IRISH CATHEDRAL CHURCHES.[1]

By IAN C. HANNAH, M.A.

The ancient cathedrals of Ireland seem hardly to have attracted from antiquaries the attention which is certainly their due. In architectural splendour doubtless they are surpassed by the cathedrals of England, even by those of Scotland and Wales, but still they have a very distinct national character of their own, and much of the story of Ireland is written in their stones.

Variety is their prevailing note. In this they are altogether unsurpassed. St. Patrick's, Dublin, is not unworthy to rank among the mediaeval cathedrals of England, being a little larger than Carlisle,[2] while Aghadoe might almost put in a claim to be the smallest church in the land. The others in size are graded all the way between. Glendalough and Ardmore are good specimens of the ancient architecture of Ireland before the Anglo-Normans came: at Derry the cathedral is in some respects one of the best examples we possess of the Gothic of the Jacobean age. The work of no intermediate period is altogether undisplayed by the other cathedrals of the island: they are mostly of the thirteenth century.

So far, indeed, does diversity extend that Ireland cannot be said to possess a cathedral type as do England and France. Her mother churches are of almost every conceivable form, allowing no possibility of generalisation. Not one possesses the triple-tower plan that is the usual arrangement for important cathedrals in England. Only the two in Dublin are adorned with triforia, vaulted clerestories and chapels east of the quires, though these are features that emphatically belong to the cathedral type wherever Gothic architecture is known. Cashel, whose ground plan is extraordinary, is the only one which

[1] Read before the Institute, 1st December, 1915. The line drawings are all by Edith Brand Hannah.

[2] Considerably larger than the original Norman church, larger than the cathedral that stands to-day; but when the nave was still intact and the fourteenth-century quire was completed the Cumbrian church was probably larger than the Irish. St. Patrick's is just a little bigger than Ripon minster, which became a cathedral on the restoration of the see in 1836.

possesses a second steeple, save that in many cases a detached round tower stands by.

Nor is the position of the cathedral a fixed thing in the cities of Ireland. On hill-tops at Kilkenny and Armagh an English close is reproduced to a certain extent; at Cashel the cathedral stands apart on its glorious rock, like the Parthenon crowning the Acropolis with the streets spread out below. The precincts of the two cathedrals in Dublin are pressed close by the houses of the city, but no Irish bishop's church stands beside the market-place like so many cathedrals on the continent and so many parish churches in England. In most cases there is a very ordinary churchyard, for most of the bishops' sees, which were very numerous, were placed in villages or small country towns. In Scotland Celtic influence was strangely shown by the fact that practically every cathedral was situated in a village or a little town. Hardly one of the chief places in mediaeval Scotland, not even Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Dunfermline, Berwick and Inverness, possessed a cathedral church. In Ireland, although in other ways the influence of the Celts was still stronger, there was a cathedral in every town of any importance with a few exceptions, such as Galway and Drogheda.

A few of the Irish cathedrals were the churches of regular canons or monks; most of them, however, have always been served by secular chapters, and this though in some cases, as at Clonmacnoise and Kildare, they were surrounded by the dwellings of regulars. Both in size and in beauty the cathedrals must have been fully equalled by several of the monastic churches that contained no bishops' chairs, but this was likewise the case both in England and Scotland and other parts of Europe as well. On the whole the Irish cathedrals have suffered worse from the excessive zeal of the restorer than the English ones, though perhaps hardly so badly as the French. Many of the most important have been almost entirely rebuilt, but this was a necessity from the neglect of ages past.

In describing these most interesting churches it will be best to take them roughly in chronological order, as suggested by the most prominent existing features.

To avoid confusion, however, each church will be treated as a whole, and later additions to the fabric will be mentioned in connexion with its earlier features, instead of being placed in a chronological order of their own.

The ancient Celtic church, possessing so many features borrowed from the east, did not greatly emphasise the distinction between cathedrals and other places of worship, either in ritual or architecture. Of the ancient Irish words for church none is used exclusively for a cathedral. 'Daimhliag' is simply a great church built of stone; it seems never to be used in any technical sense, and it appears to have depended entirely on the speaker whether any particular church was described by the expression or not.

