

## THE CISTERCIAN ORDER IN IRELAND

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### I.—HISTORY

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The introduction of the Cistercian order into Ireland was the result of a visit paid by St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh 1132-1136 and subsequently bishop of Down, to Clairvaux about 1140. On his way to Rome he stayed with St. Bernard and his monks and was so much attracted by their life that he conceived the idea of retiring there permanently. His services to the Church in Ireland, however, were so valuable that pope Innocent II denied his request; but, as he returned home, armed with legatine authority and empowered to call a council and lay before it his desire to obtain metropolitan dignity and the pall for his see, he halted again at Clairvaux and made arrangements for the establishment of a Cistercian house in Ireland. With this purpose he left behind him four members of his household, who entered on their novitiate and were duly professed at Clairvaux. 'These,' he said on departing, 'shall be to us for a seed, and in this seed shall the tribes be blessed, even those tribes which from days of old have heard the name of monk, but have not seen a monk.'<sup>1</sup> From Ireland he sent a few more probationers, and, after instruction in Cistercian customs, the band of Irishmen, with the addition of some monks from Clairvaux to make up the full conventual number, was sent to their native country under the presidency of one of them-

<sup>1</sup> Erunt nobis in semen, et in monachi quidem nomen audierunt, semine isto benedicentur gentes, et monachum non viderunt. illae gentes, quae a diebus antiquis

selves named Christian.<sup>1</sup> These were the monks who in 1142 settled at Mellifont near Drogheda.

In commending the monks to Malachy, St. Bernard apologised for the small attention which, owing to the pressing calls of business nearer home, he had been able to give to their training.<sup>2</sup> But, though the settlement prospered, the foreign monks did not blend well with the natives, and before very long returned to Clairvaux. St. Bernard, in a later letter to Malachy, regrets their return, but hints that the Irishmen had shown a disposition to follow their own judgments and to reject the advice of their more experienced companions. The abbot Christian also had come back to Clairvaux, whither he probably had been summoned to explain the situation. St. Bernard took the opportunity of giving him fuller instruction and sent him back with the hope that he would be more zealous in keeping the observances of the order. With Christian there went one foreigner, Robert. It was difficult, said St. Bernard, to find suitable monks who would agree to go, while it was unwise to compel the unwilling. Robert, however, would be able with the aid of Malachy to further the buildings of the house and its other necessary requirements.<sup>3</sup>

In 1148 St. Malachy, journeying to Rome to receive his long desired pall, fell ill of a fever at Clairvaux and died there.<sup>4</sup> His shrine, side by side with that of Bernard, who followed him five years later, occupied the place of honour in the abbey church behind the high altar.<sup>5</sup> Bernard's letter upon his death is addressed in special to the congregations which he had founded in Ireland.<sup>6</sup> These were not confined to the

<sup>1</sup> Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae* cap. xvii (Migne, P.L. clxxxii, 1095).

<sup>2</sup> Bernard, ep. ccclvi (*ibid.* 558): *Fecimus quod praecepit sanctitas vestra, et si non ut dignum, profecto ut possibile pro tempore fuit. Tanta apud nos ubique malitia grassatur, ut vix id tantillum, quod factum est, fieri licuerit.*

<sup>3</sup> Bernard, ep. ccclvii (*ibid.* 558, 559). The passage relating to Robert is specially interesting, in view of the architectural influence of the Burgundian houses upon their offspring

in other lands. *'Vestrum erit juvare eum, ut possit jam in aedificiis et in caeteris necessariis promoveri domus vestra.'*

<sup>4</sup> Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*, cap. xxxi (*ibid.* 1114-1118).

<sup>5</sup> Malachy's first resting place was in the north transept of the church at Clairvaux, but after his canonisation in 1190 his body was removed to the shrine in the apse. See Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, ii, 379.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard, cp. ccclxxiv (u.s. 579, 580),

Cistercian order, to the promotion of whose interests he had devoted the later years of his life ; but by this time colonies of monks from Mellifont had occupied four more houses, Bective, Boyle, Nenagh and Baltinglass. The last three were founded in the year of Malachy's death. Shrule, the fifth daughter of Mellifont, followed in 1150. It was shortly after this, and soon after the foundation of Inishlounaght, an offshoot of Nenagh, probably in 1151, that Bernard composed his life of Malachy, in which he mentions that Mellifont had brought forth five daughters.<sup>1</sup>

The ultimate number of Cistercian abbeys which depended immediately upon Mellifont was eight ; but its entire generation amounted to twenty-five, as Boyle, Nenagh and Baltinglass produced lines of their own, and further offshoots sprang from Inishlounaght, of the line of Nenagh, and Jerpoint, of the line of Baltinglass. All these, with one belated exception, Hore abbey at Cashel, came into being before the close of the twelfth century, and all were of purely native foundation, owing their origin to benefactions of native princes and nobles. The actual dates of their foundations are in several cases obscure. Even that of the foundation of Mellifont is approximate, although 1142 can be stated with a near approach to certainty.

In the second half of the twelfth century a number of abbeys were founded under the influence of the English conquerors. Before that time one abbey, St. Mary's at Dublin, a monastic settlement of a much earlier period, had been re-colonised by monks of the order of Savigny, and had been united with the other houses of that order to the Cistercian obedience in 1147. This, unconnected with the generation of Mellifont, produced in process of time two daughter abbeys. To the line of Savigny also belonged Inniscourcy or Inch, near Downpatrick, Abington, colonised from Furness, the eldest daughter of Savigny in England, and Graiguenamanagh or Duiske in Kilkenny, colonised from Stanley in Wiltshire, which traced its origin to Savigny through Quarr in the Isle

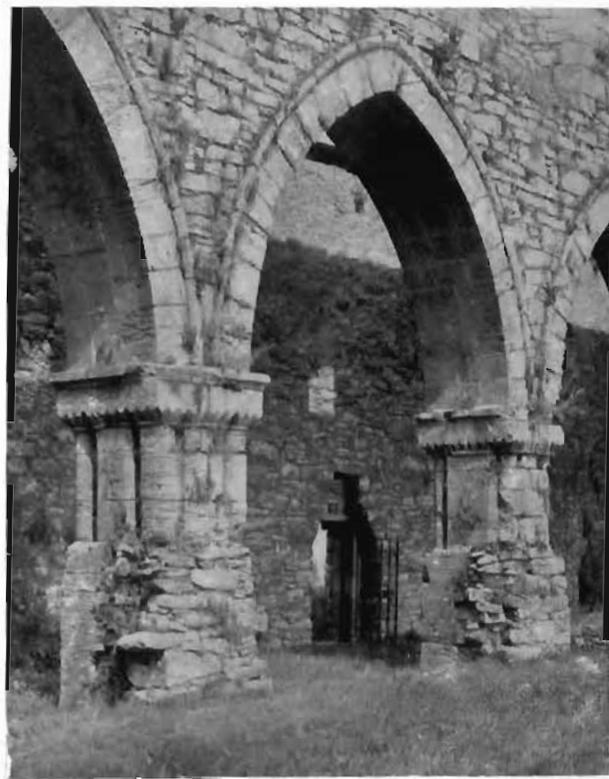
<sup>1</sup> Bernard, *Vita G. Malachiae*, cap. xvi, u.s.

of Wight. All these, however, under the arrangement by which Savigny in 1147 came under the supervision of Clairvaux, were members of the family of which Clairvaux, under Cîteaux, was the head. Similarly Whitland in South Wales, a daughter of Clairvaux, became the mother house of Comber in county Down and Tracton in county Cork; and Grey abbey on Strangford Lough, colonised from Holm Cultram in Cultram, derived its ultimate parentage from Clairvaux through the intermediate links of Melrose and Rievaulx. Only one abbey, Tintern Minor in county Wexford, which, through Tintern and L'Aumone in the diocese of Chartres, was derived from Cîteaux, was outside the pedigree of Clairvaux. Of the origin of another house, Macosquin, the northernmost of the Cistercian monasteries of Ireland, nothing is known; but the comparatively late date of its foundation in a distant part of Ulster allies it with the later and foreign group rather than with the purely Irish houses. This second group, numbering ten monasteries, brings the total number up to thirty-six.

Of the geographical distribution of these houses there is little to be said. They were spread over twenty-one dioceses and twenty modern counties. Fourteen were in Leinster, thirteen and probably fourteen in Munster, six in Ulster and two in Connaught. In the diocese of Down there were four, in Cashel three, in Cloyne probably three, in Leighlin three, in Meath three, in Ferns, Kilfenora, Limerick and Ossory two each, and one in each of the dioceses of Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, Ardagh, Ardfert, Cork, Derry, Elphin, Kildare, Lismore, Raphoe and Ross. There were four in each of the counties of Cork, Down and Tipperary, three in Kilkenny, two in each of Clare, Limerick, Longford and Wexford, and one in each of Derry, Tyrconnell (Donegal), Dublin, Galway, Kerry, Kildare, Louth, Meath, Leix (Queen's County), Roscommon, Westmeath and Wicklow, with probably one in Waterford. The counties in which there were none were: in Ulster, Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, in Leinster, Carlow, Ospaly (King's County); in Connaught, Leitrim,



A. BOYLE ABBEY S. ARCADE OF NAVE



B. JERPOINT ABBEY. N. ARCADE OF NAVE

(Photos : T. H. Meson)



*Photo: T. H. Mason*

A. CORCOMROE ABBEY. CHURCH FROM THE N.W.



*Photo: T. H. Mason*

B. JERPOINT ABBEY. RESPOND IN S. AISLE

Mayo, Sligo. Most of the houses were therefore in the south, and of those in Leinster the greater number lay south and west of Dublin. The group of four in county Down is an exception to the general absence of houses in the north of Ireland: of these one, Newry, belongs to the early period of Cistercian colonisation, but the three others, situated on or near Strangford Lough, were founded from English monasteries.

In the list which follows the names of monasteries are given in their English forms, so far as these are known, with the Latin and, where possible, the Irish names added. In official Latin documents the names applied to the monasteries are naturally those, usually with a pious significance, by which they were officially designated. These, however, extremely picturesque in themselves, seldom have any close connexion with their Irish titles. With a few exceptions, of which Mellifont, an anglicised version of a Latin name, is one, we call them to-day by their local names. Thus Grey abbey is a translation of the native title of the monastery officially styled the abbey of the Yoke of God. In a few instances, as in the cases of Hore, Inch, Laragh and Jerpoint, the local names were reproduced in Latin: Woney, the old name of Abington, was also latinised. In one case, that of Holy Cross, the dedication was translated into Irish. Four official names, Buellium (Boyle), Magium (Nenagh), Surium (Inishlounaght) and Samarium (Assaroe), were latinisations of the names of the rivers on which the monasteries were situated: Comererium (Comber) similarly refers to the situation of the abbey at the outlet of a river. Collis Victoriae may be taken as a free translation of Knockmoy (the Hill of Slaughter). Viride Lignum alludes to the sacred tree planted by St. Patrick at Newry, which also gave its name to the place (the Yew-tree). It is possible that the name Beatitudo, given to the first offspring of Mellifont, survives in Bective; but the likeness between Lex Dei and Leix is purely accidental, unless the Irish name suggested a Latin word of similar sound. Petra fertilis, however, Castrum Dei, Vallis

Salutis and other names are not translations of Corcomroe, Fermoy, Baltinglass, etc. On the other hand, Glangragh reproduces Vallis Caritatis, and Glandy, translating Vallis Dei, is an alternative name for the abbey otherwise known as Killenny. At Monasterevan, the Latin Rosea Vallis may have been suggested by the old name of the site, Rosglas, of which, however, it is not a translation. The Irish name of the abbey of Vallis Sancti Salvatoris, now usually called Graiguenamanagh, was Duiske; and the modern name is that given after its foundation to the neighbouring settlement, the village of the Monks. Tracton is an Anglo-Latin name which originated in Albus Tractus, the white Cistercian habit which gave the monastery its official style.

As with several English Cistercian monasteries, such as Kirkstall, Byland, Jervaulx and Whalley, the Irish houses were occasionally moved from site to site before they eventually found a permanent home. Boyle, Graiguenamanagh and Abington are cases in point. The variety of statements with regard to the date of foundation of almost every house may be attributed to the time which frequently elapsed between the first grants of endowments and the actual coming of the monks, as indicated, whether explicitly or approximately, by official lists of Cistercian houses. In some instances also the original grants may have been made to foundations which did not become definitely Cistercian till later. The date of the colonisation of Jerpoint from Baltinglass is usually given as 1180; but the grant upon which the abbot and convent of Jerpoint founded their claims to jurisdiction over the small abbey of Killenny, vigorously pursued for a century and a half in opposition to the rival claims of Graiguenamanagh, was made to Felix, the abbot, and the convent of Osraige, i.e. Ossory, before 1165.<sup>1</sup> This Felix was presumably Felix O'Dullany, who became bishop of Ossory in 1178, and was buried at Jerpoint in 1202; and it is no doubt right to identify the convent of Ossory with that of

<sup>1</sup> See *The Charters of the Abbey of Duiske* (Proc. RIA, xxxv, 5, 6).



NAVE. S. ARCADE, W. RESPOND



NAVE. N. ARCADE, W. PART

BOYLE ABBEY  
*(Photos : Shirley Jones)*



ARCH OF N. CHAPEL



CHANCEL AND TRANSEPT, LOOKING N.E.

CORCOMROE ABBEY  
(Photos : T. H. Mason)

Jerpoint. But the charter contains no mention of their order, which is usually specified in early charters relating to Cistercian houses ; and it may be concluded that the abbey of Ossory in 1165 had not yet submitted to Cîteaux, while it is possible also that the site at Jerpoint had not yet been fixed. Further, though double dedications of Cistercian houses were not uncommon, some other saint being sometimes admitted to share the invocation of St. Mary, yet the dedication to St. Mary and St. Benedict, proposed for Killenny, was unusual. Two conclusions may be suggested. In the first place, the wording of the charter implies that the grant of Killenny was intended to supply a site on which the abbot and convent of Ossory might construct a monastery for themselves.<sup>1</sup> In the second, it may merely imply that Killenny was to be founded as a cell or priory dependent upon Ossory. But it is obvious that the annexation of Killenny to Graiguenamanagh in 1227 was that of an abbey, previously affiliated on the ordinary Cistercian principle to Jerpoint, and that, if it had been simply a cell, and therefore an integral member of Jerpoint, such an annexation could not have taken place. The facts seem therefore to be that Killenny was intended in the first instance to be the seat of a Benedictine abbot and convent established in the diocese of Ossory. Before this was actually achieved, the convent was united to the Cistercian order and, reinforced by a colony from Baltinglass, settled on a permanent site at Jerpoint. Later, a colony from Jerpoint went to Killenny and founded a Cistercian abbey there in the usual way, which was thus liable to suppression by the general chapter. On this theory alone can the annexation of Killenny to Graiguenamanagh be explained ; and to assume that the grant confirmed in 1165 was a grant to a Cistercian abbey then situated at Jerpoint is to go beyond facts.

<sup>1</sup> Notum facimus presentibus et posteris quod nos (sc. Dermot MacMurrough) terram quam Diarmait Uarrian dux Uanronai per nostram licentiam in remissionem peccatorum suorum Felici abbati de Osarge et omni eiusdem loci conuentui

ad monasterium in honore beatissime dei genetricis semperque uirginis Marie sanctique Benedicti abbatis tradidit construendum, confirmamus manutenemus et nostri confirmatione sigilli munimus.

This instance illustrates the difficulty of arriving at definite conclusions with regard to conflicting dates of foundation. A somewhat similar problem, for which, however, there is less evidence, is involved in the relations between Corcomroe and the obscure monastery of 'Kilshane,' which can be identified with Kilshanny, co. Clare. Was Kilshanny the original site of Corcomroe, and, if so, was it ever an abbey after the settlement at Corcomroe, or did it at once sink into the position of a cell or grange? Of a few houses, sometimes quoted as Cistercian, the history is entirely uncertain. Feale, annexed to Nenagh about 1209, and Stowry, said to have been a cell of Maure, were never reckoned officially as Cistercian foundations; and it is certainly doubtful whether they were Cistercian before they were merged in the possessions of Cistercian abbeys.

The system of the affiliation of new monasteries to the houses from which they were colonised was modified in process of time by the general chapter. In 1227 Nenagh was affiliated to Margam, Inishlounaght and its daughter houses of Fermoy and Corcomroe to Furness, Baltinglass and its daughter house of Jerpoint to Fountains. Holy Cross, after a provisional union to Abington, was affiliated to Mellifont in 1289; but no attempt was made to subordinate it to a foreign house. The affiliation to English houses was no doubt intended to leaven the purely Irish element in the monasteries. As we have seen, the monks of Clairvaux who came to Mellifont found amalgamation with their Irish companions a difficult matter, and in an unsettled country, ruled by tribal chieftains in perpetual conflict with one another, the problem of preserving Cistercian discipline in the houses of the order must have presented itself frequently to the visitors appointed by the general chapter. It is, however, to the credit of the Cistercians that in 1272 the archbishop of Cashel supplanted the Benedictines of Hore, whom he suspected of a conspiracy to kill him, revealed, it was said, in a dream, by Cistercians from Mellifont.

