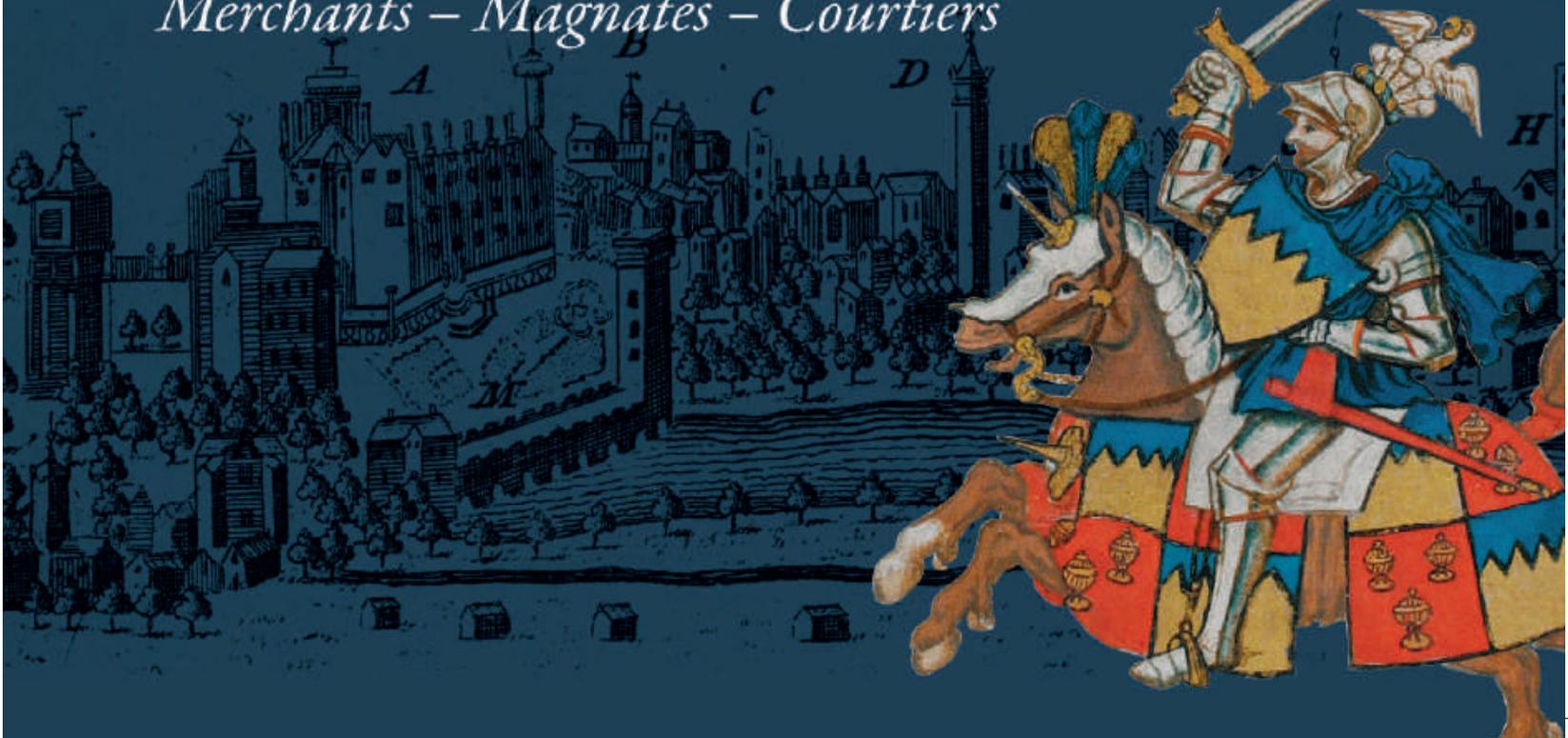


KILKENNY NETWORKS

Merchants – Magnates – Courtiers



WITH SPECIAL THANKS TO:

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INTRODUCTION



This exhibition draws attention to some of the high-status figures that formed a network of connections which were in place during the early modern period (c.1450–1614), between the earls of Ormond and their counterparts at the English court. It explores the impact of such cultural proximity and aims to broaden our knowledge of the early Ormond earls, their importance on the international stage, their powerful connections and their patronage of the arts in European, English and Irish contexts. Also included are some facts about the lifestyles of Kilkenny merchants who established links to the Ormonds and furthered the development of the town by plying their trade overseas.

