



# New light on the artistic and personal aspects of the second version of *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise* by George Petrie

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PHILIP McEVANSONEYA

GEORGE PETRIE (1790-1866) WAS A POLYMATH, ADMIRER FOR HIS ABILITIES AS AN antiquary, archaeologist, editor, linguist, musicologist and writer.<sup>1</sup> He was also a successful artist who, despite working only in the watercolour medium, served as president of the Royal Hibernian Academy (RHA) from 1857 to 1859. Amongst his best-known and most frequently reproduced paintings are the two versions of his elegiac work, *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise* (Plates 1-3). These show the tradition of the ‘pattern’, or patron’s day celebration, which took place on the feast day of St Ciaran of Clonmacnoise on 9th September each year, when pilgrims would pray to the saint whilst making a circuit of sites within the enclosure. The two watercolours have acquired an important status as images of Ireland, both as an ostensible record of the architecture and monuments of the Middle Ages and as an image suffused with a late-Romantic sense of the loss of Irish cultural heritage.

The first version is dated 1828 and was exhibited in that year at the RHA in Dublin. The dating of the second version has been debated, but it will be shown below that it was finished and exhibited *hors catalogue* at the RHA in 1846; this work has been in the National Gallery of Ireland (NGI) since 1890. As the prime version of the subject, the latter has been discussed, contextualised and interpreted many times with varying degrees of accuracy and plausibility, but the circumstances under which it was produced and first exhibited have not previously been broached.<sup>2</sup> In recording those circumstances, it is the purpose of this article to reconsider the work in the light of previously unremarked evidence and to emphasise the importance that the painting had for Petrie as a professional

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1 – George Petrie, *THE LAST CIRCUIT OF THE PILGRIMS AT CLONMACNOISE* (detail)  
here dated c.1843-46, watercolour, 67.2 x 98 cm (© and courtesy National Gallery of Ireland)



2 – George Petrie, *THE LAST CIRCUIT OF THE PILGRIMS AT CLONMACNOISE*  
1828, watercolour 18.4 x 25.5 cm (Fota House, county Cork, courtesy Tom McCarthy)

artist, which career he was obliged to resume in the mid-1840s following the termination of his employment in the Irish Ordnance Survey. This article will also set out the connections to be found between the work in question and contemporary watercolours by Petrie's friend, Frederic William Burton.

The first version (Plate 2) was one of a hundred small watercolours specially commissioned to be gathered together in an album of representative works by contemporary artists.<sup>3</sup> Many years later, Petrie returned to the subject and produced a much larger version (Plate 3). The second version was stimulated by sophisticated motives, which are conveyed through a carefully designed composition and enlivened by the tightly controlled deployment of visual effects. The enlargement of scale from 18.4 x 25.5 cm of the first version to 67.2 x 98 cm of the second permitted the inclusion of more, legible detail (Plates 4, 5). Although Petrie produced replicas of some works – for example, *Gougane Barra*<sup>4</sup> – as regards *The Last Circuit* he did not simply replicate the first version but, whilst maintaining a broadly consistent viewpoint and similar contrejour lighting, he reconsidered the overall composition and made numerous changes, some substantial, some subtle.

In considering the circumstances surrounding the production of the work, one question must be raised immediately: when exactly was it painted? Petrie's biographer William



3 – George Petrie, *THE LAST CIRCUIT OF THE PILGRIMS AT CLONMACNOISE*  
here dated c.1843-46, watercolour, 67.2 x 98 cm (© and courtesy National Gallery of Ireland)