Politically, the abbeys of Irish foundation were certainly not wholly agreeable to their English neigh-

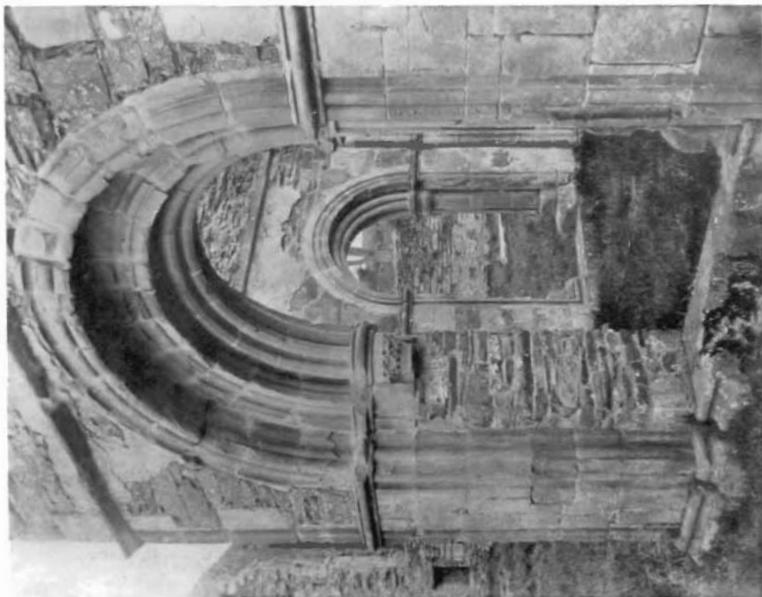
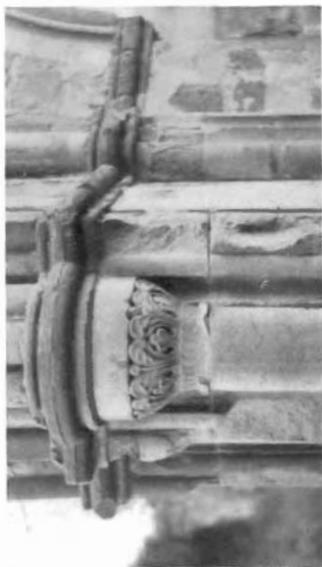


CHOIR, LOOKING S.W.



ARCH TO S. AISLE AND S.E. RESPOND OF NAVE

MANISTER ABBEY  
(Photos : H. G. Leask)



MELLIFONT ABBEY. LAVATORY

bours, and even those which had been colonised under English influence appear to have been infected with anti-English feeling. Mellifont from its earliest days was a purely Irish house, and the insubordination noted by the Burgundian monks was conspicuous at a later date, when in 1306 the internal wranglings over the election of its abbots led to the temporary confiscation of its temporalities.<sup>1</sup> Probably some attempt was made to introduce English monks, as in 1322 the profession of Englishmen at Mellifont was forbidden and postulants were required to take an oath that they were not of English blood.<sup>2</sup> At Knockmoy in 1268 there was an English abbot,<sup>3</sup> which, considering the origin of the house as a thank-offering for a victory over an English force, is interesting; but this was rare. In 1290 the abbot of Abington was fined for harbouring the king's enemies,<sup>4</sup> and in 1297 the abbot of Monasterevan, in the marches on the edge of the Pale, was similarly accused of receiving Irish felons. He cleared himself of the charge, but was fined for not raising hue and cry against them.<sup>5</sup>

There is no doubt that the monasteries themselves found it advisable to keep on good terms with Irishmen, however felonious. They were liable to impartial attack from local marauders. Boyle was plundered more than once, Laragh was sacked by Edward Bruce,<sup>6</sup> and Assaroe, an isolated and remote monastery, by Neil Og O'Neill in 1398.<sup>7</sup> In the middle of the fourteenth century the hostility of Irish to English monks reached an acute stage. In 1355 the abbot and monks of Dunbrody made repeated attacks on their neighbours at Tintern,<sup>8</sup> and in the following year the abbot of Jerpoint was accused of expelling and robbing the abbot of Tintern.<sup>9</sup> David Cornwallis, who appears to have been abbot of Dunbrody and Graiguena-managh simultaneously, received a pardon in 1356 for harbouring felons in the second of these houses, where several of his monks were accused of highway

<sup>1</sup> Archdall, *Mon. Hib.* 482.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 411.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 334.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 443.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 737.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 356.

robbery.<sup>1</sup> Sent to Tracton by the abbot of Whitland to reform the house, he accepted bribes impartially from the reforming party and from the abbot.<sup>2</sup> In 1365 the abbot of Abington was accused of molesting Thomas of Kildare, an Englishman of the Pale.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that the monasteries concerned in these disturbances were, with the exception of Jerpoint, houses which had English connexions, but which probably had in process of time become filled with Irishmen. Newry in 1373 was found to be wholly Irish, and its possessions in the Pale were seized.<sup>4</sup>

The result of these disorders was that in 1380 an act was passed, forbidding the profession of mere Irishmen in the monasteries bordering on the Pale, with special reference to Baltinglass, Dunbrody, Graiguenamanagh, Inch, Jerpoint, Mellifont and Tintern.<sup>5</sup> At no time is it easy to obtain more than a fragmentary glimpse of the internal life of these monasteries; and this survey of some points in their history is merely general. The details of their suppression and the subsequent distribution of their property are amply treated in Archdall's *Monasticon*; and many interesting facts in their history during the century and a half before the suppression may be gathered from the numerous Irish documents in the *Calendars of Papal Letters*. Into these it would take too long to enter at present: the writer, however, hopes to take a later opportunity of sifting the results to be obtained from them, which are especially valuable as regards the relations between abbeys and their appropriated churches, a large subject on which it has been impossible to touch in these pages.

In the following list of Cistercian houses, the chronological order followed in Janauschek's *Origines Cistercienses* has been adopted. The name of each house, as already stated, is given, followed by its diocese, county and barony, and, where necessary, its distance from the nearest town. Its Latin and Irish titles are followed by the name of the alleged founder,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 738.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 411.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 127.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 762.



JERPOINT. NAIVE



BALTINGLASS. NAIVE



BALTINGLASS. NAIVE



BALTINGLASS. TRANSEPT, S.W. RESPOND



BALTINGLASS. NAIVE, N. DOOR



BALTINGLASS. TRANSEPT, N.E. RESPOND



BALTINGLASS. TRANSEPT, S.E. RESPOND

TWELFTH-CENTURY DETAILS

(Photos : H. G. Leask)



JERPOINT. CLOISTER



HOLY CROSS. CLOISTER



HOLY CROSS. W. TOWER-ARCH



BECTIVE. CLOISTER

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DETAILS

(Photos : H. G. Leask and A. R. Martin)

its parent house and the date of its colonisation, and other miscellaneous notes. As regards the certainty of dates, sufficient caution has already been given. The writer is indebted to Mr. H. G. Leask for valuable hints with respect to some of the houses whose identity is disputed, and to some which without sufficient reason have been counted by some writers as Cistercian.

I. MELLIFONT, dio. Armagh, co. Louth, bar. Ferrard, 4 m. N.W. Drogheda. Fons Mellis, Mainistir-mhor. Donagh O'Carroll, prince of Uriel. Colonised from Clairvaux 1142. Daughter houses: Bective (2), Boyle (4), Nenagh (5), Baltinglass (6), Shrule (7), Newry (9), Kilbeggan (30), Hore (36). *Janaushek* clxxiii.

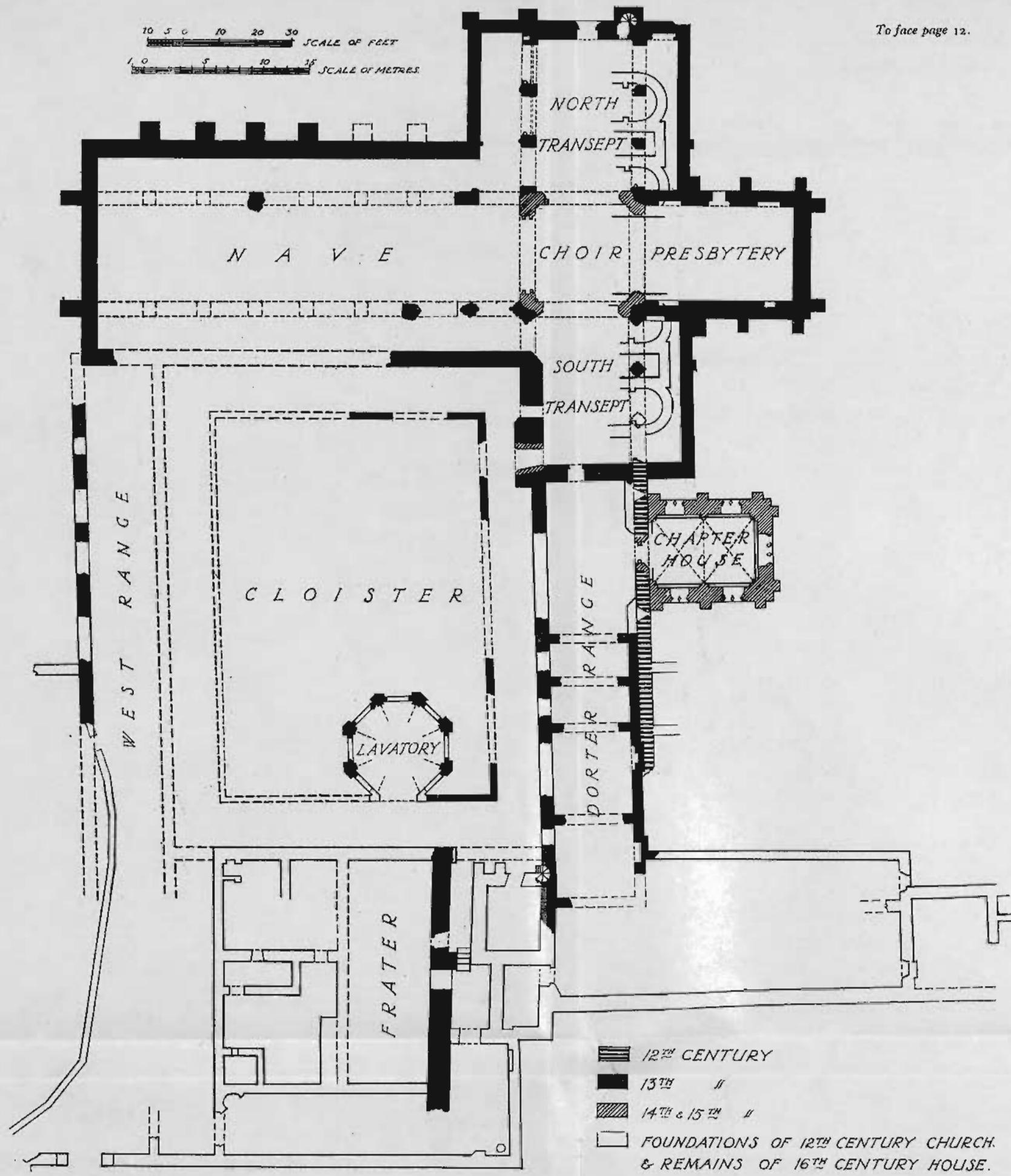
2. BECTIVE, co. and dio. Meath, bar. Upper Navan, 3 m. S. Navan. Beatitudo Dei, Lieltrede. Murchard O'Melaghlin, king of Meath. Colonised from Mellifont 1146-7 (14 Jan.). *Janaushek* ccxxvii.

3. DUBLIN, ST. MARY'S, co. and dio. Dublin, on left bank of Liffey. Traditionally founded by Melaghlin (Malachy the Great), king of Ireland (980-1022), and Gilmoholmoc, the owner of the site, in consequence of a miracle by which both, who were blind, recovered their sight. 'Cuius monachi eo tempore fuerunt de ordine Turonensium, et vocabantur Grisei Monachi sive cani, unde adhuc moderno tempore Hibernici vocant eos Monelee, id est canos monachos' (*Chart. S.M. Dub.* ii. 9). This is, however, a garbled statement, in which the allusion is to monks of the congregation of Thiron; and these appear to be confounded with the monks of Savigny, a similar and contemporary order, who occupied the monastery in the twelfth century. Neither congregation came into being until nearly a century after Malachy the Great's death. Another tradition is that the monastery was founded in 948, in the time of Anlaf, the Danish king of Dublin. There was at any rate an early monastery here which existed before 998, and into which Savigniac monks were introduced, possibly in 1139. The annal in the monastic chronicle for this year is obviously inaccurate: 'Abbas et monachi Turonenses Domus B.M. juxta

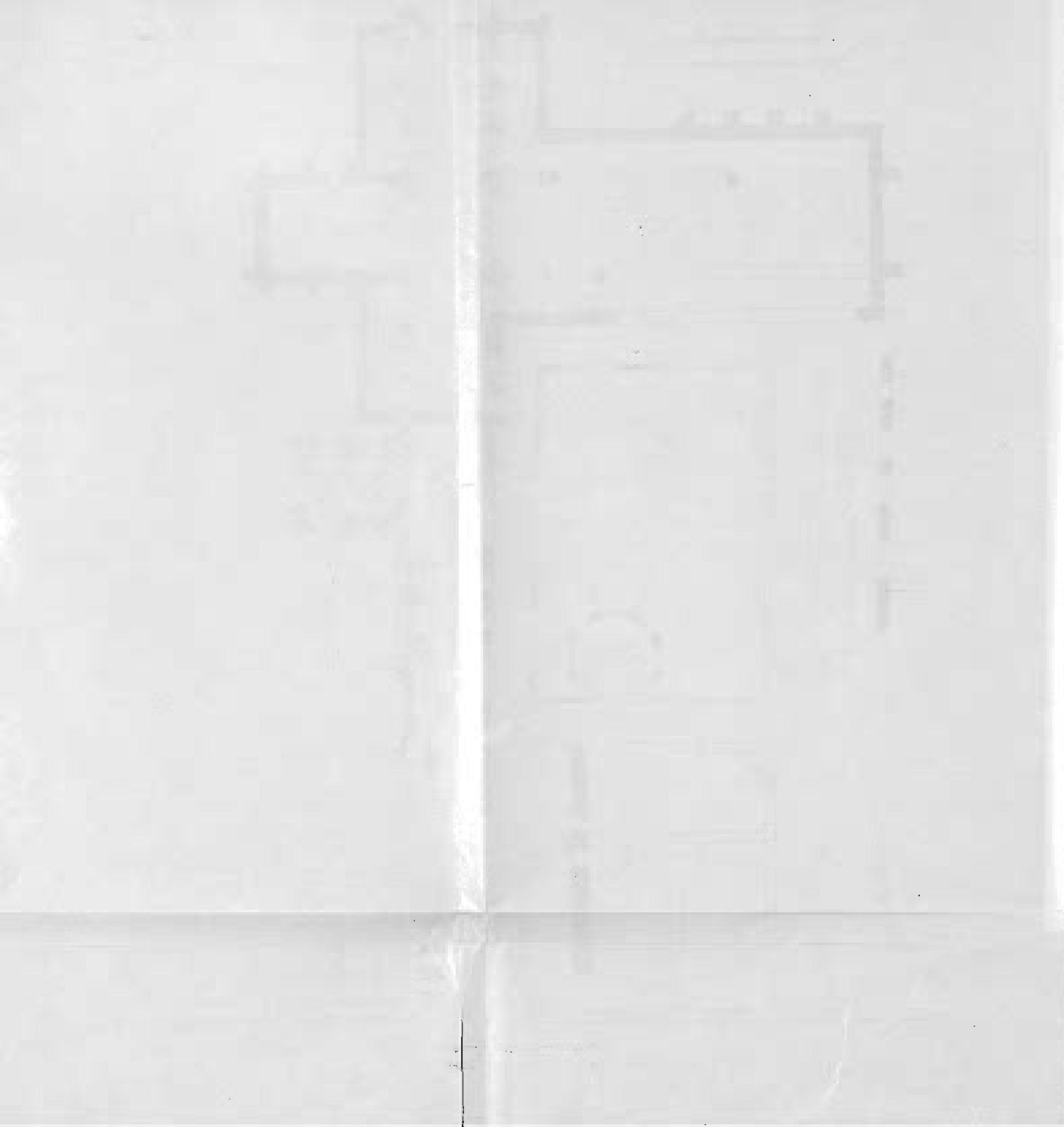
Dublin, qui Gresei monachi vulgariter ad tunc vocabantur, audientes bonam famam et sanctam conversationem Ordinis Cisterciensis, ejusdem Ordinis institutionibus se devote submiserunt, imitantes patrem suum, Abbatem Saveniacensem, et ejus co-Abbates et monachos.' (*Chart. S.M. Dub.* ii. 258.) Here the confusion of Thiron with Savigny is quite clear, and, as the order of Savigny was not incorporated with the Cistercian order until 1147, it is probable that 1139 was the date of the Savigniac settlement. By the union of the Savigniacs with the Cistercians, the monastery became Cistercian, remaining under the supervision of the abbot of Savigny. About 1172 or 1174 the rights of paternity were transferred by King Henry II to the abbot of Buildwas in Shropshire, another of the offspring of Savigny; from which time there was some controversy between Savigny and Buildwas. The rights of Buildwas, however, were confirmed by the Cistercian general chapter in 1301. Daughter houses: Dunbrody (17), Laragh (33). *Janaushek* cclxii.

4. BOYLE, dio. Elphin, co. Roscommon, bar. Boyle, 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  m. S.S.E. Sligo, Buellium, Mainistir-na-Buille. Founder uncertain, but the MacDermots, lords of Moylurg, were prominent benefactors. Colonised from Mellifont 1148, first at Grellechdinagh. Under the second abbot, Hugh O'Maccain, the convent migrated to Drumconaid c. 1156, and thence to Bunfinny c. 1159, settling finally at Boyle in 1161. Church consecrated 1218. Daughter houses: Assaroe (13), Knockmoy (23). *Janaushek* cclxxviii, where the date of the foundation at Grellechdinagh is given as 6 or 16 Aug. 1148.

5. NENAGH, dio. and co. Limerick, bar. Pubblebrien, 2 m. N.E. Croom. Magium, Mainistir-na-Maighe: the neighbouring river is the Maigue or Commogue. The parish of Monasternenagh is now usually called Manister. Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, on the site of a battle won over the Danes at Kinalmekan or Kilmargy. Colonised from Mellifont 1148: other dates are given, 1147, 1151. Daughter houses: Inish-



(Royal Archaeological Institute)  
FIG. 1. MELLIPONT ABBEY



lounaght (8), Odorney (10), Holy Cross (14), Monasterore (15). The abbey of Feale was annexed as a cell to Nenagh 1209. At the general chapter of 1227 Nenagh was affiliated to the abbey of Margam, co. Glamorgan. Janaushek ccxci.