Four existing cathedrals, three roofless ruins, and the fourth not used, were already in existence before the Anglo-Normans came.

ARDMORE.

The chancel of Ardmore is an excellent specimen of the Cyclopean masonry with large shapeless blocks and widish joints that is one of the distinctive architectural features brought to Ireland from the Levant (fig. 1). It is of early character, and may be of any period from the seventh century to the eleventh. All the details that survive are later. In the churchyard is the little cell of St. Declan, founder of the church, a chamber of similar Cyclopean masonry, 13 ft. 4 ins. by 8 ft. 9 ins. the walls 2 ft. 5 ins. thick, with antae at either end. This tiny sanctuary has an older look than the cathedral, and may *possibly* date back to the days of St. Declan himself and belong to the fifth century. We have really no means of dating these ancient buildings of Ireland except in the most general way[1]; till recently the tendency has been to assign their erection to periods most improbably early.

Shortly after the Anglo-Welsh invasion of Ireland, or possibly before, there was added a Norman nave, a small plain structure with two splayed windows on either side: both inside and out a string runs along at the level

[1] One or two only can be dated by means of documents.

FIG. I. ARDMORE : CATHEDRAL AND ROUND TOWER.

of the arch-springs; it bends round the window-heads, and also bends needlessly half-way between as if for windows that never were built. This nave has a later western bay, only a little more recent than the rest, but the masonry is very clearly to be distinguished, the stones being smaller, the joints equally wide, the string-course discontinued. The west wall is pierced only by a narrow window in the gable; this is splayed within and its shafts have rough leaf capitals. The space below on the exterior is covered with very remarkable ornament, which is obviously not in its original position. It consists of two very wide round arches and an arcade of thirteen niches above. These openings are largely filled in with the rudest of bas-reliefs, representing both animals and men. Among them are Adam and Eve, the judgment of Solomon, the Virgin and Child, and the conversion of an Irish chief who bows before the Christian missionary while still holding his spear. The work shows on the whole a lamentable falling off from the really excellent details of earlier Celtic crosses, to say nothing of the superb ornament of the world-known book of Kells.

The chancel arch is an insertion of the fourteenth century with round responds and capitals displaying simple leaves. On the south side may still be seen a little bit of the cushion capital of the original Romanesque opening. In the modern church, which stands on another site lower down the hill, is the old font, a late piece of work, not earlier than 1500. Both bowl and base are octagonal, and the former has flat arches with nothing but pendants to spring from. Each side has an incised panel with foliage in low relief.

Close by the old cathedral on the south side and on slightly higher ground there rises nearly a hundred feet into the air one of the latest of the famous round towers that still exist, apparently the work of the twelfth century.[1] The masonry is excellent ashlar, kept in regular courses, in place of the neat rubble characteristic of the work of earlier days. Thrice the structure is banded, and above each string the diameter is slightly reduced, this

[1] Round towers were still built for years after the Anglo-Norman conquest. The *Four Masters* record the erection of one at Annaghdown, on the borders of Lough Corrib, as late as 1238.

being distinct from the battering of the walls. The conical cap is entire, and just below are the usual four windows provided to command the view; their sides are inclined and their triangular heads are simply pierced through the masonry without the ordinary sloping stones. The smaller windows lower down are square-headed or round with single stone lintels. On the north-east side (as usual facing the churches of the house and placed some feet above the ground) is pierced a door with round arch and sloping jambs. The tall round tower and the little roofless church (fig. 1), looking over the village at the foot of the hillside to the rippling waters of the bay, form a delightful group, though it seems strange that we must give the designation of cathedral to what in any other land would be small for a village church.

GLENDALOUGH.

At Glendalough the cathedral is merely one of a considerable number of little churches[1] whose charm is vastly heightened by the delightful scenery of the valley in which they are built. The twin lakes, from which the place is named, shut out from the world by the wooded hillsides, form an ideal setting for the ancient ruins, which owe quite as much to their sites as do Fountains and Rievaulx themselves.