Stokes gave a vague indication, stating only that it was done after 1839.<sup>5</sup> *The Last Circuit* has been dated c.1838 by the NGI, whereas Murray has dated it to ‘around 1843’ and ‘c.1842’, although in neither case are reasons given. Petrie was busily engaged on an unidentified but evidently important painting in the summer of 1845, which, Lord Adare wrote, ‘will be a great refreshment to Petrie’s mind’. Dunne has suggested that *The Last Circuit* is the unnamed painting Petrie referred to being at work on in a letter to Lord Adare of October 1845.<sup>6</sup> To give a more precise answer, some details of Petrie’s enduring interest in Clonmacnoise must be set out. Petrie had first visited Clonmacnoise in about 1820, and drawings he made at the time were engraved in Cromwell’s *Excursions in Ireland* (1820), the first of a series of picturesque tour publications Petrie contributed to in the 1820s.<sup>7</sup> He made several return visits to research the site and record its monuments from the historical, antiquarian and artistic points of view. At the RHA in 1843, Petrie showed two watercolours, *Temple Fineen, or MacCarthy’s Church and Round Tower, Clonmacnoise* (no. 316) and *O’Rourke’s Tower, Clonmacnoise – Twilight* (no. 317). An unidentified photograph in the Petrie file in TRIARC, Trinity College Dublin, may show the first of these two, and it closely resembles the view by Petrie of *MacCarthy’s Church and Tower* engraved in Cromwell’s *Excursions* (Plate 6). Unfortunately, neither of these watercolours can be located at present, but they may both





*George Petrie, THE LAST  
CIRCUIT OF THE PILGRIMS AT  
CLONMACNOISE*

*here dated c.1843-46, watercolour,  
67.2 x 98 cm (© and courtesy NGI)*

*4 – Detail showing the north  
doorway of the cathedral at  
Clonmacnoise*

*5 – Detail showing the figures  
in the foreground*



6 – After George Petrie,  
*MACCARTHY'S CHURCH AND  
TOWER*

engraved in T.K. Cromwell,  
*EXCURSIONS IN IRELAND...*  
(London etc., 1820)

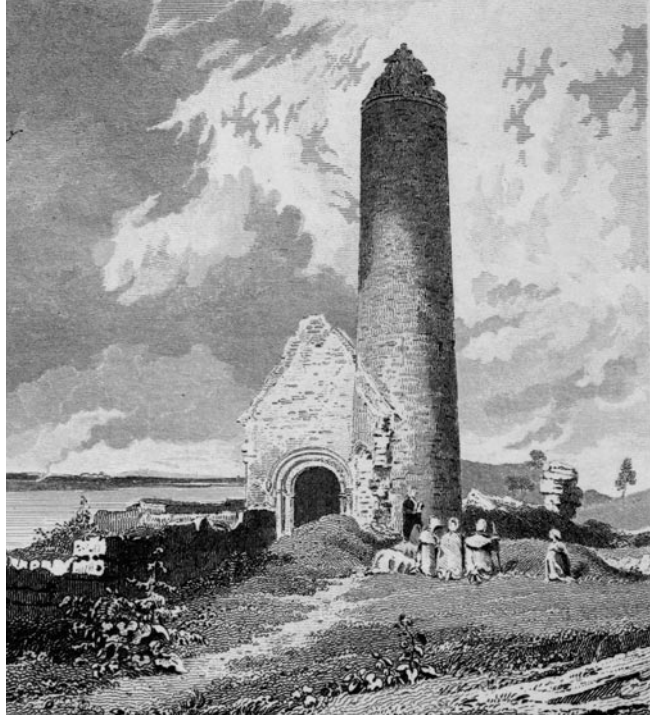
bottom left

7 – After George Petrie,  
*O'ROURKE'S TOWER*

engraved in George Petrie,  
*THE ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF  
IRELAND...* (Dublin, 1845)

8 – H.T. Ryall

after Frederic William Burton,  
*A BLIND GIRL AT A HOLY WELL –  
SCENE IN THE WEST OF IRELAND*  
1841, engraving



have been the outcome of the campaign of sketching Petrie apparently carried out at Clonmacnoise in 1842 and documented in the Robert Callwell Sketchbook (Crawford Art Gallery, Cork), which contains seven sketches of Clonmacnoise, including a view inscribed 'Rourke's Tower'.<sup>8</sup> To judge only from the title of the second work of 1843, Petrie seems to have continued his idea from 1828 of presenting an image of Clonmacnoise in an evocative evening light, although this was something of a staple in landscape painting. The latter work of 1843 may be related to one of the images of Clonmacnoise that Petrie had prepared to illustrate his book, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland: an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland* (Plate 7). This illustration was designed to evoke the allure and mystique of the site and the dedication of the pilgrims as much as to illustrate historical evidence.<sup>9</sup> These works, and the progressive refinement of his ideas during the long period he spent researching and writing *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, arguably culminated in Petrie's plan to develop a large Clonmacnoise scene, based on the schema of the first version, which he could freight with artistic, social and historical ideas. The success that his young friend and colleague Burton had had between 1840 and 1843 with a series of large watercolours of Irish genre scenes, chief amongst them being the first, *A Blind Girl at a Holy Well – Scene in the West of Ireland* (private collection; exhibited at the RHA 1840 [Plate 8]), may also have been relevant to Petrie's decision.