The early earls of Ormond were important politically, often serving as Justiciars or Lords Deputy. From 1515 and throughout the 16th century, particularly following the death of the earl of Desmond and the downfall of

the FitzGeralds of Kildare, they were the most powerful nobles in Ireland. However, although the exhibition makes reference to some of the era's political and social changes, its main objective is to draw attention to the Ormond/Butlers' patronage of the arts rather than their political power. To do so, the exhibition focuses on aspects which influenced this patronage: the lives of the earls of Ormond, their position in society, their courtly contacts, and their travels. It also looks at some of the major historical figures who formed part of the Ormonds' extensive network during the period.

Of vital importance too, through playing a part in the financial and legal affairs of the earls of Ormond, were the Kilkenny merchants, who often had a role as merchant bankers. Forming a civic oligarchy, they had a pivotal position in the development and enrichment of the town through engagement in trade with major British and European ports.



ROOM 1

The exhibits on display in this room are concerned with the lifestyle of the merchants of Kilkenny and show examples of their houses, dress, memorials etc... as well as images of the 16th-century MacRichard earls of Ormond.

KILKENNY
MERCHANTS

Leading families in Kilkenny in the 16th century were: Archdekin, Archer, Cowley, Langton, Lee, Knaresborough, Lawless, Ragget, Rothe and Shee, as well as Hacketts, Savages, Sherlocks, Walshes and Murphys.

KILKENNY MERCHANTS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Kilkenny City

At the beginning of the century Kilkenny was a medieval walled town, dominated by St Canice's Cathedral to the north and the castle to the south, with most of its wealth derived from a rich agricultural hinterland. Throughout the century, Kilkenny grew and prospered, its gradual transformation due partly to its increasingly wealthy merchants and their overseas trading links, and partly to the links established with the English royal court by the 9th – and particularly the 10th – Earls of Ormond. These court connections were doubly beneficial in that they allowed Kilkenny lawyers and merchants to ply their trade in London. In 1609 Kilkenny was elevated to city status by Royal Charter granted by James I of England.

Kilkenny's merchants played a pivotal role in the town's development by engaging in trade through major ports such as Bristol, Bordeaux and Antwerp, amongst others. Of equal importance were their links to the

Ormonds – often providing loans to the earls, but also appearing as signatories to legal documents (land transfers and such like) and as witnesses to the several wills made by Thomas, the 10th Earl. Such documents reveal the close intertwining of business interests between the earls and the merchant families in Kilkenny and associated towns in the area.

Few artefacts belonging to the merchant families have survived; what does is mainly carved in stone. The exhibition includes images of armorial shields, still visible on some merchant house façades, and memorial slabs from their tombs in St Mary's churchyard. However, additional information is to be found in their various wills where items such as wainscot, tapestries, silver ewers, and rich apparel were listed.



Opposite page:

St Mary's Church (the 'Merchants' Church')

Photography: Victoria Comerford

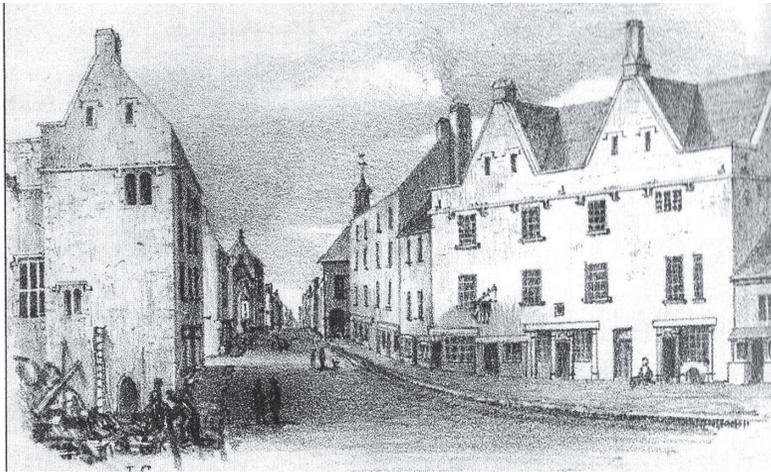
Now housing the Medieval Mile Museum, this was the parish church, founded c.1202, of the medieval Hightown of Kilkenny. It was used for meetings of the council. Throughout the Middle Ages each 'hall' (presumably 'guild') paid 4d, and owners of shops and stalls in the town paid ½d, annually for its maintenance. Several members of wealthy merchant families have tombs in the churchyard and some of the rich trove of early stone sculptures is on display.