The nave of the cathedral is a very fine specimen of ancient Irish work, remarkable for the massiveness of its construction.[2] Though its dimensions are but 48½ by 30 feet, the walls are no less than 3½ feet in thickness; their lower portions with the antae and the western door

[1] They are called the seven churches, but in the chief enclosure there are but four (the cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, the tempul Chaimhghin or St. Kevin's kitchen, a tiny unnamed chapel close to it, and the so-called priest's house). The precincts also contain a large rubble round tower, whose upper square-headed windows are arranged to command the vales of Glendalough and Glendasan from a height of over 100 feet; they are entered by a remarkable gateway whose arches almost suggest the work of imperial Rome. Close by, a little higher up, is the tempul Muire or church of our Lady. Still above, on the shores of the lakes, are Reefert church and the Tempul-na-skellig or chapel of the rock. Lower down are two more churches, St. Saviour's on the bank of the stream and Trinity on the slope of the hill. Thus there are nine in all, in ruin every one.

[2] The excellent preservation of the churches at Glendalough is very remarkable in view of the deplorable condition of the place throughout the later middle ages. In the archives of Christchurch, Dublin, is the original *Litera Palliorum missorum in Hiberniam.* In 1214 'Dominus Johannes Papiron, legatus,' found a bishop in Dublin and also a rural bishop among the mountains, and arranged for the union of their sees.

are built of large ashlar blocks of the local mica-slate, no pains having been taken to place these with horizontal bedding. On the south side are two original windows, both round-headed, one with a rubble arch, the head of the other cut in a single stone. The west door has a projecting lintel, and over it is a relieving arch. There are holes for hinges and for a wooden bar. The height is 7 ft. 4 ins. and the jambs as usual slope together, the

FIG. 2. GLENDALOUGH CATHEDRAL CHURCH: CHANCEL ARCH.

width being 3 ft. 11 ins. at bottom and just 5 ins. less at the top.

On the plain ashlar jambs at the east end a later Romanesque arch[1] with zigzag has been raised (fig. 2);

'Praeterea illa sancta ecclesia, quae est in montibus, licet in magna reverentia haberetur ab antiquis propter sanctum Keywinum, qui ibi duxit vitam eremeticam; nunc tamen ita deserta est et desolata per quadraginta fere annos, quod de ecclesia facta est spelunca latronum, fovea furum; ita quod plura omicidia committuntur in illa valle quam in alio loco Hiberniae propter desertum et vastam solitudinem.'

[1] In a letter to Lord Dunraven during 1864 Dr. Petrie attributes the cathedral quire, the priest's house and St. Saviour's to St. Laurence O'Toole (abbot of Glendalough, 1157–1161) on the strength of a passage in cap. ix of Messingham's *Florilegium* to the effect that he spent certain funds 'pauperibus nutriendis et ecclesiis aedificandis': Champneys, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 117. The cathedral east window, with some carved work of unusual character (which has perished), is engraved in E. Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1790; plate ii, facing p. 39.

its middle part is broken down. The Norman quire (25 by 22 feet) is probably a little larger than the original one. It is perfectly plain, with the familiar splayed windows, a long aumbry rebated for shutter and a round piscina drain. A lintelled doorway on the south opens to a little chapel. In the north wall of the nave a Romanesque door is also inserted; it has three shafts on each side without, and another in the inner edge. The general character and mouldings of the Norman parts exactly suit the date 1160.

CLONMACNOISE.

While the churches of Glendalough, like so many English abbeys, owe much of their fascination to the unexcelled beauty of their sites, those of Clonmacnoise seem to be in surroundings not less appropriate and certainly far more individual amid the desolate wastes of the Irish bogs by the broad and winding Shannon, the treeless dreariness relieved only by a few old ashes almost destitute of leaves. Here also the cathedral is one of numerous chapels in a group, all in ruin except the tempul Conor, still in use. There appears to be no good reason for doubting that the walls of the existing cathedral are those referred to by the *Four Masters* under date 924: 'Colman, son of Ailill, abbot of Cluain-Iraird and Cluain-mic-nois, a bishop and wise doctor, died. It was by him the daimhliag of Cluain-mic-nois was built.' In fact it would seem to be the earliest of Irish churches to which anything like an exact date can be assigned. The only original features, however, are the antae or continuations of the side walls that form buttresses to the east and west fronts. In 1104 the *Four Masters* mention the completion of the shingling of the roof, and they give us the very long names of those by whom the work was done. The shingles presumably were deemed an immense improvement on the primaeval thatch.