So, whilst no precise start date for the second version of *The Last Circuit* can be proven, it is suggested that it was in, or soon after, 1843. In any case, progress was slow and work on the painting appears to have been spread over quite a long period.<sup>10</sup> Because a watercolour painting with the dimensions of the work in question would have been produced in the artist's studio on the basis of sketches, recollections and imagination, Petrie included a claim to the authenticity of the work by incorporating in the foreground a small sketch as if it had been made *in situ* and which echoes the composition of the finished work (Plate 9). Its purchase by the Royal Irish Art-Union (RIAU) was announced in 1846, as Strickland reported.<sup>11</sup> In order for any work to meet the RIAU's purchase criteria, it had to have been shown in an exhibition in Ireland, but *The Last Circuit* does not appear in the catalogue of the RHA exhibition for 1846 alongside the two works Petrie sent (or in the catalogue of any other RHA exhibition before 1853). As he was then the secretary of the RHA, it would have been unthinkable for Petrie to have exhibited it in the break-away Society of Irish Artists. However, it has not previously been noticed that it was finished just in time to be exhibited as an *hors catalogue* addition to an extension of the RHA exhibition in 1846. Therefore, the dating of the work may well be: begun in c.1843, finished in 1846.

In 1846 the RHA decided to repeat an experiment first tried in 1845. Immediately after the official closure of the exhibition on 8th August, it was reopened for about two weeks with the admission charge reduced from a shilling to a penny to encourage attendance by the 'operative' (working) classes. Petrie, who was intimately involved in the new policy, took the opportunity to add *The Last Circuit* to the exhibition. Despite some



9 – George Petrie,  
*THE LAST CIRCUIT OF THE  
 PILGRIMS AT CLONMACNOISE:*  
 detail showing the grave slab  
 which bears the inscription *OR  
 DO PETRI* ('Pray for Petrie').  
 here dated c.1843-46, watercolour,  
 67.2 x 98 cm (© and courtesy NGI)



scepticism, this gesture of cultural philanthropy was very successful, as daily attendance rates of up to 3,300 were reported.<sup>12</sup> The action of the RHA garnered attention and praise from the Dublin press, which saw it as a welcome development. Many comments were made regarding the 'orderly deportment' of the 'humble but intelligent crowds', and the fact that no damage was done to the exhibits.<sup>13</sup>

The contemporary critical reaction to Petrie's work has not previously been noticed, so it is worth repeating two complementary accounts. The *Dublin Evening Mail* stated that the RHA exhibition:

has been enriched with a picture not ready to be exhibited before, and which, consequently, those who have visited during the regular season, have not been so fortunate as to see. It is a drawing by Mr. PETRIE, of the celebrated Round Tower at Clonmacnoise, seen during an autumnal sun-set – and, in the judgement of the best critics, the chef d'oeuvre of that great master's hand. It is, in truth, in conception and execution, a most masterly performance. The subject is one of those which PETRIE has taken to his heart of hearts, and embalmed in all the poetry of his rich, and chaste imagination. It is all truth – all nature – but truth and nature as they both should be seen, defecated of all imperfection, and in their purest and most elemental form. The scene breathes of loveliness and sanctity; and with every thing to elevate the mind, and nothing to disturb the affections, it is, indeed, a noble



production and places the artist at the very head of his school. We have dwelt a little on this picture – first, because it is in itself worthy of all admiration; but chiefly on the present occasion, in order that those who have already visited the Academy, when destitute of this treasure, may know of its existence, and take the opportunity now presented of familiarising themselves with its charms. It has been purchased, we understand, for a high sum by the Irish Art Union; and is to form the subject of the engraving for the current year.