An Alderman and Liveryman

© The British Library Board, MS Add 28830 f. 30r

These figures are examples of the type of civic robes that would have been worn by an 'Alderman' (Town Councillor), on the right, holding his gloves and a 'Liveryman' wearing the robes of a Merchant Guildsman. Drawn by the artist Lucas de Heere (1534–84), a Flemish artist working in England between 1568 and 1577.





A description of merchant houses in Kilkenny, published by William Brereton in 1635:

The houses are of grey marble fayrely builte, the fronts of theyr houses are supported with pillars or arches under which there is an open pavement to walke on.

Shee House

From a drawing by Rev. James Graves, c.1845

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

This was built for Henry Shee and Frances Crisp in 1580; the family owned a number of houses in the town. The openings on the ground floor suggest this had an arcaded frontage similar to other merchant dwellings in Kilkenny.

The Armorial Plaques

Photography: Victoria Comerford



16TH- CENTURY EARLS OF ORMOND

This century witnessed three earls of Ormond descended from the MacRichard branch of the Butler family take centre stage as the most influential, successful and wealthy members of that family in Ireland. Piers, Earl of Ossory and 8th Earl of Ormond, had usurped the Irish titles and lands of the previous earl. These MacRichard earls also established close links with members of Kilkenny's widespread mercantile community at home and overseas. Artworks commissioned by these earls would define their lordship in a way that both manifested and enhanced their claims to the Ormond legacy in Ireland.



Piers MacRichard Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond and 1st Earl of Ossory (1467–1539)
St Canice's Cathedral,
Kilkenny
Photography: Victoria Comerford



James, 9th Earl of Ormond and 2nd Earl of Ossory (c.1496–1546)
by Hans Holbein the younger
(c.1497–1543)
Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019



Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond and 3rd Earl of Ossory (1531–1614)
attributed to the Flemish artist Steven van der Meulen
(fl.1543–63)
Photo © National Gallery of Ireland

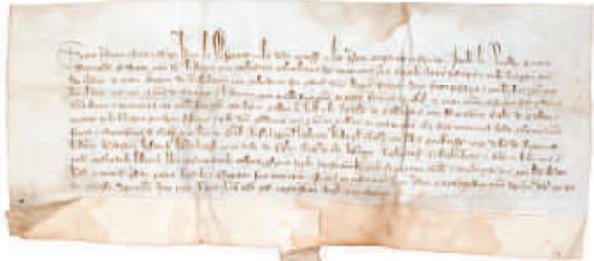


ROOM 2

The exhibits on display in this room mainly illustrate documents and artworks linked to events and to the 15th-century earls of Ormond who were great landowners (magnates) during that period.

3rd – 7th Earls of Ormond: these earls were in direct descent through nine generations from Theobald Butler, 1st Chief Butler of Ireland (1150–1206), to Thomas Butler, 7th Earl (c.1424–1515).

THE 15TH-CENTURY EARLS



James, 3rd Earl of Ormond (c.1360–1405), was a leading magnate in Ireland and held large tracts of land including areas of the Barrow–Nore–Suir river basins. When Richard II of England visited Ireland in 1394 and 1399, Ormond was to the fore in his retinue. According to the historian Edmund Curtis, the earl had ‘great influence with the Gaelic chiefs [and] spoke their language’. As a mark of royal favour, the king stood as godfather to Ormond’s second son, Richard, who would become the ancestor of the MacRichard branch of the Butler family. The 3rd Earl was appointed Justiciar of Ireland and Lord Deputy. He married Anne Welles (1360–97) and together they welcomed King Richard to Kilkenny Castle.

Ormond Deeds, 1391/2

National Library of Ireland, Ormond Deeds No. 297: 1, 2

These are facsimiles of legal documents, written in Latin, transferring ownership of Kilkenny Castle from Hugh le Despenser to James Butler, 3rd Earl of Ormond. Both families claimed descent, through marriage, from William Marshal (1147–1219) who built an early stone castle at Kilkenny and held vast estates. However, due to the untimely deaths of all five of Marshal’s sons, these, and the inheritance of his wife, the heiress Isabel de Clare (1172–1220), daughter of Strongbow and Aoife, passed to their five daughters.

KING RICHARD II LEADS A MILITARY EXPEDITION TO IRELAND AND VISITS KILKENNY CASTLE



King Richard II of England led two military expeditions to Ireland, one in 1394/5, the other in 1399. These events were recorded in two illustrated French manuscript accounts.

