dates to 1335. Contemporary information relating to the hospital is scarce, but it seems that it was closely associated with the chapel in Trim Castle. The site seems to have been abandoned in the fifteenth century, and it came into the hands of the Franciscans by 1540. All that remains on the site are the foundations and lowest courses of a small church with an arch between the nave and chancel.

Fortified townhouses

Talbot's Castle is one of two medieval fortified townhouses in Trim. It is likely that at least some of this structure formed part of the monastic complex of St Mary's Augustinian priory, and it was probably transformed and enlarged after

the dissolution. Immediately to the north of Talbot's Castle is Nangle's Castle, but this building is completely neglected and has a galvanised roof allowing it to function as a farm-shed. No documentary evidence survives for either of these structures.

Miscellaneous

In addition to the medieval structures represented by the upstanding remains at Trim, the documentary record attests the presence of a frankhouse, a guildhall, orchards, gardens, water mills and an eel weir.

From the evidence of archaeology, architecture and the documents, this study has elucidated a series of previously unidentified or undeveloped features in the evolution and functions of medieval Trim. Trim developed as a dual-purpose town. It functioned as the administrative hub of the lordship and as a centre for commerce, craft and trade. The relationship between castle and town was mutually beneficial, and one that was to play a key role throughout the middle ages. The extent of the lordship was reflected in the scale of the castle, while the security provided by this fortification attracted the establishment of three religious houses and enabled the town to grow and prosper. The relationship between castle and town was a feature of most of Ireland's medieval urban centres and, in this respect, this is an area on which the present study may throw some light.

The protection afforded by Trim Castle was also a factor in the transfer by Bishop Simon de Rochfort of his cathedral from Clonard to Newtown Trim in 1202.⁶ Clonard had been attacked and burned two years earlier,⁷ and Rochfort's new site was strategically located, less than 2km to the east of Trim, within clear view of the castle. Nonetheless, the fact that the cathedral was 2km away and not in the town itself meant that Trim was lacking one important component. This missing link is almost certainly the reason that Trim did not develop into a major medieval town or city.

⁶*Cal. Papal Letters, 1396-1404*, pp 74-5.

The number and range of the documentary sources for Newtown Trim, as well as the extent of the physical remains there meant that it could not be included in the present study. It would, however, be an ideal candidate for a future campaign of research, particularly in the light of the present work.

The conventional picture of medieval Irish towns shows a period of general decline and contraction after *c.*1320. This is not the case for Trim. Here, a period of sustained growth and consolidation was maintained throughout the fourteenth century. In fact, this period witnessed a number of major construction projects: murage grants were issued in 1290, 1308 and 1316; repairs were carried out at the Franciscan friary after 1330; the bridge was built sometime between 1330 and 1350; the Yellow Steeple was erected soon after 1368; parts of the parish church were rebuilt and several episodes of construction took place at the castle. The fourteenth century was a boom period for Trim, and is marked by strength and prosperity.

The decline in the fortunes of the town, anticipated elsewhere in urban Ireland one hundred years earlier, did not begin until the fifteenth century, and even then it was not until the second half of the century that a nadir was reached. Richard, duke of York, died in 1460 and the lordship passed to the crown for the rest of the middle ages. Without a powerful lord with a personal interest in the town, without a benefactor of the parish church and religious houses and, most especially, without an administrative presence at the castle, Trim slipped from significance. These developments underline the symbiotic relationship between castle and town—without one, the other struggles to survive.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Trim was weak and depopulated. Buildings were in ruins and the town's defences were in need of repair. By the time of the dissolution the monasteries were already in decline and their communities were small. The county was partitioned and the town was

⁷*A.F.M., s.a.* 1200.

impoverished. Trim had been central; by 1541 it was an outpost, on the very furthest outreaches of the lands administered by the Dublin government.

This case-study is the first comprehensive presentation of the archaeology, architecture and history of any medieval Irish town. In 1835 Richard Butler expressed a wish that his work would 'lay the foundation for something better'. Similarly, it is hoped that the present study will lay the foundation for further research on the urban experience of medieval Ireland.



CATALOGUE OF MEDIEVAL ARTEFACTS FROM TRIM

CATALOGUE OF MEDIEVAL ARTEFACTS FROM TRIM

The following is a catalogue of 'stray finds', i.e. objects that were not discovered during archaeological excavations. Most of the artefacts were found within the town of Trim itself, but where this is not the case, the provenance of the object is given. The entries are arranged chronologically, based on the estimated date of manufacture of the artefacts, insofar as that can be ascertained. Where possible, each entry includes a catalogue number and name, the present location of the artefact (if known), any information relating to the discovery of the object and/or its recent history, a more detailed description of the artefact, its dimensions and a list of published references.

Abbreviations used in catalogue

W = width

Wt = weight

Int. = internal

L = length

Nat. Mus. Ire. = National Museum of Ireland

T = thickness

Ht = height

Ext. = external

Diam. = diameter

B.M. = British Museum

1. **Bronze ring pin** [Nat. Mus. Ire. 1883:13; store: D.31.16]. From 'St. John's Castle', Trim.

Description: The head of this bronze ring pin is almost flat. The ring is round in section.

Dimensions: L (including loop): 11.1cm; ext. diam. of ring: 2.25cm.

Published reference: R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 565.

2. **Bronze stickpin** [Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 918.33.64]. See FIG. 11.1. Found near Trim in March 1842.

Description: This bronze stickpin has a squared spatulate head with collar defined by deep incised grooves.

Dimensions: L: 7.6cm; W: 3.5cm.

Published reference: Francis Pryor, 'A descriptive catalogue of some ancient Irish metalwork in the collections of The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cvi (1976), pp 73-91, at pp 82, 86.

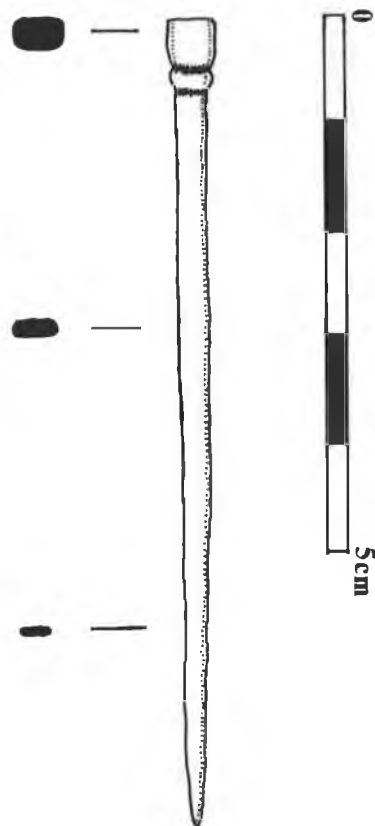


FIG. 11.1 Bronze stick-pin found at Trim [CATALOGUE no. 2]. After Pryor, 'A descriptive catalogue', p. 82, no. 63.

3. **Bronze crucifix** [Nat. Mus. Ire. 1902:3; currently on display (exhibition notice reads 'copper alloy altar cross, c. 1470'). Found in Trim in 1901 'on the site of what is known as the Greek Church' but came into the possession of Rev. William Falkiner of Killucan, Co. Westmeath. It was later acquired by the Nat. Mus. Ire. for £4.

Description: The upper projection of the cross appears to have been broken and repaired in antiquity. Both the front and the back of the cross are decorated all over with scored ornament that includes interlaced patterns, pseudo-fret designs and quatrefoils. The ends of the top and arms of the cross expand into a circular area, each of which has a central and three other perforations, possibly for the attachment of a symbol of one of the evangelists. The bottom also expands, but less widely, and has only one large, central perforation. The figure of Christ was attached to the cross with three rivets, one through each of the hands and the third through the crossed feet—only the rivet through the right hand remains. Most of the left arm is missing. There is a perforation in the cross above the head of Christ, possibly for the attachment of a sign reading INRI.

Dimensions: L: 31.3cm; W across arms: 16.7cm; average width of arms, shaft and head of cross: 9mm; average thickness of arms, shaft and head of cross: 2mm; Length of figure: 12.7cm.

Published references: John Healy, 'Crucifix found at Trim' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1901), p. 176; R.I.A. Catalogue, 1886-1928, p. 210; Colum Hourihane, 'Holye crossys': a catalogue of processional, altar, pendant and crucifix figures for late medieval Ireland' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, c, no. 1 (2000), sect. C, pp 1-85.

4. **Ring brooch** [Nat. Mus. Ire. R 4001]. See FIG. 11.2 below. This artefact once formed part of the collection of the R.I.A. to whom it was presented by Harriet Butler, after the death of her husband, Dean Richard Butler. In her memoir of the Dean, Harriet recorded that a large gold ring, 'with two clasped hands' was dug up in the castle yard, apparently 'under the original foundation'.¹

Description (based on Deevy, pp 123-4): This is a Deevy Class 7 brooch. It has a gold circular frame with a rectangular cross-section. A pair of hands holding a collet (now empty) project from the frame. Another pair of clasped hands is incorporated into the frame. The frame is decorated with the Lombardic inscriptions *SUIXEXEMILIDAM* on the front face and *+AMEIAMEA* on the reverse. The inscription on the front face is perhaps a corruption of the medieval French love inscription 'I am here in the place of a friend you love'. The pin is missing but would have been attached at the right-hand side of the frame.

Dimensions: Diam: 1.7cm; T: 2mm; Ht: 0.8mm; Wt 1.95g.

Published references: Harriet Butler, 'A memoir of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, and Vicar of Trim' (unpublished, 1863), pp 96-7; M. B. Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland: a study of jewellery, dress and society* (Bray, 1998), RB 123, pp 123-4, plate 19; R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 275.

5. **Ring brooch** [Nat. Mus. Ire. R 4003; store: OC.35.13]. See FIG. 11.3 above. This artefact once formed part of the collection of the R.I.A. to whom it was presented by Harriet Butler, after the death of her husband, Dean Richard Butler. In her memoir of the Dean, Harriet recorded that a large silver ring was dug up in the rectory garden, and it appears that the object in question was a silver ring brooch.²

Description (based on Deevy, p. 116): This is a Deevy Class 3b brooch. It has a silver circular frame with a rectangular cross-section. The front face is

¹Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', pp 96-7; Ellison, 'Richard Butler', p. 136.

²Harriet Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', pp 96-7; Ellison, 'Richard Butler', p. 136.

decorated as a laurel wreath. The frame is formed of two twisted rings attached to each other, with the twists facing in opposite directions. These are attached to a plain flat base. A central 'stalk' is incorporated between the leaves of the laurel. The pin has a plano-convex cross-section, a simple loop and a flanged transverse ridge with a double moulding.

Dimensions: Diam: 2.7cm; T: 3mm; Ht: 1.6mm; Wt 3.83g.

Published references: Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, RB 103, p. 116, plate 11; R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 275.



FIGS 11.2-3 (Left) gold ring brooch found at Trim [CATALOGUE no. 4]. After Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, plate 19. (Right) silver ring brooch found at Trim [CATALOGUE no. 5]. After Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, plate 11.

6. **Ring brooch** [Nat. Mus. Ire. R 4002; currently on display where its provenance is erroneously given as Newtown Trim]. See FIGS 11.4-5 below. This artefact once formed part of the collection of the R.I.A. to whom it was presented by Harriet Butler, after the death of her husband, Dean Richard Butler. In 1854, Richard Butler recorded that 'there was lately dug up in the castle yard a large silver gilt brooch, engraved with the names of the three kings of Cologne—Jaspar, Melcair, and Balticar'.³

Description (based on Deevy, pp 109-10): This is a Deevy Class 2b brooch. It has a silver circular frame with a wide rectangular cross-section. The front face is decorated in relief with the Black Letter inscription *ihc n r i* intertwined with a foliate scroll of oak leaves and acorns. The reverse is

³Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 160.

decorated with the Black Letter inscription *IACPAR:MELCHAR: BALTICAR*. The intervening areas on both faces are crosshatched. The pin has a plano-convex section, a pincer loop and a flanged transverse ridge with double moulding. The inscription on the front is an abbreviated version of the titulus and that on the reverse is a version of the names of the three magi—Casper, Melchior and Balthasar. The use of black-letter script on this brooch indicates a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century for its fabrication.

Dimensions: Diam: 2.95cm; T: 7mm; Ht: 1mm; Wt 6.63g.

Published references: Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, RB 80, pp 109-10, plates 6,7; R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 275.



FIGS 11.4-5 Silver ring brooch found at Trim [CATALOGUE no. 6]. Front (left) and back. After Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, plates 6,7.

7. **Ring brooch** [Nat. Mus. Ire. 1862:710]. Although its provenance is not specified, a fourth ring-brooch from Dean Butler's collection may also have been found at Trim. The glass bead listed above was reputedly found 'with one gold and three silver brooches at Trim'.⁴ Although it is known that the gold brooch and two of the silver brooches were each found in a different location within the town, the reference suggests that the fourth brooch may also be from Trim. Two further ring-brooches were recovered during excavations at Trim Castle in 1994-5, suggesting that this form of dress-fastener was widely used in the town in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵

Description: This brooch has a silver circular frame with a sub-triangular cross-section. The frame is decorated as a 'laurel wreath'. It is formed of two twisted rings attached to each other, with the twists facing in opposite directions. A central 'stalk' is attached onto one side of the 'laurel' so that the frame takes on an almost triangular cross-section. The pin has a plano-convex cross-section, a simple loop and a flanged transverse ridge.

⁴R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 565.

⁵Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, pp 131-2.

Dimensions: Diam: 14mm; T: 2mm; Ht: 1.2mm; Wt 0.91g.

Published reference: Deevy, *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland*, RB 104, p. 116, plate 11.

8. **Portion of an iron spike key** [Nat. Mus. Ire. WK.48; W.31; store: B.24.10]. This artefact once formed part of the collection of Dean Butler, but was subsequently donated to the R.I.A. 'Found probably in the neighbourhood of Trim'.

Dimensions: L: 11.5cm.

Published references: Wakeman Catalogue of R.I.A. (1894), p. 40 of R.I.A. copy, no. 48; Wilde catalogue, p. 551, no. 31, where it is listed under section on bronze keys.

9. **Iron key** [Nat. Mus. Ire. WK.25; store: B.24.9]. This artefact once formed part of the collection of Dean Butler, but was subsequently donated to the R.I.A. Found 'probably in Trim'.

Description: Plain iron key.

Dimensions: L: 10.8cm.

Published reference: Wakeman Catalogue of R.I.A. (1894), p. 39 of R.I.A. copy, no. 25.



FIG. 11.6 Seal of abbot of Augustinian abbeys of Trim and Durrow [CATALOGUE no. 10]. After Butler, *Trim* (1861), plate (actual size).

10. **Bronze seal matrix** [Nat. Mus. Ire. R 3064; on display]. See FIG. 11.6 above. This seal of the abbot of the Augustinian abbeys of Trim and Durrow (Co. Offaly) was found by a workman at Lynberry, near Mullingar (Co. Westmeath), in c.1833. Dean Butler had an electrolyte facsimile made of it, and on his death in 1862 this copy was presented to the R.I.A.

Description: The seal is engraved on both sides. On the obverse is an abbot, face on, with a book in his left hand and a crosier in his right. He is wearing what seems to be a flat round cap but may be an exaggerated tonsure. His vestments appear to be an amice, an appressed albe, and a chasuble. This side bears the inscription ✠SIGILL M ABBATIS S MARIE DE TRUIM. The reverse bears an effigy of the same abbot turned sideways. Here the abbot certainly has a tonsured head, and appears to be wearing a cope as an overgarment. He is holding a crosier with both hands. The inscription on this side of the seal reads ✠SI M ABB' S MARIE DE DURMAG. The seal has a loop for suspension on the reverse. It may be that at the date the seal was manufactured this 'M.', whoever he may have been, was at once abbot of Durrow and also of Trim. It is also possible, of course, that he was transferred from one house to the other, and to avoid the expense of having a second seal made up, he simply re-used the reverse of his existing one. If this is true, the position of the loop on the 'Durrow' side would suggest that the person was abbot of Trim first. Judging from the style and workmanship and also from the form of lettering used in the inscriptions, Petrie assigned this seal to the close of the thirteenth century, and such a date is accepted by Armstrong.⁶ The only known abbot of the Augustinian abbey in Trim whose initial was 'M' is Milo (d. 1278) and his term as abbot would tie in roughly with the suggested date of the seal.⁷

Dimensions: L: 5.1cm; W: 2.85cm.

Published references: E.C.R. Armstrong, 'Some matrices of Irish seals' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xx, no. 20, Section C (February, 1913), pp 451-76, at p. 468, and plate li, no. 1; E.C.R. Armstrong, *Irish seal matrices and seals* (Dublin, 1913), pp 85-6; *The Dublin Penny Journal*, i (15 June 1833), p. 408; Butler, *Trim* (1861), plate; R.I.A. antiquities register, 1859-1886, p. 116, nos 684-5.

11. **Brass thimble** [Nat. Mus. Ire. W 95; no habitat].
12. **Standard weight (2 dwts)** [Nat. Mus. Ire. R 1565 or 1863:1565; no habitat]. Purchased for 1s on 16 April 1863.

Published references: R.I.A. Catalogue, p. 151; *Antiq. Committee minutes*, iii, p. 187.

13. **Bronze basin** [Nat. Mus. Ire. 1970:219; store: G.8.1]. This medieval basin was found by two workers on 9 October 1970 protruding from the north bank of the river Boyne in Townparks North at c.1.8m below the ground surface, c.265m to the west of Watergate Bridge. It was purchased, through Father J. Kelly, on 16 October 1970 £30.

⁶*The Dublin Penny Journal*, i (15 June 1833), p. 408; E.C.R. Armstrong, *Irish seal matrices and seals* (Dublin, 1913), p. 86.

⁷*Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-84*, p. 301, nos 1533-4.

Description: The basin is fashioned from a single sheet of thin bronze. The metal is predominantly golden in colour and appears to have been heavily cleaned after finding. Areas of a dull green patina survive, particularly on the outer surface of the sides. Patches of a dark, almost black, deposit occur internally. The base is convex but now bears a severe dent, 47cm in length. The sides are straight but splay outwards. The projecting rim is flat and measures an average of 2.4cm in width. Apart from the dent mentioned, other damage includes three small tears on the base and three on the rim. Hammer marks occur on all surfaces. On the base they are arranged in a spiral, the centre of which is the centre of the base. On the body the marks are arranged in parallel rows while the rim top bears a crude hammered 'rope' pattern around its circumference.