*Saunders's News-Letter* remarked upon:

a very beautiful water colour drawing by Petrie, not hitherto ... so far finished as to be hung on the walls. The subject is 'The last round of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise', and it has been treated with great ability and a true feeling for the poetical. The abbey to the left of the picture, with its exquisite tracery and graceful arched doorway, offers to the eye what is beautiful in art, while the solitary female figure on bended knees is an accessory [*sic*] not to be omitted when regarding the venerable building and the uses to which it has been designed. The richly ornamented cross, with its attendant group – the broken memorials of the dead towards the centre of the picture – the picturesque round tower, and the entire treatment of his materials by the artist, are all calculated to win sincere admiration. The sky, also, is very cleverly handled. The elevation of the round tower would look better had the prominent figure on the mound been smaller.<sup>14</sup>

The painting was indeed bought by the RIAU, although the price paid for it was variously reported at sums ranging from a hundred guineas to £150.<sup>15</sup>

The RIAU was founded in 1839 to promote the economic interests of Irish artists and to foster an Irish public audience for art. It also had an unmistakable mission to promote Irish subject matter. Subscribers were entered into a lottery for paintings purchased at Irish exhibitions; they also received each year a specially commissioned engraving, which was sometimes after an earlier prize, or some other reproduction.<sup>16</sup> The purchases for 1846 were exhibited before their distribution in February 1847 in the rooms of the Royal Dublin Society when *The Last Circuit* was placed in the second-highest prize category, valued at £120, its title being given as *Clonmacnoise (Ancient Round Tower and Ruins) sunset on the Shannon – The last round of the Pilgrims*. It was won by Thomas Bacon, wholesale grocer of 4-5 Little Ship Street, Dublin, and Serpentine Road, Sandymount.<sup>17</sup> On the strength of the fact that Francis Danby's *The Tempest* and Alfred Elmore's *Rienzi in the Forum*, the two top prizes for 1846 both valued at £200, were by artists of Wexford and Cork origins respectively, the RIAU attempted a membership drive in the Cork area in late 1846 when it stated the value of Petrie's work as £150.<sup>18</sup> No record of the engraving Petrie anticipated would be made after the watercolour has been found, and it is unlikely one was made; the worsening famine situation meant that the RIAU was already in decline by 1846, and it soon fell into abeyance.<sup>19</sup>

Petrie certainly supported the RIAU's 'national' intentions, and it can be argued that the second version of *The Last Circuit* was effectively a commission. This is hardly surprising given that amongst those responsible for the management of the RIAU and the selection of its purchases were Petrie's friends and companions in antiquarian researches, Lord Adare and William Stokes, and his principal patron, Robert Callwell. That it was a commission seems to be the case if we judge by a well-known but undated letter which Petrie sent to the RIAU in which he made it clear that the Union had bought (i.e. commissioned) the work some time before it was finished and exhibited. The original of this letter has not been located but it can now be dated to August 1846. Petrie wrote:

to express to that truly patriotic body my deep sense of gratitude, not only for the honour conferred on me by their very liberal purchase of my work, but for their considerate kindness in allowing me such ample time to endeavour to make it ... worthy of their approbation, and conducive to their enlightened objects.

If it were a failure, Petrie added, it was not for want of exertion or desire. As noted above, to satisfy the RIAU's terms the painting had to have been shown in an exhibition in Ireland, hence Petrie's pains to bring it to completion in time to take advantage of the second chance he had to exhibit it in 1846.

Whatever his economic motives may have been, Petrie's reprise of the Clonmacnoise subject had other, important stimuli, which he set out in the same letter, giving as it were his manifesto for the painting:

... my aim was something beyond that of the ordinary class of portrait landscape ... It was my wish to produce an Irish picture somewhat historical in its object, and poetical in 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 a similar extinction.<sup>20</sup>

Petrie sought to draw a connection between the decay of the architecture and monuments, and the decline of the traditional 'pattern'. In the 1820s when the first version of *The Last Circuit* was painted, that decline, although in progress, was less pronounced. In 1820 it was reported that 3,000 to 4,000 pilgrims, from as far away as Donegal, assembled for two days to do honour to St Ciaran and for penance.<sup>21</sup> The decline Petrie commented on was made evident in the much-reduced number of pilgrims depicted in the second version as compared with the first.