La Prinse et mort du roy Richart (Book of the Capture and Death of King Richard II)

In April 1399, Charles VI of France (reigned 1380–1422) sent Jean Creton, the historian and poet (fl.1386–1420), to accompany Richard to Ireland. This manuscript dates from 1401–5 and was commissioned by Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1401–2. It was illustrated by the Virgil Master (active in Paris 1386–1420).

Chroniques d'Angleterre, author Jean Froissart (c.1337–1405)

This version includes the illustration far right, which purports to show Richard II leaving London bound for Ireland. However, it bears no relationship to any known images of the king, which is hardly surprising as the *Chronicles* were compiled and illustrated in Bruges, Belgium, c.1470–2 – almost eighty years after the event.



*Opposite page:
McMorrogh the Irish Chieftain
(Art McMorrough Kavanagh,
King of Leinster, d.1417)
coming to confer with the Duke
of Gloucester*

© The British Library Board,
MS Harley 1319 f. 9r

*Relief ships arriving in Ireland
to bring supplies to the armies of
Richard II*

© The British Library Board,
MS Harley 1319 f. 7v

*Richard II setting out on an
expedition to Ireland*

© The British Library Board,
MS Harley 4380 f. r66v





James, 4th Earl of Ormond (1390–1452), also called the White Earl, succeeded his father to the title and Ormond lands in 1411. He was an important patron of the arts and has been described as ‘one of the most internationally minded of the great comital lords of fifteenth-century Ireland’. Throughout his life he maintained strong connections with England and its court. His marriage to Joan Beauchamp (d.1430) extended his English interests and their three sons were brought up in England, which had repercussions on the Ormond succession. Ormond’s second wife was Elizabeth FitzGerald, the only legitimate child of the 5th Earl of Kildare. James was widely travelled and, during the Hundred Years War, served on a number of military campaigns in France. In Ireland he led English troops, men-at-arms and archers, on various campaigns against the Gaelic Irish. Despite this, he is known to have spoken Gaelic and patronised Irish brehons and bards.

The Book of The White Earl and The Book of Pottlerath
c.1410 and 1454

© Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Laud Misc. 610,
f. 59r

These two manuscripts bound together were made for James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond (the White Earl) and his nephew, Edmund MacRichard Butler (d.1464). Folios from *The Book of the White Earl* were inserted into the later, mid-15th century, *Book of Pottlerath*.

Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormond (c.1424–1515), was the youngest son of James, 4th Earl of Ormond, and inherited the titles and lands following the premature deaths of his two brothers. The elder, James, 5th Earl of Ormond and Earl of Wiltshire, was executed after the Battle of Towton where he was on the Yorkist side, and John, the 6th Earl, died while on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When he succeeded, the 7th Earl had extensive landholdings in Ireland but would live most of his life in England where, after two advantageous marriages to English heiresses, he had become a major landowner. His first wife was Anne Hankford (1431–85) followed by Lore (or Lora) Berkeley (d. c.1501). Ormond himself died without a male heir, which provoked a crisis of inheritance within the greater Butler family. Meanwhile, his elder daughter, Anne, married James St Leger, while the younger, Margaret, married William Boleyn, grandfather of Anne, second wife of Henry VIII. As the 7th Earl's

grandson, Thomas Boleyn claimed the Ormond earldom and held it for ten years (1528–38). However, scions of the MacRichard Butlers laid claim to the Irish lands, gained the earldom of Ossory, outlasted the Boleyn threat, and recovered the earldom of Ormond in 1538.

The 7th Earl was well travelled; he was Ambassador to Brittany and Burgundy in 1491 and 1497, and visited other parts of France in the retinue of Henry VII in 1500. During his diplomatic postings, Ormond would have had experience of the sophisticated Burgundian court with its growing interest in expensive illuminated books, such as the outstanding example of this art, the *Très Riches Heures du Duc du Berry*. These books were highly prized and often presented as diplomatic gifts. The earl owned two important illuminated books of hours; they are fine examples of European-influenced artworks and indicate the elite nature of his patronage.