Dimensions: Diam. of base (ext.): 48cm; Diam. of rim (ext.): 59cm; Diam. of rim (int.): 56.5cm; overall Ht: 21cm; average T of bronze: 2mm.

Published references: None.

14. **Pair of spurs** [current whereabouts unknown]. A pair of small steel spurs, inlaid with silver, was found in the yard of Trim Castle in 1836 during the planting of potatoes.⁸ It was incorporated into Dean Butler's collection.
15. **Signet ring** [current whereabouts unknown]. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a silver signet ring was found in one of the towers at Trim Castle. It bore the letter 'T' surmounted by a ducal coronet, and at each side a branch of the *Planta Genista* or Broom, the emblem of the Plantagenets.⁹ The ring was presented to George IV during his visit to Ireland in 1821.
16. **Signet ring** [current whereabouts unknown]. Discovered in 1830 in a garden behind a house in Scarlet Street [now Loman Street].¹⁰ It was bought by Dean Butler's brother-in-law, Major Barry Fox, of Anaghmore (Co. Longford).

Description: This gold signet ring bears the arms of the Fox family—a sceptre in bend between two crowns, with a winged sceptre for the crest. In 1461 Christopher Fox, a goldsmith, was comptroller of the mints in Dublin and Trim, and it has been suggested that the ring may have belonged to him.

Published references: Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 83; Harriet Butler, 'A memoir of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, and Vicar of Trim'

⁸Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', p. 97; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 54.

⁹Ellison, 'Richard Butler', pp 136-7; *Dublin Saturday Magazine*, ii, p. 374.

¹⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 83; Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', p. 96; Ellison, 'Richard Butler', p. 136.

(unpublished, 1863), p. 96; C.C. Ellison, 'Richard Butler—historian of Trim' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, iii, no. 2 (1964), pp 132-9, at p. 136.

17. **Monastic Seal** [current whereabouts unknown]. Found in Lincolnshire, England, c.1860, this may be the seal of the Dominican priory of Trim.

Description: This pointed oval brass seal shows the Blessed Virgin, crowned and attired in the Dominican habit, standing on the woven branches of a tree, and presenting floral chaplets to (probably) the founder and his wife, who are standing on the roots of the tree.¹¹ The female figure, in full-length dress, carries a lamp in her left hand while her right hand grasps *her* chaplet. The male figure wears an ankle-length hooded cloak and his hands are raised in prayer to receive *his* reward. The legend surrounding the seal, beginning at the top right (as one looks at it), reads *RECIPIENS SALVE CREDE SECRETA TE GE*. At the upper point of the seal is a patté cross—representing the assumption—an image that fits in well with Burke's statement that the priory was dedicated to St Mary of the Assumption.¹² At the lower point is the de Geneville coat of arms—three pairs of barnacles expanded (instruments of torture used during the Crusades) above all a demi lion rampant. The allegorical representation of the seal has led at least one commentator to suggest that it was designed during the monastic life of Geoffrey de Geneville (1308-14).¹³

Published reference: Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim', pp 390-1; Romuald Dodd, 'Geoffrey de Joinville - Lord of Trim' in *The Watchman*, v, no. 10 (Autumn 1939), pp 3-7, at p. 4.

Coins

In spring and autumn during the sowing and lifting of potatoes, many artefacts came to light and Butler rewarded all those who brought them to him. In this way he accumulated a collection of over 430 coins, including a complete series from Henry II to Victoria, all picked up at Trim.¹⁴ By December 1846 Butler's collection of coins and other artefacts was substantial enough to warrant a visit from the noted Danish archaeologist Jens Worsaae.¹⁵ After his death, Butler's

¹¹Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim', pp 390-1; Romuald Dodd, 'Geoffrey de Joinville - Lord of Trim' in *The Watchman*, v, no. 10 (Autumn 1939), pp 3-7, at p. 4.

¹²Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 264.

¹³Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim', p. 391.

¹⁴Harriet Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', p. 96; Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim', p. 417.

¹⁵Harriet Butler, 'A memoir of Richard Butler', pp 135-6; David Henry (ed.), *Viking Ireland: Jens Worsaae's accounts of his visit to Ireland: 1846-7* (Balgavies, Angus, 1995), pp 9, 84.

coins and seals were presented to the Royal Irish Academy.¹⁶ It appears that no detailed record was kept of most of them, and they were probably merged into the Academy's collection. Included among the coins presented to the R.I.A. on 10 November 1862 were: 5 Hiberno-Danish, 25 John, 8 Henry III (all silver), 15 Edward I (all silver), 65 Edward IV (all Irish, of which 12 had crown on obverse and sun on reverse; 25 were silver with the king's head on obverse; 28 were silver with three crowns on the reverse), 4 Richard III (all Irish and silver), 35 Henry VII, 24 Henry VIII (all Irish and silver).

In his own writings, Butler refers to several other coins that were discovered in and around the town of Trim. Among these were 'some Castile coins and several Anglo-Gallic coins of billon',¹⁷ a number of pennies dating to the reign of Alexander III of Scotland [1249-86],¹⁸ and a gross of Charles the Bold [1433-77] (dug up in the south commons of Trim).¹⁹

Butler recorded that a well-preserved 'Patrick' was found in Trim in the early 1850s.²⁰ It bore on one side a bishop's head, in three-quarter face, with a mitre, and the word *Patricius* around it, written from right to left, and on the other side a cross, between two stars and two spur rowels, with the word *Salvator*. Butler also described other fifteenth-century coins discovered at Trim—'they are very rude, bearing on one side, a crown, of which the pattern differs in different specimens, between two branches, apparently of palm or broom, and on the other a cross—they weigh from seven to ten grains—this was the first copper or mixed money coined in this kingdom with a parliamentary sanction'.²¹

According to Butler, 'several small unstamped pieces of billon [base metal], or rather of iron, have been found in Trim, they are of the size of a sixpence, but very

¹⁶Ellison, 'Richard Butler', p. 136; R.I.A. Catalogue, pp 123-7.

¹⁷Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 80.

¹⁸Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, p. 86.

¹⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 99.

²⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 83-4.

²¹Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 81-2.

thin, they may have been O'Reyle's money.²² O'Reilly's money was a type of clipped money that was outlawed by an act of the Trim parliament of 1447. Dolley refers to a unique Irish halfpenny of late fifteenth-century date that was found in Trim in the nineteenth century.²³

Miscellaneous artefacts

Other items presented by Dean Butler, but whose provenance is not given, include the handle of a spoon 'with portion of bowl attached',²⁴ and 'two small circular brooches, 3 buttons, 1 large copper pin and 18 bronze and stone celts'.²⁵ Among the Irish antiquities brought together in Dublin for the Great Exhibition of 1853 was a collection belonging to Richard Butler.²⁶ This included brooches and a bead, three small spoons, ancient buckles, and a spur, all found at Trim. These three spoons are probably those listed by Armstrong—a small plated spoon with corrugated handle, a small silver spoon with spirally twisted handle and hole at its end, and a small silver spoon with round handle ornamented by slight punchings.²⁷ These three were found together at Trim.

²²Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 76-8.

²³Michael Dolley, *Medieval Anglo-Irish coins* (London, 1972), p. 34.

²⁴Wilde, catalogue, p. 546.

²⁵Conwell, 'A ramble round Trim', *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, p. 417.

²⁶Richard Hitchcock, 'Notes made in the archaeological court of the Great Exhibition of 1853' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, ii (1852-3), pp 280-95, at p. 287.

²⁷E. C. R. Armstrong (ed.), 'Catalogue of the silver and ecclesiastical antiquities in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy by the late Sir William Wilde, M.D., M.R.I.A.' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxxii (1915), sect. C, pp 287-312, at p. 311.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 Seneschals of Meath, c. 1210-1478

Name	Year(s) in office
William le Petit	1210-12 ¹
Nicholas Fitz Leo	1219 ²
Nicholas de Ebroicis	1234-5 ³
Walter de Godarville	1244 ⁴
Henry de Stratton	c. 1253-5 ⁵
Richard de Wodeton (seneschal of de Verdun purparty only)	c. 1253-5 ⁶
Hugh de Portes	1259 ⁷
Thomas de Champayne (de Verdun purparty)	c. 1261-9 ⁸
Henry de Stratton	1259-69 ⁹
Robert le Waleis (de Verdun purparty)	c. 1270 ¹⁰
Robert de Cruys	1275 ¹¹
Nicholas de Verdun (de Verdun purparty)	c. 1275-6 ¹²
Radulph le Curtys	1275-85 ¹³
Robert le Despenser (de Verdun purparty)	c. 1278-9 ¹⁴
Ralph de Sepeye (de Verdun purparty)	c. 1280 ¹⁵
Anselm Coterel	1285-1302 ¹⁶ (intermittently)
Simon de Geneville	1297 ¹⁷
Anselm Coterel	1297 ¹⁸
Walter Troman	1297-9 ¹⁹
Richard Taaf	1299 ²⁰
Walter Troman	1299-1301 ²¹

¹*Pipe roll Ire. 1211-12*, pp 20-1, 44-5. Le Petit also acted as justiciar of Ireland at this time, *Pipe roll Ire. 1211-12*, p. 66.

²*Cal. doc. Ire., 1171-1251*, no. 873.

³*Cal. pat. rolls, 1340-3*, p. 53; *Ir. Chartul Llanthomy*, p. 214, note 3; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxv, app.*, p. 34; *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 402; *Reg. Tristernagh*, p. 94 (and notes 2, 3 and a); B.M., Add. charter 19803 (also N.L.I. microfilm, n. 1965: p. 1492); *Cal. pat. rolls, 1340-3*, pp 52-4.

⁴*Cal. doc. Ire., 1171-1251*, p. 402, no. 2696; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1232-47*, p. 429.

⁵*Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 432.

⁶*Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 432.

⁷*Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 447.

⁸*P.R.I. rep D.K. xliv, app.*, pp 22-3.

⁹*Cal. pat. rolls, 1340-3*, p. 52; *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 447; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxv, app.*, pp 40, 42, 48, 49; N.L.I., Ms 760, fols 5-6.

¹⁰*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, p. 47.

¹¹*Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 57; *Ir. Chartul Llanthomy*, p. 130; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, pp 33-4 [1275-6], 37 [1276-7], 44-5, 46-7; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 13; N.L.I., Ms 760, fols 20-1, 25, 29, 36.

¹²*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, p. 34.

¹³*Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 57; *Ir. Chartul Llanthomy*, p. 130; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, pp 33-4 [1275-6], 37 [1276-7], 44-5, 46-7; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 13; N.L.I., Ms 760, fols 20-1, 25, 29, 36; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

¹⁴*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, p. 44.

¹⁵*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, p. 46.

¹⁶*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, i, p. 197, ii, pp 392-5; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvii, app.*, pp 54-5; N.L.I., Ms 760, fols 168-70, 219-20; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, pp 308, 312; *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 421; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1302-7*, p. 10, no. 4, p. 24, no. 58.

¹⁷*Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p. 146.

¹⁸*Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p. 146.

¹⁹*Stat. Ire., John-Hen. V*, pp 196-7; Betham, *Dignities*, i, p. 262; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p. 242; H.J. Lawlor, 'A calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxvii, Sect. C (1908), pp 1-93, no. 13, p. 43.

²⁰*Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p. 242.

Name	Year(s) in office
Anselm Coterel	1302
Walter Troman	1303; ²² 1305; ²³ 1306; ²⁴ 1309 ²⁵
Robert de Bree (?)	c.1310 ²⁶
Hugo Clonoun; Roger le Blound; Walter Troman (jointly?)	1314 ²⁷
Reginald de Staunton	1314-15; ²⁸ 1317; ²⁹ c.1331-5 ³⁰
Walter Cusack	1315-17 ³¹
William Seneschal	1325-6 ³²
Nicholas de Verdun	1330 ³³
Simon de Geneville	1331; ³⁴ 1333-1335; ³⁵ 1337 ³⁶
Richard de Tuyt	c.1332-3 ³⁷
Roger le Blound; Richard Taaf; Anselm Coterel (jointly?)	1335 ³⁸
Thomas Wogan	1337-9 ³⁹
William de London	February 1339-44 ⁴⁰
John de Carew	July 1344 ⁴¹
Edmund de Barford	1345 ⁴²
John de Bouldwas	22 November 1345 ⁴³
John le Carreu	1346-9 ⁴⁴
John de Cusack	1348-50 ⁴⁵

²¹N.L.I., Ms 760, fols 253-4.

²²*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxviii, app.*, p. 70; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1302-7*, no. 501; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 169; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, p. 218.

²³*Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, pp 132-3.

²⁴N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

²⁵N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

²⁶R.I.A., Ms 12.D.12, p. 104.

²⁷N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

²⁸*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxix, app.*, pp 50, 56-7, 70-1; N.L.I., Ms 760, fol. 317; *Cal. close rolls, 1327-30*, p. 260.

²⁹*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxix, app.*, pp 50, 56-7, 70-1; N.L.I., Ms 760, fol. 317.

³⁰*P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxix, app.*, pp 50, 56-7, 70-1.

³¹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 109b, no. 91, p. 117b, no. 78, p. 164, no. 151; Frame, *English lordship in Ireland*, p. 167; Brendan Smith, 'A county community in early fourteenth-century Ireland' in *E.H.R.*, no. cdxviii (July 1993), pp 561-88, 583-4, note 1 (p. 584); N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

³²*P.R.I. rep D.K. liv, app.*, pp 44-5.

³³*Cal. pat. rolls, 1330-4*, p. 264; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 43-5; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 47.

³⁴Philomena Connolly, 'List of Irish material in the class of chancery files (recorda) (C. 260) Public Record Office, London', in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 31 (1984), pp 1-18, at p. 8; Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/16, pp 19-20, 22; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlv, app.*, pp 22-3; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 61-4.

³⁵*P.R.I. rep D.K. xlv, app.*, pp 22-3; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 61-4.

³⁶*P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 43.

³⁷Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/16, p. 2.

³⁸N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

³⁹Mills, *Account roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity*, p. 156; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150. Wogan was also escheator of Ireland in 1337.

⁴⁰*P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, pp 47, 55-7; *P.R.I. rep D.K. liii, app.*, pp 26-7; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 97, 103.

⁴¹N.L.I. microfilm n. 2796, p. 1698: de Carew's patent for the seneschalship of Trim (July 1344).

⁴²Sayles, *Documents on the affairs of Ireland*, pp 284-5, no. 299, p. 285, no. 298 (iv), referring to P.R.O., C. 47/19/1/11; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

⁴³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 48b, no. 166.

⁴⁴N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlv, app.*, pp 52-3; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 134-7.

⁴⁵*P.R.I. rep D.K. xlv, app.*, pp 52-3; N.L.I., Ms 761, fols 134-7.

Name	Year(s) in office
William de London	1354 ⁴⁶
Sir John Hussey	April 1354 ⁴⁷
Edmund Hakeluyt	May 1354-December 1355 ⁴⁸
Sir John Hussey	1358-72 ⁴⁹ (intermittently?)
Edmund de Barford	April 1360-March 1361 ⁵⁰
James de la Hyde	Before June 1374 ⁵¹
Walter de Cusak	1375-6; 1378 ⁵²
Radulf Poley	May 1380 ⁵³
Leonard Hakeluyt	March 1382 ⁵⁴
Henry Wattenhull	1392-7 ⁵⁵
John Fitzeust	1399-1400 ⁵⁶
Hugo Carreu?; Roger le Blound (jointly?)	1406 ⁵⁷
John D'Arcy	1415 ⁵⁸
Thomas Talbot	1418-19 ⁵⁹
Thomas Cusack	1420 ⁶⁰
Richard Nugent	1423 ⁶¹
Thomas FitzMorris	1425-6 ⁶²
Sir William Welles	1436; 1440; 1442 ⁶³
Sir Edmund Mulso	1449-1450 ⁶⁴
Richard Wells	1450 ⁶⁵
Sir William Welles	August 1450; ⁶⁶ 1455 ⁶⁷
Thomas FitzMorris, earl of Kildare	1457 ⁶⁸
The earl of Desmond ⁶⁹	1463 ⁷⁰

⁴⁶N.L.I., Ms 761, fol. 178.

⁴⁷Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/29, p. 83, no. 335; G.O. Sayles, *Scripta diversa* (London, 1982), pp 118-19, note 106, referring to P.R.O., C. 47/19/1/10; G.O. Sayles (ed.), *Documents on the affairs of Ireland before the king's council* (Dublin, 1979), pp 284-5, no. 299.

⁴⁸*Cal. pat. rolls, 1354-8*, pp 40, 107, 321; Frame, *English lordship in Ireland*, p. 70; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 38; R.A. Griffiths, *The principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: the structure and personnel of government: I, south Wales, 1277-1536* (Cardiff, 1972), pp 246-7; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 61, no. 69.

⁴⁹N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 38.

⁵⁰Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, pp 178-9, note 8, referring to P.R.O. E. 101/244/3.

⁵¹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 86b, no. 30.

⁵²Richardson & Sayles, *Parl. & councils med. Ire.*, i, pp 70-3.

⁵³*Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, p. 177; N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁵⁴*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 112, no. 100; R.I.A. Ms 12.D.10, p. 173.

⁵⁵N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁵⁶N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁵⁷N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁵⁸N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁵⁹N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151; Lalor, *the register of Archbishop Fleming*, p. 165, no. 260.

⁶⁰N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁶¹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 230b, no. 118.

⁶²N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁶³Otway-Ruthven, *Med. Ire.*, p. 383; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 78, referring to *Rot. pat. 28 Hen. VI.*

⁶⁴N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151; Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 78-9, referring to *Betham's Collections*.

⁶⁵N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁶⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 266, no. 11.

⁶⁷N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁶⁸*Stat. Ire., John-Hen. V*, pp 462-3.

⁶⁹The earl of Desmond was Deputy Seneschal of Trim.

Name	Year(s) in office
Robert Chamberlain	1467 ⁷¹
Sir Robert Bolde	1472 ⁷²
Edward Plunkett	1472, ⁷³ 1473-4 ⁷⁴
Gilbert Debenham	1474 ⁷⁵
Lord Henry Grey	March 1478 ⁷⁶

⁷⁰N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁷¹N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

⁷²*Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 834-7.