In deciding what to paint and how to paint it, Petrie looked to the example of his friend Burton, who had enjoyed success and acclaim in the early 1840s thanks to the RIAU. Burton's *A Blind Girl at a Holy Well* had been the first work to be engraved for distribution by the RIAU. It was painted as a commission from Colonel (later General) Sir George Charles D'Aguilar, according to an inscription on the backboard.<sup>22</sup> Burton, who had been introduced to the west of Ireland by Petrie, had not exhibited any Irish peasant

subjects before *A Blind Girl* was sent to the RHA in 1840, so for him that work marked a highly successful change of direction. If the RIAU could have prescribed the work with which to launch its activities, then it is hard to imagine one that would have been better suited to its purposes than Burton's. It may well be that, by invitation or hint, Burton painted in anticipation of what would appeal to the RIAU, so it is no surprise to find that Burton's *A Connaught Toilette – Connemara Girls on Their Way to Market* (unlocated) was bought at the RHA in 1841 by the RIAU to be the top prize, valued at £168, in its distribution by lottery that year. It was won by Edward Wright of 6 Blessington Street, Dublin. Another work by Burton exhibited that year, *The Aran Fisherman's Drowned Child* (NGI), was chosen to be engraved for distribution by the RIAU in 1843, Burton receiving £100 for the copyright.<sup>23</sup> The engravings were important sources of publicity for Burton and success for the RIAU, hence Petrie's unfulfilled hope that *The Last Circuit* would also be suitable for engraving.

Burton's influence on the older artist may be seen in both subject matter and scale, the second version of *The Last Circuit* and *A Blind Girl* having several features in common.<sup>24</sup> Both present a ritual of popular piety enacted at an ancient holy site against the backdrop of dramatic scenery. Seeing the success Burton made of a fundamentally traditional genre subject – blindness is a long-standing if ironic theme in art – by suffusing it with, amongst other things, folkloric, national, pathetic, picturesque, religious and romantic elements, Petrie may have realised the equally numerous associations that could be carried by a reworked version of *The Last Circuit*. The scale Petrie worked on in the second version of *The Last Circuit* (67.2 x 98 cm) corresponds well to that of *A Blind Girl* (88.9 x 71.8 cm) and *The Aran Fisherman's Drowned Child* (88.4 x 78.5 cm). The dimensions of *The Connaught Toilette* seem not to have been recorded before its disappearance, but it was probably on or about the same scale. Within Petrie's known output, there are only three other works of such dimensions: two works of 1815, *Glendalough* and *Glenmalure*, both measure around 66 x 96.5 cm, and *The Home of the Heron, Lough Atri, looking into Glen Hogan, Connemara – Evening* (NGI), is 67 x 96 cm. The latter was also exhibited at the RHA in 1846.<sup>25</sup> The two earlier works were produced as pendants, and their scale may have been calculated in anticipation of their exhibition at the Royal Academy in London, but if both were submitted in 1818, only *Glendalough* was accepted. Despite the obligation on him as an Academician and an officer to exhibit each year, Petrie sent nothing to the RHA exhibitions of 1844 and 1845, doubtlessly being busy with *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*. Therefore, he may have wanted to return to the exhibition with a flourish in 1846. Although watercolour painting was of less importance to Petrie after about 1840 than it had been earlier in his career, he had had to take it up again out of economic necessity by the mid-1840s. As he remarked to Lord Adare in October 1845, 'I must still paint to live.'<sup>26</sup>