6. BALTINGLASS, dio. Leighlin, co. Wicklow, bar. Upper Talbotstown, 28 m. S.S.W. Dublin. Vallis Salutis, Bealach-conglais : on river Slaney. Dermot MacMurrough O'Cavanagh, king of Leinster. Colonised from Mellifont 1148 : other dates 1147, 1151. Daughter houses : Maure (12), Jerpoint (16), Leix (18), Monasterevan (22). Affiliated to Fountains 1227. Janaushek ccxcii.

7. SHRULE, dio. Meath, co. Longford, bar. Abbey-shrule,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. S.W. Colehill. Benedictio Dei, Mainistir-na-Struthair : on river Inny. O'Ferrall. Colonised from Mellifont 1150 : other dates given, 1152, etc. This monastery has been confused with Flumen Dei (Kilbeggan) and with the alleged Cistercian, but actually Cluniac, house of Benedictio Dei at Athlone. A common origin of name and consequent confusion have led to the ascription of the monastery, of unknown origin and order, at Stowry, dio. Ross and co. Cork, to the Cistercian order (see also no. 12). Janaushek cccxiv.

8. INISHLOUNAGHT, dio. Lismore, co. Tipperary, bar. Iffa and Offa East, 2 m. W.S.W. Clonmel. Surium, Inisleamhnachta : on river Suir. The adjoining parish is now usually called Abbey. Colonised from Nenagh 1151 on a site near the Suir, subsequently transferred to the site of an earlier religious house. Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, is reckoned as founder, owing to his re-endowment of the house in 1187 : Malachy O'Felan is also named as a principal benefactor. There is a wide difference of opinion about the date of foundation, but the fact that the first abbot, Congan, supplied St. Bernard with details for his life of St. Malachy, approximately fixes the date as 1151. Daughter houses : Fermoy (11), Corcomroe (25), Glangragh (29). Affiliated to Furness 1227, but restored to Nenagh by the general chapter 1278. Janaushek cccxxxiii.

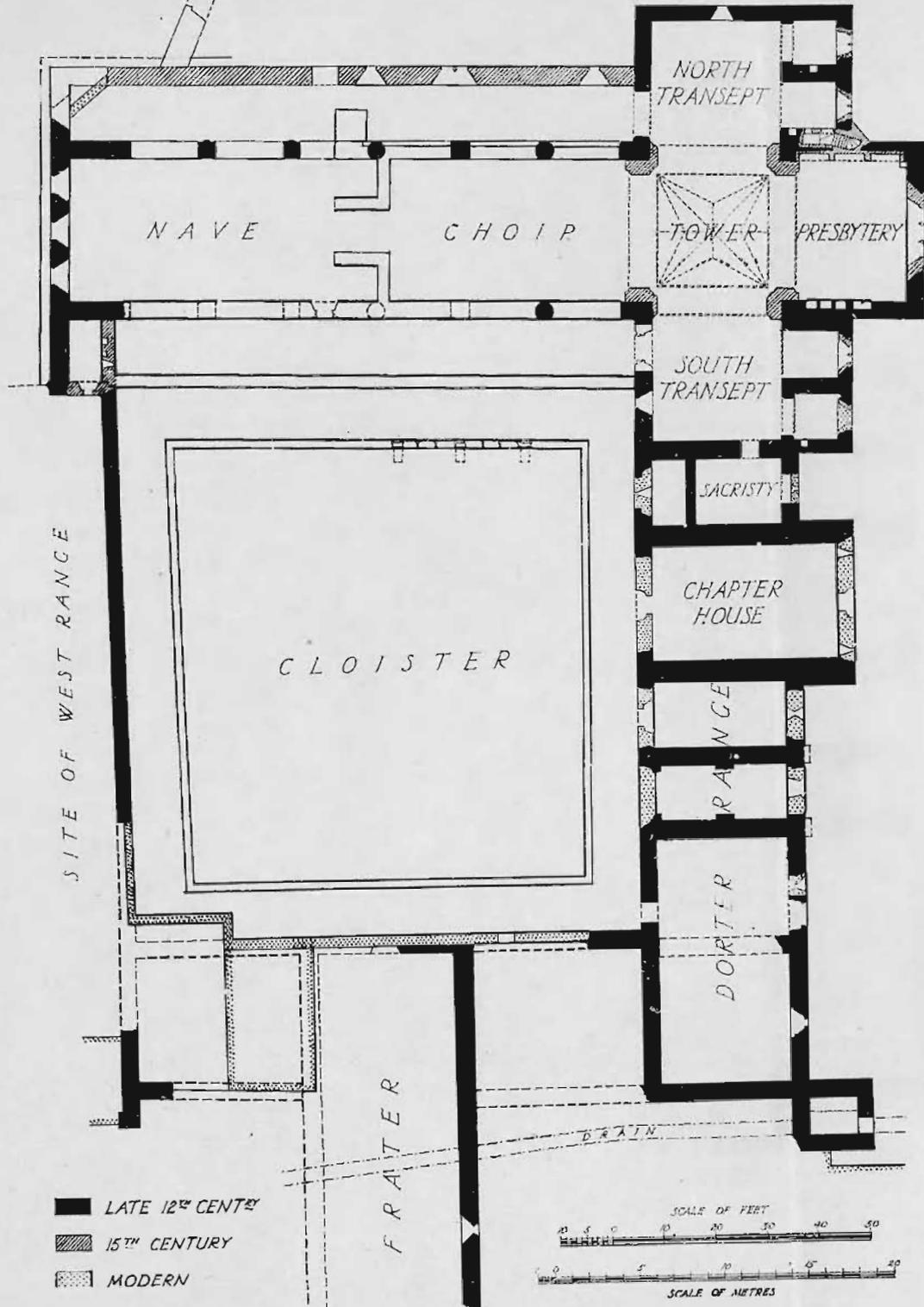
9. NEWRY, dio. and co. Down. Viride Lignum, An-Iubhar-cinn-tragha. Colonised from Mellifont about 1153. The site eventually chosen was that of the sacred yew-tree, said to have been planted by St. Patrick, where St. Malachy, aided by Donagh O'Carville, king of Uriel, had founded c. 1144 the monastery of Iverach. Murtagh McLoughlin, king of Ireland, who after 1156 took the monastery under his protection and endowed it, is reckoned as founder. *Janaushek cccxlvii.*

10. ODORNEY, dio. Ardfert, co. Kerry, bar. Clannaurice,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  m. N.N.E. Tralee. Kyrie Eleison, Mainistir-O-dTorna. The parish is known as Abbey-dorney. Foundation attributed to the family of Fitzmaurice, but the actual founder unknown. Colonised from Nenagh 1154 (19 April or 29 June). Affiliated for a time to Mellifont, but restored to Nenagh. Christian O'Conarchy, the first abbot of Mellifont, bishop of Lismore and papal legate in Ireland, died here in 1186. *Janaushek cccxlix.*

11. FERMOY, dio. Cloyne, co. Cork, bar. Condons and Clangibbon. *Castrum Dei*, Mainistir-Feara-muighe. Foundation attributed to the family of Roche, but these were later benefactors and patrons. Colonised from Inishlounaght 1170. Subsequently affiliated to Furness. *Janaushek ccccx.*

12. MAURE, dio. Ross, co. Cork, bar. West Carbery. In Carrigillihy township, par. Myross, 6 m. S.W. from Ross. *Fons Vivus*. Dermot MacCormac MacCarthy, king of Desmond. Colonised from Baltinglass 1172. *Janaushek ccccxviii.* Abbeymahon, bar. Ibane and Barryroe,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. E.S.E. of Timoleague, quoted sometimes as a Cistercian house, appears to be confused with Maure, of which Stowry, bar. West Carbery, adjoining Skibbereen, is sometimes reckoned as a cell (see also no. 7).

13. ASSAROE, dio. Raphoe, co. Tyrconnell (Donegal), bar. Tirhugh, near Ballyshannon. *Samarium*, *Eas-Aedh-ruaidh*: on the river Erne (anciently called *Samhair*), at the cataract in which Hugh the Red was



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FIG. 2. JERPOINT ABBEY



drowned. Roderick O'Cananan, prince of Tyrconnel; according to others, his successor O'Flahertach, or, to others, Flahertach O'Muldory. Colonised from Boyle 1178 (22 Nov.). *Janauschek cccclii.*

14. HOLY CROSS, dio. Cashel, co. Tipperary, bar. Eliogarty,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. S.W. Thurles. Santa Crux, Mainistir-na-croiche-naoimh: on river Suir. Donagh Carbraigh O'Brien, king of Limerick. Colonised from Nenagh 1180. At the general chapter in 1227 the visitors were empowered, if the abbey were found not to be self-supporting, to unite it to Abington. The evidence for its alleged affiliation to Furness in 1249 seems insufficient: it was, however, restored to Nenagh in 1278, but in 1289 was affiliated to Mellifont. *Janauschek cccclvi.*

15. MONASTERORE or CHORE, at Midleton, dio. Cloyne, co. Cork, bar. Imokilly. Chorus Sancti Benedicti. Reputed founders, Barrys or Fitzgeralds. Colonised from Nenagh 1180. *Janauschek cccclvii.*

16. JERPOINT, dio. Ossory, co. Kilkenny, bar. Knocktopher,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. W.S.W. Thomastown. Jeripons, Seiripuín: on river Nore. Donald O'Donoghoe, king of Ossory. Colonised from Baltinglass 1180; but there seems to have been an earlier foundation, probably on another site. Daughter houses: Kilcooly (19), Killenny (20). Affiliated to Fountains 1227. *Janauschek cccclx.*

17. DUNBRODY, dio. Ferns, co. Wexford, bar. Shelburne. Sancta Maria de Portu, Dun-broith. Hervey de Montmorency, steward of Richard, earl of Pembroke, who gave the site to the abbot of Buildwas, c. 1178. Colonised from St. Mary's, Dublin, 1182, to the abbot of which the abbot of Buildwas had ceded his right. The Irish Cistercian abbots in 1342 solemnly confirmed the relation of Dunbrody to St. Mary's, which was further confirmed by the general chapter 1343. *Janauschek cccclxiii.*

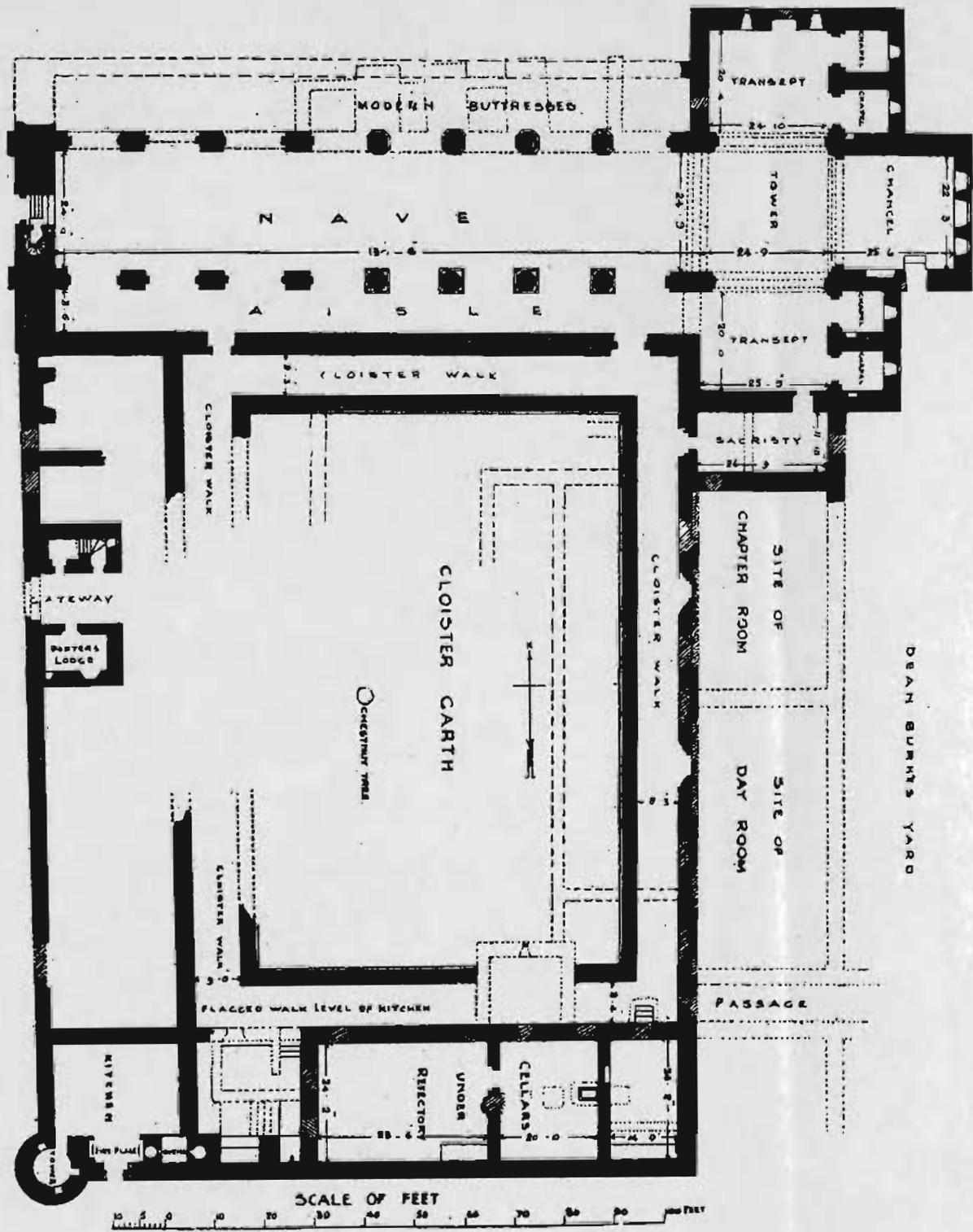
18. LEIX, dio. Ossory, Leix (Queen's co.), bar. Cullinagh. The neighbouring town and parish are called Abbey Leix. Lex Dei, Mainistir-Laoghís.

Connor O'More. Colonised from Baltinglass 1184 (7 Sept.). Janauschek ccclxvii.

19. KILCOOLY, dio. Cashel, co. Tipperary, bar. Slieveardagh, 11 m. E. Thurles. Arvi Campus. Donagh Carbragh O'Brien, king of Limerick, completed foundation made by his father Donald. Colonised from Jerpoint 1184. Janauschek ccclxix.

20. KILLENNY, dio. Leighlin, co. Kilkenny, bar. Gowran. Vallis Dei, Ceall-lainne, sometimes called Glandy. Dermot O'Ryan. Colonised from Jerpoint c. 1184, on a site which the founder gave to the abbot and convent of Ossory c. 1165. There has been some confusion about this small abbey, and Archdall placed 'Glandy' in co. Cork. The abbot of Froidmont, dio. Beauvais, visitor of the Cistercian houses in Ireland in 1227, found Killenny so much reduced by debt and other misfortunes, that he united it as a grange to the abbey of St. Saviour at Graiguenamanagh or Duiske (no. 31). The union was confirmed by the general chapter in the same year, and the bishop of Leighlin received compensation in 1228 for the loss occasioned by the suppression of an abbey in his diocese. The abbey of Jerpoint, however, and its superior, the abbot of Fountains, protested against the suppression of the daughter house, and the general chapter of 1276 ordered the abbots of Boyle, Bective, Assaroe and Tracton to enquire into the resources of the lands belonging to Killenny and, if they were capable of sustaining a convent, to restore them to Jerpoint on behalf of a new colony. An arrangement between Jerpoint and Graiguenamanagh was made in 1278, by which Jerpoint was compensated, but the delay in payment of the full indemnity agreed upon led to a further composition in 1289; and it was not until 1362 that Jerpoint finally resigned its claims. See *The Charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske*, ed. Butler and Bernard (Proc. RIA, xxxv, 1-188). Janauschek ccclxxiv, who wrongly places Killenny in dio. Ossory.

21. INCH, or Inniscourcy, dio. and co. Down, bar. Lecale, 2½ m. N. Downpatrick. Insula Curcii, Inis-



(From Rep. Comms. of Pub. Works, 1904)

FIG. 2. BOYLE ABBEY



Cumhscraidh. John de Courcy after destruction of the older monastery of Erynagh or Carrick, said to have been founded 1127 and to have been Savigniac under Furness. This monastery, however, does not appear among the Savigniac houses transferred to the Cistercian order in 1147. Colonised from Furness 1187 (1 July, otherwise given as 1 or 25 June): the register of Furness, however, gives the date as 1180 (30 May), but the colony does not seem to have occupied Inch so early. Janauschek cccclxxxii.

22. MONASTEREVAN, dio. and co. Kildare, bar. West Offaly. Rosea Vallis, Rosglas: on river Barrow. The name Monasterevan is derived from an early monastery founded by St. Eimhin: Rosglas is the earlier name of the place. Dermot O'Dempsey, king of Offaly. Colonised from Baltinglass: the site was granted to the monks between 1177 and 1185, possibly in 1178, but the settlement does not seem to have been completed until 1189 (22 Oct.). Janauschek cccclxxxix.

23. KNOCKMOY, dio. Tuam, co. Galway, bar. Tiaquin, 7 m. S.E. Tuam. Collis Victoriae, Cnoc-muighe. Cathol Crobh-dearg O'Connor, king of Connaught, on site of a victory over an English army. Colonised from Boyle 1190. The adjoining parish is now called Abbeyknockmoy. Janauschek cccxciv.