⁷³N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151; *Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 2-9.

⁷⁴*Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp liv, 94-7; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1467-77*, p. 468; *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 403.

⁷⁵*Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, p. liv; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1467-77*, p. 468.

⁷⁶*Cal. pat. rolls, 1476-85*, pp 73-4; *Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 666-71.

APPENDIX 2 Sheriffs (S) and subsheriffs (Sub.) of Meath, c.1259-1537

Name	S/Sub.	Year(s) in office
Hugh de Portes	S	1259 ⁷⁷
Gerald Doget	S	1282-85 ⁷⁸
Richard of Exeter	S	1297 ⁷⁹
Thomas Chaumbiroun	S	c. 1308 ⁸⁰
Robert de Kilmessan	S	1326 ⁸¹
Henry son of Otuel de Cruys	S	1340 ⁸²
Richard son of Simon son of Richard	S	c. 1340-1 ⁸³
Robert de la Felde; Jordan Dardiz; Michael de Stokes ⁸⁴	S	1340 ⁸⁵
Walter de la Hyde; Milo de Eldoun; Robert de la Felde	S	1342 ⁸⁶
Laurence son of Simon; Thomas Mauveysin	S	c. 1344-5 ⁸⁷
John de Crauille	S	prior to 1349 ⁸⁸
Simon Betagh	S	1355 ⁸⁹
Rouladi Schaldeford	S	c. 1366-7 ⁹⁰
John Fitz Reicher/Roger	S	1368 ⁹¹
Richard Goldyng	Sub.	1424 ⁹²
Stephen Palmer, of Trim	Sub.	1424, ⁹³ 1427 ⁹⁴
Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin	S	1427-9; ⁹⁵ 1431 ⁹⁶
Maurice Avenell	Sub.	1431 ⁹⁷
Christopher Cusack	S	1511 ⁹⁸
Christopher Barnewall	S	1537 ⁹⁹

⁷⁷ *Cal. pat. rolls, 1340-3*, p. 52.

⁷⁸ N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 149; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 13; Marleborough, *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Cal. doc. Ire., 1293-1301*, p. 188, no. 408.

⁸⁰ *Gormanston reg.*, p. 169; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, p. 218.

⁸¹ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxvi, app.*, p. 34; *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 50; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1340-3*, p. 283; *Reg. Alen*, p. 197, no. (329); *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 37, no. 134.

⁸² *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 19; *Cal. close rolls, 1349-54*, p. 569.

⁸³ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 55.

⁸⁴ The accounts of Michael de Stokes, one of the sheriffs of Meath in 1340, were delivered to the exchequer by his son, also Michael de Stokes. Michael senior had been 'slain in his [Edward III's] service when he went in the company of Thomas bishop of Herford, custos of Ireland, to subdue the Oraillys, Irish enemies and rebels', see *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, pp 19-21.

⁸⁵ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, pp 19-21.

⁸⁶ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, pp 46-50; *Gormanston reg.*, p. 140; Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/29, p. 77, no. 315, p. 79, no. 316; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 50b, no. 4.

⁸⁷ *P.R.I. rep D.K. liv, app.*, pp 31-4.

⁸⁸ *P.R.I. rep D.K. liv, app.*, p. 52.

⁸⁹ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 61, no. 69; Wood, 'The muniments', p. 325.

⁹⁰ Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/29, p. 137, no. 491.

⁹¹ *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, pp 396-7; *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 168; Camden, *Britannia*, p. 831.

⁹² *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 233, no. 8.

⁹³ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 233, no. 8.

⁹⁴ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 558.

⁹⁵ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 562.

⁹⁶ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 569.

⁹⁷ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 569.

⁹⁸ *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, ii, p. 233; T.C.D., Ms 594.

⁹⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537*, p. 459, no. 1310.1.

APPENDIX 3 Treasurers of Meath, c.1290-1478

Name	Year(s) in office
Radulph le Curtys	1290 ¹⁰⁰
John de Fraunceys	c.1308 ¹⁰¹
William de Clebury	1317 ¹⁰²
John de Fresingfeld	1328-30 ¹⁰³
Nicholas Barnewall	1346 ¹⁰⁴
James de Wattenhull	1347 ¹⁰⁵
Baldwin Veer	1379X1381 ¹⁰⁶ or 1423 ¹⁰⁷
William Bokeham	c.1386 ¹⁰⁸
Robert Eure	1389; ¹⁰⁹ 1393 ¹¹⁰
[] Barnewall	1443 ¹¹¹
Lord Henry Grey	1478 ¹¹²

¹⁰⁰*Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, p. 394.

¹⁰¹*Gormanston reg.*, p. 169; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, p. 218. In 1308 de Fraunceys was charged with the death of a man, see *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1308-14*, p. 48.

¹⁰²N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

¹⁰³Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/16, pp 54-5; J.F. Lydon, 'Survey of the memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, 1294-1509' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 23 (1966), pp 29-134, at p. 65.

¹⁰⁴N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 155.

¹⁰⁵N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 150.

¹⁰⁶B.C. Donovan and David Edwards (eds), 'British sources for Irish history before 1485: a preliminary handlist of documents held in local and specialised repositories' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 37 (1998), pp 191-220, at p. 195, referring to Northampton County Record Office, Stopford-Sackville Mss (SS 2231).

¹⁰⁷Donovan and Edwards, 'British sources for Irish history before 1485, p. 195, referring to Northampton County Record Office, Stopford-Sackville Mss (SS 2215).

¹⁰⁸*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 130, no. 64.

¹⁰⁹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 138b, nos 59-60.

¹¹⁰N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fols 145-6.

¹¹¹John O'Donovan (ed.), 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68, translated from the Irish by Dudley Firissee' in *The miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* (Dublin, 1846), i, pp 198-302, at p. 202.

¹¹²*Cal. pat. rolls, 1476-85*, pp 73-4; *Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 666-71.

APPENDIX 4 Miscellaneous administrative officers of Meath and Trim, c.1299-1534

Name	Position held	Year(s) in office
Roger le Blund	Chancellor	1299-1307 ¹¹³
Roger le Colount	Chancellor	c. 1308 ¹¹⁴
Simon Croimhall	Clerk	c. 1308 ¹¹⁵
Thomas de Nugent	Chancellor	1320 ¹¹⁶
John Pilhowe	Tax collector in Trim liberty	c. 1349 ¹¹⁷
James de Wattenhull	Chancellor	1359 ¹¹⁸
Thomas de Baddeby and his fellows	Keepers of the liberty	June 1360 ¹¹⁹
Edmund de Barford	Pleader	1360-1 ¹²⁰
James de Edleston	Sergeant of the manor of Trim	1362-6 ¹²¹
Richard Plunkett	Clerk	1380 ¹²²
John Reigne	Marshall of the liberty	From 1382 ¹²³
John de Gresden	Escheator	c. 1394 ¹²⁴
John Whitsyde	Collector of customs/duties in Trim	October 1401 ¹²⁵
John Herdman	Coroner	1424 ¹²⁶
Thomas Bacon	Escheator	1425 ¹²⁷
Philip White	Keeper of records in Trim Castle	c. 1425 ¹²⁸
William Welles	Escheator	1450 ¹²⁹
Richard Wells	Chancellor	1450 ¹³⁰
Walter Cusack	Coroner	1450 ¹³¹
Nicholas Harpissfeld	Chancellor of green wax	1460 ¹³²
Nicholas Harpissfeld	Chief remembrancer of exchequer	1460 ¹³³
Nicholas Harpissfeld	Clerk of chancery rolls	1460 ¹³⁴
Edward Plunket; John Hore (Trim); Richard White (Trim)	Receivers	1467 ¹³⁵
Christopher Joy	Clerk	1496 ¹³⁶
James Boyxe of Ballyvullen	Escheator	c. 1534 ¹³⁷

¹¹³ *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303*, p. 293; Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/1, p. 280, no. 123.

¹¹⁴ *Gormanston reg.*, p. 169; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, p. 218.

¹¹⁵ *Gormanston reg.*, p. 169; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-7*, p. 218.

¹¹⁶ R.I.A., Ms 12.D.12, p. 146.

¹¹⁷ *P.R.I. rep D.K. liv, app.*, p. 52.

¹¹⁸ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 78b, no. 73; Betham, *Dignities*, i, p. 299.

¹¹⁹ *Cal. close rolls, 1360-4*, p. 41.

¹²⁰ P.R.O., E. 101/244/3.

¹²¹ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, pp 517, 525.

¹²² *Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, p. 176.

¹²³ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 112, nos 88-9.

¹²⁴ *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 356.

¹²⁵ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 165b, no. 226.

¹²⁶ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 233, no. 8.

¹²⁷ *Stat. Ire. 12-22 Edw. IV*, p. liv.

¹²⁸ *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 356.

¹²⁹ *Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, p. 177. William Welles was lord chancellor of Ireland by 18 July 1461, see S.G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470-1603* (London and New York, 1985), p. 331. Welles also served as chief butler of Ireland.

¹³⁰ N.L.I., *Harris Collectanea*, Ms 13., fol. 151.

¹³¹ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 266, no. 12.

¹³² *Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 796-7.

¹³³ *Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 796-7.

¹³⁴ *Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 796-7.

¹³⁵ *Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 430-3.

¹³⁶ *Cal. papal letters, 1492-8*, p. 353.

APPENDIX 5 Chief sergeants of Meath, c.1313-1558

Name	Chief sergeant	Constable of Castle	Year(s) in Office
Matthew Bacon	✓		1313 ¹³⁸
Robertus de Rath	✓		1313 ¹³⁹
Nicholas Bacon	✓		1315 ¹⁴⁰
Walter de la Pulle (proposed during minority of Matthew Bacon)	?		c.1323 ¹⁴¹
Simon de Geneville	✓		Pre-1337 ¹⁴²
Henry Dillon; Thomas FitzRichard; Philip de Weston	✓		From 26 July 1337; ¹⁴³ 1344-5 ¹⁴⁴
John Bacon	✓		Pre-May 1343 ¹⁴⁵
Walter le Warde	✓		From 18 May 1343 ¹⁴⁶
Nicholas Bacon	✓		From November 1353 ¹⁴⁷
John Mole	✓		Before 1366 ¹⁴⁸
Walter le Warde	✓		July 1367 ¹⁴⁹
Thomas, son of Nicholas Bacon	✓		1386 ¹⁵⁰
Thomas Bacon	✓		c.1425 ¹⁵¹
Thomas Bermyngham ¹⁵²	✓		1425x1463
William Hyndeley ¹⁵³	✓		1425x1463
Thomas Bermyngham ¹⁵⁴	✓		1425x1463
Patrick [Bermyngham?] ¹⁵⁵	✓		?
John Rocheford ¹⁵⁶	✓	✓	Before 1522
Sir John Wallop	✓	✓	From 1 March 1522 ¹⁵⁷
Thomas Stephens	✓	✓	From May 1524 to at least 1544 ¹⁵⁸
Thomas Devenishe	✓	✓	From March 1551 ¹⁵⁹
Laurence Hammond	✓	✓	From Dec. 1553 to at least 1558 ¹⁶⁰

¹³⁷ *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, p. 355.

¹³⁸ *Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, p. 325.

¹³⁹ *Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, p. 352.

¹⁴⁰ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xxxix, app.*, p. 57.

¹⁴¹ *P.R.O.*, C. 47/10/18/14.

¹⁴² *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, p. 55.

¹⁴³ *P.R.I. rep D.K. xlvii, app.*, pp 21, 47, 57.

¹⁴⁴ *P.R.I. rep D.K. liv, app.*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁵ *Cal. close rolls, 1343-8*, p. 286.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. close rolls, 1343-8*, p. 286.

¹⁴⁷ *Cal. close rolls, 1349-54*, p. 569.

¹⁴⁸ *Nat. Archives, R.C. 8/29*, p. 17, no. 69, p. 20, no. 94.

¹⁴⁹ *Cal. close rolls, 1364-8*, p. 391.

¹⁵⁰ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 127, no. 227.

¹⁵¹ *Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 192-5.

¹⁵² *Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 192-5.

¹⁵³ *Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 192-5.

¹⁵⁴ *Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 192-5.

¹⁵⁵ Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 354-5, no II 55.

¹⁵⁶ *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, 1521-58, p. 7, no. 2 (27).

¹⁵⁷ *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, 1521-58, p. 7, no. 2 (27).

¹⁵⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1524-6*, no. 390; *L. & P. Hen. VIII, 1537*, p. 459, no. 1310.1; *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, p. 106, no. 8; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, p. 48, no. 420 (365).

¹⁵⁹ *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, p. 284, no. 162; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, vol. ii, (1558-86), p. 163, no. 721 (654).

¹⁶⁰ *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, p. 310, no. 40, p. 366, no. 30, p. 367, no. 37; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, i, 1553-8, p. 296, no. 12 (8), p. 315, no. 189 (156).

APPENDIX 6 Park-keepers and sergeants of betaghry of Trim

Name	Park-keeper	Sergeant of betaghry	Year(s) in office
Randolf Schaldeford	✓	✓	1388 ¹⁶¹
Richard Gille	✓	✓	1400-01 ¹⁶²
Richard Lynham	✓	✓	1425-6 ¹⁶³
Walter Clerke	✓	✓	1427-8 ¹⁶⁴
Andrew Mathewe	✓	✓	1428-30 ¹⁶⁵
Edmund Tankard	✓	✓	1464; ¹⁶⁶ 1472/3 ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 138, no. 38.

¹⁶² *Rot. pat. Hib.*, pp 155b-156, no. 22; *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, 1399-1401*, p. 468.

¹⁶³ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 237b, no. 83; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 240b, no. 46.

¹⁶⁴ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 246b, no. 28; Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 562.

¹⁶⁵ Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 568.

¹⁶⁶ *Cal. pat. rolls, 1461-7*, pp 325, 388.

¹⁶⁷ *Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 158-61.

APPENDIX 7 Parliaments (P) and councils (C) held at Trim, 1392-1542

Date parliament/council opened	P/C	Held before	Venue
29 January 1392 ¹⁶⁸	P		
13 January 1407 ¹⁶⁹	P		
11 May 1416 ¹⁷⁰	P		
30 May 1418	P	Thomas Talbot ¹⁷¹	Franciscan friary ¹⁷²
5 June 1442 ¹⁷³	C		
21 November 1442 ¹⁷⁴	C		
30 January 1447 ¹⁷⁵	C		
13 January 1447	P	Earl of Shrewsbury ¹⁷⁶	Dominican friary ¹⁷⁷
12 August 1465 ¹⁷⁸	P	Thomas, earl of Desmond	
6 November 1478	P	Henry, lord de Grey ¹⁷⁹	
6 June 1485	P	Earl of Kildare ¹⁸⁰	Dominican friary ¹⁸¹
8 August 1485	P	Earl of Kildare ¹⁸²	
8 January 1490	P	Earl of Kildare ¹⁸³	
November 1491	P	Earl of Kildare ¹⁸⁴	Dominican friary ¹⁸⁵
13 January 1492	P	Earl of Kildare ¹⁸⁶	
12 September 1493	C	Sir Robert Preston ¹⁸⁷	
12 June 1542 ¹⁸⁸	P		

¹⁶⁸Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 598.

¹⁶⁹Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 598.

¹⁷⁰Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 598.

¹⁷¹Otway-Ruthven, 'The arrest of Christopher Preston', pp 79-80, from P.R.O., E. 163/7/12; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 599.

¹⁷²Otway-Ruthven, 'The arrest of Christopher Preston', p. 79.

¹⁷³Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, pp 371, 373.

¹⁷⁴Otway-Ruthven, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 373.

¹⁷⁵*Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 94-5.

¹⁷⁶*Reg. Swayne*, p. 194, no. 568; *Reg. Mey*, p. 102, no. 123; *Stat. Ire., Hen. VI*, pp 54-5, 126-7, 142-3, 146-9, 408-9; *Cal. Carew MSS, Howth*, pp 436-7; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 600.

¹⁷⁷Ambrose Coleman, *The ancient Dominican foundations in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1902), p. 32.

¹⁷⁸Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 601.

¹⁷⁹*Reg. Alen*, p. 246, no. (410); *Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV*, pp 646-7; Richardson & Sayles, *Ir. parl. in middle ages*, pp 264-5; *Cal. to Christchurch deeds*, p. 93, no. 313; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 601.

¹⁸⁰S.G. Ellis, 'Parliaments and great councils, 1483-99: *addenda et corrigenda*' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 29 (1980), pp 96-111, 101; Richardson & Sayles, *Ir. parl. in middle ages*, pp 324, 326, 330; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 602.

¹⁸¹Coleman, *Dominican foundations*, p. 32.

¹⁸²Ellis, 'Parliaments and great councils', pp 96-111, 101; Richardson & Sayles, *Ir. parl. in middle ages*, pp 324, 326, 330; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 602.

¹⁸³Ellis, 'Parliaments and great councils', p. 107; *Dowdall deeds*, pp 208-9, no. 503; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 602.

¹⁸⁴Jacobum Ware, *Rerum Hibernicarum annales* (Dublin, 1664), pp 28-9.

¹⁸⁵Coleman, *Dominican foundations*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁶Quinn, 'bills and statutes', pp 70-169, 86-7; Ellis, 'Parliaments and great councils', p. 108.

¹⁸⁷Ware, *Rerum Hibernicarum annales*, p. 37; Ellis, 'Parliaments and great councils', p. 108. The proceedings of this council are published in Quinn, 'bills and statutes', pp 88-91, where it is called a 'great council'. The proceedings show that it was an afforced council; Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 602.

¹⁸⁸Cosgrove, 'Parliament in Ireland', p. 603.