Petrie explained in his letter to the RIAU that the painting represented a considerable professional investment. He gave the impression that it took much time and placed heavy demands on his abilities. In the two larger grave slabs in the left foreground, Petrie's



ruled pencil guidelines can be made out. The position of the slabs in receding perspective evidently set him a technical challenge which he took pains to meet, hoping that a successful outcome would ‘connect my name with ... the history of art in Ireland’ – that is, secure his reputation as an artist.<sup>27</sup> Petrie’s investment of himself in the painting is given concrete expression by the manner in which he signed it. In a revealing detail which, it seems, has previously escaped attention, Petrie recorded his authorship by including a fictitious grave slab (the hindmost of the three in the left foreground) which is incised with the words ‘OR DO PETRI’ – that is, ‘Pray for Petrie’ (Plate 9).<sup>28</sup> In doing this, Petrie was also inscribing himself into the landscape, conjoining his reputation in posterity with the fate of Clonmacnoise. Petrie could not have stated more clearly how, for him, the personal and the historic coincided. In fulfilment of his commission from the RIAU, Petrie selected a subject which, in a visual mood suggestive of the end of an era, permitted him to depict what he thought to be a moribund ritual of the common people against the reconfigured and romanticised topography of a decaying location to which his own researches had brought increased recognition for its importance in Irish history.

From the new details given here, a clearer sense emerges of the circumstances under which Petrie made the two versions of *The Last Circuit*. The first was the result of a private commission for a project in which Petrie was one contributor amongst many. The second was a commission from a body with commercial and political motives for a work in which Petrie sought to embed artistic and historical ideas of his own. The two versions of *The Last Circuit* commemorate the vestigial traditions of a defunct culture, albeit in different ways. That culture and those traditions were ones Petrie spent much of his life researching and recording; over the span from 1820 to 1846 they were ones he would have seen decline yet further. The paintings embody those interests and represent the fatalistic view Petrie expressed in his letter to the RIAU cited above, that old Irish history in all its forms would inevitably be utterly effaced, but not before he had done his best to record its traces.

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## ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Murray, <i>Petrie</i>	Peter Murray (ed.), <i>George Petrie (1790-1866): The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past</i> (Cork, 2004)
RIAU	Royal Irish Art-Union
Stokes, <i>Life and Labours</i>	William Stokes, <i>The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie, LL.D., M.R.I.A.</i> (London, 1868)

- <sup>1</sup> For an introduction to some of Petrie's activities, see Murray, *Petrie*. See also the articles in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 72C, nos 6, 7, 1972.
- <sup>2</sup> For example, Pamela Berger, 'Sacred Landscapes and Ancient Rituals: Two Watercolors by George Petrie' in Vera Kreilkamp (ed.), *Eire/Land* (Boston, 2003) 57-61; Pamela Kincheloe, 'Two Visions of Fairyland: Ireland and the Monumental Discourse of the Nineteenth-Century American Tourist', *Irish Studies Review*, 7, 1, 1999, 41-51; Christopher Murray, '“Cover Story”: An Afterword', *Irish University Review*, Spring/Summer 1991, 147-49; Maire de Paor, 'Irish Antiquarian Artists', in Anne Dalsimer (ed.), *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition* (Boston and London, 1993) 119-32; Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (London, 1980) 20-22. The most recent analysis is given by Tom Dunne, 'Towards a National Art ? George Petrie's Two Versions of The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise', in Murray, *Petrie*, 126-36.
- <sup>3</sup> Philip McEvansoneya, 'Petrie and the Haldimand Album, the First Version of George Petrie's Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise', *Irish Arts Review*, 25, no. 2, 2008, 120-23.
- <sup>4</sup> Murray, *Petrie*, 147, no. GP.76; 148, no. GP.77.
- <sup>5</sup> Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 353-54. See also J.H. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: the Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 2nd edn. (Dublin, 2006) 167-68.
- <sup>6</sup> Adrian le Harivel (comp.), *National Gallery of Ireland, Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Drawings, Watercolours and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1983) 622; Marie Bourke and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, *Discover Irish Art at the National Gallery of Ireland* (Dublin, 1999) 96; Murray, *Petrie*, 144, no. GP.59; 151, no. GP.87; Royal Irish Academy, Graves Correspondence, 24 O 39, no. 146, Adare to John O'Donovan, 16th July 1845; Dunne, 'Towards a National Art ?', 133, citing Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 354.
- <sup>7</sup> Murray, *Petrie* 52-71.
- <sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 150-51, no. GP.86.
- <sup>9</sup> One or other of the works shown in 1843 may be identical with that included in the RHA's memorial exhibition of Petrie's work in 1866, no. 445, as *Ruins and Round Towers*, lent by Dr William Stokes.
- <sup>10</sup> Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 15.
- <sup>11</sup> W.G. Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (1913; Dublin, 1989) II, 662.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Pictures for the People', *The Nation*, 9 August 1845, 713; 'The Royal Hibernian Academy', *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17th August 1846, 2.
- <sup>13</sup> 'The Royal Hibernian Academy', *Evening Packet and Correspondent*, 11th August 1846, 3; 'The Royal Hibernian Academy', *The Freeman's Journal*, 11th August 1846, 2. The extended opening was also useful as a source of income, however modest, to the RHA, which was always short of funds.
- <sup>14</sup> 'Royal Hibernian Academy', *Dublin Evening Mail*, 14th August 1846, 3; 'The Royal Hibernian