Obitus Jacobi Comitis wylts qui obijt
 In die sancti marci
Obitus Edwardi principis qui obijt. vij.
 die May
Obitus katherine que obijt. xij. die May.
Obitus Regis henrici sexti qui obijt ita
 vicissim p̄m̄ die May. .x. vij. die May.
Obitus Anice Comitis wylts q̄ obijt
 tertio die Julij.
Obitus margarete Regine que obijt ter-
 tio die Augusti.
Obitus Johanne Comite Ormond
 que obijt In die sancti Othaldi.
Obitus Jacobi Comitis Ormond q̄ obi-
 it vicissim s̄c̄ die Augusti. die marie.
Obitus Elizabeth Comite Salop que
 obijt undecimo die Septembris.
Obitus Johanne Comite Ormond
 qui obijt xvij. die Octobris. S̄a kather.
Obitus Lore Comite Ormond que



At court in London, he was appointed Chamberlain to Queen Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife, daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain and aunt to Charles V the Holy Roman Emperor.

Opposite page:

Detail from the Parliament Roll of 1512 showing Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormond (c.1424–1515) (second left)

© The British Library Board, MS 22306

THE PARLIAMENT houlden att Westminster the fourth of February the third yere of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge Henry the eighth' [1512]

Book of Hours, c.1501–10

© The British Library Board, Royal 2 B XV, ff. 2, 15v

This book was made for Thomas, 7th Earl of Ormond. It is English in origin and written in Latin on parchment. The obituary page, (*opposite page, left*) commences with James, 5th Earl of Ormond and Earl of Wiltshire. The obituaries are arranged in chronological order and record the death dates of members of the Ormond family and others, including Henry VI of England. The second page (*right*) has illustrated episodes from the life of the Virgin Mary in eight compartments with the Butler arms (chief indented) in blue and gold on a shield situated in the lower centre. It combines French and English styles of manuscript illustration dating to c.1500.





***Katherine of Aragon, Queen of England (1485–1536),
first wife of King Henry VIII***

By permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Church Commissioners; on loan to the National Portrait Gallery, London

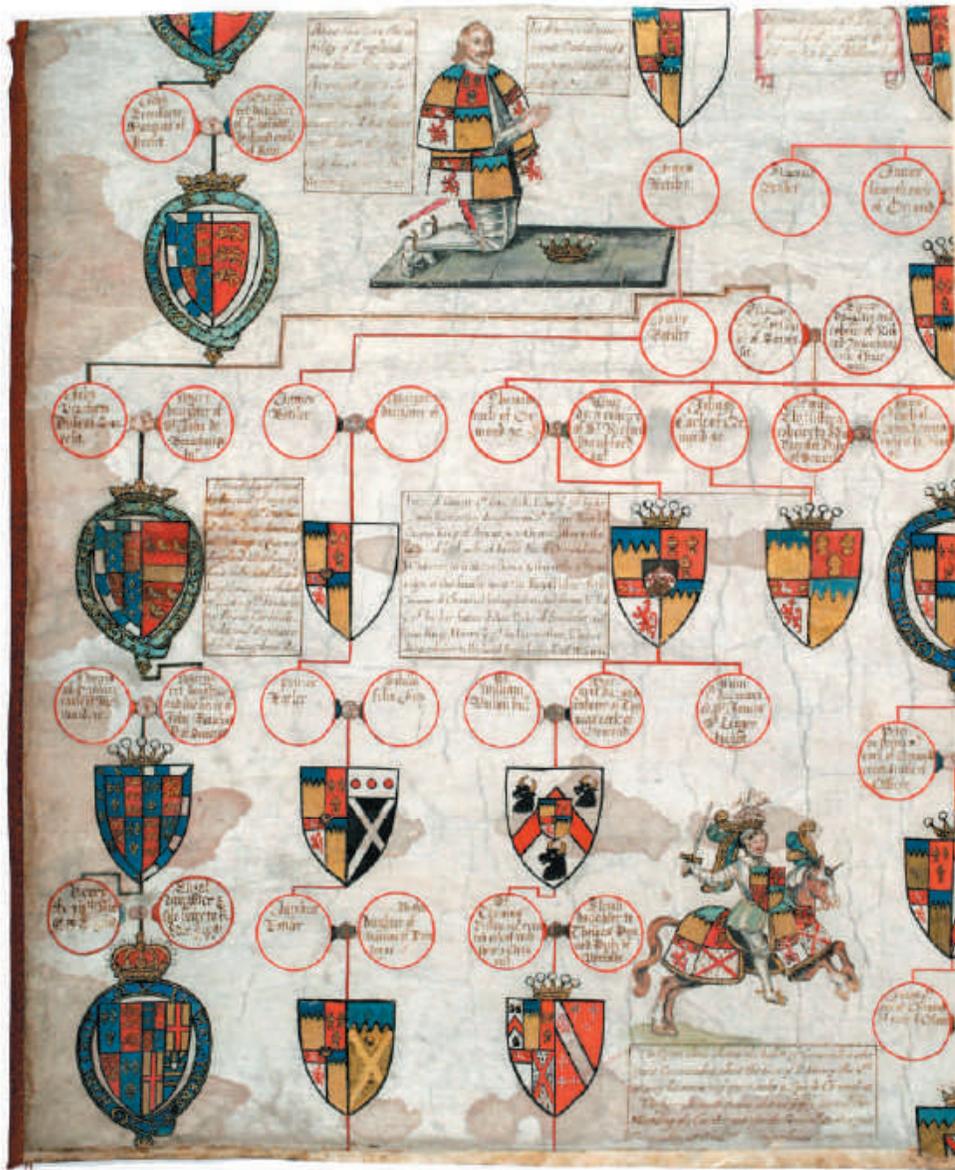
Thomas, 7th Earl of Ormond, was appointed Chamberlain (overseer of the household) to both Elizabeth (Henry VII's wife) and Queen Katherine.