APPENDIX 8 Keepers of the peace (KP), justices (J) and supervisors (S) in Meath, c.1274-1432.¹⁸⁹

Name(s)	KP /J/ S	Jurisdiction (if known, usu. barony)	Year(s) in office
Nicholas Taff	J	Trim liberty	c.1274
Richard de Tuyt	KP	Later seneschal	1328-30
William Teling; Simon Fleming, baron of Slane; John son of Philip Balfe; Arnold Outlaw; Simon Betagh; Thomas son of Peter Cruys	KP	Meath county	c.1346
Herbert de la Mare; Robert Tuyt; Richard son of Richer; Thomas Dalton; Walter Nangle; Henry Dillon; Richard St Leger; John Tuyt of Sonnagh; Geoffrey Travers of Roweston; Richard Dalton; John Dalton; Richard Ledwich	KP	Trim liberty	c.1346
Walter Cusack of Clonnotheran; Thomas Netterville	KP	Skryne	c.1361
Thomas Vernoi; John Talbot	KP	Lune	c.1361
Walter Exeter; William Teling	KP	Slane	c.1361
John Hussey	KP	Deece	c.1361
John Bret of Coolock; John de la Pull	KP	Duleek	c.1361
Walter Gerard and others	KP	Dunboyne	c.1361
John Drake; Thomas Cruys	KP	Kells; Morgallion	c.1362
John Fleming and others	KP	Slane	c.1362
John Cusack	KP		c.1364
Thomas Duff of Rathode	KP	Kells; Morgallion	c.1365
John Hussey	KP		c.1371
Simon Fleming, baron of Slane	KP	Slane	c.1375
Thomas Netterville	KP	Skryne	c.1375
Walter Tuyt	KP	Fore	c.1375
John Drake and others	KP	Kells	c.1375
John Stanley	KP	Navan	c.1377
John Top	J	Trim	c.1380
Nicholas son of Owen; Philip son of Owen	KP	Small Delvin	c.1382
Edmund Hussey, baron of Galtrim; Walter Nugent	KP	Deece	c.1382
George Teling; John Bocom	KP	Slane	c.1382
John Bardcor; William Morton	KP	Bruree	c.1382
Thomas Travers; John de la Mare	KP	Corkaree	c.1382
Hugh Nugent of Brecklyng; Hugh Nugent of Watstown	KP	Delvin	c.1382
Francis Brown; Thomas Chamber	KP	Duleek	c.1382
Seneschal of Trim liberty; Simon Cusack; Edmund Hussey, baron of Galtrim	S	Deece; Moyfenrath	c.1382
Leonard Hakeluyt; John Bellew	S	Duleek; Ratoath; Dunboyne; Skryne	c.1382
Edward London; John Cruys	KP	Farbill	c.1382
William London; Thomas Nugent; Constable of Rathwire	S	Farbill; Moyesshil; Delvin; Fartullagh; Lune; Mullingar	c.1382
John Hendebody; Nigel Nangle	KP	Moygashel	c.1382
Prior of Tristernagh; Prior of Mullingar	S	Moygashel; Small Delvin; Corkaree; Lochsewdy	c.1382

¹⁸⁹Sources: Frame, 'Commissions of the peace', pp 23-9; Nat. Archives, R.C. 7/1, p. 433, R.C. 8/16, p. 55; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 50b, no. 3; *Ir. Chartul Llanthony*, p. 176; *Reg. Tristernagh*, pp 51-2; Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 562; Lydon, 'Survey of the memoranda rolls', p. 65.

Peter Heyns; Nicholas Bernemyth	KP	Moyfenrath	c.1382
Richard Drake; John Rodipak	KP	Morgallion	c.1382
Thomas Vernoil; William Lynham	KP	Lune	c.1382
Henry Dalton; Hubert Dalton; Henry Dillon	KP	Lochsewdy	c.1382
Master Andrew Daundon, archdeacon of Meath; Thomas Fleming, baron of Slane; Brother Richard White, preceptor of Kilmainhambeg	S	Kells; Slane; Navan; Bruree; Morgallion	c.1382
Henry Pettit; Batholomew Russell	KP	Fartullagh	c.1382
Thomas Heth, rector of Athboy; Thomas Nugent	S	Fore	c.1382
Nicholas Barnewall; John Meones	KP	Ratoath	c.1382
John Feypo; Henry Netterville	KP	Skryne	c.1382
John Nangle; John Golding	KP	Navan	c.1382
Christopher Pettit; John Pettit	KP	Dunboyne	c.1382
Andrew Tuyt; John Palet	KP	Moyesshel	c.1382
Richard son of Robert Tuyt; John Hop[pe]	KP	Mullingar	c.1382
Henry Betagh; Richard Randolph	KP	Kells	c.1382
Philip Tuyt; Thomas Palmer	KP	Fore	c.1382
Thomas Fleming; John Darcy; Laurence Pettit	KP		c.1386
John Barry; Henry Pettit; John Nangle, baron of Navan; John [] and others	KP		c.1386
John Tyrrell; James Ledwich	KP	Corkaree	c.1388
Thomas Fleming, baron of Slane; John Nangle, baron of Navan; John Darcy; Robert Cadell	S		c.1388
John Bonbos; Thomas Nugent	KP	Delvin	c.1388
John Shriggely; Walter Nugent	KP	Deece	c.1388
Richard Landey; Robert Cadell	KP	Duleek	c.1388
[] Pettit; John Pettit	KP	Dunboyne	c.1388
Henry Betagh; Simon Cruys	KP	Kells	c.1388
Baron of Navan; John Hendebody	KP	Kilbixy	c.1388
John London; Richard Talbot	KP	Lune	c.1388
Andrew Tuyt; William Dardis	KP	Moyesshel	c.1388
John Hoppe; Nicholas Tuyt	KP	Mullingar	c.1388
Edward Perrers; John Shriggely	KP	Moyfenrath	c.1388
Thomas Drake; Richard Pettit	KP	Morgallion	c.1388
John Rochfort; Barnaby Withington	KP	Navan	c.1388
John Freigne; Henry Netterville	KP	Skryne	c.1388
James Stokes; George Teling	KP	Slane	c.1388
Simon Burford; William Fenyr	KP	Ratoath	c.1388
Nicholas Devereay; Thomas Nangle	KP	Fore	c.1388
Laurence Pettit; Thomas Drake, baron of Slane; John Darcy; Thomas Fleming; Henry Betagh; John Nangle, baron of Navan	KP		c.1390
Henry Betagh; Thomas Cruys	KP	Kells; Morgallion	c.1390
Henry Betagh; John Dardis	KP	Kells	c.1398
John Shriggely; William Picard	KP	Deece	c.1398
Matthew Bathe; John Brit of Coolock	KP	Duleek	c.1398
John Fay; John Horner; James Pettit; John London	KP	Fore; Mullingar; Navan	c.1398
Thomas son of John Pettit; Philip Fleming	KP	Dunboyne	c.1398
Andrew Tuyt	KP	Fore	c.1398
John Glondon; Philip Feypo	KP	Moyfenrath	c.1398
William Nugent, baron of Delvin; Thomas Golding; Andrew Tuyt; John Nangle, baron of Navan; John Braynok; Thomas Cosin	KP	Moyesshel; Mullingar; Farbill	c.1398
John Rochfort	KP	Navan	c.1398

Simon Burford; William Waffre	KP	Rathconrath	c.1398
Thomas Verdun	KP	Moygashel	c.1398
Thomas Fleming, baron of Slane; Walter de la Hyde; Janico Dartas; Christopher Preston; Robert Cadell; Henry Betagh; John Darcy; William Nugent, baron of Delvin; Christopher Plunket	J&S		c.1400
James Pettit; John Hendebody	KP	Mullingar	c.1403
John Nangle, baron of Navan; Nicholas Bayly	KP	Navan	c.1403
John Drake; John Chamber	KP	Morgallion	c.1403
John London; Richard Talbot	KP	Lune	c.1403
Thomas Cusack; John Glondon	KP	Moyfenrath	c.1403
John Shriggely; Christopher Plunket	KP	Skryne	c.1403
Christopher Fleming; Walter Exeter	KP	Slane	c.1403
Philip Feypo	KP	Dunboyne	c.1403
Christopher Plunket; Thomas Rath	KP	Fore	c.1403
Robert Cadell; John Brown	KP	Duleek	c.1403
James Pettit of Ballymaconly; Thomas son of John Pettit	KP	Dunboyne	c.1403
William Nugent, baron of Delvin; William Dardis	KP	Delvin	c.1403
R[obert Montayne], bishop of Meath; Christopher Preston; John Darcy; John Herbert	J&S		c.1403
William Nugent, baron of Delvin; Robert Cadell; Janico Dartas; John Darcy	J		c.1403
Henry Betagh; Robert Betagh	KP	Kells	c.1403
Walter de la Hyde; John Shriggely	KP	Deece	c.1403
John Drake; James Tallon	KP	Morgallion	c.1405
John London; John Nangle, baron of Navan	KP	Navan	c.1405
Richard Lynham; Richard Tancard	KP	Moyfenrath	c.1405
John son of Richer; William Arot	KP	Deece	c.1405
Robert Carlisle; Edward Rochfort	KP	Lune	c.1405
John Netterville	KP	Duleek	[1406-7]
Robert [Montayne], bishop of Meath; Christopher Plunket; Christopher Preston; Thomas Fleming; William Nugent; Janico Dartas; John Darcy; Thomas Bacon	J		c.1407
John London; Simon son of Edmund London	KP	Lune	c.1408
Peter Sower; William Lovel	J	Moyfenrath	c.1410
Thomas Cruys; Christopher Fleming; John Drake; Thomas Cruys; William Betagh	J		c.1420
Christopher Preston; Christopher Plunket; Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin; Brother William White; John Drake; John Plunket; John Darcy; Philip Bocombe; Stephen Palmer	J		c.1422
Simon London; Richard Talbot of Moyrath	KP	Lune	c.1425
[] ; [] Preston; Nicholas Eustace	KP		c.1425
Edward [Dantsey], bishop of Meath; Christopher Plunket jr; Roger Hakenshaw; Christopher Fleming; James de la Hyde; Christopher Plunket; William Young, archdeacon of Meath; Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin; John Darcy; Christopher Preston	J		c.1427
William Cruys	KP	Kells	c.1427
William Cruys	KP		1427-9
William [Haddesors], bishop of Meath; John Bellew; Roger Hakenshaw; Christopher Preston; Christopher Barnewall; Christopher Plunket; William Young, archdeacon of Meath	J		c.1431
Christopher Preston; John Netterville of Ballygarth; John Exeter of Carrick; John Herdman of Herdmanstown	J	Duleek; Slane	c.1432

APPENDIX 9 Enrolment of the charter of Henry VI to the portreeve and burgesses of Trim, March 1430 [Nat. Archives, Ms Co 1814, previously Phillipps Ms 4604]

[Fol. 1] Henry by the grace of God King of England and ffrence and Lord of Ireland to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Pryors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Justices, Sherriffs, Portreeves, Ministers and all Bailiffes and his faithfull subjects to whom these present letters shall come, health. We have viewed the charter of our deare grandfather Henry late King of England of divers gifts grants and confirmations to the Portreeve and burgesses of the town of Trim under his greate seale of Ireland signed and made in these words [:] Henery by the grace of God King of England and ffrence and Lord of Ireland to all Archbishops, Bishops, Pryors, Earles, Barons, Justices, Sherriffs, Portreeves, Ministers and all Baliffes and his faithfull subjects to who these present letters shall come health. We have viewed the letters patents of confirmation which were made in these words [:] Henery by the grace of God King of England [Fol. 2] and ffrence and Lord of Ireland to all whom these present letters shall come health. We have viewed the charter of Walter de Lascy under his seale signed in these wordes [:] knowe all men by these presentes and to come that I Walter de Lascy have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my burgesses of Trym all libertys which they had and which they used, viz according to the law of Bristoll before they obteyned my present ancient charter of my gift I have granted also to the said burgesses that they should have the old wood lyeing in my fforrest of Trym for there fuell by view of my foresters and that they have pasture for all living beasts in my warren and in my dead moores furthermore I have granted to the said burgesses that they shall be free at foure termes of the yeare of all prises from them taken by me or by my bailiffs and if it happens in the fourth yeare they shall not be freed nothing shall be required by mee further until from that terme they shall be acquitted and soe of other yeares and termes aforesaid youre libertyes I and my heires will perpetually warrant and keepe. And that this my gift and grant may remaine ratified and established I have confirmed the same with the [Fol. 3] impression of my seale these witnesses present William de Lascy, Symon de Clifford, Walter fitz Alfred, Henry de Vernoil, Richard de Cornib, Thomas de ffurnis, Adam Palthel, Walter de Chibenour, Nicholas fforrester, William Bellon, John de Wintonia, Adam Clerke, John Clerke and many others we alsoe the said charter and all conteyned therein have ratified and of my free will for us and our heires as much as in us lyes our speciall grace have accepted, approved and ratified and to the aforesaid burgesses and there heires and successors burgesses of the said towne by the tenour of these patents we have granted and confirmed as by the said charter reasonably witnessed. And of our further grace wee have granted to the said burgesses and there heires and successors burgesses of the towne aforesaid that although they or there predecissors the libertyes in the said charter conteyned or in any of them in any case happening have hitherto not fully used or abused yet nevertheless the said burgesses and there heires and successors burgesses of the towne aforesaid the said libertyes and every of them from henceforth shall fully enjoy and use without any lett or impediment of us or our heires justices, escheators, sherriffes or others our bailiffs or my ministers whatsoever in witness whereof these or letters wee have [Fol. 4] made pattente.

Witnesse Stephen Lescrop Knight Deputy to our deare sonne Thomas de Lancastre, seneschall of England our Lieuetennant of our land of Ireland att Drogheda the twelveth day of June in the sixth yeare of our raigne [1405]. And wee the aforesaid letters and all conteyned in the same haveing ratifyed and then freely for us and our heires have ratifyed and approved and confirmed as by the aforesaid letter reasonably witnesseth. And whereas the said Portreeve and burgesses and their predecessors and ancestors burgesses of the towne aforesaid all charters, libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes, and priviledges in a certaine schedule with us in our Chancery of Ireland together with their certaine petition under the privy seale of our beloved and faithfull Stephen Lescrop knight deputy to our deare sonne Thomas de Lancastre, seneschall of England our Lieuetennant of our land of Ireland exhibited and therein conteyned. And divers other libertyes, ffranchises, uses customes and priviledges not specified in the said schedule time out of minde have had and used as they say which libertyes in the said schedule conteyned be these: ffirst of all the burgesses of the towne of Trym and their predecessors [Fol. 5] and ancestors burgesses of the said towne who att this time and time out of minde had amongst other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and att this present have to themselves and successors that is to say that in the feast of the Exaltacion of the holey Crosse [14 September] every yeare the Portreeve of the towne aforesaid for the time being or his deputy in his absence and burgesses of the said towne or greater parte of them were wont then to gather together into one certaine place within the liberty of the said towne of Trym. And their were wont to chuse out of the burgesses of the said towne and resident within the same one burgesse of the said towne to be Portreeve of the said towne who used to take an oath att such time and was wont to take upon him the charge if he were present or that as soone as he came home if he were absent the office of Portreeve faithfully to officiate and this before the feast Day of St Michael the Archangell [29 September] according to the custome of the said towne [Fol. 6] the Portreeve of the said towne then being or his deputy in his absence. Soe to with that the Portreeve soo elected ought to begin the said office of Portreeve on St Michael's day then next following and the said office to governe, occupy and exercise yet not before the said day of St Michael except the ancient Portreeve should dye between the said feastes of the Exaltacion of the holey Crosse and St Michael or shall be unfitt as itt may happen for death or soe unfitt ought to begin the power of the said new Portreeve otherwise to rule, exercise and occupy and that the ancient Portreeve was wont the said office of Portreeve to rule, occupye and exercise from the feast of the Exaltacion of the holey Crosse until Michaels att which day of St Michael the power of the ancient Portreeve ought to cease and the power of the new said one soe elected ought to begin as aforesaid. And in case that the Portreeve of the said towne of Trym for the time being should dye or be attaint against our Lord the King or the Lord of the towne of Trym for the time being by reason of any treason or felony or any other fault done by which he should be unable to rule, occupy and exercise the said [Fol. 7] office of Portreeve that then the burgesses of the said towne of Trym for the time being or the major parte of them together with all the expedition they can after such death attaint or inability of such Portreeve were wont to gather together into a place certaine within the liberty of the said towne and their were wont to chuse out of the said burgesses resident

within the said towne one burgesse to be their Portreeve who ought the said day to swear and to take upon him his charge to the office of Portreeve their faithfully to serve and occupye for the burgresses of the said towne then and their being according to the custome of the said towne which certaine Portreeve soe of new elected used to serve the said office of Portreeve and the same occupied, used and served and enjoyed in the same manner and forme as other Portreeves which before him were until Michaels Day then next following and soe the said burgresses of the said towne of Trym, which [Fol. 8] for the time were time out of memory of man as such accidents happened were wont to doe and to use such libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and things soe accustomable and all and singular the libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges, abovesaid and underwritten together with all and everything to the same incident and not specyfyed in these our letters pattente. And divers other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges according to which the cittizens of the City of Dublin and burgresses of the Towne of Bristoll have hitherto had and enjoyed and which said burgresses of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors burgresses of the said towne have had and enjoyed the libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges within these present letters conteyned in anything not contrary.

Item: the burgresses of the said towne of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors burgresses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were time out of memory of man among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and [Fol. 9] priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use and priviledge have had and enjoyed to them and their successors that if any of the burgresses of the said towne of Trym resident within the said towne to the said office of Portreeve soe permitted to be elected and he contrary to that election will not be Portreeve of the said towne of Trym, that then the messuages, lands and tenements of the said Portreeve lying within the liberty of the said towne of him soe newly elected and refuseing such office of Portreeve were wont by the burgresses and commoners of the said towne to be destroyed and altogether layde waste so that he from thenceforth nor comodity or proffitt of such said messuages, lands and tenements as the burgresses of the towne should have nor be esteemed to have for the cause aforesaid except such burgesse so elected should make fine and redemption for such waste and distrution according to the discession of the burgresses of the said towne or the greater parte of them with the said burgresses or the greater parte of them. And were wont to chuse one other Portreeve to the office of Portreeve by the said burgresses or major parte of them in his place and stead and of him to be [Fol. 10] done as aforesaid and soe of the rest.

