

## NOTES

### Introduction: Icons of Irishness

1. The notion of the apparent linear progress of European time was eloquently contrasted with the “hybridity, syncretism, [and] multidimensional time” of other global cultures by Anne Mc Clintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 11. Mc Clintock’s analysis of diverse understandings of time has a great deal to add to my conception of the European Middle Ages and medieval art more broadly.
2. Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 12. While I only occasionally glance at issues of sexuality and gender, I maintain that my work can be characterized as a “queer” history in the broader sense of a nonnormative view of both past and present cultures. On the relationship between queer history and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered, Questioning, and Allied (LGBTQA) studies, see *The Queer Issue: New Visions of America’s Lesbian and Gay Past*, ed. Jeffrey Escoffier, Regina Kunzel, and Molly Mc Garry, special issue of *Radical History Review* 62 (Spring 1995).
3. Lee Patterson, “On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies,” *Speculum* (1990): 94 [87–108].
4. For instance, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).
5. Jeffrey J. Cohen, “Afterword: Intertemporality,” in *Cultural Studies of the Modern Middle Ages*, ed. Eileen A. Joy, Myra J. Seaman, Kimberly K. Bell, and Mary K. Ramsey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 295. See also Jeffrey J. Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).
6. Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 3.
7. The definitive source on the crosses is Peter Harbison’s three-volume set, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*, 3 vols. (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1992).

8. Sources on Irish metalwork include Patrick Cone, ed., *Treasures of Early Irish Art, 1500 B.C. to 1500 A.D.: From the Collections Of the National Museum of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977); Françoise Henry and Geneviève Marsh-Micheli, *Studies in Early Christian and Medieval Irish Art*, 3 vols., *Enamels and Metalwork*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1984); Ragnall O'Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland in association with Country House, 1994); Michael Ryan, "Ten Years of Early Irish Metalwork," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1994): [153–56].
9. The best recent collection of essays about the *Book of Kells* is Felicity O'Mahony, ed., *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, (Brookfield, VT: Published for Trinity College Library, Dublin by Scholar Press, 1994). See also Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1994).
10. Annabel J. Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 3–4.
11. Gilles Deleuze, "The Simulacrum and Ancient Philosophy," in *The Logic of Sense*, ed. Constantin V. Boundas and trans. Mark Leste (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 262 [253–79].
12. Deleuze, "Simulacrum and Ancient Philosophy," p. 258.
13. Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, ca. 1971); Kate Crehan, *Gramsci, Culture, and Anthropology* (Berkeley, CA: U.C. Berkeley Press, 2002).
14. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin, Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968), pp. 217–51.
15. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*.
16. As long ago as the late nineteenth century, semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce identified three variations on the visual sign: the index, the symbol, and the icon. For Peirce, iconic signs were defined as such because they bore a resemblance to their referents. For example, a painted portrait of a known individual would constitute an icon in Peirce's view. Likewise, the objects that I analyze here are recognizable visual signifiers of actual ancient and medieval signifieds. They are iconic signs as Peirce defines that concept. For an art-historical interpretation of Peirce's theories, see Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73.2 (1991): [174–298].
17. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Obama as Icon," *Journal of Visual Culture* (2009): [125–29].

18. Mitchell, "Obama as Icon," 127.
19. Mitchell, "Obama as Icon," 127.
20. For recent work on the topic, see Moshe Barasch, ed., *Icon: Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1992) and Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
21. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Belting's book was also profoundly influenced by David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), which also deals with the affective response to religious icons.
22. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. xxii.
23. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. 11.
24. Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, and Nadia Altschul and Kathleen Davis, eds., *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World: The Idea of "The Middle Ages" Outside Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
25. Cohen, "Midcolonial," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 6.
26. The phrase "hard-edged alterity" originates with Stephen G. Nichols, "Modernism and the Politics of Medieval Studies," in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. R. Howard Bloch and S. Nichols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 49.
27. Cohen, "Midcolonial," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, p. 5.
28. Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1990).
29. O'Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages*, p. 14 and fig. 7.
30. Here I invoke the work of Johannes Fabian who so astutely argued that positioning oneself in opposition to an Other—either in culture or in time—can result in an infantilizing perspective on that subject or object of study. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). On modern ideas of medieval brutality, see Dinshaw, "Coda: Getting Medieval: Pulp Fiction, Foucault, and the Use of the Past," in *Getting Medieval*, pp. 183–206.
31. The most comprehensive source on the Celts remains Nora Chadwick, *The Celts* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970). See also Dennis W. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
32. For recent analysis of the ancient cultures that have been called Celtic, see especially Terence Brown, ed., *Celticism* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996) and Patrick Sims-Williams, "Celtomania and Celtoskepticism," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36 (1998): [1–35].
33. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, p. 238.
34. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, p. 263.
35. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, p. 1.
36. Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

37. Chapman, *The Celts*, p. 238.
38. Some essential titles on the issue of nationalism in the modern world include Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983) and Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
39. For instance, see my doctoral dissertation, Margaret M. Williams, *The Sign of the Cross: Irish High Crosses as Cultural Emblems* (New York: Columbia University, 2000).
40. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2006). For two critical readings of Anderson's work, see David G. Marr, "Imagined Communities, Book Review," *Journal of Asian Studies* 45.4 (1986): 807–08 and Laurie J. Sears, "Imagined Communities, Revised edition, Book Review," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114.1 (1994): [129–30].
41. For more on this idea, see Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
42. Partha Chatterjee, "Whose Imagined Community?" in *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 5. See also Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 139–70.
43. Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 1997), p. 17.
44. Leerssen, *Mere Irish*, p. 360.
45. For example, David Lloyd, *Ireland after History* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1999). Clare Carroll and Patricia King, eds., *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2003). Eóin Flannery, *Ireland and Postcolonial Studies: Theory, Discourse, Utopia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Spurgeon Thompson, "Tourism, Dependency, and the Postcolonial Irish State, 1925–1930," in *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture, and Identity*, ed. Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2003), pp. 263–81. Karen Eileen Overbey, "Postcolonial," *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, ed. Nina Rowe, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 145–56.
46. Michael Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon: The Rediscovery, Reproduction, and Re-Invention of Early Irish Metalwork," in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840–1940*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 1990), pp. 1–22.
47. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," p. 8.
48. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," pp. 5–6.
49. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," p. 4.
50. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," p. 4.

51. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," p. 2, 5.
52. Camille, "Domesticating the Dragon," p. 5. For more on the agency of objects, see Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2010).
53. See, for instance, Lawrence W. McBride, *Images, Icons, and the Irish Nationalist Imagination* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999). Spurgeon Thompson's work is a notable exception. His book *Selling Ireland: Tourism and Colonialism, 1850–2000* (forthcoming) offers some wonderful analyses of heritage sites.
54. Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*. Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin-De-Siècle France* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishers, 2003). Elizabeth Emery, *Romancing the Cathedral: Gothic Architecture in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).
55. For a discussion of the borders between the academic and the popular, see Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989).
56. Eileen A. Joy and Myra J. Seaman, "Through a Glass Darkly: Medieval Cultural Studies at the End of History," in *Cultural Studies of the Modern Middle Ages*, eds. Eileen A. Joy, Myra J. Seaman, Kimberly K. Bell, and Mary K. Ramsey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2007), p. 7.
57. Joy and Seaman, "Through a Glass Darkly," p. 8.
58. Richard Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies, Anyway?" *Social Text* 16 (1986–87): [38–80].
59. Some essential titles in the field of medievalism include Howard R. Bloch and Stephen G. Nichols, eds., *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen G. Nichols, eds., *The New Medievalism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Richard Utz and Tom Shippey, eds., *Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Leslie J. Workman, "Medievalism," in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 387–91; and Paul Zumthor, *Speaking of the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986).
60. Bruce W. Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Richard Utz, "The Colony Writes Back: F. N. Robinson's *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* and the *Translatio* of Chaucer Studies to the United States," in *Studies in Medievalism XIX: Defining Neomedievalism(s)*, ed. Karl Fugelso (2010), pp. 160–203.
61. For example, see Steve Watson, "Touring the Medieval: Tourism, Heritage and Medievalism in Northumbria," *Studies in Medievalism* 11 (2001): 239–61.
62. David C. Harvey, "'National' Identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage: Continuity and Change at Ancient Monuments in Britain and

- Ireland, ca. 1675–1850,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s. 28.4 (2003): 475 [473–87].
63. George Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities: Irish Antique Brooches* (Dublin: Waterhouse & Co., 1852). W. N. Hancock and T. O’Mahony, eds., *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 6 vols. (Dublin: HMSO, 1865–1901): 2 [147–49].