How the rudeness of the actual building was as usual compensated by the splendid and costly ornaments of

the interior is interestingly set forth in a further entry of 1129:

> The altar of the great church of Cluain-mic-nois was robbed, and jewels were carried off from thence, namely the carracan (model) of Solomon's temple, which had been presented by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall . . .; and the three jewels which Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair had presented, i.e. a silver cup with a gold cross over it, and a drinking horn with gold; the drinking cup of Ua Riada, king of Aradh; a silver chalice, with a burnishing of gold upon it, with an engraving by the daughter of Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair; and the silver cup of Ceallach, successor of Patrick.

The altars of the ancient Irish church were usually of wood, as is still the case in the eastern church. By constitutions and canons made by archbishop John Comyn at a provincial synod at Dublin in 1186,[1] wooden altars according to the usage of Ireland are forbidden; at the least a slab of stone must be inlaid. There is on the whole a marked absence of any remains of stone altars in ancient Irish churches, though some do exist, for example in the little unnamed church close by St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough (p. 348). They are perhaps of post-conquest date.

Though never enlarged (except by the erection of a tunnel-vaulted vestry on the south with chamber above, whose octagonal chimney with its domed top is still a conspicuous feature of the ruins), the cathedral at Clonmacnoise was considerably enriched in later days. An ornate Romanesque doorway in five orders, now much broken about, pierces the western wall. The outer order projects, and has remarkable octagonal shafts with damaged scallop caps.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a large north door was pierced with rather ornate mouldings, showing a cable pattern, and round the outer order foliage with interlacing twigs, a dragon on either side. There are figures of SS. Patrick, Francis and Dominic, and the inscription: 'Doms Odo Decanus Cluanni fieri fecit.' A register preserved at Armagh says that Odo, pretended dean of Clonmacnoise, was in 1460 deprived by the primate,[2] but in recording his death in the next year the *Four Masters* tell us that Odo was 'the most learned man

[1] The record is among the archives of Christchurch.

[2] Champneys, p. 185.

in all Ireland.' It was apparently as part of the same improvement that the east end was altered by the odd insertion of a vaulted roof opening by three arches and two bays deep. There remain the very plain semi-octagonal responds. These rather clumsily break into a sedile niche with red stone shafts and just pointed arch, work probably of about a century before. Above the vault, within the original limits of the church, was constructed a chamber connected with that over the transept vestry.[1]

The large and late round tower (O'Rourke's) that dominates the ruins at Clonmacnoise is interesting from the fact that its present condition can be exactly explained from documents. The lower part of good sandstone ashlar, with round arched doorway, was finished in 1124; the upper part, of rough limestone rubble, with eight rude square-headed top windows only a little over fifty feet from the ground, dates from a restoration after the tower was struck by lightning in 1135.[2]

KILLALOE.

At Killaloe, close to where the Shannon issues from Lough Derg, we may see the ancient architecture of Ireland gradually becoming less rude and adopting Romanesque details while still preserving the essential features of such buildings as St. Columba's house at Kells and St. Kevin's kitchen at Glendalough. In the yard of Killaloe cathedral still stands a little chapel, which was probably the bishop's church, with double roof of stone[3] (fig. 3). The inner roof is a plain tunnel-vault,

[1] Dwelling-rooms forming part of a church are frequently to be met with in Ireland, *Archaeol. Journ.* lxv, 49. A plan of the churches at Clonmacnoise is given on page 109 of this volume.

[2] These dates are from the *Four Masters*. Each is given by the *Chronicum Scotorum* four years earlier.

[3] Dr. Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, comprising an essay on The Round Towers*, 1845, p. 276) originally assigned its building to St. Flannan, who became bishop in 639; but in later life he came to doubt the very early dates he had given to most of the old Irish monuments. It appears to me that the earliest possible date is that of the famous Brian Boru, whose palace at Kincora was close by, and who is recorded in a history (*War of the Gael with the Gaill*, edited from the *Book of Leinster*, copied c. 1150) quoted by Dr. Hyde (*Literary History of Ireland*, 1899, pp. 439, 443) to have built churches at Killaloe and Inniscaltra, and a round tower at Tomgraney in the early years of the eleventh century. More probably, as Champneys suggests, the chapel was built much later in the same century.