Item: the Portreeve of the said towne of Trym who for the time were and burgresses of the said towne and their predecessors and ancestors burgresses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were time out of memory of man among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges, such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge have had to them and their successors that if itt should happen that any such Portreeve of the said towne of Trym which for the time were by the Divine Providence should have any infirmity soe as he could not fittly officiate the aforesaid office in governing, ruleing, executeing the same or if it should happen any such Portreeve for the time being should be in the

Kings service or in the service of the Lord of the said towne of Trym or in his owne proper bussnesse or in the bussnesse of the said towne or his friends that then such Portreeve of the said towne of Trym for the time being was wont to substitute under him one deputy being a fitt person and one of his fellow burgesses of the towne of Trym viz such as one for [Fol. 11] which he will answer which heretofore was Portreeve of the said towne of Trym if such a one were found in the said towne willing to govern the said office in the meane time. And if such fellow burgesse of the said towne of Trym which before were Portreeve of the said towne cannot be found or if soe found and being requested to be Portreeve of the said towne will not be deputy to such Portreeve that then such Portreeve may lawfully make another fitt fellow burgesse of the said towne of Trym his deputy to rule, govern and execute the said office in his absence for which the said Portreeve will answer and that such deputy in absence of the said Portreeve for the time being were wont to rule and governe the said office and the said towne of Trym and were wont to have the same power as the same Portreeve in all articles accustomed to have in the same manner and forme as the said Portreeve within the towne and liberty thereof were personally present.

Item: The Portreeve of the said towne of Trym and burgesses of the said towne which for the time were and their predecessors and ancestors burgesses of the said towne of Trym time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges were wont to have to them and their successors that is to say such liberty [Fol. 12], ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge to ordeyne and have one fitt clerke to write doe and execute all and singular which to the office of Common Clerke of the towne, liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge they have had belonging and appurteyning and soe many Catchbolls and serjants as to them should seeme fitt and necessary to execute all mandates as well of our Lord the King as of the Lord and Portreeve of the said towne as well by word of mouth as in writing under the same manner and forme as the servants and other ministers under the mayor or bayliffs of the Towne of Bristoll or City of Dublin or either of them were wont to doe and execute. And that the said Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were time out of minde or greater parte of them were wont such Clerke as aforesaid for reasonable cause from such office of clerke to remove and to constitute and ordaine another able and fitt clerke in his place. And that the said Portreeve which for the time were time out of memory were wont all and singular the Catchbolls and servants of the said towne as aforesaid from yeare to yeare and from time to time all their will from their aforesaid offices [Fol. 13] to remove and another or others fitt person or persons in his or their place or places to constitute and ordaine.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of minde were used to have to them and their successors and for the present have one court called a hundred within the liberty of the said towne and were used to hold that hundred Court before the Portreeve of the said towne for the time being or before his deputy in his absence and this from fifteen days to fifteen days at least as well in the presence of our Lord the King for the

time being as in his absence or of any other Lord of the said towne of Trym or any of his justices, seneschalls, or any of his ministers or any of them. And in that hundred have had and yet have to them and to their successors cognisance of all pleas as well reall by writt of Right patente and cognisance of the assize of ffresh force and alsoe cognisance of all pleas reall and personall except four pleas to witt of rape, burning, forestalling and treasure trove if in the said towne of Trym or liberty thereof itt should happen that to our Lord the King or Lord of the said towne for the time being they were wont to remaine before the said Portreeve of the said towne of Trym for the time being under the said manner and forme as fully and amply as in the said City of Dublin as in the said towne of Bristoll were made, listed, and granted.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said [Fol. 14] towne of Trym which for the time were time out of memory were wont to have and now have to them and their successors one other court held within the liberty of the said towne before the Portreeve of the said towne of Trym which for the time were or before his deputy in his absence. And that court from day to day and from hower to hower and from time to time as well in the presence or absence of our Lord the King which for the time were or any other Lord of the said towne of Trym or any of the justices, seneschalls or other his ministers whatsoever according to the discession, limitation and assignation of the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence and in the said courte have been accustomed to hold, prosecute, impleade and determine by process, arrest, summons, attachments, distresses and executions under the same manner and forme as those in the City of Dublin or in the said towne of Bristoll were wont to doe and all pleas viz assizes of fresh force, Vetito Namio, imprisonment, trespasses, accounts, debts, detencions, covenants and all other personall pleas of what kinde or nature soever of every debt or contract at any time within or without the liberty of the said towne or within the market of the same under the said manner and forme and as fully and amply as those in the said City of Dublin or the said towne of Bristoll were used to hold the same.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors burgesses of the said towne of Trym which [Fol. 15] for the time were time out of memory were used to have and for the present have one goale [*sic*] and prison within the liberty of the said towne to imprison and to keepe safely in the same all and every persons for every cause or causes imprisoned and arrested by one able and honest man, gaoler of the said goale the said person by the said Portreeve of the said towne for the time being to be specially elected, assigned, ordained and deputed for which certaine goaler the said Portreeve will answer and that the said Portreeve for the time being were wont such goaler for reasonable cause to remove from his office and to chuse, ordaine and depute another in his place.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecessors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the towne which for the time were time out of memory amongst other libertyes, ffranchises, uses,

customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge have used to have that they in the absence of our Lord the King and his heirs an assize of bread and ale and the custody and assay of measures and weightes and other things whatever to the said office of market belonging within the liberty of the said towne should have doe and execute and the transgression of the said assize of bread and ale in due manner should punish and for default of measures and weights and other things to the said office of market belonging should correct and amend soe that the Clerke [Fol. 16] of the market or any minister of our Lord the King or Lord of the said liberty of Meath within the liberty of the said towne of Trym to anything which belongs to his office may enter into the said towne or libertyes thereof to doe or execute except onley to the standard of the said towne to be approved and examined and for default and expressed of such standard viewed and found to correct and amend. And that all proffitts of such assize and assay within the liberty of the said towne acruing from the said standard except were used to goe to the Portreeve and burgesses theire heires and successors in the ayde of the charge of the said towne.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and theire predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use and custome were used to have viz that they and theire predecessors and ancestors were wont to have return of all writts of our Lord the King and Lord of the liberty of Meath and well summons as attachments as any other whatsoever writts and mandates of all and singular things arising within the liberty of the said towne of Trym soe that the ministers of our Lord the King or Lord of the liberty of Meath the said liberty of the said towne of Trym for any summons or attachment or any executions to be done or theire arising shall not enter unless in default of the Portreeve of the said towne excepting the four pleas, viz rape, burning, forestalling and treasure trove if in the said towne of Trym or [Fol. 17] liberty of the same it should happen that our Lord the King or Lord of the said liberty of Meath for the time being were wont to remaine and that noe seneschall or sheriffe or bayliffe or any other minister of our Lord the King was wont to intermeddle of any attachment or summons to be done in the said towne of Trym or liberty of the same besides the Portreeve, Catchboll and serjants except in default of the said Portreeve.

Item: The Portreeve of the said towne of Trym which for the time were or his deputy in his absence time out of memory were wont to punish and correct all those who made affrays Hue and Cry and Shodding of Blood when itt happened within the liberty of the said towne in the same manner and forme as in the saide Towne of Bristoll or in the said City of Dublin have beene accustomed.

Item: The said Portreeve of the towne of Trym which for the time were or his deputy in his absence were wont to intermeddle, take cognisance of, punish and correct all and singular Rogrators and forestallers of victualls and other things eatable comeing to the said towne of Trym and before the Portreeve or his deputy in his absence thereupon were wont to attach and arrest and thereof to answer before such Portreeve or his deputy in his absence and if they were convicted

thereof, were wont to be committed to the gaole of the said towne and there to stay until thereof of they made fine for the same with the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence according to the greatnesse of the fault.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use and custome were wont to have [Fol. 18] and for the present have viz that if any tallage or subsidy were assessed upon the said towne of Trym and in the libertyes thereof by the Portreeve of the said towne or his deputy in his absence and by other discreet Men of the said towne to this assigned and allotted and not to be assessed by others and such subsidy or tallage by the Catchboll or serjant of the said towne were wont to be levied and this by distresses as necessity required if they were found within the liberty of the said towne without contradiction or clamour of any person whatsoever and if any such Catchboll or serjant in such case dooing his office be deforced by any such deforcior were wont to be attached by his body to answer thereof before the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence and if he was convicted then his body should be committed to the goal of the said towne until he made fine with the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges were wont to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that is to say that noe burgesses of the said towne anywhere in the land of Ireland or dominions of our Lord the King ought to be taken, arrested, imprisoned or distreyned for any debt except he were thereof [Fol. 19] debtor or pledge.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors the Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne of Trym time out of memory among the libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge were wont to enjoy viz that no fforraigner were wont to sell clothes [cloth] in the said towne of Trym or liberty thereof to their hindrance without lycence of the Portreeve for the time being or his deputy in his absence.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge were used to have and for the present have that is to say the burgesses of the said towne of Trym were wont freely to marry their sonnes and daughters and widdows without lycence of our Lord the King or of the Lord of the said towne of Trym or libertyes thereof for the time being and that none of those lords for forraigne landes were wont to have the custody of donation of his sonnes, daughters or widdows but onley the custody of his lands which were of forraigne

fee until he came to age and the said burgesses were wont to have their reasonable guildes as the burgesses of Bristoll were wont to have or better bene accustomed.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne [Fol. 20] of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne of Trym which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge were wont to have viz that they the said burgesses or their predecessors and ancestors burgesses of the said towne were wont to putt in assizes sworne attaintes recognitions or any inquisitions whatsoever by reason of their forraigne lands, tenements or possessions which before our said Lord the King or Lord of the liberty of Meath or any seneschall or justice or any ministers of our Lord the King which for the time were or Lord of the said liberty for the time being were wont to happen which manner in the said towne of Trym or the liberty of the same were wont to be done.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, uses, ffranchises, customes and priviledges such use, custome and priviledge were wont to have that is to say that if any burgesses or any men of the said towne of Trym were indicted, accused or appealed before our Lord the King or any other justice, officer, judge or commissioner of our Lord the King for the time being or before the Lord of the said towne of Trym in his liberty of Meath or before his seneschalls or any other justice, officer, minister or his commissioner for the time being of treason, felonye or of treasons or felonys or of any [Fol. 21] other trespass, crime or falcitys whatsoever which shall be supposed to be done or acted within the said towne of Trym or libertyes thereof an upon this indictment, accusation or appeale such burgesse or any other resident within the liberty of the said towne being soe arraigned or thereof putt to answer before our Lord the King for the time being or before any justice or any other minister, officer or commissioner of our said Lord the King for the time being or before the Lord of the said towne of Trym in his liberty of Meath or before his seneschall or justice or any other officer, minister or commissioner for the time being and such person so appealed, indicted or arraigned putts himself on his jurator on his country for good or evill in such cases then such jurator country were wont to be taken of the burgesse of the said towne and not of forraigner unless such appeale, indictment or arraignment only touches the Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the liberty of the said towne.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge were wont to have that is to say that the said Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of [Fol. 22] Trym nor any of them were wont to be made sherriffes, keepers of the peace, coroners, contrrollers or other bayliffes or

ministers of our Lord the King or Lord of the said liberty of Meath for the time being or assessors or collectors or receivers of money or issues of our Lord the King or Lord of the said liberty of Meath for the time being without the said towne of Trym or libertyes thereof against the will of the said Portreeve and burgesses for the time being which manner and residence custome now made in the said towne of Trym and libertyes thereof.

Item: The Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves, burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge were wont to have viz that the said Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym were wont to be and for the present are freed of murage, pannage, pontage, passage, lastage and kayage and of all other customes and priveledges of merchandises, goods and things whatsoever within the Kings dominions and territories as well within as without the liberty as the citizens of the City of Dublin and burgesses of the Towne of Bristoll do and were accusto [Fol. 23] -med.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges were used to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that is to say that if any owed another six pence or under and he to whom the said six pence or less were supposed to be owing came before the Portreeve of the said towne or his deputy in his absence and made his complaint by word of mouth of such debt then such person who is supposed debtor were wont to compel him to come before the Portreeve of the said towne of Trym or his deputy in his absence by the Catchboll or serjant of the said towne and such debtor before the Portreeve or his deputy in his absence were wont to be examined upon his oath and if such debtor by such examination of his debt of six pence or under then acknowledge the same that then the said Catchboll or serjant of the said towne of Trym for the time being by precept by the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence shall take such debtor and put him in the prison of the saide towne there to stay until such debt be satisfied to the party. And this without anything to the said Catchboll and serjant or the keeper of the prison or [Fol. 24] goale of the saide towne of Trym for their labour in the premisses to be rendered or payde.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of minde wont to be quitt of murder within the liberty of the said towne.

Item: The Portreeve and burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of minde among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge

were wont to have that none were wont to take any issue or endorsements within the said towne of Trym or libertyes thereof by assize or delivery of the marshall or harbinger of any minister of our Lord the King or any Lord of the said liberty for the time being against the will of the burgesses and commoners of the said towne.

Item: The Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, franchises, uses, customes and priviledges such liberty, franchise, use, custome and priviledge were wont to have that is to say such ffairs within the liberty of the said towne of Trym once a yeare continually viz from the [Fol. 25] hower of nine of the eve of the nativity of St John the Baptist [24 June] unto the ninth hower of the feast of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr [3 July] and such ffairs then being or held to governe, rule, oversee and to everyone to the said ffairs coming and to the liberty of the saide towne for the time being full justices in all things to be executed done and adjudged by the said Portreeve and burgesses or the major parte of the burgesses which for the time were used in one certaine place within the liberty of the said towne to assemble together by juries for one or two weekes before the said ffairs soe to be held and these to chuse two honest and discrete men of the burgesses of the said towne of Trym to be barons of the said ffairs which said barons soe elected were wont to have one courte before them or one of them held within the liberty of the said town from hower to hower, from time to time and from day to day according to the discession, limitation and assignment of the said barons or one of them during the whole time of the faire and in the said courte to be held have been accustomed to prosecute and implead and determine by process and arrests by the Catchboll and serjeants of the said towne for the time [Fol. 26] being made all manner of pleas, trespasses, debts, accounts, detentions, covenants and all other personall pleas of what kinde or nature soever except the said four pleas for any fault or contract whatsoever att that time happening within the liberty of the said towne or without happening betweene merchant and merchant and judgment upon such pleas before the said barons or one of them held as aforesaid by the said barons or one of them have beene used to beene given and of such judgments were wont in all things to be fulfilled in the same manner and forme as execution of such judgments upon such pleas by the Portreeve of the said towne for the time being were wont to be given and done.

Item: The Portreeve of the said towne of Trym or his deputy in his absence were wont to ordaine and proclaime all victuals to be sold in the said towne or coming thither to be sold at a certaine price and to convict those who against such ordinance and proclamation have done by ameracements and fines as the case requires and according to the quantity of the fault.

Item: They were wont to have a whipping post, pillory and tumbrell and all pleas which belongs to the same before the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence as have been wont to [Fol. 27] be held and judgment upon the same by him have beene wont to be given and corrections and executions of such judgments by the Catchboll and serjeant of the saide towne have been wont to be especially fulfilled unlesse such transgressors doe make reasonable fine with the said Portreeve to the

use of the said towne and for the difficultys of such judgments to be given by the said Portreeve upon such pleas and complaints before him depending or his deputy in his absence then were used to call in full courte foure or more of their fellow burgesses for their good counsell upon their difficultyes of such judgments to be given and upon the view of all armes of the residents within the liberty of the said towne before the Portreeve or his deputy in his absence as often and when it seemed needful to be done ordeyned and shown and the assess and placing of such armes and corrections of such armorers by the saide Portreeve or his deputy in his absence were wont to ordeyne and effectually to fulfill.

Item: The burgesses of the of the [*sic*] said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors burgesses of the said towne which for the time were time out of minde among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges were wont to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that if any resident within the liberty of the said towne had money or anything upon a pledge to another within the liberty of the said towne and the said pledge lye with the creditor a yeare and a day not freed that then it shall be lawfull to the creditor of such pledge before the Portreeve of the said towne for the time being or his deputy in his absence to shew the same in full court of [Fol. 28] the said towne observing this that such debtor be first summoned to be at the said courte and if the said pledge then be not acquitted then they were to give to him that owed the pledge a day of the month by the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence to aquitt the same which if he did not doe then att the next courte after the said month before the said Portreeve or his deputy in his absence such pledge by four honest and lawfull men of the said towne to the same sworne in the said courte to appraise according to the true value and after to sell the same and to make payment to the creditor and if any overplusse remains then to returne the same unto him to whom the pledge belonged.

Item: The said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves, burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of memory among other libertyes, uses, ffranchises, customes and priviledges were wont to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that if any within the liberty of the said towne threaten another of life or member or of burning of houses or of any other thing and this be lawfully proved before the Portreeve of the said towne or his deputy in his absence by witnesses who heard such threats or were present or by any other then itt were lawfull to arrest this body of such threats and to commit him to the prison of the said towne until he find sufficient security to keepe the peace against such threats and this according to law and custome [Fol. 29] hitherto used.

Item: The said Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors were wont to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that if any complaine of another or will complaine within the liberty of the said towne for any cause noe serjeant or catchboll against the complainant for the time being or present that then itt shall be lawfull for such burgesses of the said towne att the request of the complainant against whom such

complaint is formed to arrest and under such arrest to hold him until such Catchboll or serjeant come to him soe arrested soe that he may doe his office in due manner.