24. GREY ABBEY, dio and co. Down, bar. Ards, 6 m. S.E. Newtownard. Jugum Dei, Mainistir-liath. Africa, daughter of Godred, king of Man, and wife of John de Courcy. Colonised from Holm Cultram, co. Cumb., 1193 (25 Aug.). Janauschek dv.

25. CORCOMROE, dio. Kilfenora, co. Clare, bar. Burren, near Burren. The adjoining parish, including Burren, is now called Abbey. Petra Fertilis, Corcomruadh. Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond. Colonised from Inishlounaght, probably 1195. Subsequently affiliated to Furness. Janauschek dxii.

26. KILSHANNY, dio. Kilfenora, co. Clare, bar. Corcomroe, 2½ m. N. Ennistimon. This foundation is ascribed to the same founder as Corcomroe, of which it is reckoned a daughter: the date usually given,

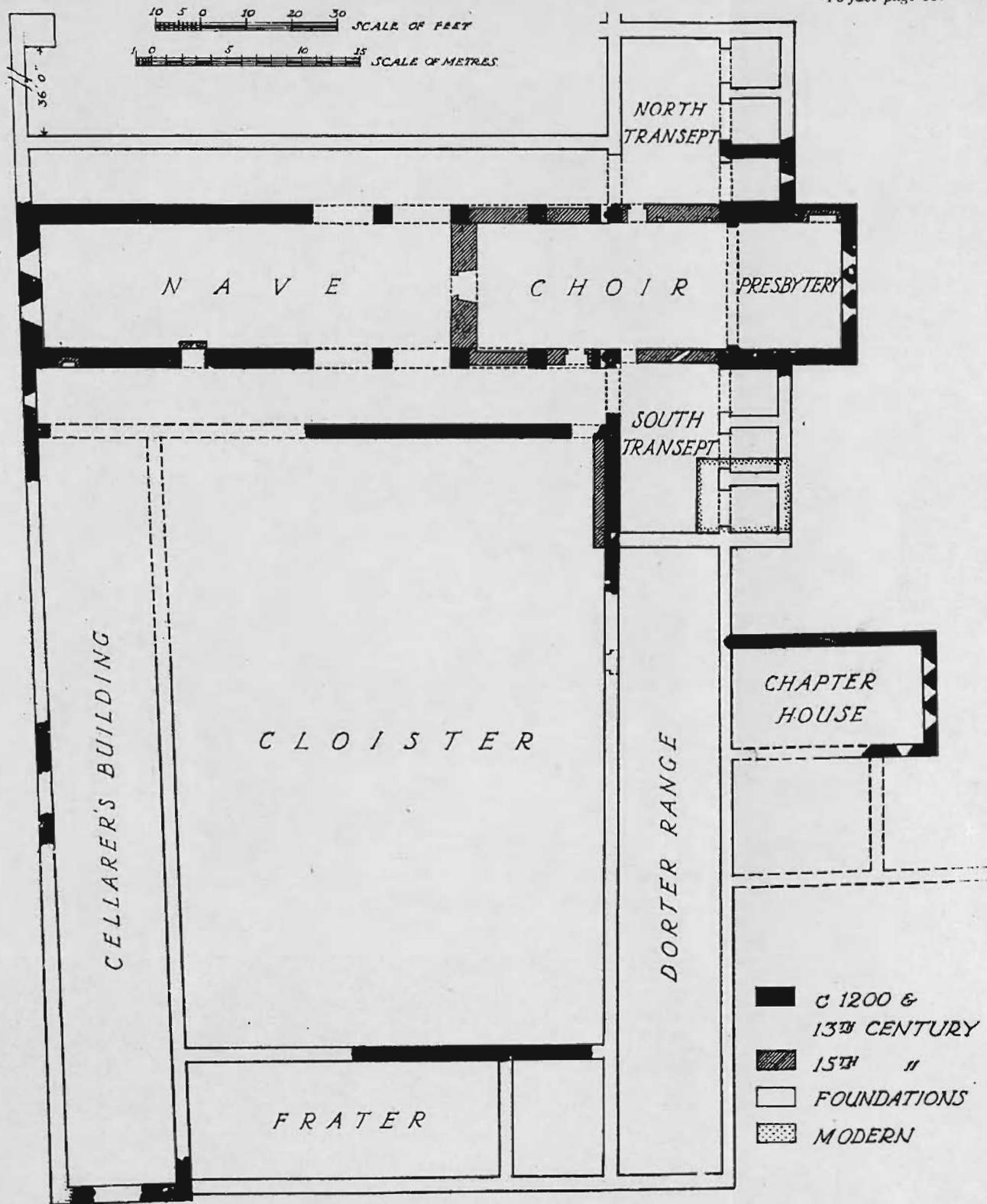
1194, is in this case too early, unless, as seems likely, Kilshanny was the first site of Corcomroe and was subsequently a cell of that abbey. 'Kilshane' has also been identified with Kilsonna, dio. and co. Limerick, where a monastery is said to have been founded 1198; but of the existence of a cell of Corcomroe at Kilshanny at the time of the suppression of monasteries there can be no doubt. Its independent existence at any time seems questionable. Janauschek dxxi.

27. COMBER, dio. and co. Down, bar. Lower Castlereagh. Comererium, Comar; at the mouth of a stream which flows into Strangford Lough. Brien Catha Dun, the reputed founder, was slain by John de Courcy: others attribute the foundation to the family known later as White. Colonised from Whitland, co. Carmarthen, 1199-1200. Janauschek dxxvi.

28. TINTERN MINOR, dio. Ferns, co. Wexford, bar. Shelburne, on Bannow bay. Votum. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in fulfilment of a vow made during a stormy voyage from England. Colonised from Tintern, co. Monmouth 1200 (26 Sept.). Janauschek dxxvii.

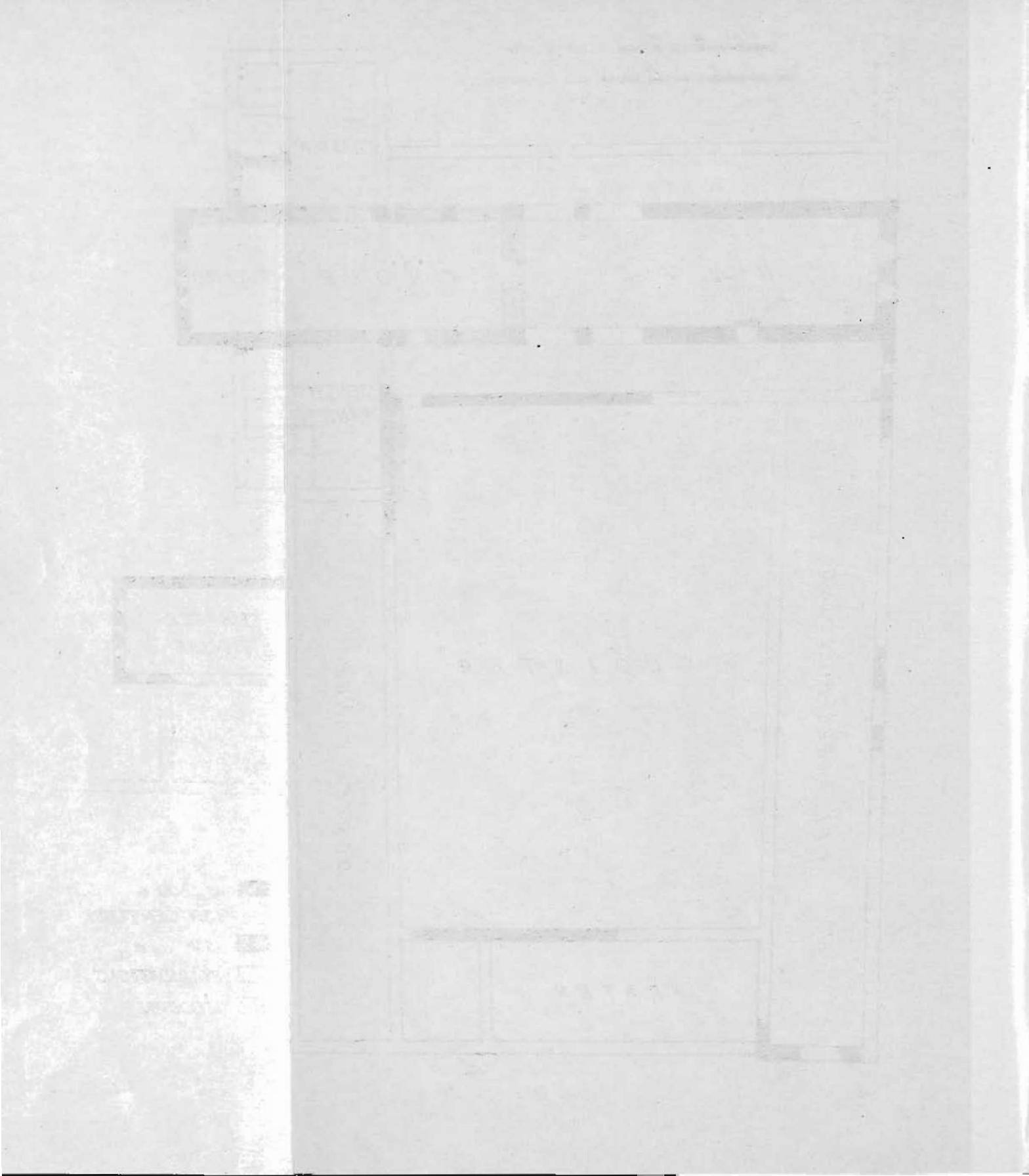
29. GLANGRAGH. Valis Caritatis, Gleann-gradhach. The site is said to be in co. Waterford, but is quite uncertain. It seems to have been in dio. Cloyne, but, by a confusion between *Clonensis* and *Cluanensis*, has also been said to be in dio. Clonmacnoise, either in co. Westmeath or King's co. Archdall for some obscure reason placed it in Down. The founder and date of foundation are alike unknown, but 1200 is the latest date at which it was colonised from Inishlounaght. Janauschek dxxviii.

30. KILBEGGAN, dio Meath, co. Westmeath, bar. Moycashel, 15 m. S.E. Athlone. Flumen Dei, Cillbegain. Family of Dalton. Colonised from Mellifont 1200. This appears to be the Irish abbey 'de Flumine Vivo,' affiliated to the abbey 'de Fonte Vivo,' which, after a period of suppression, was restored and re-affiliated by the general chapter of 1281. Janauschek dxxix.



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FIG. 4. MANISTER ABBEY



31. GRAIGUENAMANAGH or Duiske, dio. Leighlin, co. Kilkenny, bar. Gowran, 6 m. S. Goresbridge. Vallis Sancti Salvatoris, Graig-na-manach. William, earl of Pembroke. Colonised from Stanley, Wilts., at first at Loughmeran, near Kilkenny, then at Annamult, finally at Duiske. Date of foundation uncertain, but the first settlement is said to have been made in 1204 (30 July): William Marshal's foundation charter, however, is dated in *The Charters of the Abbey of Duiske* (*Proc. RIA.* xxxv, 19) not earlier than 1207. This may mark the final establishment of the monastery. See also Killenny (no. 20). Janauschek dxliv.

32. ABINGTON or Woney, dio. and co. Limerick, bar. Ownybeg, 7 m. S.E. Limerick. Woneyum, Mainistir-Ueithne. A colony of monks from Furness, after a temporary settlement at Wyresdale, co. Lanc., was provided with endowments by Theobald Walter, butler of Ireland. The final settlement at Abington seems to have taken place in 1206. Janauschek dxlviii.

33. LARAGH, dio. Ardagh, co. Longford, bar. Granard, 6½ m. W.N.W. of Castlepollard. Lerha, Mainistir-leathratha. Richard Tuit, d. 1211. Colonised from St. Mary's, Dublin, 1214 (26 or 25 April). Janauschek dxlv.

34. MACOSQUIN, dio. and co. Derry, bar. Coleraine, 2 m. S.S.W. Coleraine. Clarus Fons, Magh-cosgrain: on river Bann. Family of O'Kane. Said to have been colonised 1218, but by what parent is unknown. Janauschek dlxxv. The form Moycosquin is misleading.

35. TRACTON, dio. and co. Cork, bar. Kinnalea, 4 m. S. Carrigaline. Albus Tractus. Maurice MacCarthy. Colonised from Whitland, co. Carmarthen (cf. Comber, no. 27), 1224-5 (22 Feb.). Janauschek dlxxxix.

36. HORE, dio. Cashel, co. Tipperary, bar. Middlethird. Rupes. David MacCarville, archbishop of Cashel, who introduced Cistercian monks into a previously Benedictine monastery in the plain W. of the rock of Cashel, in consequence of a dream that its

inmates had conspired to cut off his head. Colonised from Mellifont 1272. Janauschek dclxxii.

36A. FEALE, dio. and co. Limerick, bar. Upper Connello, 10 m. S.W. Newcastle. Mainistir-na-Feile : on river Feale. The adjoining parish is now called Abbeyfeale. This is not included in Janauschek, and its history is obscure. A monastery, however, said to have been founded here c. 1188 by Brien O'Brien, was united to Nenagh as a cell in or about 1209. If Kilshanny (no. 26) is included in a list of abbeys, this seems also to deserve a place, although its Cistercian origin may be doubtful.

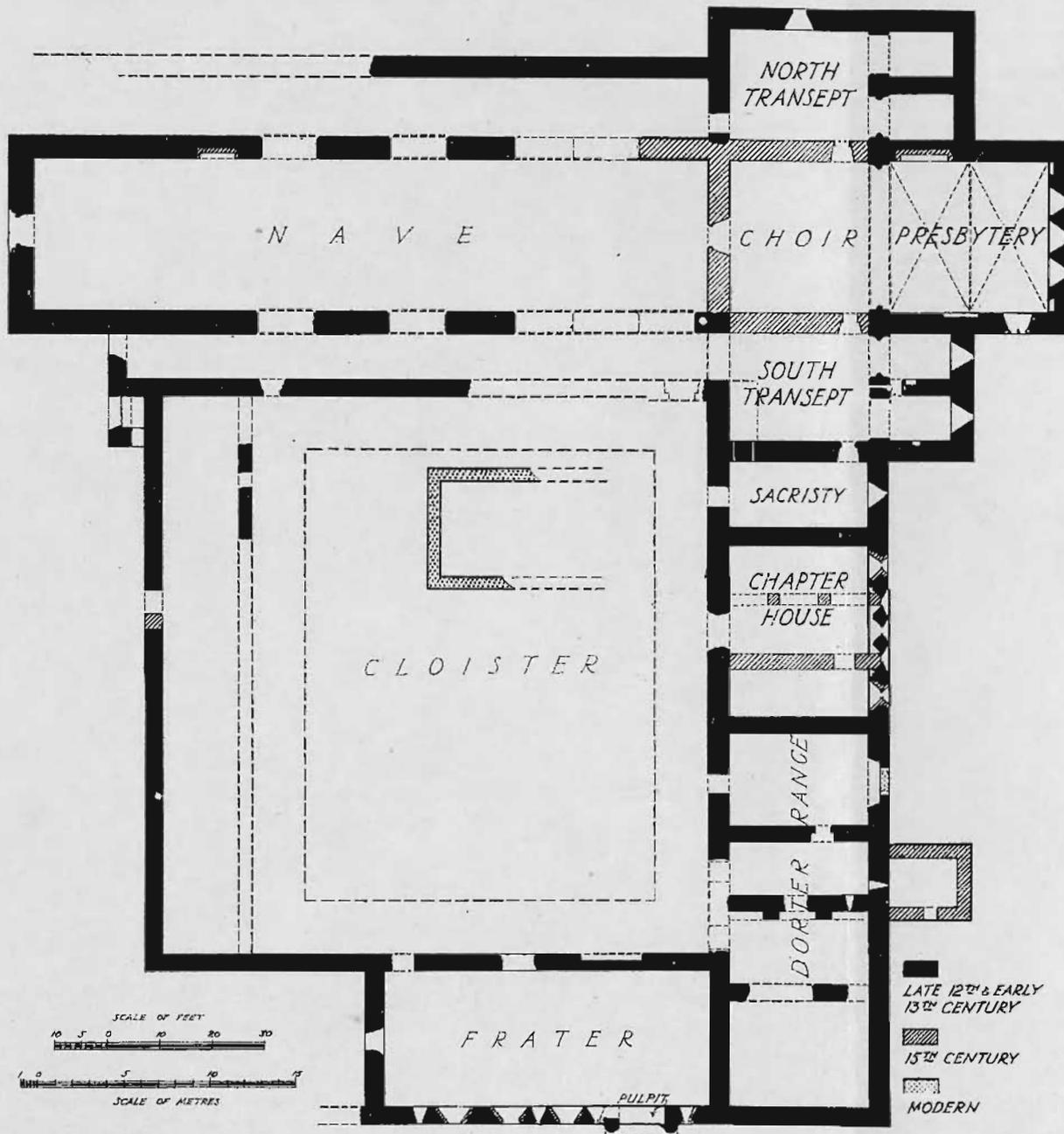
## II.—ARCHITECTURE

By A. W. CLAPHAM AND H. G. LEASK

The buildings of the Cistercian order have been so widely studied throughout Europe and even in the Holy Land, that it is a little astonishing to find an entire group, which so far has received no collective attention, such accounts of its buildings as exist being found only in publications little accessible to any save natives of the country. The Cistercian abbeys of Ireland certainly do not merit this neglect, for though they were built in a country which has never been rich, their remains have suffered far less destruction than has been the case among the abbeys of either England or Scotland. In Ireland there still survive some 16 of these buildings which preserve more or less extensive remains and which provide an extremely interesting corpus of Cistercian building.

The facts of the introduction of the Cistercian order into Ireland and the founding of the abbey of Mellifont in 1142 have been dealt with by Professor Hamilton Thompson and need not therefore detain us. It will, however, be convenient to prefix to the accounts of the individual buildings the date of their foundation and the name of the mother-house from which they were colonized.