Opposite page:

The Butler Genealogy

Kilkenny Castle Collection

The original document is an illustrated and decorative genealogy compiled by William Roberts, Ulster King of Arms of All Ireland (d.1660). It was commissioned for James Butler, 1st Marquis, later 1st Duke, of Ormond (1610–88), and dates from c.1647–55. It purports to be a genealogy of the Butler/Ormond family dating back to William the Conqueror. It emphasises the Norman descent and Englishness of the Butlers. The compiler included colourful illustrations of various Butler family members and important figures from history. It is another example of antiquarianism at a later time when it was considered necessary to stress the antiquity of family lineage.





ROOM 3

The exhibits on display in this room present images of some of the principal characters that formed the network of connections made by the earls of Ormond in London at the courts of Kings Henry VII, VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth I of England.

When the 7th Earl of Ormond died without male heirs (1515), the break in the line of direct descent allowed Piers Butler to usurp the title and become the 8th Earl. He was succeeded by his son James as 9th Earl, and his grandson Thomas as 10th Earl. They were descended from Sir Richard Butler of Polestown, brother of the 4th Earl, and were known as the MacRichard branch of the Butler family.

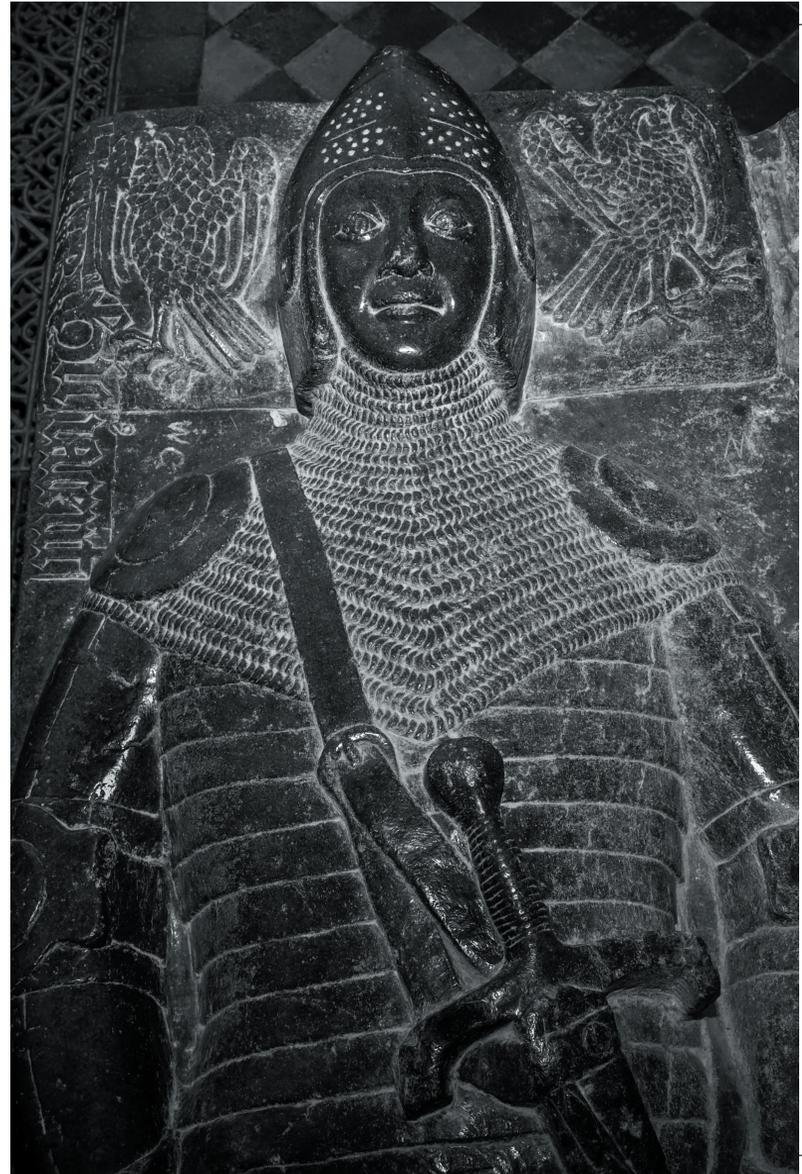
8TH-10TH EARLS OF ORMOND

Following Piers MacRichard Butler's successful takeover of the Irish estates, the basis for Ormond power moved back to Ireland; with it came the need for the earl to invoke some form of continuity and ancestral right. Against a background of political machinations in Ireland and at the English court, the family endeavoured to enhance their status and consolidate their claims to the title and estates. To establish links with an earlier period, Piers and his wife, Margaret FitzGerald, daughter of the earl of Kildare, set about reclaiming the Ormond's architectural legacy by rebuilding, repairing and embellishing many of the older Butler castles, such as Gowran and Granagh, and important religious complexes, such as Holy Cross Abbey. When it came to commissioning artefacts to help validate their claim, the MacRichard branch would later reference James, 4th Earl of Ormond, and his epoch – an interesting twist as that earl had himself commissioned architecture and illuminated manuscripts which appropriated motifs from the past.

Piers MacRichard Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond and 1st Earl of Ossory (1467–1539)

St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny

Photography: Victoria Comerford