Item: The said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the of the [*sic*] said towne of Trym and their predecesors and ancestors Portreeves, burgesses and commoners of the said towne which for the time were time out of minde among other libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges were used to have such liberty, ffranchise, use, custome and priviledge that they by their testaments, messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services with their appurtenances within the liberty of the said towne being as well fee simple as fee tayle as otherwise for terme of life or yeares as they please may devise in the same manner and forme as the citizens of Dublin and burgesses of Bristoll used to devise and at present doe and wee considering the good of the place and partes adjacent in resisting the malice of our Irish enemyes in those partes att all times holden and for the present held of our speciall grace and by the advice of our saide deputy and council at the re [Fol. 30] —quest of the Portreeve and burgesses to us upon their petition made we have given and granted and by this our charter have confirmed for us and our heires to the said Portreeve and burgesses of the said towne all the said libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges in the said schedule above specified and not specified and every of them to have and to hold to them and their heires and successors freely and quietly forever without any lett or impediment of us or our heires, lieuetennants, justices, escheators, sheriffs, seneschalls, bailiffs or our ministers or our officers or our heires whatsoever wherefore we **WILL** and firmly command that the said Portreeve and burgesses their heires and successors have and hold all the said libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges and every of them in manner and form as above expressed freely and quietly forever without any lett or impediment of us or our heires, lieuetennants, justices, escheators, sheriffs, seneschalls, bailiffs or ministers or our officers or our heires whomsoever further willing to the said Portreeve and burgesses in consideration of the present and of our further grants. We have granted for us and our heires and by this our charter have confirmed to the said Portreeve and burgesses and their heires and successors that it shall be lawfull for them their predecesors and ancestors and any of the aforesaid libertyes to enjoy in any case happening, hitherto fully used and not abused they the said Portreeve and burgesses [Fol. 31], their heires and successors Portreeves and burgesses of the said towne the libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges and every of them from henceforth fully to enjoy and use without any lett or impediment of us or our heires, lieuetennants, justices, escheators, sheriffs, seneschalls, bailiffs or ministers or our officers or our heires whomsoever with these witnesses [:] The Venerable Father Robert Bishop of Meath and John Bishop of Kildare, Patrick Bishop of ffrornes, Gerrald ffils Maurisco Earl of Kildare, Lawrence Mawbury Knight our Chancellor of Ireland, William Lynbogh our Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, Thomas ffleming Knight Baron of Slane, David Wogan Knight, Christopher Preston Knight, and others given by the hands of this deputy at Trym the twelveth day of March in the eighth yeare of our Raigne [1430]. Wee also the giftes and grants, confirmations, libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges aforesaid and all other and singular matter in the said charter and

letters conteyned have ratified and gratefully for us and our heires as much as in us lyes our speciall grace and by the consent of our Venerable Father in Christ Richard Archbishop of Dublin and our Justice of our Land of Ireland and our counsell of the said land have accepted, approved, ratified and to our beloved new Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the said towne and their heires and successors and successors [sic] forever by the tenour of these presents we grant and confirme as the charter and letters [Fol. 32] aforesaid reasonably witnesseth and furthermore of our abundant grace and by the assent of our said justice and counsell had and having consideration that the said towne of Trym remains the common course of all our faithfull lieges lying in the ffronteirs of the marches of our Irish enemys and English rebels and alsoe haveing considerations to the greate exile as alsoe to the greate perill which the said new Portreeve, burgesses and commoners are in by Irish and our aforesaid rebels continually we give and grant and the said new Portreeve and his successors Portreeves of the said towne of Trym that they be justices and keepers of our peace and of our heires and successors wheresoever within the said towne as well within the ffranchise as without and in the cross thereof within the bounds, metes and lymitts and precincts of the said towne for ever. And that they have sufficient power and authority as often as they please to call and make to come before them by summons and distresses and other wayes and manners as they shall see fitt all and singular the commoners of the said towne as well within the ffranchise as without and in the crosse therof within the said bounds, meates, lymitts and precincts and to assisst them to find horses and armes by distresses or to levy them in any other manner to answer thereof in ayde and defence of the said towne and country about the same when need shall require from time to time according to the quantity of the landes [Fol. 33], tenements, chattels and their goodes to be assessed and assayed and alsoe that they have the like power and authority to enquire by oath of honest and lawfull men within the said towne as well within the liberty as without and in the crosse thereof within the said bounds, meates, lymitts and precincts and justices and keepers of our peace according to the statutes of Wynton, Kilkenny and Dublin for conservation of our peace within the said towne within the liberty and without, within the crosse thereof, within the bounds, metes, lymitts and precincts of the same as aforesaid except robberyes and other fellonyes their beyond the mannor done in all articles and to observe, doe and to such rebbells negligent persons and persons contrary to amerce and the amercants and distresses thereof to levy, doe and expend in helpe and defence of the fortifications of the said towne without any account thereof to us or our heires or successors att our Exchequer of Ireland or other any of our ministers whatsoever to be given and alsoe to take the saide rebbells as often as needful and to arrest and commit to prisson their to stay until they make fine with the said justice and keeper of our peace for their rebellions and the said fines to levy do and expend without any account thereof to be given as aforesaid and alsoe were given and granted to the said Portreeve and his said successors Portreeves and justices of the peace of the said towne such [Fol. 34] liberty and ffranchise that they hereafter may compell, distreine, ordaine and governe all and singular the persons staying or sojourning in the said towne as well within the liberty as without and crosses thereof within the bounds, metes, lymitts and precincts of the said towne in all and singular buying and selling of victuals whatsoever for the better proffitt of our faithfull

people as often as to them seemes better expedient forever. And all and singular rebells and adversarys being within the said liberty before the said Portreeve and his successors Portreeves and justices of the said towne and under their command for this cause to amerce and the amercements assising as well within the said liberty as without and in the crosse within the same bounds, metes, lymitts and precincts to levy, do and receive and expend upon the good governance, salvation and defence of the said towne without any account thereof to us and our heires or any other person whatsoever to be rendered and to such contraryes and rebells within the said liberty and crosse of any be as needfully required to take and arrest to deteyne until they be well chastised or make reasonable fine for their contempts and rebellions with the said Portreeve and his successors Portreeves of the said towne and justices of the peace and further of our especiall grace we give and grant to the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners of the said towne and their heires and successors Portreeves, burgesses and [Fol. 35] commoners of the said towne this liberty and ffranchise that no Lord Lieuetenant, justice nor any other governour of us or our heires in the Land of Ireland neither their deputy nor any other officers or ministers or souldier or of any other condition whatsoever shall not hereafter take nor arrest within the said towne in the libertyes thereof nor in the crosses within the said bounds, metes, lymitts and precincts and horses or bullocks for businesse or any other things or carriages to be done out of the said towne neither that they shall take or take within the said towne in the liberty neither the crosse thereof hey, straw, forage, corne, bread, wine, plowes, ffishes, poultry, fuell nor any other thing whatsoever against the will of the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners and their heires and successors whatsoever but that for the future they be quiet and be discharged forever without and lett or hindrance, molestation or grievance of us or our heires or officers or our ministers whatsoever forever wherefore we will and firmly command that the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners, their heires and successors have and hold all the said libertyes, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges and every of the in manner and forme above expressed freely and quietly forever without any lett or impediment of us or our heires Lord Lieuetenant, justices, escheator, sherriffes, seneschalls, bayliffes or our ministers or officers whatsoever. Furthermore, willing that the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners in consideration of the premisses and of our further grace in this parte to be done wee grant for us and our heires and by this our charter have con [Fol. 36] –firmed to the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners and their heires and successors that itt shall be lawfull for them, their predecesors or successors all or any of the libertys, ffranchises, uses, customes and priviledges in any case chanceing not hitherto fully used or abused nevertheless so that they the said Portreeve, burgesses and commoners and their heires and successors Portreeves, burgesses and commoners of the said towne the said libertyes, ffranchise, uses, customes and priviledges of every of them may from henceforth full enjoy and use without impediment of us or our heires Lord Lieuetenant, justices, escheator, sherriffes, seneschalls, bayliffes or the ministers or officers of us or our heires in what manner soever these being witnesses [:] the Venerable Father in Christ Richard Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor of Ireland, John Archbishop of Ardmagh, Prymate of Ireland, Gerrald fitz Morris, Earle of Kildare, Brother William fitz Thomas, Pryor of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland,

William Young Archdeacon of Meath, Christopher Barnewall our Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, Thomas Fleming, Knight, Baron of Slane and Christopher Preston, esquire and many others given by the hand of our said Justice of Ireland at Dublin the sixth day of March in the ninth year of our reign.

At the end of the manuscript (Fol. 36), in a different hand, is an additional note (some of which, particularly the last lines, is no longer legible):

Inrolled in the reign of King Henry the Sixth in the government of Sir Stephen Lescrop, knight, the Deputy to Thomas de Lancaster, Seneschall of England and Lord Justice of Ireland and found among the records at Berminghams Tower in the Castle of Dublin. You will find it in the Roll 212, pages 3ff which the above writing in Court Hand the remains of the record with [...] is taken out of the Little Red Booke given me by the Portreeve of [...]. There are two other inrollments of this charter and [...] the King at Drogheda [...] in the [...] of King Edward the Fourth [...] the 39th year of King Henry the Eighth [...] which inrollment I have not yet found [...] is a true copy thereof as it [...]. Finis.

APPENDIX 10 Documented names of medieval streets and lanes in Trim

Blake Street
Blindlanc ¹⁹⁰
Bridge Street ¹⁹¹
Castle Lane ¹⁹²
Church Lane ¹⁹³
Corn Market Street ¹⁹⁴
Fair Street ¹⁹⁵
Fishamble Street ¹⁹⁶
Haggard Street ¹⁹⁷
High Street ¹⁹⁸
Lane from the Newton ¹⁹⁹
Leyton lane/way ²⁰⁰
Market Street ²⁰¹
Market-Cross Street ²⁰²
Maudlin Street ²⁰³
Mill Lane ²⁰⁴
Navan Gate Street ²⁰⁵
Newhaggard Lane ²⁰⁶
Pillory Street ²⁰⁷
Porch Street ²⁰⁸
Porte Street ²⁰⁹
Sack Street ²¹⁰
Scarlet Street; ²¹¹ Scarlet Street ²¹²
Skinner's Street ²¹³
Wync/Wynetavern Street ²¹⁴

¹⁹⁰N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8).

¹⁹¹N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8).

¹⁹²N.L.I. (J.F. Ainsworth) report on private collections, vol. 9 (microfilm 8370), report 263 (report on the proceedings of the corporation of Trim), p. 2173; N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8).

¹⁹³Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

¹⁹⁴Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

¹⁹⁵*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, ii, p. 276, no. 15.

¹⁹⁶Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

¹⁹⁷*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400); Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

¹⁹⁸*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400); iii, 1586-1603, p. 227, no. 5840 (4781); N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8).

¹⁹⁹Griffith, *Calendar of inquisitions*, pp 204-5, no Eliz66/46.

²⁰⁰*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 250, no. 16.

²⁰¹*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8).

²⁰²Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²⁰³*Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 694-5.

²⁰⁴Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²⁰⁵Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²⁰⁶Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²⁰⁷*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400).

²⁰⁸*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400).

²⁰⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²¹⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²¹¹*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400); iii, 1586-1603, p. 227, no. 5840 (4781); N.L.I., 21 F. 70 (7, 8); Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 293, 'from the Corporation Book, and inquisition'.

²¹²*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, ii, p. 276, no. 15.

²¹³*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, iii, 1586-1603, p. 227, no. 5840 (4781).

APPENDIX 11 List of rectors of St Patrick's Church, Trim (c.1283- c.1600)

Years in Office	Rector	Notes
From 1283 to at least 1293	Nicholas de Geneville	d. 1325, buried at Trim
From at least 1307	William de Sydan	
c. 1324	Walter de Istelep	
c. 1321 to at least 1344	William de Clebury	Tenures overlap
From at least 1348	Thomas de Meltoun	
From at least 1353	Richard Radulphi	Nephew of Rd FitzRalph
Aug. 1381 to at least 1393	Walter de Brugge	
Sept. 1381	Robert Sutton	Tenures overlap
From before 1399	John Belyng	
1400 to 1411	Richard Petyr	Contested appointment
June 1412	John Tanner	
May 1412 to 1425	John Prene	Tenures overlap
1428	Patrick Prene	
1428	Thomas Russell	
1428	Patrick Prene	
1435	John Ardagh	Nominated only?
1435	Robert Dyke	Contested appointment
1443	William Whyte	
1450-1	Edmund Ouldhall	
1451- c. 1455	Philip Norreys, D.D.	Tenures overlap
d. 1458	Walter Thoumbe	Buried at St Patrick's
1460	Thomas St Just	
Until 1466	John White	
From 1466	William Thoundet	
1479-80	James Porter [rector]	
1479-80	Thomas Hart [vicar]	
1480-3	Richard Walsh	Contested appointment
1483-4	Edward Wellsley	Contested appointment
1483X1484	John White	Guardian of spiritualities
1484 to at least 1485	Richard Walsh	Contested appointment
Until 1497	Richard Willy [alias Keryn]	Without title
From 1497	Walter Wellsley	
1501	Thomas Darcy	Contested appointment
d. 1509	John Warde	Buried at St Patrick's
1523	Bishop of Elphin?	
1524-5	John Ricard	
1530 to at least 1535	James Sheffelde	
1538 to at least 1543	Francis Agard	
1542	William Copeland	Tenures overlap
From 1546	William Nugent	
1550-8	John Petit	
15??	Henry Fitzsimon	
1581-99	John (Robert) Draper	

²¹⁴*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, ii, 1558-86, p. 228, no. 1714 (1400); iii, 1586-1603, p. 227, no. 5840 (4781).

APPENDIX 12 Constables of Trim Castle

Name	Year(s)
Hugh Tyrrel	c. 1172 ²¹⁵
Henry Kempe	1322-6 ²¹⁶
John D'Arcy	1326 ²¹⁷
William Blount	1329 ²¹⁸
Milo de Verdon	1330-43 ²¹⁹
Cousin of Roger de Mortimer	1360 ²²⁰
Roger Euyas	1361 ²²¹
Roger Berde	1363 ²²²
John Reigne	1381-8 ²²³
Thomas Norreys	Before 1399 ²²⁴
Nicholas Barynton	1399-1402 [1401?] ²²⁵
John Staunton	1422-5 ²²⁶
Robert Rochford	1470-85 ²²⁷
John Broun	1495-6 ²²⁸
Hamenet Boydell	1497 ²²⁹
Sir John Wallop	1522 ²³⁰
Thomas Stephens	1532-44 ²³¹
Peter Leyns	1550 ²³²
Thomas Devenishe	1551 ²³³
Laurence Hammond	1553-8 ²³⁴

²¹⁵Orpen, *The song*, ll 3222-3341.

²¹⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 36, no. 81; Connolly, *Irish Exchequer payments*, p. 320.

²¹⁷*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 34b, no. 21, p. 36, no. 81; Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 320.

²¹⁸Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 564.

²¹⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 32-3; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 45b, no. 78.

²²⁰*Cal. pat. rolls, 1358-61*, p. 456; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1361-4*, p. 382.

²²¹Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 511; Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, pp 266-7.

²²²Connolly, *Irish exchequer payments*, p. 513; Richardson & Sayles, *Admin. Ire.*, pp 268-9; *Cal. pat. rolls, 1361-4*, p. 368.

²²³*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 110, no. 36, p. 112, nos 88-9, p. 137b, nos 233-4.

²²⁴*Cal. pat. rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 180.

²²⁵*Cal. pat. rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 180; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 162, no. 94.

²²⁶*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 229, no. 100; N.L.I., Ms 761, f. 302; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 235, no. 15.

²²⁷*Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV*, pp 812-13; Quinn, *Guide finan. rec.*, p. 22.

²²⁸*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 271, no. 5; Gairdner, *Letters and papers*, vol. ii, pp 303-4.

²²⁹*Cal. pat. rolls, 1494-1509*, p. 105.

²³⁰*Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 7, no. 2 (27).

²³¹*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, vol. i, p. 8, no. 47, p. 106, no. 8; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part i (1521-46/7), p. 48, no. 420 (365).

²³²*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, vol. i, p. 201, no. 34; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part ii (1546/7-53), p. 137, no. 462 (500).

²³³*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, vol. i, p. 284, no. 162; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part ii (1546/7-53), p. 163, no. 721 (654).

²³⁴*Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, vol. i, p. 310, no. 40; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part iii (1553-8), p. 296, no. 12 (8); *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, vol. i, p. 366, no. 30, p. 367, no. 37; *Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns*, vol. i, (1521-58), part iii (1553-8), p. 315, no. 189 (156).

APPENDIX 13 Prisoners/hostages in Trim Castle

Year(s)	Name	Comment
1176	Manus O'Melaghlin	Killed 'at Trim' in 1176
1215	Gillakevin O'Kelly	Hanged 'at Trim' in 1215
1286x1295	Nicholas Bacon	
1300	Gilbert Brown	Escaped in 1300
1300	Clement O'Hampsey	Escaped in 1300
1306	Richard Pichard	
1318	John de Lacy	Starved to death in 1318
1322-3	John McCoghan	hostage
1322-3	Maurice McCoghan	hostage
1322-3	Geoffrey O'Reilly	hostage
1325-6	2 hostages	Hostages of Meiler MacGeoghegan
1326-7	3 hostages	
1325	William le Waleys	Released in 1325
1343	Richard Tuyt	Detained for 25 days
1362	Art MacMurrough	Died in Prison
1362	Donall Reagh	Died in Prison
1368	James Birmingham ²³⁵	Released on agreement
1377	McIerlagh Gedy	Hanged in 1377
1381	O'Connor ²³⁶	
1382	Murtough, son of Mahon Moinmoy O'Brien	Died in prison
1383	Art Magennis, Lord of Iveagh	Died of plague, in prison
1386		Some prisoners escaped in March
1393	Robert Bernevall	
1393	Thomas Plunket	
1390-1402	Seven O'Neill hostages	Niall Og's son, 2 nephews and 4 un-named
1400		Over thirty hostages and prisoners escaped
1402	Feroill, son of John O'Reilly ²³⁷	Release ordered by Henry IV on 16 November
1402	Walter Evere ²⁰⁸	Release ordered by Henry IV on 16 November
1418	Earl of Kildare	Detained from 26 June to at least 1 November
1418	Sir Christopher Preston	Detained from 26 June to at least 1 November
1418	John Bellew	Detained from 26 June to at least 1 November
1422	Certain native Irishmen ²³⁸	
1423	Aule More O'Dermot	
1423	Peter More O'Moran	
1423	Donald McKenan	
1423	James Younge	Held in irons 'in great duress' for ¼ of a year
1430	Edmund Balf, of Athboy	A murderer. Escaped, but later pardoned
1445	Son of MacGeoghan ²³⁹	Released by agreement
1445	Son of Art O'Maelachlin ²⁴⁰	Released by agreement
1447	Felim O'Reilly	Died of plague in prison
1447	Sons of Robert Savage	Died in prison
1468	John Haddesore	Murdered the gaoler and his pregnant wife
1485	28 riotously disposed gentlemen	From Counties Louth and Meath
1558		Certain prisoners escaped

²³⁵ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 85b, no. 16; *Gormanston Reg.*, p. ix; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, p. 397; *Cal. Carew MSS*, vol. v, *The Book of Howth*, p. 168; Butler, *Jacobi Grace*, pp 154-5.

²³⁶ *A. Clon. s.a.* 1381.

²³⁷ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 168b, no. 3.

²³⁸ *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 225b, no. 37.

²³⁹ O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 212.

²⁴⁰ O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 212.