All these houses were officially suppressed between



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FIG. 5. KNOCKMOY ABBEY



ARCHITECTURE  
FLOOR PLAN

the years 1536 and 1540 by King Henry VIII, but the occasional re-occupation of some of the buildings by their original owners, beyond the English pale, and within it, the attachment of a Catholic population to consecrated sites as places of burial, has preserved many of these buildings from other damage than those of time and neglect.

The study of the surviving remains may best be approached chronologically, beginning with the 12th-century buildings and passing on to those of later date.

MELLIFONT ABBEY (Co. Louth). Some excavations made on the site of Mellifont<sup>1</sup> in 1883 have revealed the remains of what was probably the church (Fig. 1) begun on the arrival of the colony from Clairvaux in 1142 and consecrated in 1157. These remains consist solely of the east side and chapels of the transept, but show a highly unusual arrangement. In each arm there were three chapels, of which the middle one only was square-ended, the other two being apsidal. It is conceivably possible that this represents the original arrangement of the new church begun at Clairvaux in 1133-5, though this is contrary to the generally accepted view of the form of that church.<sup>2</sup> If it does not, it is exceedingly difficult to explain the presence of the apses at Mellifont, as apses are totally unknown elsewhere in Ireland at that or any other date.

None of the other Cistercian churches can be assigned to an earlier date than the last quarter of the twelfth century. Of these the most important are Baltinglass, Jerpoint, Boyle, Manister, Knockmoy and Corcomroe.

BALTINGLASS ABBEY<sup>3</sup> (Co. Wicklow) was a daughter of Mellifont founded in 1148. It retains large portions of a church (Fig. 6) of the last quarter of the century and of the normal Cistercian type with two chapels in each arm of the transept. The nave-piers are alternately square and cylindrical and stand wholly or in part on a

<sup>1</sup> 71st Rep. Comms. of Pub. Works (1903), p. 10 and 52nd Rep. (1883-4), Mellifont Abbey. J. Duffy & Co. (1897).

<sup>2</sup> See John Bilson in *Arch. Journ.* lxxvi, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Kildare Arch. Soc.*, v, p. 379.

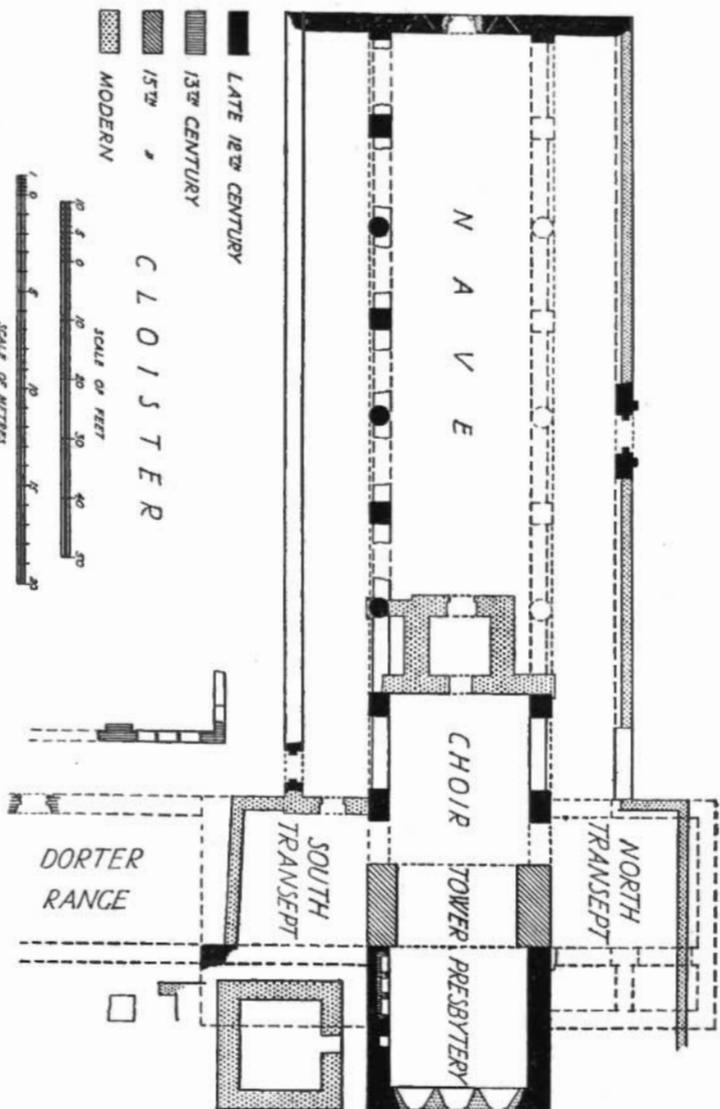
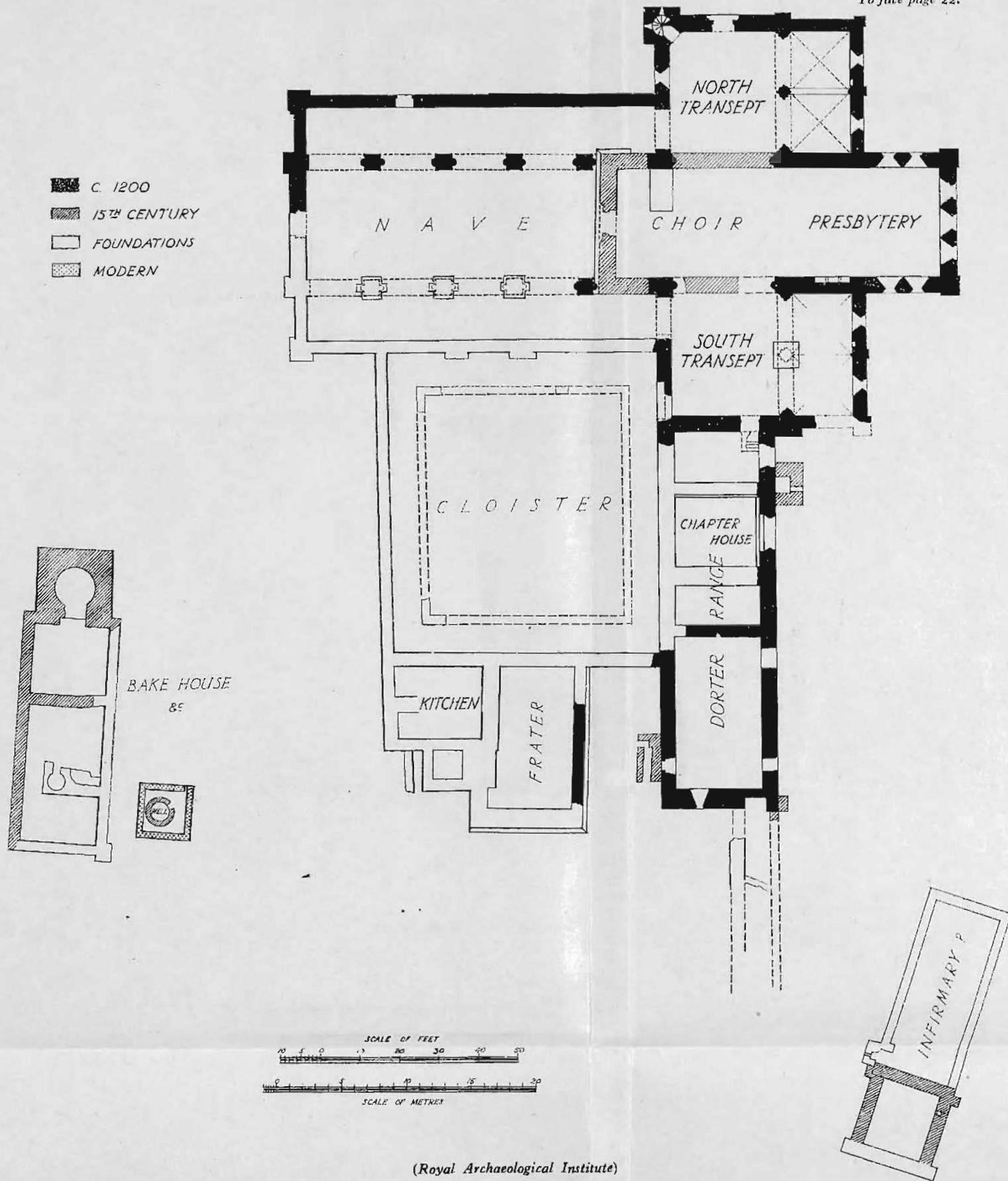


FIG. 6. BALTINGLASS ABBEY



(Royal Archaeological Institute)

FIG. 7. INCH ABBEY



screen-wall of rubble. As originally designed there was no provision for a central tower, the nave-arcades being continued by wider round arches over the entrances to the transept. Late in the middle ages a narrow tower blocking these arches was added and was still standing when Grose's view was taken in 1792. The details of capitals and bases are interesting examples of the peculiarly Irish form of Romanesque ornament. Recent excavations have uncovered the base of a N. doorway set unusually far east, and of a doorway from S. aisle to E. walk of cloister. Traces of cloister-arcade foundations, bases, caps and arches were also found.

JERPOINT ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Kilkenny) is perhaps the most interesting Cistercian ruin in Ireland. It was a daughter of Baltinglass founded in 1180. The church (Fig. 2), as originally designed, was a very close copy of that of the mother-house and very nearly of the same date. The presbytery, however, has a barrel-vault which is apparently original. The transept chapels are also roofed with barrel vaults. The three east windows with chevron-ornament have been replaced by a large fourteenth-century window, and a lofty tower with Irish stepped battlements has been added over the crossing in the fifteenth century. The nave (Pl. 1) in its eastern part has the alternating piers of Baltinglass and the capitals both here and in the transept-chapels have the same type of Romanesque decoration. A low screen-wall existed between the piers as at Baltinglass. In the nave are the foundations of a pulpitum with two recessed chapels on the west side. Three large round-headed windows remain in the west wall and a smaller window in the gable. It appears probable that late in the middle ages the S. arcade was built up and the aisle thrown into the cloister, but the remains of this arrangement together with those of the monastic buildings have been subject to so much reconstruction about the middle of the last century that many features as they now stand are suspect. The existing arcade-wall of the fifteenth-century cloister is a reconstruction.

<sup>1</sup> *Architec. and Top. Record* (1908), *Ireland*, 5th Ser. xvi (Consec. vol. 36), i, p. 53, and *Journ. R.S. Ants.* pp. 179-97.

BOYLE ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Roscommon), a daughter of Mellifont, was founded in 1148. The church (Fig. 3) survives largely complete but is of various dates. The eastern arm, the transept with two chapels in each arm and the five eastern bays of the nave are of late twelfth-century date, but the three tall lancet-windows in the east wall have replaced smaller windows and the superstructure of the tower is an addition, though the arches on which it rests appear to belong to the original building. Some such structure was necessitated by the great height of the transept-arches, which rise well above the nave clearstorey and could not have been covered by a continuation of the nave roof as was the case at Jerpoint and Baltinglass. The arch opening into the chancel is pointed and much lower than the other arches of the crossing, which are all three semi-circular. The chancel and chapels are roofed with plain barrel-vaults. The original bays on the S. of the nave (Pl. 1) have cylindrical columns with scalloped octagonal capitals and spur-ornaments to the bases; they closely resemble the nave-piers of Fountains. The clearstorey has a small round-headed window over each arch, and between the arches are corbels, those towards the aisle being intended to support a vault which was never constructed; those towards the nave are apparently purposeless as there are no signs of vaulting-shafts above them on the face of the clearstorey. The western bays of the nave (Pl. iii) are apparently an extension of the first half of the thirteenth century, though the round form of arch is retained on the south side, together with the vault-corbels. There is a single lancet-window in the west wall with banded shafts and chevron-ornament on the head. The north arcade is also of two dates but even the eastern bays are of later character than those on the south.

MANISTER ABBEY<sup>2</sup> or Monaster-nenagh (Co. Limerick) was a daughter of Mellifont founded in 1148. The late twelfth-century church (Fig. 4) had three chapels in each arm of the transept, a chancel with

<sup>1</sup> 72nd Rep. Comms. of Pub. Works (1904), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> T. J. Westropp in *Journ. Hist. and Arch. Assn. of Ireland*, 4th Ser. ix. p. 232.

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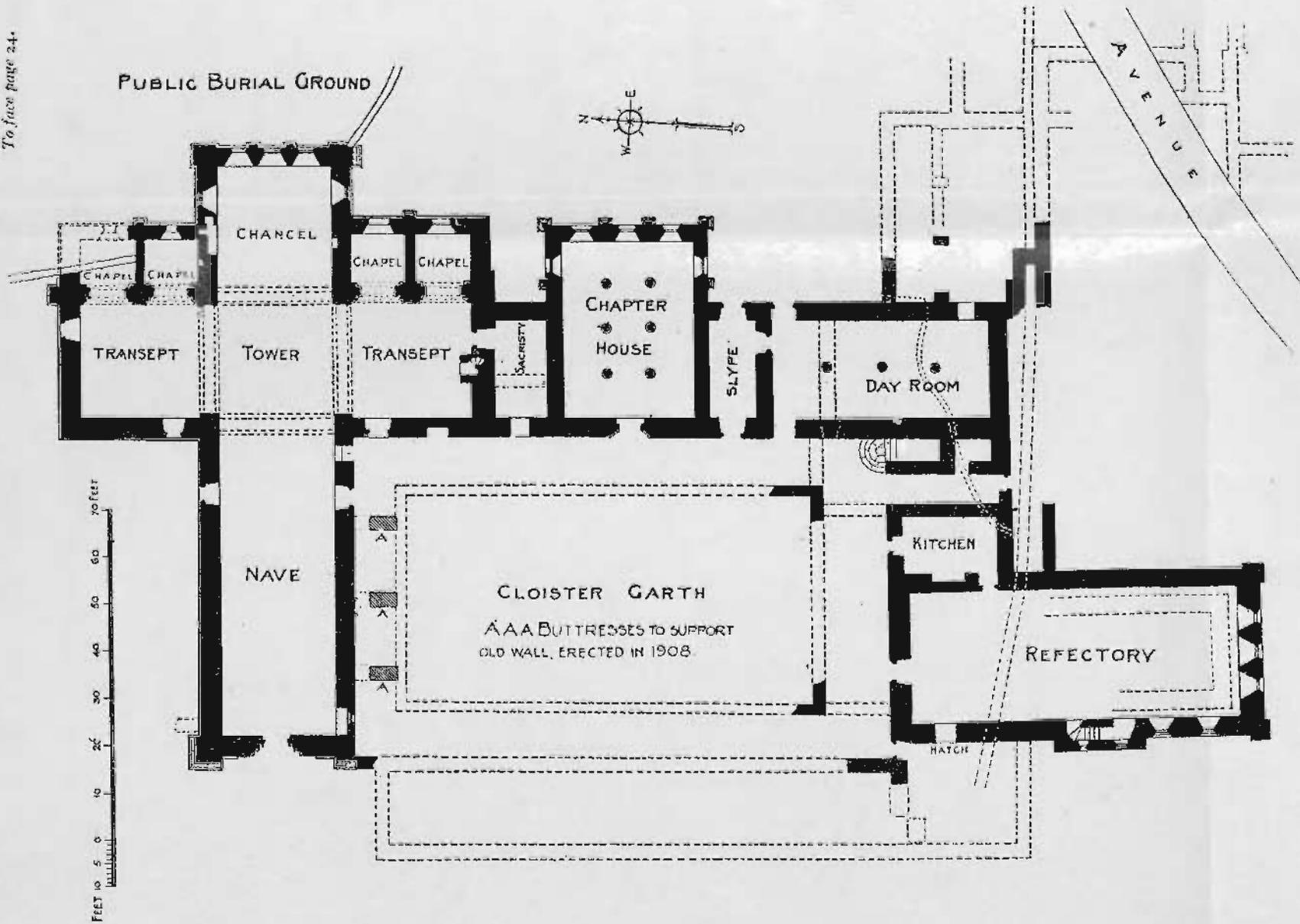


FIG. 8. GREY ABBEY  
(From Rep. Comms. of Pub. Works, 1908)



a pointed chancel-arch and a pointed barrel-vault and a nave with plain square piers and pointed arches. The responds of the chancel-arch, transept-arches and the east responds of the nave have shafts with late Romanesque foliage on the capitals. The arch at the east end of the south aisle has scalloped capitals. The nave, though not greatly differing in date from the eastern part of the church, shows an alteration in scheme. When it was built the original east responds (Pl. v) were abandoned and plain responds built against them to carry the simple pointed arches of the nave arcades. At a late date, probably in the fifteenth century, the transept arches and the two east bays of the nave were enclosed by solid walls, the west wall, crossing the nave, being carried up in a gable the full height of the building (Pl. v). At the same time a barrel-vault was erected over the S. transept and its west wall strengthened to support it. The N. transept with its three chapels was excavated in 1913.

KNOCKMOY ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Galway) was founded in 1190 as a daughter of Boyle. It has a simple church (Fig. 5) of that date and generally similar to Corcomroe but with two chapels in each arm of the transept. The chancel has a ribbed vault in two bays with plain square ribs and the chapels have, or had, barrel-vaults. The crossing has been closed in by later walls except on the east, perhaps to support a tower. The nave arcades are of simple pointed form with piers between, as broad as the arches. The clearstorey windows are placed irrespective of the arches below.

CORCOMROE ABBEY<sup>2</sup> (Co. Clare) was a daughter of Suir or Inishlounaght, and founded in 1195. To this date belongs the church (Fig. 9 and Pl. ii) with a square presbytery, transepts with a single chapel in each arm and an aisled nave. The transepts were roofed with a pent roof against the transept-arches and including the chapels to the east of them. The chancel-arch and

<sup>1</sup> R. Cochrane in *Journ. R. Soc. Ants. Ireland*, 5th Ser. xiv (Consec. Vol. xxxiv), p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *The Architect*, July 12th, 1879, and T. J. Westropp in *Journ. R. Soc. Ants. Ireland*, 5th Ser. x (Consec. Vol. xxx), p. 299.