## 1 Visualizing Antiquity

1. This type of guided sequence is typical of many heritage sites in Ireland and similar tourist attractions elsewhere. The curatorial choices made by the designers of Irish heritage sites have been analyzed by David Brett as “narrative structures.” See David Brett, *The Construction of Heritage* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1996). For an astute analysis of the theme-park phenomenon, see Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
2. Most of the Irish crosses still remain in situ throughout the country, where they have been under the care of the Office of Public Works, Dúchas, and now the National Monuments Service, Department of Arts, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht.
3. This information on the making of the Clonmacnoise replicas was provided to me in a personal email communication from Paul McMahon, senior conservation architect of OPW, February 14, 2011. Mr. McMahon attached an internal memo from the mid-1980s, which stated that “the replication project was undertaken by the Office of Public Works (OPW) National Monuments architectural conservation unit in collaboration with experts from Bayerische Staatskanzlei, Berlin and the ‘Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz’ (RZGM). The mould material was silicone rubber, manufactured by ‘Wacker Chemicals Ltd’ applied by hand in two layers (RTV—M533 then RTV—M539). The stone was protected by water-soluble wall-paper paste which was washed away after the treatment. The resin cast incorporated a stone dust filler selected to match the original surface of the crosses. The project director was Paul McMahon, Senior Conservation Architect, OPW. David Little, a craftsman stonemason from OPW attended a course on Replication Techniques at RZGM and subsequently worked on the *Cross of the Scriptures* with the German team (leader: Johannes Erichsen). The work was completed in 1990.”
4. Heather King directed the excavations at Clonmacnoise during the 1990s, and most of the findings were published in the volume she edited. Heather A. King, ed., *Clonmacnoise Studies: Seminar Papers 1994* (Dublin: Dúchas, the Heritage Service, 1998).
5. For a wonderful analysis of the concomitant issues of dis- and re-mem-bering, see Kathleen Biddick, “Humanist History and the Haunting of Virtual Technologies: Problems of Memory and

- Rememoration,” in *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 165–84.
6. The best sources for Petrie’s biography include William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868) and the more recent volume by Peter Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866): The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past* (Cork, Ireland: The Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 2004). As a less institutionally connected figure, O’Neill’s biography is more difficult to trace, but some information can be gathered from sources like Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969), and Jeanne Sheehy and George Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p. 23. For more on both Petrie and O’Neill, as well as some of their contemporaries, see Maire De Paor, “Irish Antiquarian Artists,” in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), pp. 119–32.
  7. Petrie’s seminal study was published as George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1845). For more on Petrie’s involvement with the Ordnance Survey, see John Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) and Stiofán Ó Cadhla and Éamon Ó Cuív, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824–1842: Ethnography, Cartography, Translation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007).
  8. Karen Eileen Overbey, *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines, and Territories in Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
  9. Henry O’Neill, *Ireland for the Irish: A Practical, Peaceable, and Just Solution of the Irish Land Question* (Dublin: Trubner & Co, 1868). See also Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 1:199–200.
  10. W. B. Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight* (London: H. Bullen, 1902).
  11. The phrase “Irish Ganges” comes from Petrie’s journal as quoted in Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 28.
  12. From Petrie’s journal as quoted by Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 28.
  13. Denis Murphy, ed., *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, Being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to A.D. 1408*, trans. Conell Mageoghagan (Dublin: Llanerch Publishers, 1993), p. 178. A similar reference appears in John O’Donovan, ed., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 6 vols. (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co., 1856), 1:878–79.
  14. The *Cross of the Scriptures* is also sometimes called the “Cross of King Flann” or “Fland” as a result of its inscription. It may also be the subject of an annal entry for the year 957 CE, which states that “the Termon [central monastic enclosure] of Ciarán [i.e., St. Ciarán of Clonmacnoise] was burned this year, from the High Cross [ó chrois áird] to the Sinainn [Shannon River].” See O’Donovan, *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, 1:676–77.
  15. Catherine Herbert argues convincingly for the significance of David imagery on the Irish high crosses as one component in “a dialogue on

- rulership between ecclesiastical authorities and their secular patrons.” See Catherine Herbert, “Psalms in Stone: Royalty and Spirituality on Irish High Crosses.” PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1997, pp. xv, and 273–339. For a thorough iconographical analysis of the cross, see Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*, 3 vols. (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1992), 1:48–53.
16. This transcription and translation are taken from Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:356–57. Only a few letters of the inscription remain legible today: ANDORRO/AR/D on the east and NDM on the west. For more on interpreting the inscription, see Peter Harbison, “The Extent of Royal Patronage on Irish High Crosses,” *Studia Celtica Japonica* 6 (1994): 77–105. Françoise Henry, “Around an Inscription: The Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110 (1980): 36–46. Dómhnaill O’Murchadha and Giollamuire O’Murchú, “Fragmentary Inscriptions from the West Cross at Durrow, the South Cross at Clonmacnoise and the Cross of Kinnitty,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 118 (1988): 53–66.
  17. Although some scholars have questioned the dating of the *Cross of the Scriptures*, I am convinced by the early tenth-century date. Not only does the inscription name King Fland and Abbot Colman, but the carving style is also similar to other crosses that bear comparable inscriptions, such as those at Durrow and Monasterboice. For confirmation of the tenth-century date, see Henry, “Around an Inscription” and Conleth Manning, “Clonmacnoise Cathedral,” in *Clonmacnoise Studies: Seminar Papers 1994*, ed. Heather A. King (Dublin: Dúchas, The Heritage Service, 1998), pp. 57–87. For alternative arguments, see Peter Harbison, “The Inscriptions on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnois, County Offaly,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 79C. 7 (1979): 177–88. Liam De Paor, “The High Crosses of Tech Theille (Tihilly), Kinnitty, and Related Sculpture,” in *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland in Honour of Helen M. Roe*, ed. Etienne Rynne (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987), pp. 131–58.
  18. Douglas Mac Lean, “The Status of the Sculptor in Old-Irish Law and the Evidence of the Crosses,” *Peritia* 9 (1995): 125–55. See also De Paor, “The High Crosses of Tech Theille” and O’Murchadha and O’Murchú, “Fragmentary Inscriptions.”
  19. Many of the images on the Irish crosses are related to prayers that employ Old Testament tales of salvation in which the faithful are rescued by divine intervention. For instance, the stories of *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* and the *Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace* are frequently invoked as precedents for Christian redemption. See Robin Flower, “Irish High Crosses,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1954): 94 [87–97]. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:154–57, figs. 512–513. Flower’s notion of the “Help of God” theme has been influential, but other interpretations of the imagery have also been put forward. For instance,

- Éamonn O’Carragáin has traced the appearance of SS. Paul and Anthony in the reliefs and described the monastic themes inherent in the depiction of these two desert fathers. See Éamonn O’Carragáin, “The Meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony,” in *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney*, eds. Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Patrick F. Wallace (Galway, Ireland: Galway University Press, 1988), pp. 1–59.
20. For more on the role of the Clonmacnoise crosses as signs of community in the medieval period, see Margaret M. Williams, “The Sign of the Cross: Irish High Crosses as Cultural Emblems,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 2000, and Margaret M. Williams, “Warrior Kings and Savvy Abbots: The Sacred, The Secular, and the Depiction of Contemporary Costume on the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois,” *Avista Forum Journal* 12.1 (1999): 4–11.
  21. Roger Stalley has argued that the bottom relief depicts *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, while Peter Harbison contends that the scene and its companion in the panel above are episodes from the Joseph story. I posit that resonances with both would have appealed to tenth-century viewers, who could have interpreted the imagery in multiple ways. See Roger Stalley, “European Art and the Irish High Crosses,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 90C.6 (1990): 135–58 and Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:202–04. In a recent conference paper, Stalley changed his position, arguing that the figures may represent contemporary secular leaders. Roger Stalley, “The Irish High Crosses—Time for a Re-Think?” (Kalamazoo, MI: *Forty-Sixth International Congress on Medieval Studies*, 2011).
  22. On the depiction of Irish dress in these panels see Williams, “Warrior Kings and Savvy Abbots.” For more on medieval Irish costume, see Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1989); M. Fitzgerald, “Insular Dress in Early Medieval Ireland,” in *Anglo-Saxon Texts and Contexts*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79.3 (1997): 251–61; H. F. Mc Clintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1943); and Joseph C. Walker, *An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish* (Dublin: J. Christie, 1818).
  23. Whitley Stokes, ed., *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 276. When founding the site in the sixth century, St. Ciarán erected a church with the assistance of a future high-king of Ireland named Diarmait mac Cerbaill. At the time, Diarmait was a fugitive from the current high-king, Tuathal Maelgarb, and he was rewarded for his assistance by being appointed the royal successor. Diarmait provided his services in the form of physical labor—or perhaps financial assistance, represented metaphorically as brute work.
  24. On the enactment of such political and secular rituals in the Middle Ages, see Janet Nelson, “Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship,” *Studies*

- in Church History* 10 (1973): 39–44 and Janet Nelson, “Inauguration Rituals,” in *Early Medieval Kingship*, eds. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds: University of Leeds, School of History, 1977), pp. 50–71.
25. The condition of the carving makes it difficult to determine whether these are annular or penannular brooches. Both types are circular, but the penannular variety has a gap in the ring. For more on ring brooches, see chapter 2.
  26. O’Donovan, *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, 1:554–55.
  27. The iconography of this panel differs slightly from the more familiar *Traditio Legis* in which Christ hands two scrolls to Peter and Paul. According to Peter Harbison, this unusual iconography only appears on four of the high crosses—the *Cross of the Scriptures*, the *Durrow Cross*, and the two crosses at Monasterboice (the *Tall Cross* and *Muireadach’s Cross*). Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:286–87.
  28. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 8.
  29. *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly*, ca. 1842 (watercolor on paper, 67.2 x 98, NGI, cat. no. 2230). According to William Stokes, Petrie’s work at Clonmacnoise inspired him to write in his journal that it was his “wish to produce an Irish picture [of the Clonmacnoise ruins] somewhat historical in its object, and poetical in its sentiment—a landscape composed of several of the monuments characteristic of the past history of our country, and which will soon cease to exist, and to connect with them the expression of human feelings equally belonging to our history, and which are destined to similar extinction.” Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 15.
  30. David Brett provides an excellent summary of the sublime versus the picturesque in an Irish context. See Brett, *The Construction of Heritage*. See also Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 49.
  31. Tom Dunne, “Towards a National Art? George Petrie’s Two Versions of *The Last Circuit of Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise*,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, pp. 125–36. See also Thomas Davis, “Art and the Nation,” in *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems with a Centenary Memoir 1845–1945* (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1945), pp. 113–118.
  32. In a recent article, Marian Bleeke makes a related argument regarding Petrie’s role in constructing Irish art history through his antiquarian activities. See Marian Bleeke, “George Petrie, the Ordnance Survey, and Nineteenth-Century Constructions of the Irish Past,” in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, eds. Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce A. Jordan (Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 129–49.
  33. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 34.
  34. Despite various arguments about Petrie’s political motivations or lack thereof, there is still little clarity on the subject. Stokes emphasized Petrie’s objectivity, which was certainly also promoted by Petrie himself. Stokes describes Petrie’s father, James, as loyal to the crown and ascribes his ability to be “uninfluenced by national prejudices and