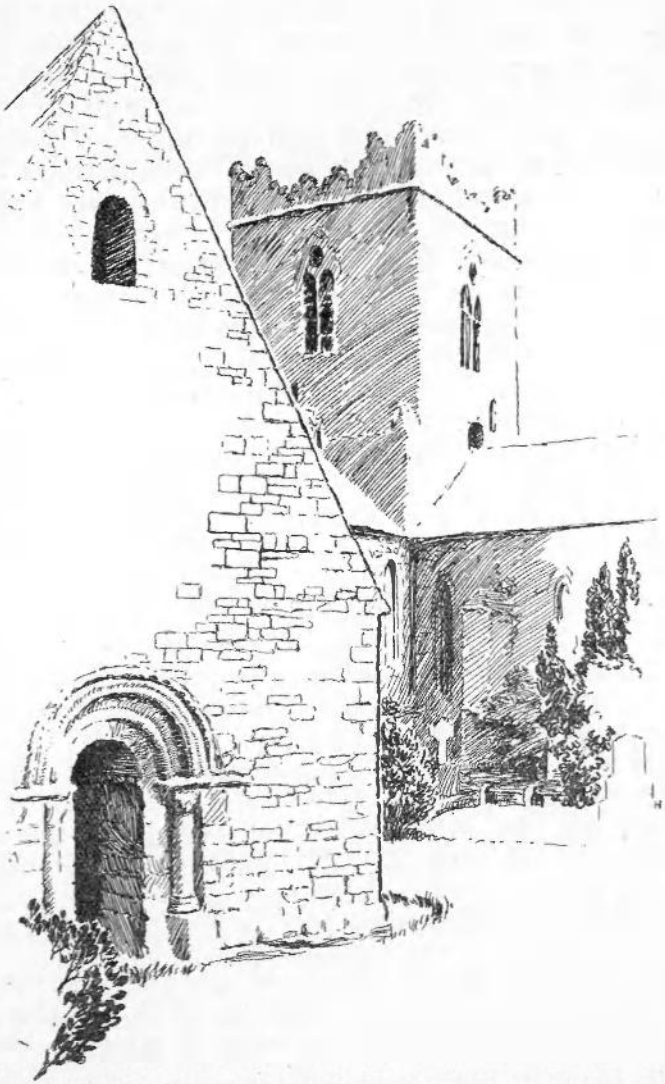


FIG. 3. KILLALOE: CHAPEL AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

the outer one is of solid stone-work and extremely steep, its straight sides of ashlar very well smoothed, though not in quite regular courses; along the eaves each side is a projection just sufficient to throw the water off the walls. These, as is fitting from the great weight they have to bear, are exceedingly massive, 3 ft. 8 ins. thick, though the internal dimensions are but 29 ft. 4 ins. by 18 ft. The facing stones are squared and smoothed, though not very regularly laid, but there is hardly a suggestion of the rudeness of the ancient Irish walls of rubble or Cyclopean stones. The west and only doorway has a plain round arch with chamfered abacus; an outer order is formed by ordinary 'Norman' mouldings, the drip-stone having billet; there are rather large shafts, the northern having rude Ionic volutes, the southern two animals with a common head. The chancel arch with plain chamfered abaci is nearly seven feet wide, but, though the rest of the structure is in very good repair, the chancel has completely vanished. The lower chapel is dimly lit by a triangular-headed opening on either side; the upper chamber, only to be gained by a ladder, has a similar window looking east and a round-arched opening facing west. The sloping jambs of these upper openings are very pronounced.