James, 9th Earl of Ormond and 2nd Earl of Ossory (c.1496–1546), and his son Thomas, 10th Earl, both spent periods of their early life at court in London. James spent several years there when he would have resided at Cardinal Wolsey's palaces at Hampton Court and York Place (later Whitehall Palace), before being recruited into the royal household. As a teenager, James had gone to France with the army to participate in the king's invasion of that country. Following his time spent with Wolsey, James was in King Henry VIII's service for six years as an 'esquire-at-arms'. Latterly, he attained a position as one of the king's most trusted and experienced military commanders; he fought in several campaigns. In Ireland he had a successful career as a warlord and commanded a large private army. While at court in the 1520s James was proposed as a candidate for the hand of his cousin Anne Boleyn, later the ill-fated second wife of King Henry.

James, 9th Earl of Ormond and 2nd Earl of Ossory (c.1496–1546)

Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019

This impressive and highly finished drawing dates from c.1532–37 and was executed in chalk, watercolour and ink. The resulting image is a masterful example of Holbein's art. It is a striking portrait, Lord James's head is particularly detailed and set off by the jauntily angled cap. The costume details are broadly sketched but reminiscent of the magnificent slashed doublets worn by the king himself and indicate the high status of the sitter.

Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond and 3rd Earl of Ossory (1531–1614), as the eldest son of the 9th Earl he was sent to the court in London in 1543 at the age of 12, where he was raised among a circle of young noblemen surrounding the future king, Edward, Prince of Wales. Thomas would have been familiar with the newly built and architecturally innovative Somerset House on the Strand in London, built 1547–50 for the Lord Protector and uncle of the king, Edward Seymour. Like his father, Thomas also visited France. He did not return to Ireland until 1554. On his return Thomas led several military campaigns against Gaelic Irish lords.

He rebuilt and renovated his castle at Carrick on Suir and also Kilkenny Castle. Ormond had close connections with his cousin Queen Elizabeth I and was a favourite at her court. He is known to have presented the queen with many gifts of precious jewels and to have received gifts in return.

Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond and 3rd Earl of Ossory, KG (c.1531–1614)

Photo © National Gallery of Ireland

This portrait dates from c.1560–70 and was painted while the earl was at court in London. He wears a suit of the highest-quality field armour of Italian/Flemish design. Armour denoted the sitter's militaristic status and strength and conveyed that he held his power by force of arms. His firearm has been identified as a Saxon wheel-lock pistol, known as a 'puffer', dating to c.1560–70.





Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormond, and Earl of Wiltshire, KG (1476/7–1539)

© National Portrait Gallery, London

This 19th-century engraving shows an image of Boleyn from the ornamental brass on his tomb in St Peter's Church, Hever in Kent, England. Ormond armorial features include the falcon and griffon (gryphon). Boleyn was Queen Anne's father and his claim to the Ormond title was through his mother, Margaret, the daughter and co-heir of Thomas, 7th Earl of Ormond.