- traditions” to his Scottish heritage. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 1. By contrast, Peter Murray cites Walter Strickland’s statement that the elder Petrie “was arrested on suspicion of being connected with the United Irishmen, and spent a short time in the Provost prison.” Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 41, citing Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2:243. Whether or not James Petrie was actually affiliated with the United Irishmen is debatable, as his presumed involvement may have been the result of his work painting portraits of some of their leaders, namely Napper Tandy and Robert Emmet. See Dunne, “Towards a National Art?” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 128. Regardless, the arrest appears to have been real. As a result, Murray draws the logical conclusion that “it is unlikely that George Petrie, who would have been nine at the time of the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion, and fourteen at the time of the trial and public execution of Robert Emmet, could have failed to be influenced by these events.” Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 42.
35. Petrie’s journal, as published in Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 29.
  36. Dunne, “Towards a National Art?” in *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 133. See also Tom Dunne, *Maria Edgeworth and the Colonial Mind: The 26th O’Donnell lecture* (National University of Ireland, Dublin, 1984), and W. L. Renwick, ed., *Edmund Spenser: a View of the Present State of Ireland* (London: Scholartis Press, 1934).
  37. Dunne, “Towards a National Art?” in *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 133.
  38. As Dunne suggested, Petrie had a sense that contemporary Ireland was “a prisoner of that past, and all that could be done was to achieve greater understanding of what was lost.” Dunne, “Towards a National Art?” in *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 129.
  39. Over the past several decades, several scholars have investigated the colonial role of the Ordnance Survey. See Andrews, *A Paper Landscape*, and Stiofán O’Cadhla and Éamon O’Cuív, *Civilizing Ireland: Ordnance Survey 1824–1842: Ethnography, Cartography, Translation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007). More recently, some scholars have felt a need to come to the defense of the Survey’s vast production of information. For example, Joep Leerssen, “Petrie: Polymath and Innovator,” writes, “The Irish Ordnance Survey has come to enjoy a poor reputation (as yet another Anglocentric nail in the coffin of native culture), which is undeserved and probably due to some unguarded remarks by Douglas Hyde (in his lecture ‘On the necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland’, 1891) and Brian Friel’s misguided and misleading play *Translations*,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 8.
  40. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape*, pp. 147–48.
  41. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 91.
  42. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2:240.
  43. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 3–4.
  44. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 40.

45. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*.
46. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2:239.
47. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 105.
48. Bleeke, “George Petrie,” in *Medieval Art and Architecture*, p. 134.
49. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 104.
50. The round towers are colossal stone structures, many of which are approximately one-hundred-foot high and capped with conical stone roofs. Petrie established that they were constructions of the Christian era, built by native Irishmen. He also suggested that they should be identified with the *cloichtechs*, or bell-houses, mentioned in the written sources, and that they might have served as keeps. Prior to Petrie’s work, scholars had presented a variety of speculative theories that denied the possibility that the round towers could have been constructed by local builders—theories ranged from the idea that they might have been sorcerers’ temples or astrological observatories to the notion that they were built by Phoenicians, African sea champions, or Danes. Like the round towers, the high crosses have frequently been considered improbable oddities. See Michael F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 22, who refers to them as “provincial survival[s].”
51. Petrie was profoundly motivated by previous suggestions that the surviving Irish ruins could not possibly be of native origin, such as Sir James Ware’s declaration that no stone buildings had been built in Ireland prior to the twelfth century. For a summary of the round tower controversy, see Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 109–46.
52. Even Michael Camille refers to Petrie as “the founder of Irish archaeology.” Michael Camille, “Domesticating the Dragon: The Rediscovery, Reproduction, and Re-Invention of Early Irish Metalwork,” in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840–1940*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 1990), p. 1. In fact, Petrie did found the Irish Archaeological Society. See Joep Leerssen, “Petrie: Polymath and Innovator,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 10.
53. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 264.
54. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 189.
55. Leerssen, “Petrie: Polymath and Innovator,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 10.
56. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, pp. 27–34.
57. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 40. Leerssen, “Petrie: Polymath and Innovator,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, pp. 9–10.
58. Leerssen, “Petrie: Polymath and Innovator,” in Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 8 and Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)*, p. 39.

59. George Petrie, "A Note to Our Readers," *Irish Penny Journal* 1 (1840): 8.
60. Engraved versions of Petrie's watercolors appeared in T. K. Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820–21), *The New Picture of Dublin* (1821), G. N. Wright's *Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1821–25), G. N. Wright's *Guide to the Giant's Causeway, Guide to Wicklow and Guide to Killarney* (1823), James Norris Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland* (1825–26), and G. N. Wright's *Ireland Illustrated* (ca. 1842).
61. Petrie's journal, as quoted by Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, pp. 104–05.
62. Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, p. 395.
63. Henry O' Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1857), p. i.
64. O' Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses*, p. ii.
65. According to Strickland's *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, O'Neill "identified himself with the popular political movements of the day, was a member of the Repeal Association, and during the imprisonment of O'Connell in Richmond gaol he painted a group of the Liberator and his fellow-prisoners, and later he did the well-known series of lithograph portraits of the Young Irelanders, Smith O'Brien and others." Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2:198. Strickland goes on to say that "his conflicts with learned bodies and antiquarians working in the same field as himself, in which he upheld his views with great tenacity and not always with moderation, estranged him from many of his friends." Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2:200.
66. While most scholars of either the nineteenth century or the Middle Ages would certainly have more to say on two such notoriously complex social systems, O'Neill is strident and matter of fact in his comparison between landlordism and feudalism. He writes, "The feudal system is essentially military; under it society was divided into two classes—the fighting men or freemen, and the working men or slaves... The head of the estate, the land-lord, built himself a strong castle... the serfs or slaves lived in hamlets or villages." He concludes his thoughts by saying, "So you see those feudal nobles, from whom the proudest of England's aristocrats boast of being descended, were no better than a lot of unprincipled marauders." O'Neill, *Ireland for the Irish*, pp. 85–6 and 91.
67. O'Neill, *Ireland for the Irish*, p. 3.
68. Edmund Burke, *a Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Verner and Hood, 1798).
69. O' Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses*, p. i.
70. O' Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses*, p. iii.
71. O' Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses*, p. iii.
72. Henry O' Neill, *The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland, Illustrated with Chromo and Other Lithographs, and Several Woodcuts* (Dublin: George Herbert, 1863). A few works on the crosses were published around the same time as O' Neill's, including R. R. Brash, "The Sculptured

- Crosses of Ireland, What We Learn from Them,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 12 (1872–74): 98–112 and J. H. Smith, “Ancient Stone Crosses in Ireland,” *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 1 (1853): 53–7.
73. O’Neill, *The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland*, preface.
  74. See the web page for their Celtic Cross Art Exhibit: <http://www.celtarts.com/CelticCrossExhibit.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
  75. See the web page for Henry O’Neill’s lithographs as part of the Celtic Online Art Forum: <http://www.celtarts.com/O’Neill.htm>, last accessed 27 June 2011.

## 2 Classifying Taste

1. The item was the so-called *Tara Brooch*. Bibliography on the brooch includes: Ian Finlay, *Celtic Art; an Introduction* (London: Faber, 1973), pp. 121–25, pl. 73. Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period, to 800 A.D.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), pp. 118–119. Liam De Paor, “The Christian Triumph: The Golden Age,” in *Treasures of Irish Art, 1500 B.C.–1500 A.D.: From the Collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College, Dublin*, eds. G. Frank Mitchell and Lee Boltin (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: A.A. Knopf, 1977), pp. 93–104, and A. T. Lucas, *Treasures of Ireland: Irish Pagan & Early Christian Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), pp. 87–93.
2. The owner and copyist George Waterhouse refused to sell the *Tara Brooch* to the Royal Irish Academy until 1868, and only then on the promise that the brooch wouldn’t leave Ireland. Years earlier, the academy had opened its collections to the public and begun to publish a journal, the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, both of which gave Waterhouse and other contemporary jewelers the opportunity to sketch and reproduce a variety of items. See Michael Camille, “Domesticating the Dragon: The Rediscovery, Reproduction, and Re-Invention of Early Irish Metalwork,” in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840–1940*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 1990), pp. 1–2, and George Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities: Irish Antique Brooches* (Dublin: Waterhouse & Co., 1852), p. 7.
3. Niamh Whitfield, “The Finding of the Tara Brooch,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 104 (1974): 120–42. H. A. Wheeler, “The Tara Brooch: Where Was It Found?” *Journal of the Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 12.2 (1950): 155–58.
4. Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, p. 7.
5. Henry J. Morris, “The Tara Brooch,” *Journal of the Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 1.1 (1904): 21–2.
6. Whitfield, “The Finding of the Tara Brooch,” p. 120.
7. Wilde’s work was published by E. C. R. Armstrong, “Catalogue of the Silver and Ecclesiastical Antiquities in the Collection of the Royal Irish