CASHEL: CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

A great advance in every way is marked by the famous chapel of Cormac on the rock of Cashel, which was consecrated in 1135 (fig. 11). Except in dimensions, indeed, it has much of the character of a real cathedral. The extremely simple plan, nave, chancel and square-ended altar recess, is admirably relieved by the transept towers. The very lofty and extremely steep-pitched roofs of well smoothed limestone are most effective features, while the outline is admirably varied by the fact that the towers are not both alike, either in height or in design. The northern one is lower than the south and less enriched by arcading; it is capped by a pyramidal roof entirely of stone. The southern tower is divided by stringcourses into no less than eight little stages, and

it has a flat roof of flagstones. It contains a newel stair to the chambers between the roofs, while the other tower is open to the top.[1]

The tunnel-roof of the nave is sustained by heavy arches springing from closely-set responds; the chancel has a ribbed quadripartite vault. The Hiberno-Romanesque details, both within and without, are of the most beautiful and ornate description.[2] At the east end of the chamber over the nave are three arches, rather reminding one of the entrance to a chapter-house: through the middle one, down some steps, is the approach to the room over the chancel. The upper part of the former chamber was divided by a floor (as is so often the case in Scottish castles) and the loft had its windows unsplayed, east and west. The outer roofs are sustained by very sharply pointed arches of tufa; the whole workmanship is surprisingly good and the water does not seem ever to have soaked through. Very considerable engineering skill is displayed in the construction of the building, more than in contemporary structures elsewhere, despite the smallness of the scale.

No church in the world of the same dimensions, perhaps, is more beautiful than this most striking little chapel. It displays the native architecture developing in such a hopeful direction that one cannot help feeling the profoundest regret that the conquest should so abruptly have destroyed it. If let alone the Irish might have developed a style entirely their own, not merely a national variety of mediaeval Gothic, but a mode of construction as different from it on one side as Byzantine work on the other. It is certainly strange that, while adopting so many features of their delightful detail from the east, they never borrowed its most distinguishing feature, the dome, as the central object of a church. The form had been familiar for untold generations in the sepulchral chambers of their tumuli (such as New Grange),

[1] In classic and renaissance architecture, with their ideals of perfect symmetry, it is natural and perhaps inevitable that when twin steeples are employed they should be of identical design. Gothic with its greater latitude can allow itself more freedom in this respect, and where as at Lisieux, the twin towers differ widely in design, the effect is incomparably more beautiful than where, as at Notre-Dame, they are both exactly alike.

[2] They have been fully described by Dr. Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 283–302. Cormac's chapel is illustrated and partly described in *Archaeol. Journ.* vol. iii, 180–182, and pp. 93–97 of this volume.

though built on the principle of the corbel instead of the arch.

AGHADOE.

On a hill that overlooks to the southward the beautiful mountains and lakes of Killarney, at Aghadoe (the field of the two yews), is a most interesting little roofless church; it bore the name of cathedral, and, though built in Anglo-Norman days, preserved the spirit of the Celt, being close to an old round tower.[1] The original founder was St. Finian the leper, but, although a far higher antiquity has usually been claimed for it, there seems to be no doubt that in the ruined nave we have the structure whose erection in 1158 by Auliffe Mor O'Donoghue is mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen. It is a structure of the usual form of Irish Romanesque; the walls are rubble, though formed of largish stones; they are pierced by small windows, splayed, and in one case (on the north) a deep line surrounds the little monolithic arch. The only remarkable feature is the ornate western door, which is shafted and furnished with rather elaborate mouldings. The shafts have zigzag lines with pellets, and the inner order on each side is dented with ornaments adapted from Irish step-battlements (fig. 4), a method of working details of which the Irish were always rather fond. The arch over the battlement moulding has zigzag, that over the shafts has lines and balls; still further out, over the projecting pilasters, is an arch built up of fragments, balls and zigzag prominent among them.

From the Annals of Innisfallen we likewise learn that in 1234 the great church of St. Canice at Aghadoe was raised by the successor of St. Kieran of Saigher. This structure forms a sort of chancel to the same church (fig. 7), but instead of piercing a suitable opening through the eastern wall, the builders provided a rough rubble-

[1] About fifty feet to the north-west of the cathedral is the lower part of a more ancient round tower, now scarcely two fathoms high. It is built of wide jointed rubble with some squared stones and an approach to Cyclopean masonry here and there.

arched doorway in its northern part, completely destroying one of the two original windows and taking away the splay from one side of the other. The new chancel is extremely plain; its east wall is pierced by two splayed lancets with a round relieving arch above.