APPENDIX 14 Abbots of St Mary's Augustinian Priory, Trim

Name	Year(s) in office
Elias	In office 1191x1198 ²⁴¹
Patrick	Died c. 1254 ²⁴²
Thomas	Died c. 1270 ²⁴³
Gilbert	Died c. 1276 ²⁴⁴
Milo	Died c. March 1278 ²⁴⁵
John	In office c. 1282-1307 ²⁴⁶
Philip (Bygyn?)	In office 1346 ²⁴⁷
Thomas	Died 1348/1358? ²⁴⁸
Peter Morgan	Elected December 1348 ²⁴⁹
Thomas Whittington	Appointed April 1350, deposed 1381 ²⁵⁰
John de Leghton	Elected 1381 ²⁵¹
John Warung	In office c. 1400 until his death in 1414 ²⁵²
Thomas	Died c. 1420 ²⁵³
William Scurlag	Elected 1420, resigned before 1435 ²⁵⁴
Edmond Porter	Elected March 1435 (not confirmed) ²⁵⁵
John Acton	Elected and confirmed 1435 ²⁵⁶
? (John Acton?)	Abbot died of plague 1447 ²⁵⁷
Nicholas Turvey	Resigned 1452 ²⁵⁸
James Bertram	Elected 1452 ²⁵⁹
Robert Acton	Elected 1454, still in office 1460 ²⁶⁰
Christopher White	In office from at least 1461 until 1480 ²⁶¹
Alexander Roche	In office 1483, died 4 January 1487 ²⁶²
John	Died 1488 ²⁶³
William	In office 1493 ²⁶⁴
Geoffrey Dardis	In office from at least 1515, surrendered priory 15 May 1539 ²⁶⁵

²⁴¹Sheehy, *Pontificia Hib.*, i, p 86-8, no. 30.

²⁴²*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, pp 57-8, no. 366.

²⁴³*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, p. 152, no. 892.

²⁴⁴*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, p. 225, no. 1233.

²⁴⁵*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, p. 301, nos 1533-4

²⁴⁶T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r.

²⁴⁷T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r. Butler says he was replaced in 1350, see *Trim* (1854), p. 201.

²⁴⁸Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 200-1; T.C.D., Ms 579/1, fol. 99; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 73b, no. 47.

²⁴⁹T.C.D., Ms 579/1, fol. 99; T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r.

²⁵⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 201; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 114, no. 186, p. 118, nos 82-3.

²⁵¹*Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 118, nos 82-3.

²⁵²T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 210, no. 196.

²⁵³*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 192-3.

²⁵⁴*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 192-3; idem, 1427-47, pp 654-5; T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r.

²⁵⁵T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r; T.C.D., Ms 557/6, pp 98-9; *Reg. Swayne*, pp 153-4, no. 523.

²⁵⁶T.C.D., Ms 557/6, p. 55; T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r; *Rot. pat. Hib.*, p. 259, no. 3.

²⁵⁷O'Donovan, 'The annals of Ireland 1443-68', p. 219.

²⁵⁸T.C.D., Ms 579/1, fol. 99.

²⁵⁹Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207.

²⁶⁰Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, pp 682-5.

²⁶¹*Stat. Ire.*, 12-22 *Edw. IV*, pp 42-7, 762-3; *Stat. Ire.*, 1-12 *Edw. IV*, pp 536-7, 558-9, 834-5; Ellis, 'Common bench plea roll of 19 Edward IV', pp 40, 45.

²⁶²T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r; Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest', p. 58

²⁶³Gairdner, *Letters and papers*, ii, p. 370; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196.

²⁶⁴*Stat. Ire.*, *Ric. III-Hen. VIII*, p. 119.

²⁶⁵T.C.D., Ms 654, fol. 130r; *Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 8, no. 19 (406); *Cal. pat. rolls Ire.*, *Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, p. 136, no. 15; *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, p. 305.

APPENDIX 15 Canons of St Mary's Augustinian Priory, Trim

Name	Year(s) as canon
John	1254 ²⁶⁶
Thomas	1254 ²⁶⁷
Milo	1276 ²⁶⁸
Thomas Whittington	Until 1350, by which time he was abbot ²⁶⁹
William Surlag	Until 1420; ²⁷⁰ reverted to canon before 1435 ²⁷¹
Edmond Porter	1435 ²⁷²
John Acton	1435 ²⁷³
Robert Acton	Until 1454, when he became abbot ²⁷⁴
Maurus Oschota	1473 ²⁷⁵
Patrick Offele	c.1484 ²⁷⁶
Roger Queytrode	c.1484; ²⁷⁷ d. 1516 ²⁷⁸
Thomas Nugent	d. 1521 ²⁷⁹
John Ashe	Granted pension July 1539 ²⁸⁰
Walter Caddell	Granted pension July 1539
Patrick Finglass	Granted pension July 1539
William Harte	Granted pension July 1539
Robert Lawrence	Granted pension July 1539
Dominic Longe	Granted pension July 1539
David Yong	Granted pension July 1539
Patrick Smart	Granted pension July 1539; d. 1577 ²⁸¹

²⁶⁶*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, pp 57-8, no. 366.

²⁶⁷*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, pp 57-8, no. 366.

²⁶⁸*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1252-84, p. 225, no. 1233.

²⁶⁹T.C.D., Ms 579/1, fol. 99; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses*, p. 196; Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 201.

²⁷⁰*Cal. papal letters, 1417-31*, pp 192-3.

²⁷¹*Cal. papal letters, 1427-47*, pp 654-5.

²⁷²Butler, *Trim* (1854), pp 203-5.

²⁷³*Reg. Swayne*, pp 153-4, no. 523.

²⁷⁴Butler, *Trim* (1854), p. 207; *Stat. Ire. Hen. VI*, pp 682-5.

²⁷⁵*Cal. papal letters, 1471-84*, p. 370.

²⁷⁶*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, pp 534, 540, no. 458; Anthony Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest from the episcopal archives of Armagh, 1265-1508' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 31 (1989), pp 9-102, at p. 58.

²⁷⁷*Reg. Octaviani*, ii, pp 534, 540, no. 458; Anthony Lynch, 'Documents of Franciscan interest from the episcopal archives of Armagh, 1265-1508' in *Collect. Hib.*, no. 31 (1989), pp 9-102, at p. 58.

²⁷⁸Refaussé with Lennon (eds), *registers of Christ Church, Dublin*, p. 63.

²⁷⁹T.C.D., Ms 84, f. 5. For a description of the breviary, see CATALOGUE.

²⁸⁰*Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I*, i, 1521-58, part i, 1521-46/7, p. 13, no. 75 (79); *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, i, pp 59, 64.

²⁸¹T.C.D., Ms 84, f. 5^r.

APPENDIX 16 Copy of deed granting Talbot's Castle to Jonathan Swift, 1718
(from a copy in private possession)

N^o. 11148

Johnson
to
Swift

Regrd. the 21th [sic]
day of May 1718
at 12 a clock at
Noon

To the Register Appointed for Registring Deeds &c.

A memorial of deeds of lease and release indented bearing date respectively the nineteenth and twentieth day of May One thousand seven hundred and eighteen between Esther Johnston [sic] of the City of Dublin spinster of the one part and the Reverend Jonathan Swift D^r. in Divinity Dean of the Cathedrall Church of S^t. Patricks Dublin of the other part by which s^d. release the s^d. Esther Johnston [sic] in consideration of two hundred pounds did release and confirm unto the s^d. Jonathan Swift all that house, messuage or tenem^t. commonly called and known by the name of Talbotts Castle with the appurtenances situated in the Town of Trym in the county #~#~# of Meath aforesaid formerly in the occupation of Hugh Morrison and afterwards in the possession of his widow Mary Morrison who by her last will and testam^t. devised the same to William Johnston [sic] of Trym aforesaid Gent & Jane Johnston alias Blakley his wife who conveyed the same to John Blakley of Rochestown in the s^d. County Gent which s^d. John Blakley by Deed duly executed sold the same to the s^d. Esther Johnston [sic] which s^d. Premisses are bounded on the South to a slate house in the Possession of Anne Gregg alias Byrne Widow on the North to the Street which leadeth towards the mills of Trym on the East to the Street which leadeth towards the Bridge of Trym and on the West to a house and ground belonging to the Lady Roscommon to hold to the s^d. Jonathan Swift his heirs ~#~#~# and also forever to his and their own propper use and behoof which s^d. Deeds were perfected on the s^d. twentieth Day of May 1718 and are Witnessed by Robert Dingly [sic] of the Citty of Dublin and David Bourne of Trim, gent.

Esther Johnson

The abovenamed David Bourne maketh oath that he is a subscribing witness to the above mentioned deeds whereof the above writing is the memorial and also to the s^d. memorial and saw the abovenamed Esther Johnston [sic] duly execute the s^d. deeds and memorial and that the s^d. memorial was delivered to William Parry, Dep. Reg^r. on the 21th [sic] day of May 1718 at or near Twelve a Clock at Noon.

Signed and sealed in the
presence of us

Rt. Dingley
Dav^d.
Bourne

Dav^d. Bourne

Jud. 21 die Maii 1718, Sine
WillParry, Dep. Reg^r

Lib. 20, pag. 431

APPENDIX 17 Location, S.M.R. & R.M.P details of medieval monuments in Trim

Monument	Townland(s)	N.G.R.	S.M.R.	R.M.P.
Augustinian priory	Blackfriary (2nd division)	280329/256948	ME036/ 021	ME036/ 04821
Bridge	Blackfriary (2nd division) Townparks South	280165/256900	NONE	NONE
Dominican priory	Blackfriary (2nd division)	280287/257375	ME036/ 018	ME036/ 04822
Franciscan friary	Townparks South	280191/256849	ME036/ 024	ME036/ 04825
Leper Hospital	Friaryland (3rd division)	280501/256410	NONE	NONE
Nangles Castle	Blackfriary (2nd division)	280278/256953	ME036/ 020	ME036/ 04803
St Patrick's Church	Townparks north	280210/257163	ME036/ 019	ME036/ 04812
Talbot's Castle	Blackfriary (2nd division)	280281/256916	ME036/ 022	ME036/ 04802
Town walls	Blackfriary (2nd) Commons (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th divisions); Fostersholding; Townparks (North and South); Manorland (1st division)	280160/256960	ME036/ 028	ME036/ 04805
Fragment of town wall	Townparks South	280066/256661	ME036/ 047	ME036/ 04806
Sheep Gate	Blackfriary (2 nd division)	280387/256812	ME036/ 023	ME036/ 04811
Trim Castle	Manorland (1st division)	280260/256702	ME036/ 025	ME036/ 04804



ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

This list of abbreviations has been compiled using the conventions and guidelines recommended by T. W. Moody in his 'Rules for contributors (2nd revised ed.)' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xix, no. 76 (Sept. 1975), pp 467-79.

<i>A.F.M.</i>	<i>Annála ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616</i> , ed. and trans. John O'Donovan (7 vols, Dublin, 1851; reprint, New York, 1966)
<i>A.L.C.</i>	<i>The Annals of Loch Cé: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 1014-1690</i> , ed. W. M. Hennessy (2 vols, London, 1871; reflex facsimile, I.M.C., 1939)
<i>A.U.</i>	<i>Annála Uladh, Annals of Ulster; otherwise Annála Senait, Annals of Senat: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 431-1131, 1155-1541</i> , ed. W. M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy (4 vols, Dublin, 1887-1901)
<i>A.U.²</i>	<i>The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)</i> , pt i: text and translation, ed Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill. (D.I.A.S., 1983)
<i>Acts privy council, 1542-7 [etc.]</i>	<i>Acts of the privy council of England, 1542-7 [etc.]</i> (London, 1890-)
<i>Acts privy council, Irel, 1556-71</i>	'Acts of the privy council in Ireland, 1556-1571' ed. J. T. Gilbert, in <i>H.M.C. rep. 15</i> , app. III (London, 1897)
<i>Anal. Bolland.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Paris and Brussels, 1882-)
<i>Anal. Hib.</i>	<i>Analecta Hibernica, including the reports of the I.M.C.</i> (Dublin, 1930-)
<i>Anc. rec. Dublin</i>	<i>Calendar of ancient records of Dublin, in the possession of the municipal corporation</i> , ed. Sir J. T. Gilbert and Lady Gilbert (19 vols, Dublin, 1889-1944)
<i>Ann. Clon.</i>	<i>The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408, translated into English, A.D. 1627, by Conell Mageoghagan</i> , ed. Denis Murphy (R.S.A.I., Dublin, 1896)

<i>Ann. Conn.</i>	<i>Annála Connacht, ... (A.D. 1224-1544)</i> , ed. A. M. Freeman (D.I.A.S., 1944)
<i>Ann. Inisf.</i>	<i>The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B 503)</i> , ed. and trans. Seán Mac Airt (D.I.A.S., 1951)
<i>Ann. Inisf. (fac)</i>	<i>The Annals of Inisfallen reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript (Rawlinson B 503) in the Bodleian Library</i> , with introduction by R. I. Best and Eóin Mac Neill (R.I.A., Dublin, 1933)
<i>Ann. Tig.</i>	'The Annals of Tigernach', ed. Whitley Stokes, in <i>Rev. Celt.</i> , xvi-xciii (1895-7); reprinted, 2 vols, Felinfach, 1993
<i>Annats, Ulster</i>	<i>De annatis Hiberniae: a calendar of the first-fruits' fees levied on papal appointments to benefices in Ireland, A.D. 1400-1535, extracted from the Vatican and other Roman archives</i> , i: Ulster, ed. M. A. Costello and Ambrose Coleman (Dundalk, 1909; reissued, Maynooth, 1912)
<i>Antiq. Jn.</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i> (London, 1921-)
app.	appendix; appendices
<i>Arch. Ire.</i>	<i>Archaeology Ireland</i> (Bray, 1987-)
<i>Arch. Jn.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i> (London, 1844-)
Archdall, <i>Monasticon Hib.</i>	Mervyn Archdall, <i>Monasticon Hibernicum: or an history of the abbies, priories, and other religious houses in Ireland, etc</i> (Dublin, 1786)
<i>Archiv. Hib.</i>	<i>Archivium Hibernicum: or Irish historical records</i> (Catholic Record Society of Ireland (Maynooth), 1912-)
<i>Ardagh Antiq. Soc. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society</i> (Dublin, 1926-)
B.L.	British Library
B.M.	British Museum
B.M., Add. MSS	British Museum, Additional MSS

Bagwell, <i>Tudors</i>	Richard Bagwell, <i>Ireland under the Tudors with a succinct account of the earlier history</i> (3 vols, London, 1885-90; reprint, 3 vols, London, 1963)
Betham, <i>Const. Eng. & early parl. Ire.</i>	Sir William Betham, <i>The origin and history of the constitution of England and early parliaments of Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1834)
Betham, <i>Dignities</i>	Sir William Betham, <i>Dignities feudal and parliamentary and the constitutional legislature of the United Kingdom</i> (Dublin, 1830)
<i>Bk Leinster</i>	<i>The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála</i> , ed. R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan (6 vols, D.I.A.S., 1954-83)
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bradley, Urban archaeol. surv., Meath	John Bradley, Urban archaeology survey of Co. Meath. (Unpublished report prepared for the Office of Public Works, 1984)
<i>Brit. Acad. Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (London, 1903-)
<i>Bullarium Franciscanum</i>	<i>Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum: constitutiones, epistolae, ac diplomata continens tribus ordinibus minorum, clarissarum, et poenitentium a seraphico patriarcha sancto Francisco institutis concessa ad illorum exorido ad nostra usque tempora</i> , ed J. H. Sbaralea et al (7 vols and 2 supplements, Rome, 1759-1908; reprinted Assisi, 1983)
Burke, <i>Hib. Dominicana</i>	Thomas Burke, <i>Hibernia Dominicana, sive historia provinciae hiberniae ordinis praedicatorum</i> (Cologne, 1762, <i>Supplementum</i> 1772; reprinted England, 1970)
<i>Cal. Carew MSS, 1515-74 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-74 [etc.]</i> (6 vols, London, 1867-73)
<i>Cal. chart. rolls, 1226-57 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of the charter rolls, 1226-57 [etc.]</i> (6 vols, London, 1903-27)
<i>Cal. close rolls, 1272-1509</i>	<i>Calendar of the close rolls, 1272-1509 [etc.]</i> (47 vols, London, 1892-)

<i>Cal. doc. Ire., 1171-1251 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251 [etc.]</i> (5 vols, London, 1875-86)
<i>Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of the justiciary rolls, or proceedings in the court of the justiciar of Ireland... [1295-1303] [etc.]</i> , ed. James Mills (2 vols, Dublin, 1905, 1914)
<i>Cal. papal letters, 1198-1304 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters, 1198-1304 [etc.]</i> (London, 1893-)
<i>Cal. papal petitions</i>	<i>Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: petitions to the pope, 1342-1419</i> (London, 1896)
<i>Cal. pat. rolls Ire., 18-45, Eliz.</i>	<i>Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth</i> , ed. James Morrin (Dublin, 1862)
<i>Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Hen. VIII-Eliz.</i>	<i>Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to 18th Elizabeth</i> , ed. James Morrin (Dublin, 1861)
<i>Cal. pat. rolls, 1232-47 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls, 1232-47 [etc.]</i> (London, 1906-)
<i>Cal. S.P. Ire, 1509-73 [etc.]</i>	<i>Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, 1509-73 [etc.]</i> (24 vols, London, 1860-1911)
<i>Carloviana</i>	<i>Carloviana: the journal of the Old Carlow Society</i> (Carlow, 1947-)
<i>Celtica</i>	<i>Celtica</i> (Dublin, 1950-)
<i>Chart. privil. immun.</i>	<i>Chartae, privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, abbeyes, and other bodies corporate, ... 1171-1395</i> (printed for the I.R.C., 1829-30; published 1889)
<i>Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin</i>	<i>Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, ... and annals of Ireland, 1162-1370</i> , ed. J. T. Gilbert (2 vols, 1884-6)
<i>Chron. Scot.</i>	<i>Chronicum Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs ... to 1135, and supplement ... 1141-1150</i> , ed. W. M. Hennessy (London, 1866)