- Academy by the Late Sir William Wilde,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 32C (1915), pp. 287–312. See also *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 30 November 1874.
8. Armstrong, “Catalogue of the Silver and Ecclesiastical Antiquities in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy,” p. 310.
  9. Whitfield, “The Finding of the Tara Brooch,” p. 121.
  10. Throughout the twentieth century, scholars have continued to disagree on the object’s point of origin. For instance, in the 1940s, Françoise Henry wrote that the brooch appeared “in a wooden box, together with Viking objects, near the mouth of the Boyne.” See Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*, p. 118, n. 6. In her later, more comprehensive work on medieval Irish art, she wrote, “In actual fact, it was found, with some Scandinavian objects, near the mouth of the Boyne.” See Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period (to 800 A.D.)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), p. 108, n. 2. Her footnote adds, “At least this is one of the versions of the discovery. The facts are far from clear.” Even after twenty-years’ time, Henry seemed fairly well convinced of both the find spot and the archaeological context, which she said included Viking or Scandinavian pieces. More recently, A. T. Lucas and Liam De Paor concurred with Whitfield, with De Paor stating that “the actual discovery was made on the seashore at Bettystown, County Meath, near where a block of cliff had collapsed after erosion by the waves.” See Lucas, *Treasures of Ireland*, p. 88, and Liam De Paor, “The Christian Triumph,” p. 137. As recently as 1980, Jeanne Sheehy relayed the version involving the poor woman and her children, cautiously adding that it “may or may not be true.” Sheehy’s footnote on the subject reads, “According to Sir William Wilde it [the brooch] was ‘found in the year 1850 with other objects in an oak box when excavating for the harbour wall at the mouth of the River Boyne, near Drogheda.” Jeanne Sheehy and George Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p. 87, n. 21. Ragnall O’Floinn refers to the object simply as “the Bettystown ‘Tara’ brooch” in Susan Youngs’s exhibition catalogue, *“The Work of Angels”: Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th Centuries A.D.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. 97.
  11. Whitfield, “The Finding of the Tara Brooch,” p. 131.
  12. N. Whitfield, “The ‘Tara’ Brooch: An Irish Emblem of Status in Its European Context,” in *From Ireland Coming: Irish Art from the Early Christian to the Late Gothic Period and Its European Context*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 211 [211–47].
  13. Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, ed. and trans. John O’Meara (New York: Penguin Book, 1982), p. 84.
  14. Youngs, “*The Work of Angels*”.
  15. Camille, “Domesticating the Dragon,” p. 4.
  16. In any social context, the garments that people wear constitute a non-verbal system of communication, serving as an immediate, visible, and

- performative language through which one publicly proclaims membership in a particular group, sometimes adding unique touches that represent individual personality traits or choices. See Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (New York: Routledge, 1996). Roland Barthes, "The Garment System," in *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), pp. 25–8. Malcolm Chapman, "'Freezing the Frame': Dress and Ethnicity in Brittany and Gaelic Scotland," in *Dress and Ethnicity*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1995), pp. 7–28.
17. Scholars have disputed the sources of such ringed brooches, locating similar designs in Anglo-Saxon and Germanic contexts, but the form has taken on particularly visible significance in an Irish context.
  18. For early medieval Irish social systems, see Thomas N. Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen: The Social Structure of Early Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).
  19. Mary Deevy, *Medieval Ring-Brooches in Ireland: A Study of Jewellery, Dress and Society* (Dublin: Wordwell Press, 1998). Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1989). Prominent Irish families also acquired jewelry collections over hundreds of years. See D. M. Wilson, "The Treasure," in *St. Ninian's Isle and Its Treasure*, eds. A. Small, C. Thomas, and D. M. Wilson (Oxford: University Press, 1973), pp. 45–148.
  20. Niamh Whitfield, "More Thoughts on the Wearing of Brooches in Early Medieval Ireland," in *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 70–108.
  21. Hancock and O'Mahony, *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 2:147–49.
  22. Raghnaill O'Floinn, "Secular Metalwork in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in "The Work of Angels", p. 72 [72–124]. See also Whitfield, "The 'Tara' Brooch: An Irish Emblem of Status in Its European Context," p. 214, n. 9.
  23. Liam De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World: The Christian Culture of Ireland's Apostolic Age* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), pp. 217–218; Cogitosus, "Sanctae Brigidae Virginis Vita," in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina* vol. 72 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1878), pp. 775–92.
  24. The term "léine" appears quite frequently in the written sources, and the adjective "gel" meaning bright is often used to describe it. See C. O'Rahilly, ed. and trans., *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*, Irish Texts Society 49 (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1967). *Léine* appears to be a native word and may derive from a root meaning linen. See Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, pp. 15–26 and F. Shaw, S.J., "Irish Dress in Pre-Norman Times," in *Old Irish and Highland Dress*, 2nd ed., ed. H.F. McClintock (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1950), pp. 12–13.
  25. *Brat* also seems to be a native word, although it is of uncertain derivation. Several synonyms for this type of garment appear in the literature

- including *fuán*, *lend*, and *lumman*. A *corrthar*—a border or fringe that was woven separately—was sometimes attached to the *brat*. See Shaw, “Irish Dress in Pre-Norman Times,” pp. 12–13.
26. The condition of the carvings makes it difficult to determine whether they depict annular or penannular brooches. Both types are circular. See Youngs, “*The Work of Angels*,” pp. 214–215.
  27. Roger Stalley, *Irish High Crosses* (Dublin: Eason & Son, Ltd., 1991), p. 2.
  28. The inscription reads: OR DO MUIREDACH LAS NDERN(A)D (I) CROS(SA) [Prayer for Muiredach who had the cross erected]. The annals refer to two individuals named Muiredach, both of whom were abbots at Monasterboice: the first, Muiredach mac Flaínd, held his post from 837 to 846, and the second, Muiredach mac Domhnaill, from ca. 887 to 922. The latter was simultaneously abbot-elect of the prominent monastery at Armagh, as well as high steward of the Uí Néill family. As a result of his political affiliations, this second Muiredach has generally been associated with the cross’ inscription, providing a date for the cross of ca. 922–23. The style of the cross’ carvings is also comparable to those on the *Cross of the Scriptures* and other examples that are generally dated to around the same time, such as the Durrow and Kells monuments. See Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey, 3 vols.* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1992), 1:364, and Helen M. Roe, *Monasterboice and Its Monuments* (Dundalk, Ireland: County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society, 1981), p. 9.
  29. The word *truibhas* or *triús* appears to be derived from the Old French *trebus*, which is also the origin of the English word “trousers.” See Shaw, “Irish Dress in Pre-Norman Times,” pp. 16–17. J. C. Walker used the term “*cota*” to describe a shirt that fell to the loins, probably the so-called jacket. See Joseph C. Walker, *An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish* (Dublin: J. Christie, 1818), p. 9. Figures wearing this type of costume also appear in the *Book of Kells*, Dublin, Ireland, Trinity College Dublin MS1, fols. 200r and 130r, and on the twelfth-century Agadoo Crozier.
  30. Before 1200, *triús* were probably called *bróc* or *bern-bróc*, which Kuno Meyer defines as “breeches, long hose, or trousers.” See Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (London: D. Nutt, 1906). On occurrences of the term “*bern-bróc*,” see Heinrich Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 30 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1888). *Triús* were also known among the Romans by their Gaulish name, *bracae* or *braccae*. See Shaw, “Irish Dress in Pre-Norman Times,” pp. 16–17.
  31. This scene is commonly identified as either the *Arrest of Christ* or the *Ecce Rex Iudaeorum* or *Second Mocking of Christ*, in which Jesus is dressed in mock-royal robes. Some have suggested that it may represent an ecclesiastic attacked by two armed men, St. Columcille being arrested and exiled, or Norsemen attacking the abbot of a local community. It is tempting to believe that the images depict historical figures, for that would easily

- explain the inclusion of familiar Irish costume. If that is the case, then the image represents a high-ranking Irishman—possibly an ecclesiastic—being attacked by lower-class lay warriors. For more on the iconography of this scene, see Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:143. A. K. Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 42. E. H. L. Sexton, *A Descriptive and Bibliographical List of Irish Figure Sculptures of the Early Christian Period* (Portland, ME: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1947), p. 232.
32. George Petrie, “On an Ancient Brooch Found Near Drogheda,” paper presented at the Royal Irish Academy, 30 November 1850. See William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868), p. 438. Waterhouse attached Petrie’s essay on the *Tara Brooch* to his brochure, and the monetary value of the object skyrocketed following the institutional endorsement of its authenticity. Prior to Petrie’s pronouncement of its validity, it had been purchased for very little. One source describes the watchmaker from the original tale of the brooch’s discovery paying 18 pence (about 36 cents) for the item, cleaning it up, and then selling it to Waterhouse for 12 pounds (around 60 dollars). See Mrs. G. Orpen, *Stories about Famous Precious Stones* (Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1890), pp. 256–60.
  33. Henry O’Neill, *The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland, Illustrated with Chromo and Other Lithographs, and Several Woodcut* (Dublin: George Herbert, 1863), p. 50.
  34. Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, p. 4.
  35. Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, dedication page, and p. 17.
  36. Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, p. 17.
  37. John Sproule, ed., *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland as Illustrated by the Exhibition of 1853* (Dublin: John Sproule, 1853), p. 389.
  38. These works are illustrated in Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 86, fig. 70 and p. 89, fig. 76.
  39. Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, p. 17.
  40. Camille, “Domesticating the Dragon,” pp. 2 and 6.
  41. Camille, “Domesticating the Dragon,” p. 2.
  42. Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 21. Here, Biddick cites Judith Halberstam on permeable membranes, see Judith Halberstam, *Skin Shows* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 141.
  43. Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism*, p. 12.
  44. For more on the Arts and Crafts Movement, see Nicola Gordon Bowe, “Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context: An Túr Gloine and the Dun Emer Guild and Industries,” *Journal of Design History* 2.3 (1989): 193–206. Paul Larmour, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland* (Belfast: Friar’s Bush Press, 1992). Gillian Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of Its Sources, Ideals, and Influence on Design Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, ca. 1971). Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*.