Opposite page:

Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey (c.1473–1530)

© National Portrait Gallery, London

No contemporary portrait of Cardinal Wolsey survives; this is based on an original portrait (c.1520) but dates from c.1589–95. The artist is unknown.

Described as 'of vast ability and indefatigable', Wolsey rose to become Lord Chancellor of England and served Henry VIII for many years. Following the death of the 7th Earl of Ormond and the inheritance crisis that followed, in order to curb the power of the Boleyns and to reunite the Ormond title with the properties in Ireland, Wolsey was involved in a plan to marry James, the 9th Earl, to Anne Boleyn.



Queen Anne [Boleyn] (1501–36)

© National Portrait Gallery, London

This is a copy of a portrait from c.1533–36 by an unknown artist. No contemporary portraits of Anne survive as many were deliberately destroyed following her execution. Her grandmother was Margaret Butler, daughter of Thomas, 7th Earl of Ormond. Anne was the mother of Elizabeth I of England.





Queen Elizabeth I (reigned 1558–1603)

‘The Hampden Portrait’, Anglo-Flemish School, c.1563.

Photo © Philip Mould Ltd, London/Bridgeman Images

This outstanding portrait, painted in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, is regarded as the earliest individual full-length image of the monarch. It is laden with symbols and presents the youthful queen regally posed against a background which contains the royal coat of arms and the throne. Richly complex in its iconography, the portrait also contains allusions to her state as a marriageable woman capable of producing heirs, these are present in the background tapestry, which has ripe fruits such as pomegranates with seeds bursting forth. The rich crimson of the dress and the lavish jewellery add to the overall impact.

PLASTER CASTS



Elizabeth I, Queen of England
Edward VI, King of England

Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir

Rendered in plaster, these portraits of the two English monarchs, son and daughter of Henry VIII, have been cast from a portion of the decorative plasterwork frieze in the long gallery at Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir. The frieze was commissioned by Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond, who was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth I, and carried out by an unknown craftsman c.1565.

The portraits are set within ornamental roundels surrounded by Renaissance-style decorative motifs. This style was possibly influenced by a series of painted and gilded terracotta roundels, commissioned by Cardinal Wolsey from the Florentine sculptor Giovanni da Maiano, which can still be seen on the façade of Hampton Court.



Opposite page:

Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir, Co. Tipperary

By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

Ormond Castle, here painted by Gabriel Beranger (c.1729–1817), was the 10th Earl of Ormond's favourite residence in his later life. This image shows that, unlike today, the lower courtyard was previously packed with buildings.

Detail of decorative plasterwork, Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir

© Photographic Archive, National Monuments Service, Government of Ireland

The state rooms in Ormond Castle have some of the earliest plasterwork in Ireland. Some sections of the decorative frieze incorporate the quotation *Plus pense que é dére*, which is Old French for 'To think more than is said' and comes from *Le Tourment Caché* by Charles d'Orléans.



The great stone fireplace in Ormond Castle, Carrick on Suir

© Photographic Archive, National Monuments Service,
Government of Ireland

Having successfully reclaimed the title following the Boleyn fall from power after Anne's beheading, Piers and his immediate descendants were intent on underpinning their claim. In 1565 Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond, commissioned this fireplace; the style of carving strongly suggests an Irish stonemason.

It has an impressive armorial display showing the Butler cups, the Ormond chief indent and the Desmond arms, with male griffon (gryphon) supporters in chains, and lavish mantling. Not only did this make a strong heraldic statement, but Thomas also ensured that all of his titles were included.





Situated in the long gallery at Ormond Castle, this splendid artefact bears the following inscriptions:

ANNO.DNI.1565.ANNO.REGNI.REGINE.ELIZABETH
SEPTIMO.

THOMAS.BUTLER.MILES.VICOMES.DE.TURLES.
COMES.ORMONDIE.ET.OSSORIE.DNS.LIBERTA-
TIS.SEV.REGALITAT.COMITATUS.TIPPARE.AC.DNS.
THESAURAE.REGNI.HIBNE.MEFIERI.FECIT.

(In the year of Our Lord 1565, the seventh year of the reign
of Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas Butler, Knight, Viscount Thurles, Earl of Ormond
and Ossory ... Treasurer of the Kingdom of Ireland. Had
me made.)



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