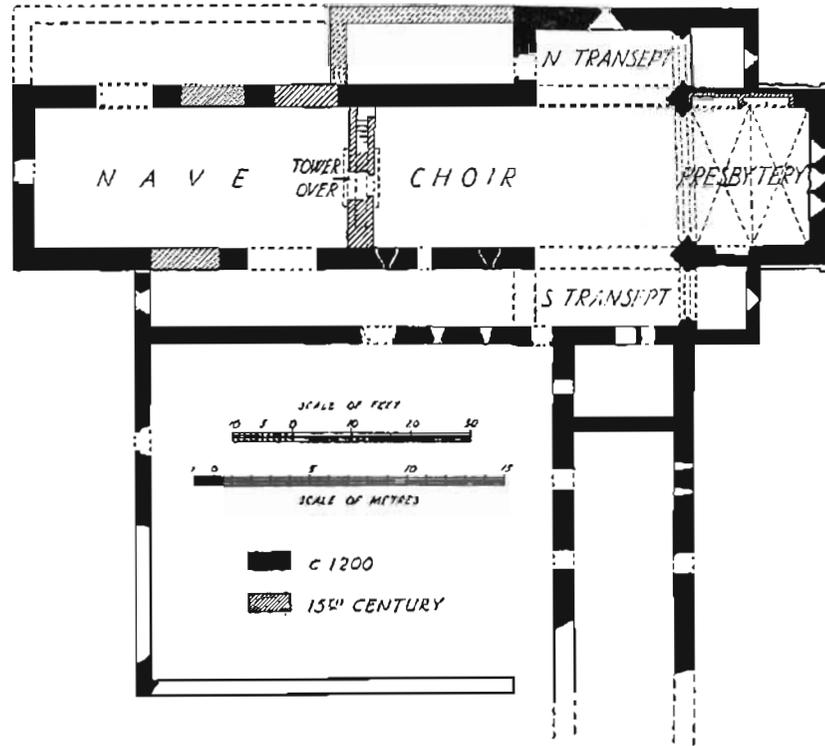
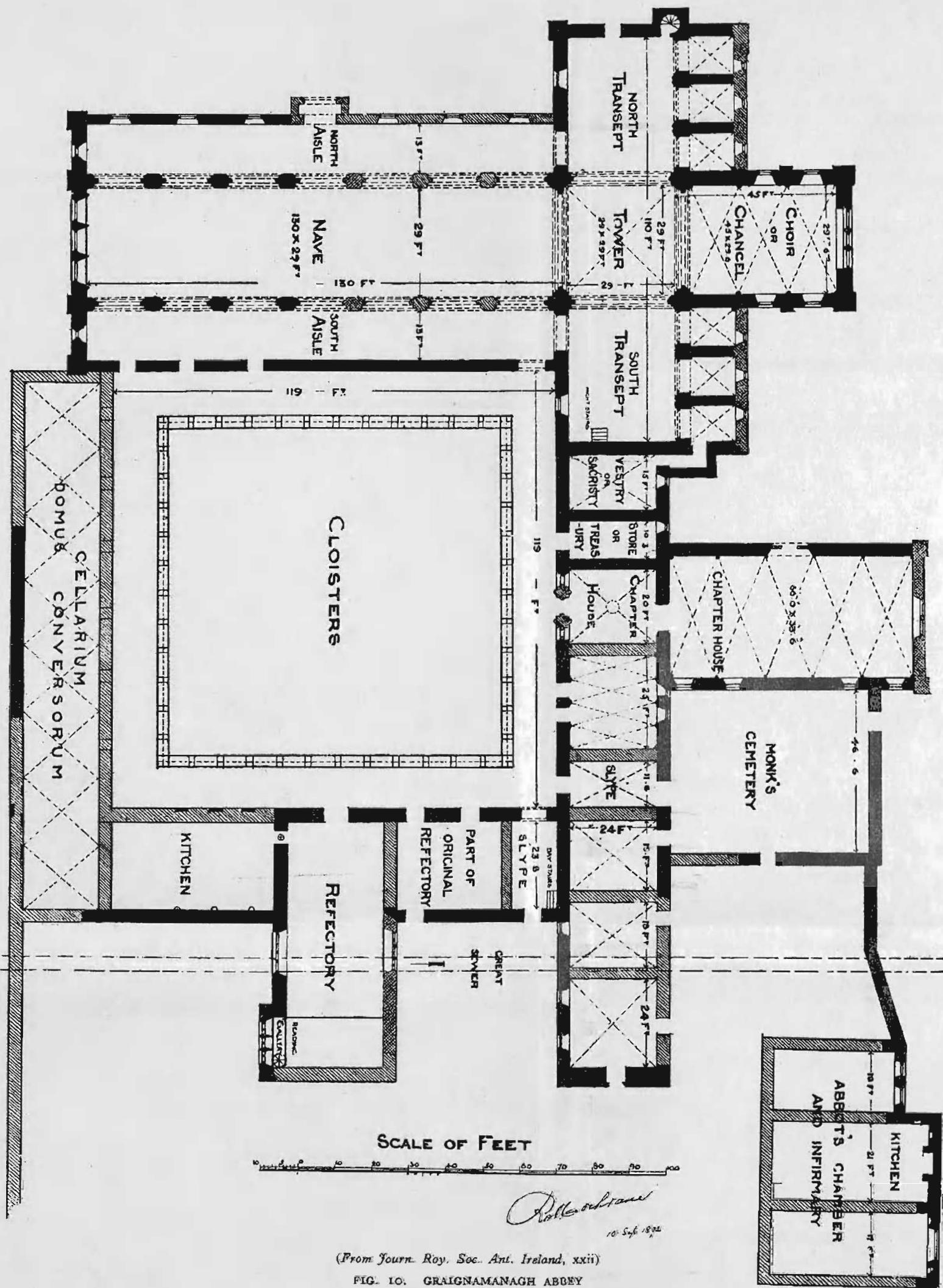


FIG. 9. CORCOMROE ABBEY



(From Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland, xxii)

FIG. 10. GRAIGNAMANAGH ABBEY



those opening into the chapels (Pl. iv) are of the latest type of Irish Romanesque. The chancel (Pl. iv) has a ribbed vault of two bays and the east wall has a triplet of lancet-windows with a single lancet-window above. Late in the middle ages a screen-wall was carried across the west end of the choir and surmounted by a small stone belfry. The nave walls are pierced by pointed rubble arches unsymmetrically arranged, and the west wall has two lofty lancet-windows.

INCH ABBEY (Co. Down) was a daughter of Furness, founded in 1187. The remains (Fig. 7) are largely confined to the east end of the church though the rest of the site has been excavated. The east wall has a triplet of round-headed windows and the transept had two chapels in each arm. The choir has later enclosing walls extending into the nave.

GREY ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Down) was founded in 1193 as a daughter of the English house of Holm Cultram (Cumberland). The church (Fig. 8) is disproportionately small in comparison with the extent of the monastic buildings and appears to be largely a structure of the date of the foundation. The eastern parts are of the normal type with two chapels in each arm of the transept and four pointed arches for the support of a low central tower. Being of directly English origin the details are all of later character than the contemporary Irish work. The aisleless nave was perhaps a temporary structure of the same age, erected with the intention of adding aisles at a later period. This, however, was never accomplished, though the weathering for a pent roof was inserted all along the north wall with that end in view. The rather elaborate thirteenth-century west door is probably an insertion.

SHRILE ABBEY (Co. Longford), the fifth daughter of Mellifont, was founded in 1150. The remains are masked with ivy but appear to belong to a late twelfth or early thirteenth-century church, with later modifications. Here the crossing seems to have had a west arch,<sup>2</sup> which was later blocked by a wide pulpitum,

<sup>1</sup> 76th Rep. Comms. of Pub. Works (1908), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in O'Farrell's *History of Longford*, but now overgrown.

vaulted in three compartments and very similar, on plan, to the corresponding feature at Jerpoint. The full length of the church was about 135 ft., the nave being represented by low walls and there is no indication of arcades or aisles. An arch opened into the destroyed south transept. Above the west arch is a late bell-cote.

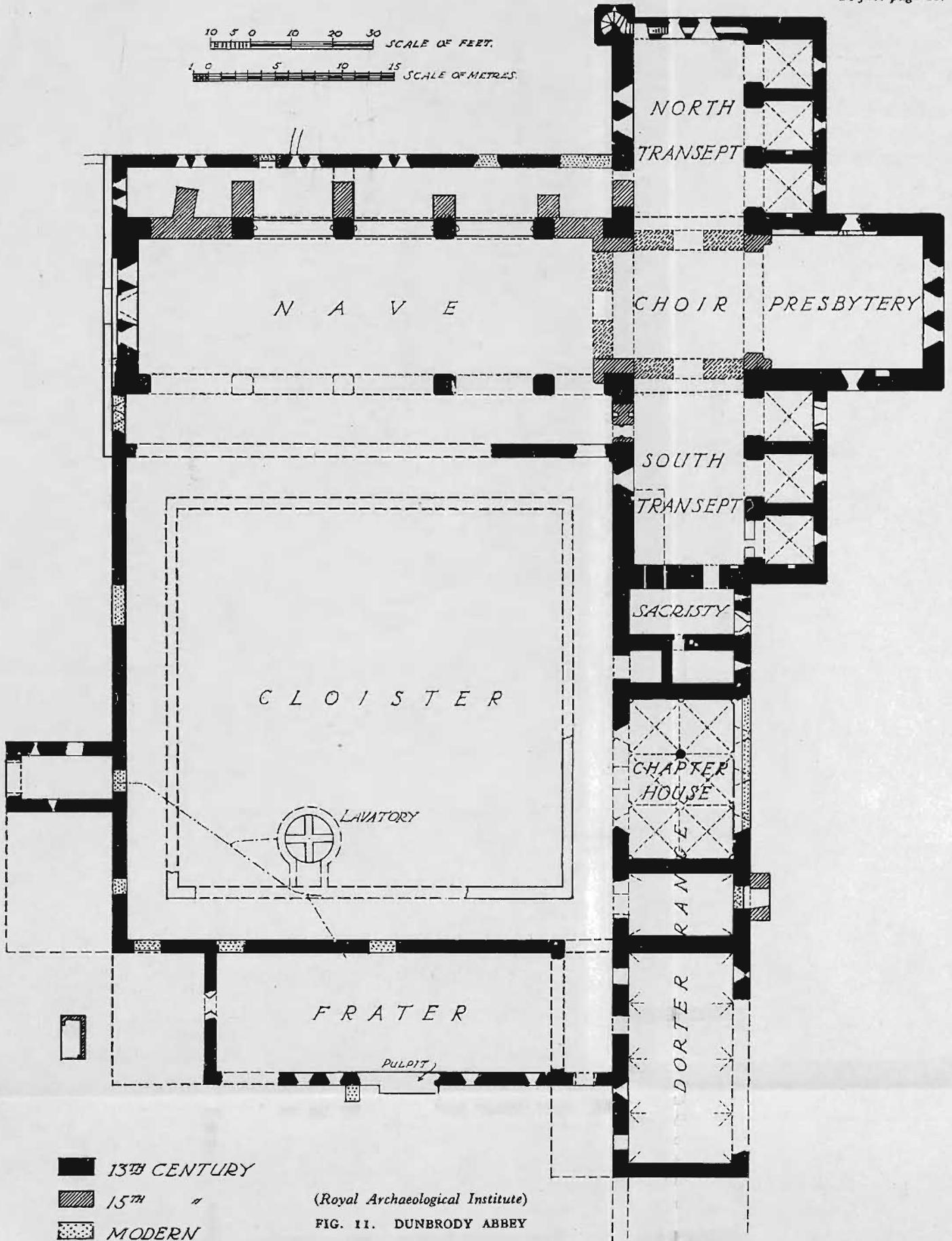
There are some remains of the walls of the range east of the cloister, with a tower at the S.E. angle, which is probably of post-Reformation date.

Of the churches of rather later date there are important remains in the second church of Mellifont and at Graignamanagh, Dunbrody, Bective, Tintern Minor and Hore.

The second church of MELLIFONT (Fig. 1) was a fairly large cruciform building, some of the walls of which are now standing to an average height of about four feet. The aisleless chancel is heavily buttressed, probably for a stone vault, and there are vaulting-shafts in the west aisle of the north transept. This aisle accommodated two altars, of which the piscinae remain in the piers. The building was apparently not designed for a tower over the crossing, a feature which was added in the fifteenth century, as evidenced by the added piers at the four corners. The capitals are particularly refined in detail. In the responds of the W. tower-arch are small recesses, probably for stalls like those still existing at Kilcooly. To the same date as the church belongs the fine octagonal lavatory (Pl. vi) with the remains of a stone vault which sprang from a central pillar.

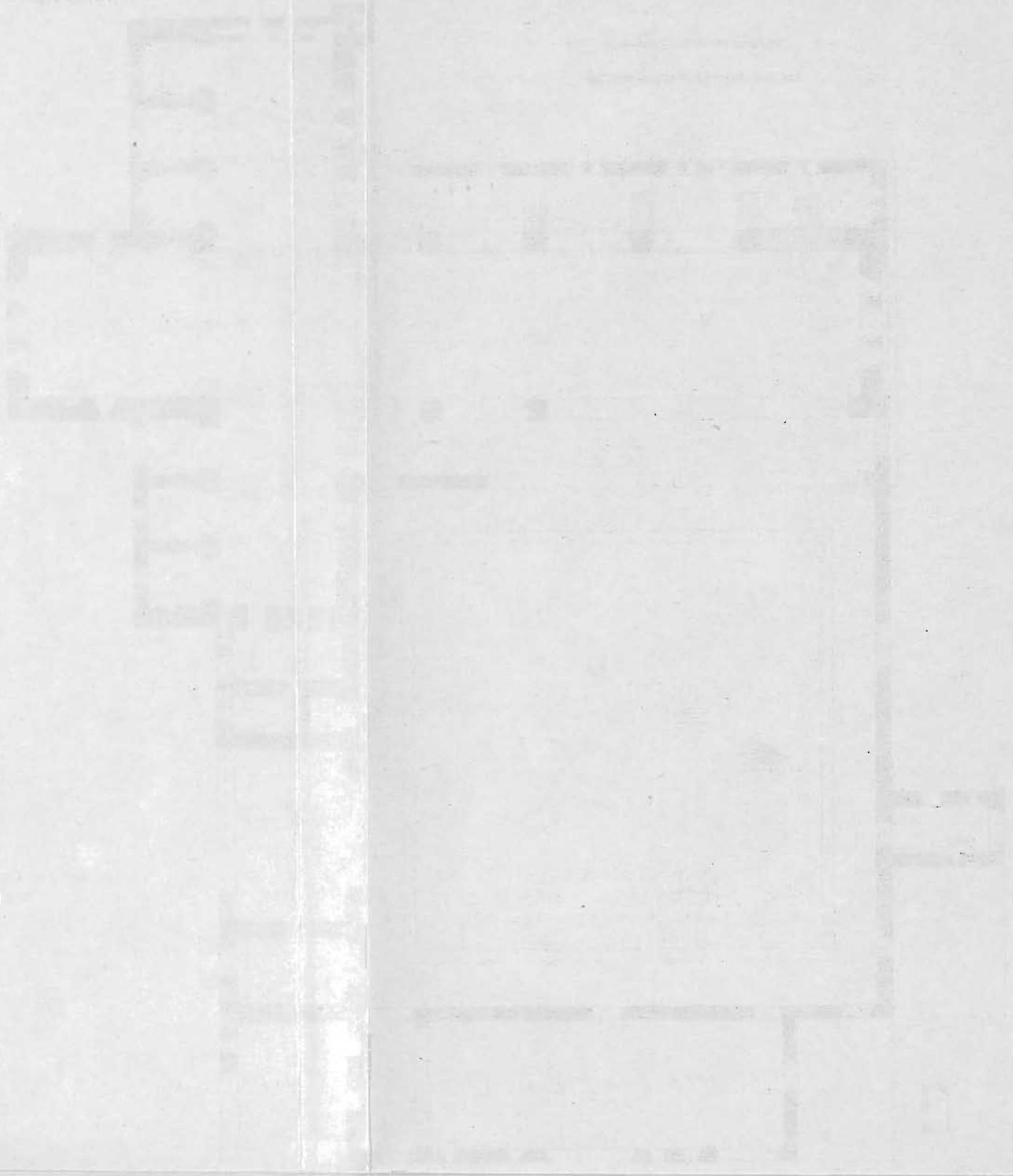
GRAIGNAMANAGH ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Kilkenny) was founded in 1204 as a daughter of the English house of Stanley (Wilts). The large church (Fig. 10), of thirteenth-century date is built more after the manner of the English Cistercian churches than most of the other Irish houses. It has now been restored to use as a church after long standing ruined. The chancel had a ribbed stone vault in three bays and the three

<sup>1</sup> P. O'Leary, in *Journ. R. Soc. Ants. Ireland*, 5th Ser. ii (Consec. Vol. xxii), p. 237.



(Royal Archaeological Institute)

FIG. 11. DUNBRODY ABBEY



chapels in each arm of the transept have barrel-vaults. The crossing was apparently designed for a tower and the transept has or had an unusual clearstorey of round windows above the chapels. The triple east window and the two windows in the end of the north transept have trefoiled rear-arches.

DUNBRODY ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Wexford), founded in 1182 as a daughter of St. Mary's abbey, Dublin, has an early thirteenth-century church (Fig. 11) still largely entire. It has three chapels in each arm of the transept and was designed without a central tower. The south arcade fell in 1852, but the north arcade survives and has rectangular piers and simple pointed arches with an inner order carried on corbels. The fifteenth-century central tower stands on added piers and walls and has a pointed barrel-vault over the crossing. Foundations have been uncovered of a circular lavatory projecting from the south walk of the cloister.