45. Morris was also connected to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a group of painters whose work frequently recreates medieval themes. For an interesting discussion of Morris's connection to the PRB, see Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Poetry and the Pre-Raphaelite Arts: Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
46. On women's contributions to the Arts and Crafts Movement, see Linda Seidel, "Celtic Revivals and Women's Work," in *Imagining an Irish Past*, ed. Edelstein, pp. 22–43.
47. Barbara Morris, *Victorian Embroidery: An Authoritative Guide* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1962), pp. 118–20.
48. Ishbel's correspondence is quoted by her daughter, Marjorie Pentland, in *A Bonnie Fechter: The Life of Ishbel Marjoribanks Marchioness of Aberdeen & Temair, G.B.E., LL.D., J.P. 1857 to 1939* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1952), p. 56.
49. Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter*, p. 58.
50. *The New York Times*, 10 February 1907.
51. On Ladies Londonderry and Dudley, see Elizabeth Mary Margaret Burke Plunkett Fingall, Countess of Fingall, *Seventy Years Young* (London: Collins, 1937), pp. 164 and 283. For more on Lady Cadogan, see Aberdeen and Temair, "*We Twa*," *Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*, 2 vols. (London: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1926), 2:148. On Lord and Lady Mayo's involvement with the Arts and Crafts Society, see the Art and Crafts Society of Ireland, *Journal and Proceedings* 1.1–4 (Dublin, 1896–1906) as well as the catalogues of the Society's exhibitions: 1 (1895), 2 (1899), 3 (1904), 4 (1910), 5 (1917), 6 (1921), and 7 (1925).
52. This description of the association's mission appears in the *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village and Blarney Castle, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Irish Village Book Store, 1893), p. 19.
53. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 147.
54. Art and Crafts Society, *Journal and Proceedings* (1896) and *Exhibition Catalog 1* (1895).
55. Art and Crafts Society, *Exhibition Catalog 1*, no. 381.
56. According to Jeanne Sheehy, Hopkins and Hopkins was at 1 Lower Sackville Street by 1882 and was producing an illustrated catalogue of their wares by 1910. She says that "one of the most attractive of their designs was for the 'Ardagh Clasp', adapted from motifs on the Ardagh Chalice, and intended for vestments or for ordinary wear." Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 155.
57. Aberdeen and Temair, "*We Twa*," 1:259.
58. Aberdeen and Temair, "*We Twa*," 2:182.
59. Mary Colum, *Life and the Dream*, revised ed. (Dublin: Dolmen Publishers, 1966), pp. 105–08.
60. Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter*, p. 51, fig. 32.
61. The discursive functions of masquerade are immensely complex, as analyzed by such scholars as Judith Butler. See Judith Butler, *Gender*

- Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 43–57 on Lacan, Riviere, and masquerade. Here, the masquerade is one of cultural identity rather than gender.
62. Paul Larmour, “The Dun Emer Guild,” *Irish Arts Review* 1.4 (1984): 24–8.
  63. Bowe, “Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context,” p. 195.
  64. The Yeats sisters were Susan Mary (1866–1949), known as Lily and Elizabeth Corbet (1868–1940). See Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 158, n. 25.
  65. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 158. Following the 1904 exhibition, Dun Emer split into two entities: The Dun Emer Guild, under Evelyn Gleeson, and Dun Emer Industries, run by the Yeats sisters. Some animosity developed over financial issues and the charitable mission of the original organization, and ultimately Gleeson retained the name while the Yeats renamed themselves Cuala Industries.
  66. Dun Emer Guild and Industries, *Winter Prospectus*, 1903.
  67. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 148, n. 9.
  68. Thomas Mac Greevy, “St Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea,” *Capuchin Annual* (1946).
  69. Bowe, “Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context,” p. 194.
  70. Many of the banners are now on display in the Clonfert Diocesan Museum, near Loughrea.
  71. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 157 and Bowe, “Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context,” p. 201.
  72. St. Jarlath is not named in the annals, but there are three surviving versions of his *Life*: two in Irish in the *Martyrology of Donegal* and the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, and a Latin translation in Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. John Colgan, *The “Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae” of John Colgan* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1948), pp. 308–10. Richard J. Kelly, “St. Jarlath of Tuam,” *Journal of the Galway Archaeological Society* 1.2 (1901): 90–108. See also Daithi O’Murchù, *Tuam* (Tuam: John Egan and Son, 1971), p. 7. All three texts provide the same basic narrative concerning Jarlath’s early life and the founding of Tuam. Born somewhere in county Galway around the mid-fifth century, he founded a monastery at Cloonfush (*Cluainfois*, or “the meadow of rest”), where both Brendan of Clonfert and Colman of Cloyne were educated. According to hagiographical legend, St. Brendan prophesied that Jarlath would not die at Cloonfush, and that he was destined to establish another monastery at the place where the wheel of his chariot broke. See Kelly, “St. Jarlath of Tuam,” pp. 98–9. That spot was Tuam, and Jarlath acted as both bishop and abbot of the ecclesiastical community that he founded there, supposedly performing three-hundred genuflections a day, until his death in approximately 540 CE. Colgan, *The*

- “*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*,” pp. 308–10, and Kelly, “St. Jarlath of Tuam,” p. 100.
73. Dun Emer Guild and Industries, *Winter Prospectus*.
74. Nora O’Mahony, “Celtic Church Banners,” *The Irish Monthly: A Magazine of General Literature* 32 (1904): 167 [167–69].
75. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past*, p. 164, n. 40.
76. “TrinityEarrings,” on the CelticJewelrywebsite: <http://www.celticjewelry.com/celtic-jewelry/celtic-earrings/trinity-earrings.html>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
77. “Studio” on the Studio 311 website: <http://www.studio311.com/studio/studio.html>, last accessed 28 June 2011.

### 3 Meet Me at the Fair

1. John Sproule, ed., *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland as Illustrated by the Exhibition of 1853* (Dublin: John Sproule, 1853), p. 32.
2. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, pp. 477–79.
3. The two countries were united in the 1801 Act of Union. See Máire and Conor Cruise O’Brien, *Ireland: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985), p. 92.
4. Although it was presented as apolitical, the exhibition certainly participated in the display of dominant power structures that Michel Foucault so famously theorized in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 125–65 and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
5. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 32.
6. Stephen Bann’s *The Clothing of Clio* has been indispensable to my thinking about the Irish exhibition because he offers an analysis of such displays as forms of historical representation. Bann’s notion that the arrangement of objects in a gallery space equates to the ordering of bits of information in a written historical narrative allows me to examine the placement of medieval Irish objects in the larger story told by their exhibitors. Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
7. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 480.
8. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 480.
9. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 477.
10. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, pp. 477–78.
11. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, pp. 477–79.
12. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 478.
13. Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*, p. 17. See also G. F. Mitchell, “Antiquities,” in *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785–1985*, ed. T. Ó’Raifertaigh (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985).

14. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 478.
15. A. T. Lucas, *Treasures of Ireland: Irish Pagan & Early Christian Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), p. 52.
16. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 477.
17. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 479.
18. Raghnaill O'Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 1994), p. 34.
19. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 476.
20. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 476.
21. T. D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition, 1853* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1853), p. 44.
22. Jones, *Record*, p. 44.
23. "Principal Accessions," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3.12 (1908): 228 [228–31]. The Metropolitan Museum also owns many of the metalwork replicas from the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis.
24. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, pp. 477–78.
25. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 394.
26. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 477.
27. For more on the cross' role in its original setting, see Margaret M. Williams, *The Sign of the Cross: Irish High Crosses as Cultural Emblems* (New York: Columbia University, 2000).
28. The main sources on the *Market Cross* at Tuam are J. A. Claffey, "The History of the High Cross of Tuam," *Tuam Herald* March–April (1966); Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*, 3 vols. (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1992), 1:177–78; Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period, 1020–1170 A.D.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 33–5 and 140; and Roger Stalley, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Tuam," in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale (Oxford: BAR International Series, 1981), pp. 179–95. See also Maggie Mc Enchroe Williams, "Constructing the Market Cross at Tuam: The Role of Cultural Patriotism in the Study of Irish High Crosses," in *From Ireland Coming: Irish Art from the Early Christian to the Late Gothic Periods and Its Context within Europe, Symposium at Princeton University, March 5–6, 1999*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
29. As described by Jim Higgins and Aisling Parsons, eds., *St. Mary's Cathedral (Church of Ireland) Tuam: An Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical Guide* (Galway, Ireland: JayCee Printers, 1995), p. 13.
30. National Library of Ireland (NLI) MS 12112, newspaper cuttings relating to Tuam.
31. Stokes quotes from the Petrie's journal, written during his Western tour, about 1822: "It is broken into three pieces, of which I discovered two lying in the church-yard, and the third, which was the base or pedestal, in the fish-market, where it was covered over with a heap of stones and rubbish. When together, it stood sixteen feet high, and is composed of

- three blocks of sandstone, and all the sides are covered with sculpture.” William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology, of George Petrie* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1868), p. 298.
32. George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1845), p. 312.
  33. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols. (London: S. Lewis & Co., 1837), 2:646–50. Lewis’s description of the base in the market is confirmed in the Ordnance Survey letters of 1838–39, as well as by Henry O’Neill who reported the discovery of the cross’ base under some rubbish in the marketplace sometime in the 1830s. See Henry O’Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1857), pp. 4–6. The available versions of the story appear in the following sources: Claffey, “The History of the High Cross of Tuam,” Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:177–78, and Stalley, “The Romanesque Sculpture of Tuam,” pp. 179–95.
  34. The late Mr. William Gannon, JP, reported seeing the base used for bull baiting. See *Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Tuam*, Dublin, Ireland, National Library of Ireland [NLI] MS 12112.
  35. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 267. In one of Petrie’s drawings—which was subsequently published by Margaret Stokes—he exaggerates the naturalism of Tuam’s carving style, with the goal of improving upon the quality or at least the clarity of the reliefs. In Petrie’s version of the Tuam Christ, the head and torso are depicted in a much more anatomically precise manner than in the carving itself: the proportions of the figure’s facial features have been altered to correct the pronounced forehead in the sculpture, and Christ’s ribs and pectoral muscles are rendered in a softer manner that practically eliminates the flat geometrical pattern of the stone. Although Petrie’s portrayal of the Tuam sculpture was no doubt intended as an accurate record of the sculpture’s appearance, it ultimately misrepresented the style of the carvings. By correcting this unusual depiction of Christ’s body, Petrie erased some of the relief’s “Irishness,” transforming it into a second-rate version of the continental Romanesque. See Margaret Stokes, ed., *Notes on Irish Architecture, by Edwin, Third Earl of Dunraven*, 2 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1875–77), 2:89, fig. 101. Margaret Stokes also republished the engravings in her 1887 work, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 2 vols., revised ed. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1911), p. 121, fig. 65.
  36. L. S. Gogan, “The Famed High Cross of Tuam: Mysteries of Its Reconstruction Solved: Light on Mediaeval Methods in Art,” *The Standard (Dublin)* August 9 (1930). According to Gogan, the fragmentary shaft constituted the missing block of the *Market Cross*, but such a tremendously tall cross is rather improbable. Nonetheless, many early scholars, including Petrie, contended that the *Market Cross* was merely incomplete.
  37. Gogan’s hypothesis derives from a comparison with a thirteenth-century French cross at Mezy, Marne, in which a circular shaft passes through