<i>Civil Survey</i>	<i>The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-56</i> , ed. R. C. Simington (10 vols, I.M.C., 1931-61)
<i>Close rolls, 1227-31 [etc.]</i>	<i>Close rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1227-31 [etc.]</i> (14 vols, London, 1902-38)
<i>Cogan, Diocese of Meath</i>	Anthony Cogan, <i>The diocese of Meath: ancient and modern</i> (3 vols, Dublin, 1867; reprinted 1992)
<i>Collect. Hib.</i>	<i>Collectanea Hibernica: sources for Irish history</i> (Dublin, 1958-)
<i>Comment. Rinucc.</i>	Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell, <i>Commentarius Rinuccinianus, de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae catholicos per annos 1645-9</i> , ed. Rev. Stanislaus Kavanagh (I.M.C., 6 vols, 1932-49)
<i>Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i> (Cork, 1892-)
<i>Crown surveys 1540-41</i>	<i>Crown surveys of lands 1540-41, with the Kildare rental begun in 1518</i> , ed. Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1992)
<i>Curtis, Med. Ire.</i>	Edmund Curtis, <i>A history of medieval Ireland</i> (London, 1923; 2 nd ed., 1938; reprint, 1968)
d.	died
D.H.S.G.	Dublin Historic Settlement Group
D.I.A.S.	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of national biography</i> , ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (66 vols, London, 1885-1901; reprinted with corrections, 22 vols, London, 1908-9)
<i>Dowdall deeds</i>	<i>Dowdall deeds</i> , ed. Charles McNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (I.M.C., 1960)
<i>Dub. Penny Jn.</i>	<i>Dublin Penny Journal: a magazine of art, archaeology, literature and science</i> (Dublin, 1832-6)
<i>Dublin Hist. Rec.</i>	<i>Dublin Historical Record</i> (Dublin, 1938-)
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London, 1886-)
ed.	editor(s); edition; edited by

Edwards, <i>Church & state</i>	R. Dudley Edwards, <i>Church and state in Tudor Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1935)
<i>Éigse</i>	<i>Éigse: a journal of Irish studies</i> (Dublin, 1939-)
<i>Ériu</i>	<i>Ériu: founded as the journal of the School of Irish Learning</i> (Dublin, 1904-)
<i>Études Celt.</i>	<i>Études Celtiques</i> (Paris, 1936-)
<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i>	<i>Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London</i> , ed. N. B. White (I.M.C., 1943)
<i>Facs. nat. MSS Ire.</i>	<i>Facsimiles of the national manuscripts of Ireland</i> , ed. J. T. Gilbert (4 vols, Dublin, 1874-84)
<i>Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill</i>	<i>Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill; Essays and studies presented to Professor Eóin Mac-Neill on the occasion of his seventieth birthday</i> , ed. Rev. John Ryan (Dublin, 1940)
<i>Fiants Ire., Hen. VIII [etc.]</i>	'Calendar to fiants of the reign of Henry VIII...' [etc.] in <i>P.R.I. rep. D.K. 7-22</i> (Dublin, 1875-90)
Fitzmaurice & Little, <i>Franciscan province Ire.</i>	E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, <i>Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, A.D. 1230-1450</i> (Manchester, 1920)
G. E. C., <i>Peerage</i>	G. E. C[okayne], <i>The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom ...</i> (8 vols, Exeter, 1887-98; ed. Vicary Gibbs et al, 13 vols, London, 1910-40)
<i>Galway Arch. Soc. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society</i> (Galway, 1900-)
<i>Geneal. regum Hib.</i>	<i>Genealogiae regum et sanctorum Hiberniae, by the Four Masters</i> , ed. Paul Walsh (Record Society, Maynooth, 1918)
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Gormanston reg.	<i>Calendar of the Gormanston register</i> , ed. James Mills and M. J. McEnery (R.S.A.I., Dublin, 1916)
Griffith, <i>Cal. inquisitions</i>	M. C. Griffith, <i>Calendar of inquisitions formerly in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, prepared from the MSS of the Irish Record Commission</i> (I.M.C., 1991)
Gwynn & Hadcock, <i>Med. relig. houses</i>	Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval religious houses: Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1970)
Gwynn, <i>Med. province Armagh</i>	Aubrey Gwynn, <i>The medieval province of Armagh, 1470-1545</i> (Dundalk, 1946)
H.C.	House of Commons sessional paper
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hand, <i>Eng. law in Ire.</i>	G. J. Hand, <i>English law in Ireland, 1290-1324</i> (Cambridge, 1967)
Harris, <i>Hibernica</i>	Walter Harris (ed.), <i>Hibernica: or some ancient pieces relating to Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1747; 2 nd ed., 1770)
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<i>I.E.R.</i>	<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i> (Dublin, 1864-)
<i>I.H.R. Bull.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> (London, 1923-)
<i>I.H.S.</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies: the joint journal of the Irish Historical Society and the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies</i> (Dublin, 1938-)
<i>Ir. Jurist</i>	<i>The Irish Jurist, new series</i> (Dublin, 1966-)
I.M.C.	Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin
I.R.C.	Irish Record Commission, Dublin
Ir. Arch. Soc.	Irish Archaeological Society
<i>Ir. Arch. Soc. misc.</i>	<i>The miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society</i> , i (Dublin, 1846; no subsequent volumes)
<i>Ir. Builder</i>	<i>The Irish Builder and Engineer</i> (Dublin, 1867-)
<i>Ir. chartul Llanthony</i>	<i>The Irish chartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda</i> , ed. Eric St John Brooks (I.M.C., 1953)
<i>Ir. fiants, Hen. VIII-Eliz. I</i>	<i>The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns: during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth I</i> (4 vols, Dublin, 1994)
<i>Ir. Mem. Assoc. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of the Irish Memorials Association, formerly the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, and now incorporating the Dublin Parish Register Society</i> (Dublin, 1921-)
<i>Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600</i>	<i>Irish monastic and episcopal deeds, A.D. 1200-1600, transcribed from the originals preserved at Kilkenny Castle, with an appendix of documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating to monastic property after the dissolution</i> , ed. N. B. White (I.M.C., 1936)
<i>Ir. Sword</i>	<i>Irish Sword: the journal of the Military History Society of Ireland</i> (Dublin, [1949]-)
<i>Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of County Kildare Archaeological Society</i> (Dublin, 1891-)

<i>Knights' fees</i>	<i>Knights' fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny (13th-15th century)</i> , ed. Eric St John Brooks (I.M.C., 1950)
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<i>Liber primus Kilkenn.</i>	<i>Kilkenny city records; Liber primus Kilkenniensis</i> , ed. Charles McNeill (I.M.C., 1931)
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MS[S]	Manuscript[s]

<i>Mun. corp. Ire, rep.</i>	<i>First report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the municipal corporations in Ireland, [23], H.C. 1835, xxvii, 1-78</i>
<i>Mun. corp. Ire, rep., Dublin I</i>	<i>Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (report on the city of Dublin, part I), [25], H.C. 1835, xxvii, 79-198</i>
<i>Mun. corp. Ire, rep., Dublin II</i>	<i>Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (report on the city of Dublin, [part II]), [26], H.C. 1836, xxiv, 297-496</i>
<i>Mun. corp. Ire., rep., app. I</i>	<i>Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (part I: southern, midland, western and south-eastern circuits, and part of the north-eastern circuit), [27], H.C. 1835, xxvii, 199-644; xxviii, 1-356</i>
<i>Mun. corp. Ire., rep., app. II</i>	<i>Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (part II: conclusion of the north-eastern circuit and part of the north-western circuit), [28], H.C. 1835, xxviii, 357-560</i>
<i>Mun. corp. Ire., rep., app. III</i>	<i>Municipal corporations (Ireland), appendix to the first report of the commissioners (part III: conclusion of the north-western circuit), [29], H.C. 1836, xxiv, 1-296</i>
n.d.	no date
N.G.R.	National grid reference
<i>N.H.I.</i>	<i>A New History of Ireland, under the auspices of the R.I.A., ed. T. W. Moody, T. D. Williams, J. C. Beckett, F. X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, W. E. Vaughan, Art Cosgrove, J.R. Hill (Dublin and Oxford, 1968-)</i>
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
<i>N. Munster Antiq. Jn.</i>	<i>North Munster Antiquarian Journal (Limerick, 1936-)</i>
N.U.I.	National University of Ireland
Nat. Archives	National Archives, Dublin
Nat. Mus. Ire.	National Museum of Ireland

<i>Old Kilkenny Rev.</i>	<i>Old Kilkenny Review</i> (Kilkenny, 1948-)
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<i>Ormonde MSS</i>	<i>Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle</i> (H.M.C., ii vols, London, 1895-1920: i, H.M.C. rep. 14, app. vii (1895), ii (1899), index to vols i, ii (1909); new series, vols i-viii (1902-20)
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<i>P.R. rep D.K. i [etc.]</i>	<i>First [etc.] report of the deputy keeper of the public records [of England]</i> (London, 1840-)
<i>P.R.I. rep D.K. i [etc.]</i>	<i>First [etc.] report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1869-)
<i>P.R.O.</i>	Public Record Office of England
<i>P.R.O.I.</i>	Public Record Office of Ireland [now Nat. Archives]
<i>P.R.O.N.I.</i>	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
<i>Pat. rolls, 1216-25 [etc.]</i>	<i>Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1216-25 [etc.]</i> (2 vols, London, 1901-3)
<i>Peritia</i>	<i>Peritia: journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland</i> (Turnhout, Belgium, 1982-)
<i>Pipe roll Ire. 1211-12</i>	'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John, 1211-1212', ed. Oliver Davies and D. B. Quinn, in <i>U.J.A.</i> , 3 rd series, iv, supp. (July 1941)
<i>Proc. king's council, Ire., 1392-3</i>	<i>A roll of the proceedings of the king's council in Ireland for a portion of the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II, 1392-93</i> , ed. James Graves (London, 1877)
<i>Proc. privy council 1386-1410 [etc.]</i>	<i>Proceedings and ordinances of the privy council of England, 1386-1410 [etc.]</i> (7 vols, London, 1834-7)

Quinn, <i>Guide finan. rec.</i>	D. B. Quinn, 'Guide to English financial records for Irish history, 1461-1558 with illustrative extracts, 1401-1509' in <i>Anal. Hib.</i> , no. 10 (I.M.C., 1941)
<i>R. Hist. Soc. Trans.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> (London, 1872-)
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
<i>R.I.A. MS 23 N 10</i>	<i>MS 23 N 10 (formerly Betham 145) in the library of the Royal Irish Academy</i> , with descriptive introduction by R. I. Best (Facsimile, I.M.C., 1954)
<i>R.I.A. Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i> (Dublin, 1836-)
<i>R.I.A. Trans.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy</i> (33 vols, Dublin, 1786-1907)
R.M.P.	Record of monuments and places
R.S.	Rolls Series
R.S.A.I.	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
<i>R.S.A.I. Jn.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i> (Dublin, 1892-)
Rec. Comm.	Record Commissioners
<i>Red Bk Kildare</i>	<i>The Red Book of the earls of Kildare</i> , ed. Gearóid Mac Niocaill (I.M.C., 1964)
<i>Red Bk Ormond</i>	<i>The Red Book of Ormond</i> , ed. N. B. White (I.M.C., 1932)
<i>Reg. dioc. Dubl.</i>	' <i>Registrum diocesis Dublinensis</i> ': a sixteenth century precedent book, ed. N. B. White (I.M.C., 1959)
<i>Reg. Kilmain.</i>	<i>Registrum de Kilmainham, 1326-50</i> , ed. Charles McNeill (I.M.C., 1932)
<i>Reg. Alen</i>	<i>Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c. 1172-1534</i> , ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1950)

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<i>Rot. chart.</i>	<i>Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199-1216</i> (London, 1837)
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<i>Rot. Normanniae</i>	<i>Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae</i> , ed. Thomas Stapleton (2 vols, London, 1840-4)
<i>Rot. pat. Hib.</i>	<i>Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium</i> (Dublin, 1828)
<i>Rymer, Foedera</i>	Thomas Rymer (ed.), <i>Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosuis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates (1101-1654)</i> . 20 vols, London, 1704-35
<i>S.M.R.</i>	Sites and monuments record
<i>S.P. Hen. VIII</i>	<i>State papers, Henry VIII</i> (11 vols, London, 1830-52)
<i>Seanchas Ardmhacha</i>	<i>Seanchas Ardmhacha: journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society</i> ([Armagh]), 1954-)
<i>ser.</i>	series
<i>Sheehy, Pontificia Hib.</i>	M. P. Sheehy (ed.), <i>Pontificia Hibernica: medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland, 640-1261</i> (2 vols, Dublin, 1962, 1965)
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<i>Stat. Ire., 1-12 Edw. IV</i>	<i>Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, 1st to the 12th years of the reign of King Edward IV</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1914)
<i>Stat. Ire., 12-22 Edw. IV</i>	<i>Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, 12th and 13th to the 21st and 22nd years of the reign of King Edward IV</i> , ed. J. F. Morrissey (Dublin, 1939)
<i>Stat. Ire., Hen. VI</i>	<i>Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, reign of Henry VI</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1910)
<i>Stat. Ire., Hen. VII & VIII</i>	'The bills and statutes of the Irish parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII', ed. D. B. Quinn, in <i>Anal. Hib.</i> , no. 10 (I.M.C., 1941)
<i>Stat. Ire., John-Hen. V</i>	<i>Statutes and ordinances, and acts of the parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V</i> , ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1907)
<i>Stat. Ire., Ric. III-Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Statutes rolls of the Irish parliament, Richard III-Henry VIII</i> , ed. Philomena Connolly (Dublin, 2002)
<i>Stat. at large</i>	<i>The statutes at large ... [of England and Great Britain]</i>
<i>Studia Hib.</i>	<i>Studia Hibernica</i> (Dublin, 1961-)
supp.	supplement; supplementary
T.C.D.	Trinity College Dublin
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trans.	translation; translated by
U.C.D.	University College Dublin
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CB: Common Bench.

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CB 1/9: Common Bench roll 6 Edward IV (1466-7).

CB 1/10: Common Bench roll 19 Edward IV (1479-80).

EX: Exchequer.

EX 1/1-2: Original memoranda rolls (1309-10 and 1319-20).

EX 1/3: Estreat roll of sums due from County Meath in 1463-7.

KB: King's Bench.

KB 1/1: Justiciary roll 6-7 Edward II (1312-13).

KB 1/2: Justiciary roll 11 Edward II (1317-18).

KB 2/1-12: Calendars of justiciary rolls (12 vols).

OS: Ordnance Survey.

OS 140: Ordnance Survey 5" maps: Trim, parts 1 and 2 (drawn 1836).

RC: Record Commission.

RC 7/1-13: Calendar of plea rolls (13 vols).

RC 8/1-43: Manuscript calendar of memoranda rolls (mainly of the fourteenth-century memoranda rolls, although some fifteenth-century material is included; 43 vols).

RC 11: Calendar including material from the reigns of Henry III (1216-72) and Edward I (1272-1307).

RC 15/1: Regal visitation book for Province of Armagh.

MS M 3072: Accounts of the sheriff of Meath for 1544-6.

MS 2531: Copy of Walter de Lacy's charter to the burgesses of Trim.

MS Co 1814: Copy and translation of Henry VI's 1430 charter to the portreeve and burgesses of Trim.

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MS 13: Walter Harris, *Collectanea*.
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MS 807: A collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript material 'Miscellaneous affairs of England and Ireland' (or, 'Irish miscellaneous historical pieces').
MS 1281: The 'Dublin' Annals of Inisfallen.
MS 1445: An abridgement of proceedings in parliaments held at Dublin, Trim, Wexford, Drogheda from II Henry IV to II Edward IV.

MS 2628: Visitation book of Diocese of Armagh, 1615.

Maynooth

Russell Library, St Patrick's College

MS O'Renehan, 3, R.b.1.

London

British Library

- Add. Charter 13599 [available on microfilm in N.L.I.]: Justiciary Roll 4 Edward III (1330-1).
- Add. Charter 13600 [available on microfilm in N.L.I.]: Detached fragments of rolls for 1330, 1335 and 1407.
- Add. Charter 19803 [available on microfilm in N.L.I., n. 1965: p. 1492]: Walter de Lacy's charter granting advowson of church of St Patrick, Trim to monks of St Mary of Bellbec (1204X1241).
- Add. MS 6041: Inventories of the muniments of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (d. 1381) and of Philippa his wife (d. before 1381), daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, stored in the earl's treasury at Wigmore Castle: late fourteenth century (after 1393). French.

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C: Chancery records.

C 47: Chancery miscellanea.

C 49: Chancery, parliament and council proceedings.

C 81: Chancery warrants.

C 84: Ecclesiastical petitions.

E: Exchequer records (1086-1994).

E 101: King's remembrancer, various accounts (c.1154-c.1830).

E 101/238: Roll of receipts.

E 101/238/3: Roll of receipts: 15-16 Edward II.

E 101/238/7: Counter roll: 16-17 Edward II.

E 101/238/10: Roll of receipts: 17-18 Edward II.

E 101/238/16: Roll of receipts: 18-19 Edward II.

E 101/238/21: Roll of receipts: 19 Edward II.

E 101/238/27: Roll of receipts: 19-20 Edward II.

E 101/239: Roll of receipts.

E 101/239/3: Roll of receipts: 20 Edward II-1 Edward III.

E 101/244: Roll of receipts.

E 101/244/3: Roll of receipts: 34 Edward III (account for the year 1360 of lands held by Roger de Mortimer in counties Meath, Kildare and Kilkenny).

E 101/248: Roll of receipts.

E 101/248/17: Roll of the revenues of Ireland.

E 159: King's remembrancer, memoranda rolls.

E 163: King's remembrancer, miscellanea of the exchequer (c.1154-1901).

E 403: Exchequer of receipt, issue rolls.

KB: King's Bench.

KB 27: Coram rege, plea rolls: 1273-1702.

KB 27/273/128: appeal cases from Ireland on the King's Bench rolls of Edward III (Trinity 1328).

SC: Special collections.

SC 1: Ancient correspondence.

SC 6: Ministers' accounts.

SC 6/1237/24-34: Accounts (1350-1360) for lands held by the de Mortimer family in Counties Kilkenny, Tipperary, Dublin and Meath.

SC 8: Ancient petitions.

SC 11: Rentals and surveys.

SC 11/934: Crown lands: extents of the ancient demesnes of the king, 32 Henry VIII.

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Oxford

Bodleian Library

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