BECTIVE ABBEY<sup>2</sup> (Co. Meath) though the first daughter of Mellifont and founded in 1147, retains remains only of a thirteenth-century church (Fig. 12) with plain pointed arches to the nave and quatrefoiled clearstorey windows. There are no signs of a west arch to the crossing, so it must be assumed that the nave roof ran east to the chancel-arch. The east part of the church has been entirely destroyed. In the fifteenth century an entire re-planning of the convent was undertaken. The south arcade of the nave was walled up, the south transept-arch blocked and a smaller arch inserted, perhaps to support an added tower, and a much smaller cloister built covering the site of the former south aisle. The southern and western ranges were rebuilt north and east respectively of the original ranges. A residential tower was built during the sixteenth-century lay occupation and many minor alterations made.

TINTERN MINOR ABBEY<sup>3</sup> (Co. Wexford) was also a daughter of an English house—Tintern (Monmouth-

<sup>1</sup> 78th Rep. Commrs. of Pub. Works (1910), p. 58.

*Ants. Ireland*, Consec. Vol. xlvi, p. 46.

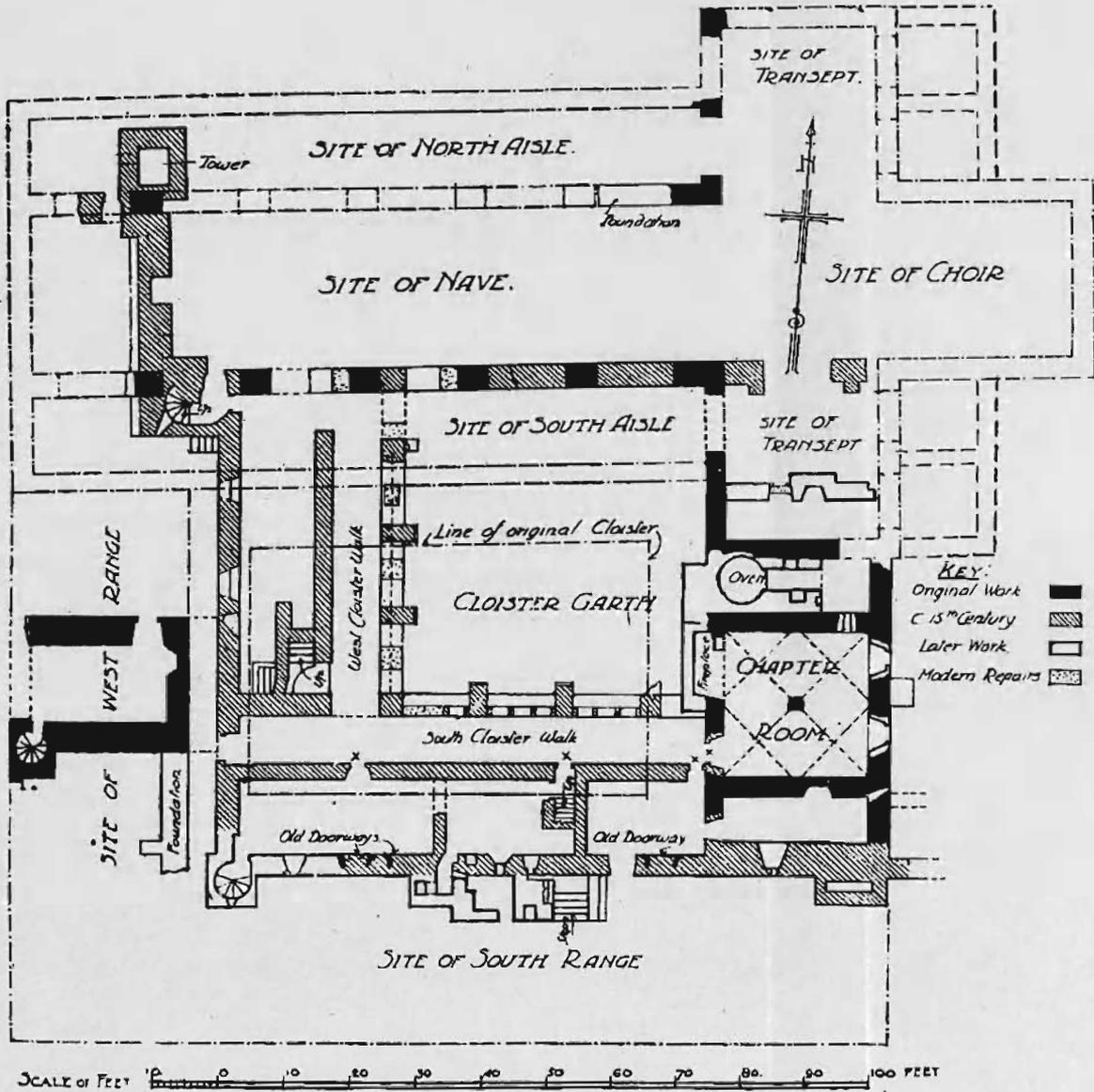
<sup>2</sup> H. G. Leask in *Journ. R. Soc.* <sup>3</sup> See plan and illustration in Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*.

shire)—and was founded in 1200. The church, after standing ruined, has been incorporated in a modern house. It has a central tower, and remains of three chapels in the south arm of the transept survive.

HORE ABBEY (Co. Tipperary) stands below the rock of Cashel and was the last daughter of Mellifont, founded in 1272. The church (Fig. 13) is largely intact and is of the typical Cistercian plan with two chapels in each arm of the transept. There was no provision for a central tower, which was, however, added in the fifteenth century. The chapels, at any rate on the north, had pointed barrel-vaults. The plain pointed arches of the nave are surmounted by a clearstorey of quatrefoiled windows set above the piers. At the date when the tower was built the crossing and two bays of the nave were enclosed with blocking walls, the western one being carried up the full height of the building. The western part of the nave was apparently then put to domestic purposes, floors being inserted and small windows with seats inserted in the embrasure of the original tall lancet in the west wall.

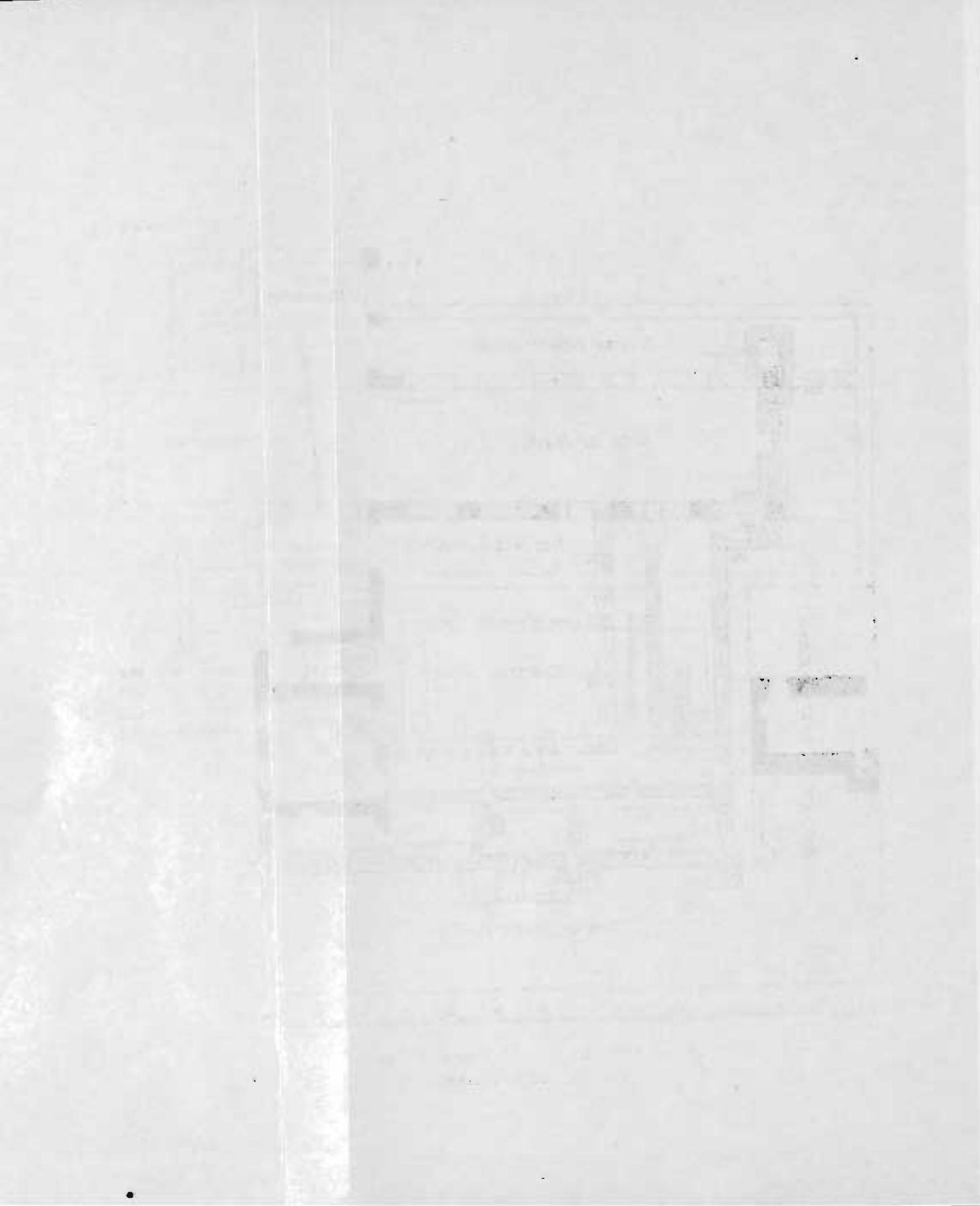
HOLY CROSS ABBEY<sup>1</sup> (Co. Tipperary) was founded probably in 1180, as a daughter of Manister. The possession of a relic of the True Cross appears to have greatly enriched it, and in the fifteenth century the greater part of the church (Fig. 14) was rebuilt on the old plan. This rebuilding included the chancel, transepts and two bays of the nave enclosed by solid walls to form a choir. A central tower, narrow from east to west, was built over the crossing, and the west wall of the new choir was carried up to the main roof. The chancel, north transept, tower and eastern chapels received elaborate ribbed vaults, and the sedilia and a tomb between the two south chapels are amongst the most ornate works of the late Gothic period in Ireland. The western part of the nave with its plain pointed arches is evidently a survival of the thirteenth century and is remarkable as having no clearstorey. The eastern entrance from the cloister is a late twelfth-

<sup>1</sup> 74th Rep. Commrs. of Pub. Works (1906), p. 11; M. Callanan: *The Abbey of Holy Cross*.



(From Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland, xlvi, 46)

FIG. 12. BECTIVE ABBEY



century doorway reset. Portions of the fifteenth-century arcades of the cloister have been reconstructed; one of these bears an inscription (Pl. viii) recording its erection by Abbot Denis O'Congail, who held the abbey about the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

KILCOOLY ABBEY<sup>2</sup> (Co. Tipperary) was founded in 1184 and was the eldest daughter of Jerpoint. A church (Fig. 15) was built soon after the foundation on the usual Cistercian lines, with two chapels in each arm of the transept and an aisled nave; the eastern part of the nave only (as at Knockmoy), was pierced with arcades.

In the fifteenth century an extensive reconstruction was begun, probably by the Butler family, whose arms appear in various parts. The old chancel was retained, the three east windows being replaced by the large existing traceried window; the side walls were strengthened internally to receive the round barrel-vault; the transepts were almost entirely rebuilt and covered with ribbed vaults and a central tower built, which also has a ribbed vault. The nave arcades were blocked, the aisles destroyed and the south aisle thrown into the cloister. A series of rooms were built above the chancel, transepts and crossing. Two remarkable features in this late work deserve notice; the first are the two stalls contrived in the responds of the west tower-arch; both are provided with elbow-rests and stone grooves for the pins of the misericorde-seats; the second feature is the elaborate sculptural treatment of the south transept of which the doorway into the sacristy forms the central feature.

The monastic buildings were much altered, both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in modern times. To the S.E. of the east range is a detached building, probably the Infirmary. There is also a circular columbarium covered by a corbel-vault.

ABBEYLARAGH (Co. Longford), the second daughter St. Mary's, Dublin, was founded in 1214. The remains of consist only of the crossing and small adjoining parts of a church of this date with later alterations. The

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. of Papal Letters*, xi, p. 4. *Ants. Ireland*, 5th Ser. i (Consec.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. W. Healy in *Journ. R. Soc.* Vol. xxi, p. 216.

surviving parts show no trace of arcades but there were two broad arches into the transepts and the respond of the inner chapel on the north survives; there are traces also of the corresponding respond on the south. At a late date, probably in the fifteenth century, a tower was inserted in the crossing and stood on two parallel walls N. and S. of it. These walls each have two pointed arches on the inward face, the eastern pair being pierced to communicate with the transepts. The walls supported a barrel-vault, now fallen in. The tower was approached by an inserted staircase at the S.W. corner, blocking the east end of the aisle, if indeed such aisle existed.

Having passed in review the more important surviving remains of the Cistercian churches of Ireland it will be desirable to draw some general conclusions as to their architecture and planning.

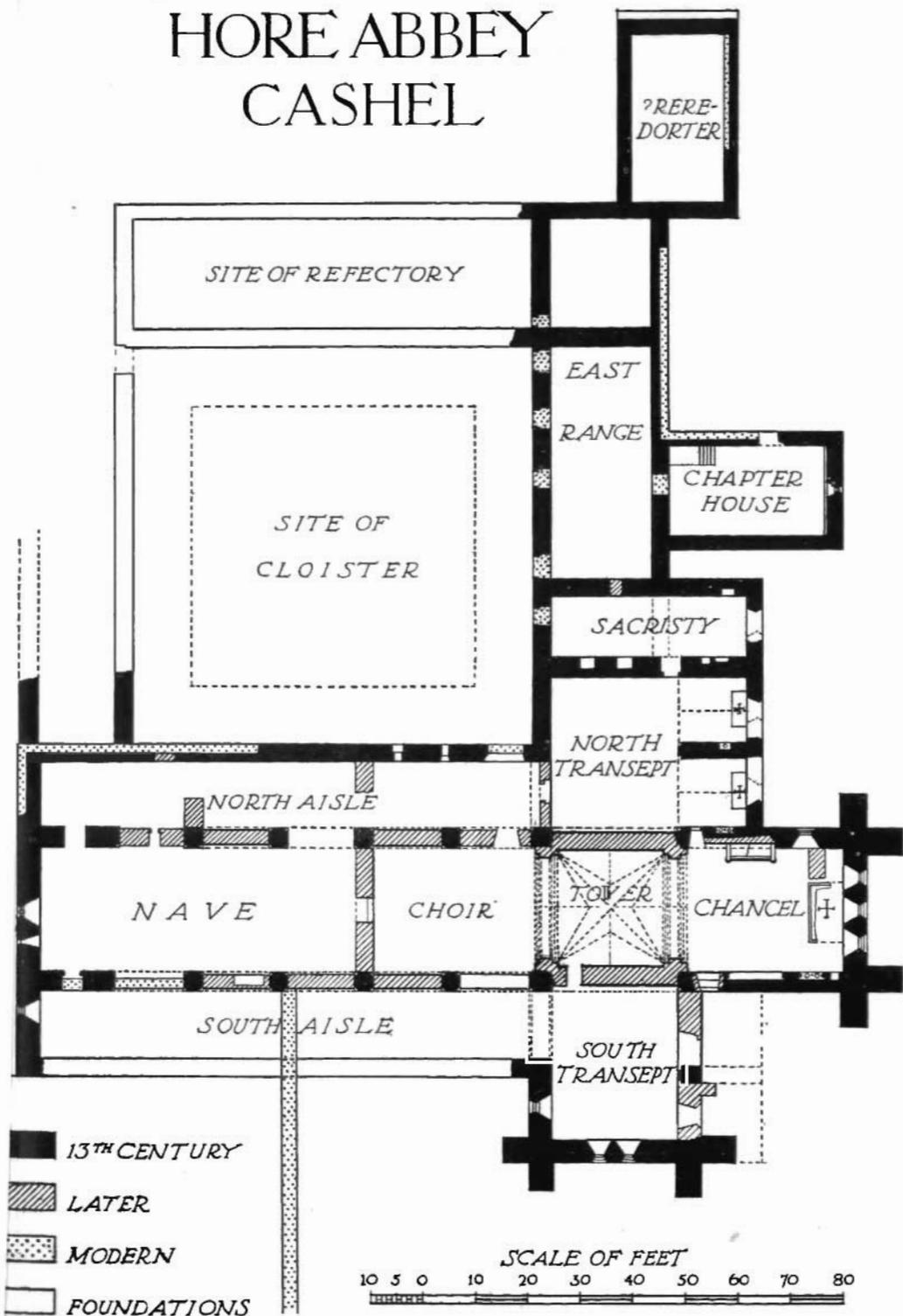
The plan is almost without exception of the normal Cistercian type with a square-ended aisleless presbytery, transepts with square eastern chapels divided by solid walls, and an aisled nave. The exceptions to this are the apsidal chapels in the first church at Mellifont, the later arrangement of chapels at Kilcooly and the aisleless naves of Grey and Shrute.<sup>1</sup> In general these churches are not distinguished by their size, Graignamanagh, the largest, has a total length of 204 ft., Knockmoy 194 ft. and Dunbrody 191 ft. Mellifont in its final form was slightly longer than Dunbrody, but all the rest were of smaller dimensions. Manister, Graignamanagh, Mellifont, Dunbrody and Tintern Minor had each three chapels in each arm of the transept; most of the others<sup>2</sup> had two chapels only, while Corcomroe had a single chapel in each arm. That the houses of native Irish foundation followed the French rather than the English model is indicated by the general absence of towers over the crossing in the original design, a feature which seems to have been general in the English abbeys of the later twelfth century. In Ireland the nave roof was commonly

<sup>1</sup> A third aisleless nave may be noted at Odorney Abbey (Co. Kerry).