- the center of a similar “altar.” See Gogan, “The Famed High Cross of Tuam,” p. 11.
38. Writing about the incident in the 1930s, L. S. Gogan explained that “an attempt on the part of the Town Commissioners in 1858 to recover the cross for the town failed. After this we find the base at the Catholic Cathedral, the main portion of the Cross re-erected in front of the east window of the Protestant Cathedral . . . , and the buried portion with inscriptions at the west gable.” Gogan, “The Famed High Cross of Tuam,” p. 11.
  39. Jim Higgins and Aisling Parsons, eds., *St. Mary’s Cathedral (Church of Ireland) Tuam: An Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Guide* (Tuam: The Friends of Saint Mary’s Cathedral, 1995), p. 13.
  40. Paul Gosling, “Tuam,” in *More Irish Country Towns*, ed. Anngret Simms and J. H. Andrews, The Thomas Davis Lecture Series (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1995), pp. 119–32.
  41. “High Cross Move Is On,” *Tuam Herald* 152.6909 (1990): 1, 8.
  42. Higgins and Parsons, *St. Mary’s Cathedral (Church of Ireland) Tuam*, p. 10. This cast is currently on display at the National Museum’s *Irish High Crosses Exhibition* (see afterword).
  43. Higgins and Parsons, *St. Mary’s Cathedral (Church of Ireland) Tuam*, p. 10.
  44. Higgins and Parsons, *St. Mary’s Cathedral (Church of Ireland) Tuam*, p. 10.
  45. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:84.
  46. Nancy Netzer, “Picturing an Exhibition: James Mahony’s Watercolors of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853,” in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (Winchester, MA: Faber and Faber, Inc., 1993): 96 [89–98]. As Nancy Netzer has illustrated, Mahony’s compositional choices emphasize the forward-looking elements of the exhibition, and his paintings are certainly not emphatically nationalistic. Nevertheless, he does include some subtle references to native Irish culture’s value—particularly in his rendering of the royal visit to the Fine Arts Hall. As she discusses, Mahony includes several sculptures by contemporary Irish artists, many of which may have actually been displayed elsewhere in the exhibition. In Netzer’s words, “Mahony may have invented and placed them here in order to show the finest contemporary Irish sculptures in the company of the most celebrated works of antiquity.” In this case, Netzer is referring to classical antiquity, for Mahony is clearly not tremendously interested in including works of Irish antiquity in the category of “Fine Arts.” Netzer, “Picturing an Exhibition,” p. 96.
  47. Many aspects of the *Cross of Saints Patrick and Columba* continue to puzzle twenty-first-century scholars, including some unusual iconographies and a virtually unique inscription in Latin. Most of the relief carvings on the cross’ surfaces participate in a familiar theme for the group of late ninth- or early tenth-century crosses known as the “Scripture Crosses.” The images present biblical moments, many of which participate in the “Help of God” sequence that I described in chapter 1.

48. The book's historical origins are much more complex, and it was not exclusively the product of a Kells scriptorium. However, the familiar nickname certainly generates an association between the object and the place in the minds of most viewers. See Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1994) and Felicity O'Mahony, *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6–9 September 1992* (Dublin: Scolar Press, 1994).
49. Helen Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells* (Dublin: Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1966), p. 64.
50. The monument is nicknamed after its Latin inscription, which reads *Patricii et Columbae Crux*, or *Cross of Patrick and Columba*. Roger Stalley has used this inscription to redate the sculpture, citing an abbot by the name of Máel Brigte mac Tornáin who was appointed jointly to St. Patrick's Armagh and Kells in 891. As he says, "A joint dedication to Patrick and Columba would have been singularly appropriate during his abbacy." Roger Stalley, "Scribe and Mason: The Book of Kells and the Irish High Crosses," in O'Mahony, *The Book of Kells*: 262 [257–65]. Françoise Henry, Helen Roe, Peter Harbison, and Liam De Paor all proposed an early ninth-century date for the cross, sometime around Kells's founding in 807–814. See Françoise Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions, 800–1020 A.D.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); Helen Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells* (Dublin: Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1966); Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*; and Liam De Paor, "The High Crosses of Tech Theille (Tihilly), Kinnitty, and related sculpture," in *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland in Honour of Helen M. Roe*, ed. Etienne Rynne (Dun Laoghaire: Glendale Press, 1987).
51. Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. N. B. Dirks, G. Eley, and S. B. Ortner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994): 123 [123–54]. Some other important articles on the role of museums and display include: Stephen Bann, "Art History and Museums," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 230–49; N. Dias, "Looking at Objects: Memory, Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Ethnographic Display," in *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, ed. George Robertson, M. Marsh, George Robertson, Melinda Mash, Lisa Tickner, John Bird, Barry Curtis, and Tim Putnam (New York: Routledge, 1994). Bennett, in particular, expands on Foucault's famous studies about power and the ordering and display of material culture in works such as *The Order of Things* and *Discipline and Punish*.
52. The fairs have been the subject of numerous books and articles that examine their architectural importance, their cultural impact, and their roles in defining their respective cities as loci of modernity and

- “progress.” These works include, but are not limited to, the following texts: Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World’s Fairs: San Francisco’s Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915* (London: Scholar Press, 1983); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851–1939* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988); Timothy J. Fox and Duane R. Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World’s Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997).
53. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, 10 vols. (Chicago: Bancroft Co., 1893–95). Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893: The World’s Columbian Exposition* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992).
  54. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at the American International Expositions, 1876–1915* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 40.
  55. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 2:182.
  56. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 2:182.
  57. Although it is often referred to as a benign purchase, the acquisition of those lands had definite imperialistic underpinnings. The lands that were “purchased” were hardly uninhabited and were not exactly for sale. As Howard Zinn has shown, the Louisiana Purchase “involved the violent expulsion of Indians, accompanied by unspeakable atrocities.” See Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States* (New York: Perennial Classics, 2001), p. 685.
  58. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 37.
  59. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 181.
  60. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, p. 104.
  61. Bolotin and Laing, *The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893*, p. 134.
  62. Lord Aberdeen wrote that he and his party went to “select girls for the village” from Clones, Carrickmacross, Limerick, Cork, Skibereen, Youghal, Kinsale, and New Ross. In his words, “Everywhere I met with a most extraordinary reception, and addresses and meetings were arranged, at which were present persons of the most opposing creeds and politics.” Aberdeen and Temair, *“We Twa,” Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*, 2 vols. (London: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1926), 1:325–26.
  63. *The Columbian Gallery: A Portfolio of Photographs from the World’s Fair* (Chicago: Werner, 1894), p. 9.
  64. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
  65. Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 190–97.
  66. Marjorie Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter: The Life of Ishbel Marjoriebanks Marchioness of Aberdeen & Temair, G.B.E., LL.D., J.P. 1857 to 1939* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1952), p. 104.

67. Irish goods also made an appearance within the British pavilion, but the villages were more thorough representations of Irish culture as a distinct entity.
68. Bolotin and Laing, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, pp. 107, 127–28.
69. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 1:836.
70. *The Columbian Gallery*, p. 847.
71. Aberdeen and Temair, “*We Twa*,” 1:323–24.
72. Aberdeen and Temair, “*We Twa*,” 1:325.
73. Anonymous, “Irish Industrial Village, World’s Fair, Chicago,” *The Builder* 65 (1893): 320.
74. On Irish castles and Anglo-Norman architecture, see Terence B. Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* (New York: Methuen, 1987); Harold G. Leask, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk, Ireland: Dundalgan Press, 1941); and Tom E. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
75. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 8:835–40.
76. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 8:837.
77. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 8:838.
78. The plan is reproduced in Jeanne Sheehy and George Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p. 133, fig. 109.
79. *The Columbian Gallery*, p. 9.
80. Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter*, p. 99, fig. 44. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 132.
81. Bolotin and Laing, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, p. 107.
82. Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern*, Series Q (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 12.
83. According to their daughter, Marjorie Pentland, Lady Aberdeen once wrote, “A. [Lord Aberdeen] has always felt inclined for some measure of Home Rule.” See Pentland, *A Bonnie Fechter*, p. 56. Later in the same letter, Lady Aberdeen describes how troubled she is by having to move to Ireland. Her own motivations seem to have been more charitable than political.
84. *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village and Blarney Castle, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: Irish Village Book Store, 1893), pp 12–13.
85. She may have lived in a reconstruction of a cottage called Lyra-na-Grena that she owned near Queenstown. See *The Columbian Gallery*, p. 10.
86. *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village and Blarney Castle*, pp. 12–13.
87. *The Columbian Gallery*, p. 9.
88. See Harper Barnes, *Standing on a Volcano: The Life and Times of David Rowland Francis* (St. Louis, MO: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2001). Chicago’s Midway and St. Louis’ Pike are also believed to have been some of the major inspirations behind the boardwalk amusements at Coney Island, New York. See John E. Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

89. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 221.
90. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 221.
91. Eric Breitbart, *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), p. 37.
92. T. P. Gill, *Irish Industrial Exhibition. World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904, Handbook and Catalogue of Exhibits*, 3 parts (St. Louis: Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, 1904).
93. The sketch is reproduced in Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, pp. 132–33, fig. 110.
94. Desmond Guinness, *Georgian Dublin* (London: Batsford, 1988).
95. Gill, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, p. 3.
96. Gill, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, p. 4.
97. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 221.
98. J. B. Walker, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *The Cosmopolitan: A Monthly Illustrated Magazine* 37 (1904): 529–626.
99. Fox and Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike*, p. 221.
100. Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
101. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, p. 12.