- Academy', *Saunders's News-Letter*, 12th August 1846, 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 15; Strickland, *Dictionary*, II, 662.
- <sup>16</sup> Eileen Black, 'Practical Patriots and True Irishmen: The Royal Irish Art Union 1839-59', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 1998, 14, 1997, 140-46.
- <sup>17</sup> 'Royal Irish Art-Union-Distribution of Prizes', *Evening Packet and Correspondent*, 6th February 1847, 4. 'Art in the Provinces', *The Art-Union*, 10, 1st March 1847, 100. *The Dublin Almanac, and General Register of Ireland, for ... 1846* (Dublin, n.d.) 457.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Constitution or Cork Advertiser*, 14th November 1846, 2. This advertisement did not refer to a sale as stated in Peter Murray (comp.), *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery: incorporating a detailed chronology of art in nineteenth-century Cork...* (Cork, 1991) 222.
- <sup>19</sup> Black, 'Practical Patriots and True Irishmen', 143.
- <sup>20</sup> Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 15.
- <sup>21</sup> William Mason, *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland* (Dublin, 1816), II, cited in Thomas Cromwell, *Excursions Through Ireland...* (London etc., 1820), II, 207. It should be noted that the pattern of St Ciaran has enjoyed a resurgence in popularity in the last thirty or so years, not least because of the papal visit to Clonmacnoise in 1979.
- <sup>22</sup> See the entry on the painting in the catalogue *The Irish Sale*, Christie's, London, 10th May 2007, lot 11, and Marie Bourke, 'Romantic Journey', *Irish Arts Review*, 20, no. 4, 2003, 128-33. On D'Aguilar, see the entry in the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- <sup>23</sup> RIAU, *Report for 1839-40* (Dublin, 1840) 17-8; RIAU, *Report for 1840-41* (Dublin, 1842) 8-9, 15. *Report from the Select Committee on Art Unions...* (London, 1845) 348.
- <sup>24</sup> This is touched on briefly by Maggie McEnchroe Williams, 'Constructing the Market Cross at Tuam: The Role of Cultural Patriotism in the Study of Irish High Crosses' in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *From Ireland Coming: Irish Art from the Early Christian to the Late Gothic Period and its European Context* (Princeton, 2001) 148.
- <sup>25</sup> Murray, *Petrie*, 139, nos. GP. 8 and 9; 153, no. GP.94. The latter, which was later owned by Callwell and may have been painted for him, is possibly the work Petrie said he was at work on in his letter to Adare of October 1845: Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 354.
- <sup>26</sup> Stokes, *Life and Labours*, 354.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 15.
- <sup>28</sup> This formulation is a contraction of the Old Irish OROIT (or ORÁIT) DO PETRI, literally a prayer for Petrie. This form of signature is also to be found in one of his more worked-up Clonmacnoise illustrations (Margaret Stokes (ed.), *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, Chiefly Collected and Drawn by George Petrie...* (Dublin, 1872), I, pl. XXXIII), but as that image appeared after Petrie's death, it might be asked whether it is an authentic detail of the original drawing or a conceit, perhaps by his editor, in memory of the artist, which was inspired by the inclusion of his name in the water-colour. See Philip McEvansoneya, 'The grave slabs in George Petrie's *The Last Circuit of the Pilgrims at Clonmacnoise*' in Heather A. King (ed.), *Clonmacnoise Studies, Volume III, seminar papers 2009*, forthcoming.