<sup>2</sup> Baltinglass, Jerpoint, Boyle,

Manister, Knockmoy, Grey, Inch, Bective, St. Mary, Dublin, Hore, Holy Cross and Kilcooly.

# HORE ABBEY CASHEL



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FIG. 13. HORE ABBEY



carried through continuously up to the chancel-arch and perhaps sometimes from end to end of the building. Jerpoint shows evidence of the common arrangement, retaining the original barrel-vault of the chancel and the cutting-back of the original arches opening into the transepts. The original transept-arches survive at Baltinglass, Dunbrody, Hore and (on one side) at Bective, but at all of these places a central tower has been built over or within the crossing in the fifteenth century. The same process is also observable at Mellifont, though only the bases remain. At Corcomroe the later tower, or rather turret, was erected west of the crossing and on the west wall of the choir. One native abbey, Boyle, seems to have had four arches to the crossing and perhaps a low tower from the beginning, and this course was followed in the English-founded abbeys of Graignamanagh, Grey and Tintern Minor. In the twelfth and thirteenth-century buildings vaulting seems to have been confined to the chancel and chapels, though its use is only occasional in the chancel. The form generally used is the plain pointed barrel-vault, but this is more probably an inheritance from native Irish traditions than an introduction from Burgundy. The nave-arcades are generally of pointed arches and rest on square or rectangular piers. Very frequently, in the native Irish houses, these plain arcades are not continued to the west end of the nave, as may be seen at Knockmoy, Kilcooly, Corcomroe and Manister, leaving a greater or less extent of the nave with solid walls between it and the aisles. The S. aisle no doubt was of service as a corridor, but it is difficult to see what useful purpose was served by the isolated part of the north aisle. In the twelfth-century churches of Baltinglass and Jerpoint there is an alternation of square with cylindrical piers in the nave, and the south arcade at Boyle has cylindrical piers only in its original portions. The clearstorey is of small round-headed, pointed or quatrefoiled windows, more often<sup>1</sup> placed over the piers than over the crowns of the arches.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. at Jerpoint, Dunbrody, Hore, Graignamanagh, Manister and Baltinglass. Examples of this occur

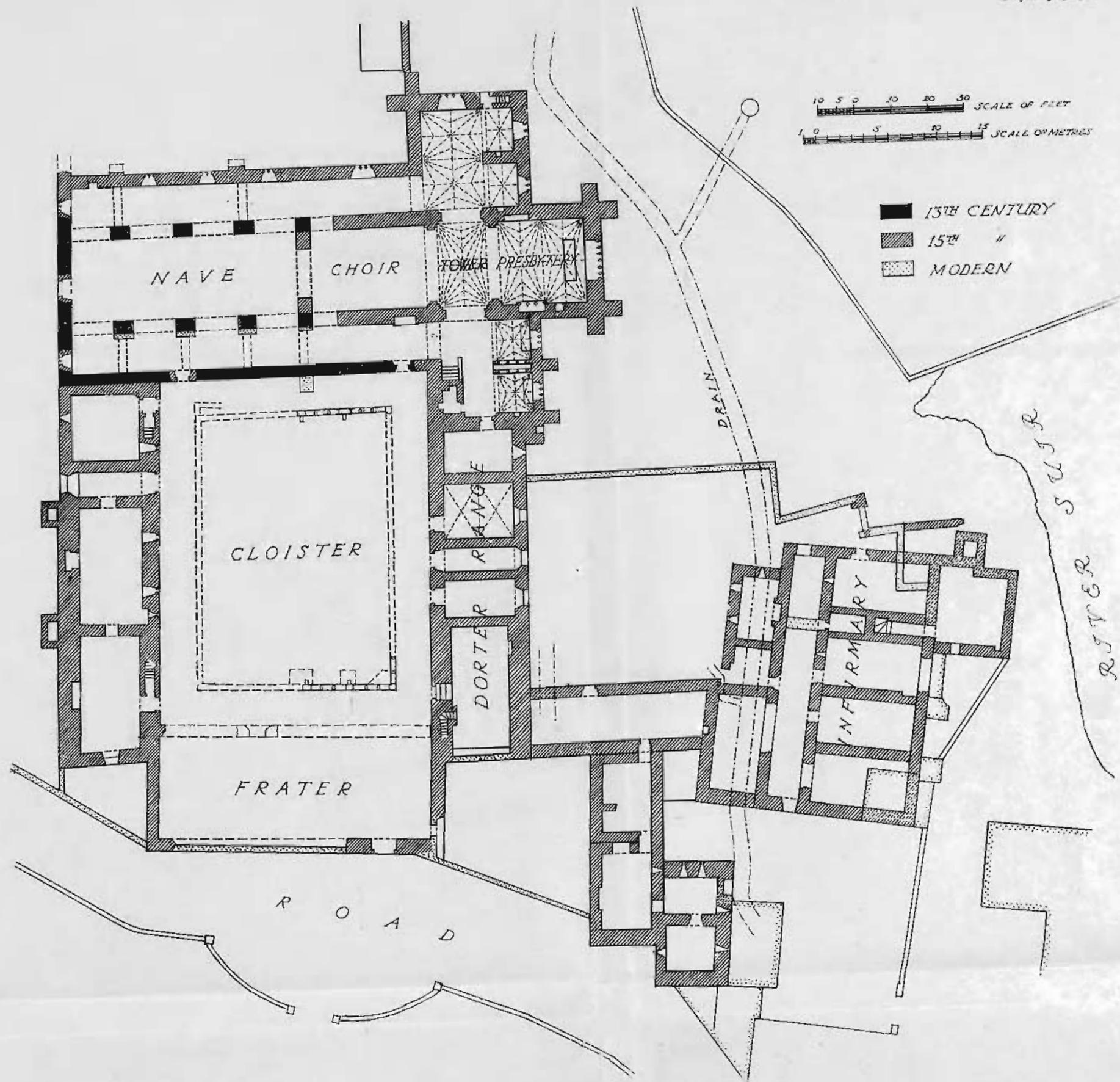
also in parish churches at Gowran and Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, both thirteenth century.

The twelfth-century detail and ornament (Pl. vii) is best studied at Jerpoint, Baltinglass, Corcomroe and Manister. While keeping the normal outlines of northern Romanesque, the Irish applied to them a flat surface decoration which was individual to their country and in part derived from the motives of their earlier Christian art. This may be well seen in the recently uncovered bases at Baltinglass, where a form of beast with interlace occurs on one side and a very individual moulded base carved with a frog or toad-form spur on the other. The capitals at Baltinglass and Jerpoint are covered with a great variety of diapers of trellis and pellet ornament, of local type, and the late Romanesque foliage at Manister is also of local character. There is little decoration of the arches either by mouldings or carving at this period, but an exception must be made for the curious detail of the chapel-arch (Pl. iv) of the north transept at Corcomroe.

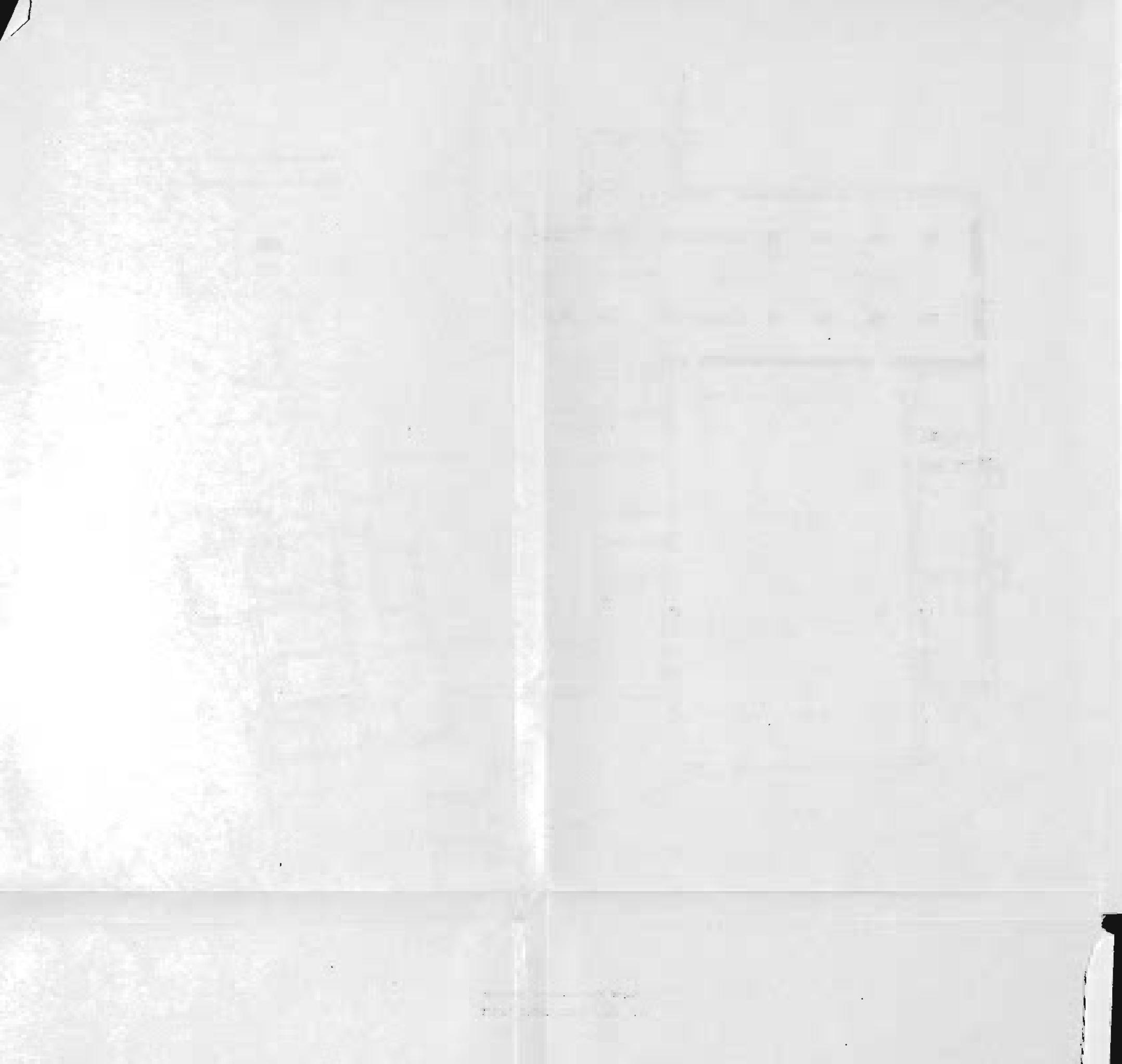
The building of central towers<sup>1</sup> in the fifteenth century sometimes carried with it the partial reconstruction of the eastern parts of the church. Thus the whole of the eastern part of Holy Cross was rebuilt in the fifteenth century and much of Kilcooly at the same period. Alterations on a smaller scale were made in the nave at Hore and the chancel at Jerpoint. These alterations were not due only to a desire to rebuild and improve the church, but more particularly to provide a series of living-apartments above the vaults of the reconstructed parts. It is possible that the Irish Cistercians of the later middle ages, diminished in numbers, found the normal conventual arrangement both too spacious and too comfortless for their taste and retired more and more into these contrived apartments which are often provided with fireplaces and window-seats and even garderobes.

This latest age of Cistercian building in Ireland was accompanied by a relatively high level of decorative art. The carvings (Pl. viii) in the cloisters at Bective, Holy Cross and Jerpoint are excellent examples of their

<sup>1</sup> These are gracefully 'battered' and were usually crowned by the characteristic stepped battlements.



(Royal Archaeological Institute)  
FIG. 14. HOLY CROSS ABBEY



period, and the elaborate ribbed and lierne vaulting at Holy Cross is perhaps the richest example of this type of work in Ireland. Holy Cross also has an elaborate triple sedilia with canopies and much heraldic enrichment. It is noteworthy that while sandstone was almost invariably used for wrought and carved work up to about 1250 most of the later work in all Irish buildings is in a hard blue limestone. Holy Cross is a good example of the type of design which resulted from the use of this intractable material.

The domestic buildings of the Cistercian abbeys of Ireland have suffered far more severely than have the churches. There survives, however, a certain amount of this building which can be usefully studied. Portions of the fifteenth-century cloister-arcades of Bective, Jerpoint and Holy Cross have survived or been re-erected. They retain the early form with small open round or pointed and cusped arches and double piers connected by a stone web. This web is often used for the display of carved figures of saints or donors and other enrichments. The arcade openings are generally grouped in threes between buttressed piers. At Bective the walk is *within* the building and is vaulted, as in the friars' houses of fifteenth-century date. The octagonal lavatory at Mellifont, a two-storeyed building of the thirteenth century, has already been mentioned. It is the only surviving example of such a building in the British Isles, with the exception of the cognate structure at Canterbury Cathedral. The chapter-houses are commonly small, rectangular apartments which only occasionally, as at Grey and Dunbrody, take the aisled Cistercian form. In several instances a later chapter-house was added east of the dormitory-range, and examples of this survive at Manister, Mellifont and Graignamanagh. The later form of Cistercian refectory set at right-angles to the cloister is also only occasional in Ireland. It is to be seen at Mellifont, Graignamanagh, Inch, Jerpoint and Grey Abbeys, some having remains of the reader's pulpit in the west wall.

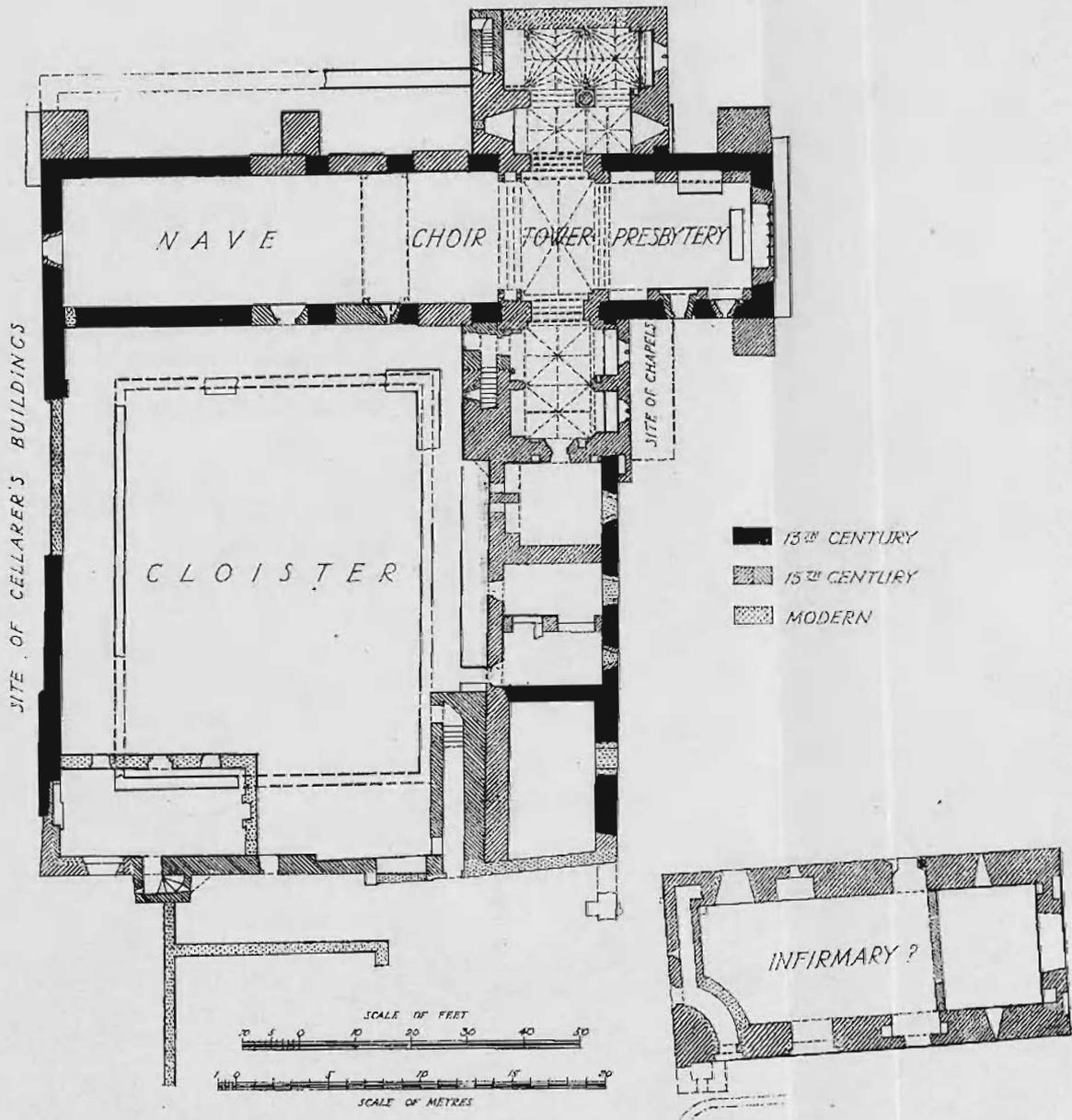
The western ranges have disappeared except at Holy Cross and Bective, and were, in most cases

small, which suggests that the number of conversi was never large.

Of the outlying buildings the remains are still more scanty, though there are extensive remains representing the Infirmary and abbot's lodging at Holy Cross, the possible Infirmary at Kilcooly, and the ruins of a lofty towered gatehouse at Mellifont.

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FIG. 15. KILCOOLY ABBEY