#### 4 Keepsakes and Souvenirs

1. "Welcome to the Irish National Heritage Park," on their website: <http://www.inhp.com/>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
2. Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey, 3 vols.* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1992), pp. 37–41.
3. Damien, tour guide, interview with the author, 2 June 2011. According to Damien, in 1999, high-cross expert Peter Harbison visited the park to give a lecture, in which he explained that the medieval sculptures were probably originally painted.
4. Traces of paint have been reported on Anglo-Saxon crosses, see John Higgitt, "Words and Crosses: The Inscribed Stone Cross in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland," in *Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. Higgitt (London: BAR British Series, 152, 1986), pp. 125–52. Peter Harbison has suggested that the colors used might have been similar to those of the Carolingian frescoes at Münstair, Switzerland. Personal communication, 20 December 1999.
5. "The Park" on the INHP website: <http://www.inhp.com/park-history/>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
6. "Times Up at the Irish National Heritage Park," in *News on the INHP website*: <http://www.inhp.com/2011/02/17/times-up-at-the-irish-national-heritage-park/>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
7. Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). David Brett, *The*

- Construction of Heritage* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1996). Sharon Mac Donald, "A People's Story: Heritage, Identity, and Authenticity," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 155–75. See also Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).
8. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 137–38.
  9. Royal Dublin Society, *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1853), p. 19.
  10. On Cashel, see Tadhg O'Keefe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).
  11. Charles Doherty, Linda Doran, and Mary Kelly, eds., *Glendalough: City of God* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011).
  12. "Irish Bog-Oak Ornaments," *The Art Journal*, n.s. 4 (1865): 41.
  13. Gerard Hughes, "Irish Bog-Wood Furniture," *Country Life* CXLIX (1971): 3859.
  14. "Irish Bog-Oak Ornaments," *The Art Journal*, p. 127.
  15. Jeanne Sheehy and George Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p. 79.
  16. Máire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ireland: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999).
  17. George Waterhouse, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities: Irish Antique Brooches* (Dublin: Waterhouse & Co., 1852), p. 3.
  18. John Sproule, ed., *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland as Illustrated by the Exhibition of 1853* (Dublin: John Sproule, 1853), p. 389.
  19. Sheehy and Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, p. 86.
  20. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, pp. 389–95.
  21. Sproule, *The Resources and Manufacturing Industry of Ireland*, p. 413.
  22. Arthur Jones, *Description of a Suite of Sculptured Decorative Furniture* (Dublin: Arthur Jones, 1851).
  23. "Irish Bog-Oak Ornaments," *The Art Journal*, p. 41.
  24. Asenath Nicholson, *Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger; or An Excursion through Ireland, in 1844 & 1845, for the Purpose of Personally Investigating the Condition of the Poor* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1847), p. 13.
  25. "Irish Bog-Oak Ornaments," *The Art Journal*, p. 41.
  26. For a summary and analysis of the debates, see Thomas Kulka, *Kitsch and Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1996). For the Irish context, see David Lloyd, "The Recovery of Kitsch," in *Ireland After History*, pp. 89–100. The field of cultural studies has also produced a great deal of thought on the topic of kitsch. See, for example, Kathleen Higgins, who writes, "Kitsch presents an image, or icon, that makes reference to a culture's beliefs about the world... The icon presents a

- part or an instance of the culture's network of archetypes. The icon heightens one's awareness of this background structure, and one's satisfaction in the object stems from its unchallenging reinforcement of culturally instilled beliefs one has about one's place in the world." Kathleen M. Higgins, "Beauty and Its Kitsch Competitors," in *Beauty Matters*, ed. P. Brand (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, ca. 2000): 92 [87–111]. See also Kathleen M. Higgins, "Sweet Kitsch," in *The Philosophy of the Visual Arts*, ed. Philip Alpers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 572 [568–81].
27. For negative discussions of kitsch versus "high art," see Theodor Adorno, "On Popular Music," *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* 9 (1941): 17–48; Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 6 (1939): 34–49.
  28. For a more positive spin on kitsch, see Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp" (1961) in *Against Interpretation* (New York: Dell Laurel Edition, 1969).
  29. Matei Calinescu, *Five Phases of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987).
  30. Ruth Mc Nay, interview with the author, 13 August 2009. For a complete mission statement, see Mc Harp's website: <http://www.mcharp.com/>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
  31. Ruth Mc Nay and Linda Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning* (Kerrville, TX: Mc Harp, 2009), p. 2. Please note, throughout this section, I quote the Mc Harp catalogue as it is written. There are occasional grammatical errors, but I have not changed the text or added the note [*sic*] to those sentences that have awkward syntax. I prefer to allow the Mc Harp team to speak for itself.
  32. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, 1:11–15.
  33. On the connections between high crosses and metalwork, see Françoise Henry, "Émailleurs d'Occident," *Préhistoire* 2.1 (1933): 64–146; Helen Roe, "The Irish High Cross: Morphology and Iconography," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 95 (1965): 213–26; and Dorothy Kelly, "The Heart of the Matter," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 121 (1991): 105–45.
  34. Kelly, "The Heart of the Matter."
  35. Ruth Mc Nay, interview with the author, 13 August 2009.
  36. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 2.
  37. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 1.
  38. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 2.
  39. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 2.
  40. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 2.
  41. Mc Nay and Harp, *Mc Harp: Crosses with Meaning*, p. 2.
  42. Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 144.
  43. On medieval scripts, such as insular half-uncial, see Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 48–57.

44. Michael Carroll, "Artist's Statement," on his website: <http://www.mccelticdesign.com/statement.htm>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
45. The sources on the medieval manuscripts include Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1994) and Janet Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981).
46. *The Book of Kells*, TCD MS 1, fol. 188r.
47. Michael Carroll, "Peace Be to This House," on his website: <http://www.mccelticdesign.com/Peace.htm>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
48. Michael Carroll, "Peace Be to This House," on his website: <http://www.mccelticdesign.com/Peace.htm>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
49. Michael Carroll, "Interviews," on his website: <http://www.mccelticdesign.com/interview.htm>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
50. "The Luck of the Irish," *American Miniaturist* 47 (2007): 31[28–35]. The article can be viewed as a PDF on Centracchio's website: <http://www.kathysminis.com/articles/am0307-06.html>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
51. Centracchio started the Irish Cottage in January 2006 and completed it in August of that same year. Kathy Centracchio, interview with the author, 21 July 2009. See also "The Luck of the Irish," p. 33.
52. "The Luck of the Irish," p. 28.
53. Kathy Centracchio, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
54. Kathy Centracchio, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
55. The project is rendered on a scale of about one inch to one foot.
56. Centracchio is of Polish descent—Italian in name only—and her inspiration to create the Irish Cottage came from her friend and boss, Mary Coffey, who is ethnically Irish. Both Coffey and Centracchio volunteer for an annual three-day event called Indy Irishfest, but it was ultimately Coffey who suggested that Centracchio make the Irish Cottage explicitly for the purpose of auctioning it off to benefit a charity called the Irish Children's Fund. The Irish Children's Fund—now defunct—ran a program for Irish youths between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. The teens, Protestants and Catholics, were flown over to Indianapolis from Belfast for a six-week intensive program in which they would be placed together in a guest home. The idea was to build peace in Northern Ireland through concrete instances of human interaction and developing tolerance. The program was suspended in 2008 because the peace process in Northern Ireland was perceived as having success.
57. "The Luck of the Irish," p. 34.
58. Kathy Centracchio, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
59. "The Luck of the Irish," p. 32. In her interview with me, she said, "Anything that was green or Irish went into that house." Kathy Centracchio, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
60. Mary Coffey, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.

## 5 Proclaiming Independence, Expressing Solidarity

1. Gerard Kelly, interview with the author, 29 April 2011.
2. Gerard Kelly as quoted by Bill Rolston, *Drawing Support: Murals in the North of Ireland* (Belfast: Beyond The Pale Publications, 1992), p. vi.
3. Jim Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, ed. Pat Vincent (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978). Now, Fitzpatrick is better known as the designer of the world-famous graphic image of Che Guevara. For an image of that design, see Fitzpatrick's website: <http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/update/che.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
4. Gerard Kelly as quoted in Rolston, *Drawing Support*, p. vi.
5. As with many Old and Middle Irish words, spellings of *Leabhar Gabhála* vary. I've chosen to use one consistent version, and to denote differences with [*sic*], as in a quotation from Jim Fitzpatrick's text. The most commonly cited translation of the text is R. A. S. Macalister, ed. and trans., *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: Book of the Taking of Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1941). For the best scholarly analyses of the original text, see R. M. Scowcroft, "Leabhar Gabhála, Part I: The Growth of the Text," *Ériu* 38 (1987): 81–142 and "Leabhar Gabhála, Part II: The Growth of the Tradition," *Ériu* 39 (1988): 1–66. See also John Carey, "Native Elements in Irish Pseudohistory," in *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. Edel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 45–61.
6. *Book of Leinster*, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1339, H 2.18. R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, and Anne O'Sullivan, eds., *The Book of Leinster, Formerly Leabar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1954–1983).
7. The main sources for his work include Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*; J. Fraser, ed. and trans., "The First Battle of Moytura," *Ériu* 8 (1915–17): 1–63; Kuno Meyer, ed. and trans., *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living: An Old Irish Saga Now First Edited with Translation, Notes, and Glossary by Kuno Meyer* (London: David Nutt, 1895). Citations for the remaining twenty-two source texts appear in Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p. 110.
8. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p. 1.
9. In addition to scholarly translations of medieval sources, Fitzpatrick turns to Celtic revival and popular writers, whose work generally offers a more dramatic flare. For example, he cites Lady Gregory, *Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha De Danaan and the Fianna of Ireland* (London: J. Murray, 1904).
10. *The Book of Conquests* is the first in a trilogy of works, telling the story of the mythical Tuatha Dé Danann. The second book, *The Silver Arm*, appeared in 1981, and the third, *The Son of the Sun*, is still in progress.
11. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p. 3.
12. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p. 2.
13. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p. 2.

14. Fitzpatrick, "Update," on his website: <http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/update/index.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
15. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, pp. 2–3.
16. For images of Fitzpatrick's many album covers for Thin Lizzy, see his website: <http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/gallery/lizzy.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011. The most "Celtic" Thin Lizzy piece was the cover for Johnny the Fox, 1976. See [http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/gallery/johnny\\_the\\_fox\\_76.html](http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/gallery/johnny_the_fox_76.html), last accessed 27 June 2011.
17. Jim Fitzpatrick, interview with the author, 6 May 2011.
18. Jim Fitzpatrick, "Conquests," in the *Gallery* section of his website: <http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/gallery/conquests.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
19. Fraser, "The First Battle of Moytura." Other editions of and commentaries on the text include Whitley Stokes, ed. and trans., "Cath Maige Tuireadh," *Revue Celtique* 12 (1891): 53–71; Brian O'Cuiv, *Cath Muighe Tuiread* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1945).
20. In reality, most ancient helmets, whether Viking or Celtic, did not have horns. James Graham-Campbell and Dafydd Kidd, *The Vikings*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: British Museum, 1980). Dennis W. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
21. Harding, *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, p. 16.
22. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Book 58.
23. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, pp. 12–13.
24. "Sword [Celtic] (1999.94a-d)," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–): <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1999.94a-d> (October 2006).
25. Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1990).
26. Fitzpatrick acknowledges Deirdre FitzPatrick's help in designing the borders, which he says were "prepared in collaboration" with her. Fitzpatrick, *The Book of Conquests*, p.110.
27. Jim Fitzpatrick, interview with the author, 6 May 2011. On Celtic-revival stained glass, see Jeanne Sheehy and George Mott, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), pp. 145–69 and Nicola Gordon Bowe, "Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context: An Túr Gloine and the Dun Emer Guild and Industries," *Journal of Design History* 2.3 (1989).
28. Fitzpatrick, "Introduction," on his website: <http://www.jimfitzpatrick.ie/intro.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
29. Rolston, *Drawing Support*. Bill Rolston, *Drawing Support 2: Murals of War and Peace* (Belfast: Beyond The Pale Publications, 1998). Bill Rolston, *Drawing Support 3: Murals and Transitions in the North of Ireland* (Belfast: Beyond The Pale Publications, 2003). Bill Rolston, *Politics and Painting: Murals and Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1991).

30. Rolston, *Drawing Support*, p. i.
31. Rolston, *Drawing Support*, p. iv.
32. Rolston, *Drawing Support*, p. v.
33. Jim Fitzpatrick, interview with the author, 6 May 2011.
34. "Eight IRA Men Shot Dead," *The Irish Times*, 9 May 1987.
35. Máire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ireland: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999).
36. On burials at Clonmacnoise, for instance, see Heather A. King, ed., *Clonmacnoise Studies* (Dublin: Dúchas, the Heritage Service, 1998).
37. Some formative works on the history of tattoo include: V. Vale and A. Juno, eds., *Modern Primitives: An Investigation of Contemporary Adornment & Ritual* (San Francisco: Re/Search Publications, 1989); Michelle Delio, *Tattoo: The Exotic Art of Skin Decoration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Jane Caplan, ed., *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Margo DeMello, *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Michael Atkinson, *Tattooed: The Sociogenesis of a Body Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Chris Wróblewski, *Skin Shows: The Tattoo Bible* (Zürich: Edition Skylight, 2004); and Clinton Sanders and D. Angus Vail, eds. *Customizing the Body: The Art and Culture of Tattooing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).
38. On the history of insular tattooing, see Charles W. MacQuarrie, "Insular Celtic Tattooing: History, Myth and Metaphor," in *Written on the Body*, ed. Caplan, pp. 32–45. On ancient tattoos in other European contexts, see C. P. Jones, "Stigma and Tattoo," and Mark Gustafson, "The Tattoo in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond," in *Written on the Body*, ed. Caplan, pp. 1–16, and 17–31.
39. H. J. Edwards, ed. and trans., *The Gallic War* (New York: Putnam, 1930), Book V:14.
40. W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 20 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. sec. xix, 23, 7 and sec. ix, 2, 103.
41. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, part 1, pp. 164–65.
42. Images of Ryan's tattoos are reproduced in Maggie M. Williams, "Celtic Tattoos: Ancient, Medieval, Postmodern," *Studies in Medievalism* 20 (2011): 172–89.
43. On Sutton Hoo, see *Sutton Hoo: A Seventh-Century Princely Burial Ground and Its Context*, Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 69 (London: British Museum Press, 2005).
44. The term "flash" refers to easily reproduced, standardized tattoo designs, which are commonly displayed on studio walls for customers to choose from. A simple shamrock design would be an example of flash.
45. Thomas Kinsella, ed. and trans., *The Táin: Translated from the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cualinge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. ix.
46. Kinsella, *The Táin*, p. 77.

47. For more on Fish's work, see Williams, "Celtic Tattoos." For a discussion of the 1980s tattoo world, when Fish came of artistic age, see Arnold Rubin, "The Tattoo Renaissance," in *Marks of Civilization*, ed. Arnold Rubin (Los Angeles, CA: Museum of Cultural History), pp. 233–62.
48. Pat Fish, "About Pat Fish," on her website: <http://www.luckyfish.com/pages/aboutpf.htm>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
49. Pat Fish, "Women of Wonder," in *Articles by Pat Fish* on her website: <http://www.luckyfish.com/pages/articles/wow.htm>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
50. Pat Fish, "Meet Pat Fish," on her website: <http://www.luckyfishart.com/meetpatfish.html>, last accessed 27 June 2011. When I interviewed Fish in 2009, she explained that she generally does impressions or rubbings of the medieval sculptures, and then redraws most of the designs. Her process is mainly low tech, using folded paper, which she referred to as "origami," but she also mentioned that she is happy to have digital software nowadays. To a large extent, her assistant, Colin Fraser, drives the technological end of her business.
51. *The Book of Kells*, Dublin, Ireland, Trinity College Dublin MS 1 Folio 27v.
52. Pat Fish, "Celtic Tattoo Art," on her website: <http://www.luckyfish.com/pages/celtat/celtic.htm>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
53. Pat Fish, "Celtic Cross Tattoos," on her website: <http://www.luckyfish.com/pages/port/crosses.htm>, last accessed 27 June 2011.
54. Chris Scala, interview with the author, 8 December 2009.
55. Scala's disdain for the yin/yang is only in terms of the symbols' overuse as a tattoo design. He acknowledges that the design has "serious meaning" in other parts of the world. Chris Scala, interview with the author, 8 December 2009.
56. Chris Scala, interview with the author, 8 December 2009.
57. Chris Scala, interview with the author, 8 December 2009.

### **Afterword: Specters and Apparitions**

1. *Irish High Crosses Exhibition*, National Museum of Ireland, Collins Barracks, Dublin, Ireland, and *Mid-Century: "Good Design" in Europe and America, 1850–1950*, curated by Richard A. Born, David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, IL.
2. *Irish High Crosses Exhibition*, Exhibition Catalogue (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 2011), pp. 15, 31, and 39. "Education through Replicas," on the *Irish High Crosses Exhibition* website: <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/info/education-through-replicas.aspx>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
3. *Irish High Crosses Exhibition*, "North Cross, Ahenny, Co. Tipperary (SA1909:5)," p. 31, "South Cross Ahenny, Co. Tipperary (SA1909:6),"

- p. 35, "Tall Cross, Monasterboice, Co. Louth (SA1909:1)," p. 39, "Muiredach's Cross, Co. Louth (SA1909:2)," p. 43, "Drumcliffe, Co. Sligo (SA1909:9)," p. 47, "Dysert O'Dea, Co. Clare (SA1909:10)," p. 49, and *Irish High Crosses Exhibition* website: <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/irish-high-crosses.aspx>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
4. See "Steps in Making a Mould of a High Cross," and "Steps in Making a Cast of a High Cross," *Irish High Crosses Exhibition*, p. 19, and "The Conservation Project," on the *Irish High Crosses Exhibition* website: <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/info/the-conservation-project.aspx>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
  5. In a tragic turn of events, the casts were each fitted with structural supports to withstand an earthquake so that they could be sent to Japan for the international exhibition. The objects were spared such a fate, while thousands of people were killed in the subsequent earthquake and tsunami of 2011.
  6. "Ireland" on the Aichi Expo website: <http://www.expo2005.or.jp/en/nations/4d.html>, last accessed 29 June 2011.
  7. "Mid-Century," in *Archived Exhibitions* on the Smart Museum's website: <http://smartmuseum.uchicago.edu/exhibitions/good-design/>, last accessed 28 June 2011.
  8. Douglas Mac Lean, "The Origins and Early Development of the Celtic Cross," *Markers: Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 7 (1990): 233–75.
  9. O'Connell was a master organizer, who galvanized thousands to put pressure on the British government to reform anti-Catholic laws and repeal the Act of Union. Although an independent Irish nation was still in the distant future, O'Connell helped to lay the groundwork for the 1916 revolution. See Máire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ireland: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999).
  10. As quoted in William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868), p. 437.
  11. As quoted in Stokes, *The Life and Labours*, pp. 433–34.

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