The possession of cathedral status by such minute chapels as those of which we have been speaking is characteristically Irish, a legacy from earliest days. It is almost unique in western Europe, for even the two Icelandic cathedrals at Holar and Skalholt, though built of timber, were of far more ample size, and the only parallel

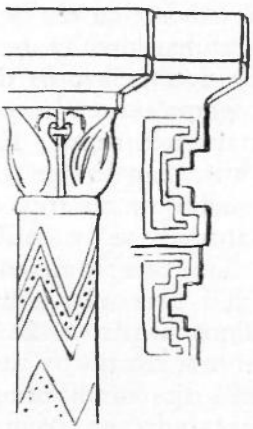


FIG. 4. AGHADOE: DETAILS OF WEST DOOR.

known to the writer is the old cathedral for the diocese of Argyll on the island of Lismore near Oban. In the east of Europe, however, whence Ireland's faith was brought, cathedrals are frequently of most restricted dimensions. The church of St. Eleutherios (nearly always called the old cathedral or 'metropolis') at Athens measures only about 40 by 25 feet.

DUBLIN: CHRISTCHURCH.

Before the Anglo-Norman conquest of the land had been even so much as proposed, other invaders of northern stock had turned their dragon-prowed vessels toward

Ireland, had founded cities and built churches in a style of their own on her fjords. The only fragment of their work that has lasted to our day seems to be the exceedingly interesting crypt of Christchurch in Dublin, part of the structure raised in 1038 at the expense of Sigtryg Silkbeard, Danish king of the city, by Donat, its first Ostman bishop.[1] The Scandinavians evolved a very distinctive form of Gothic of their own,[2] but that was in later days. This structure displays no trace of its influence, though it is not very like contemporary Romanesque work elsewhere. The plan is cruciform with aisles to the five-bay nave; each transept extends two bays, and the short quire of a single bay has a most irregular three-sided apse with ambulatory round. The south side bends inward considerably more than the north; the work is so very rough that this is probably to be attributed simply to careless building. The piers are very low, shapeless and huge; the vaulting is extremely solid, roughly round-arched. All is of rubble, and from its resemblance to undoubtedly native work it seems likely that the actual workmen were Irish, though the whole design, and particularly the existence of the apse, mark a great departure from the Celtic past.[3]

The upper church was rebuilt by the renowned Richard Strongbow,[4] with the help of archbishop Laurence O'Toole (p. 349) and others about the year 1170. It seems,

[1] Dr. A. G. Ryder, in his notes on Christchurch, dated February, 1884, appended to Canon Leeper's *Historical Handbook to St. Patrick's Cathedral*, says the crypt is part of Strongbow's church, but, in company with Sir Thomas Drew and others, I feel sure that he is wrong.

[2] Its special features are described in my *Capitals of the Northlands*, 1914: see especially p. 165 seq.

[3] Of the Danish cathedral at Waterford nothing now survives except the bottom of a thirteenth-century clustered column, which may still be seen under the floor of the church which replaced it in 1773. The lofty and very striking spire of this fine classic building, designed by John Roberts, dominates the whole city. From the plan and views of the mediaeval church, given in Harris' edition of Ware's *History of the Bishops of Ireland* (Dublin, 1739, opposite p. 525), it evidently had nave and aisles of eight bays, a low and heavy tower rising over the fifth bay from the west on the north side. Eastward the cathedral was extended three bays by the lower Trinity church. The west front was widened by two chapels, north and south; on the northern side projected other chapels, including that founded by James Rice, whose late-fifteenth-century monument remains in the ante-chapel of the existing church. According to a horrible occasional custom of the age, frogs and worms are represented crawling from the decaying corpse.

[4] Among the very few mediaeval monuments are effigies supposed to represent Strongbow and his son, whom he slew for cowardice in fight. As the larger effigy bears the arms of FitzOsmond, it has clearly been substituted for the original one.

however, that they desired to remove the old church rather because they felt that they could improve upon its form than because it showed signs of decay. If it resembled its crypt, its massive fabric might have withstood the badness of the foundation on a peaty bog and the neglect of centuries better than the structure that actually rose upon its site. The existing transepts, though very much restored, are part of this first English church (fig. 5). They are good examples of Gothic first emerging from Romanesque. Their rubble walls are pierced by a Norman south door with shafts,[1] and a plain arch of

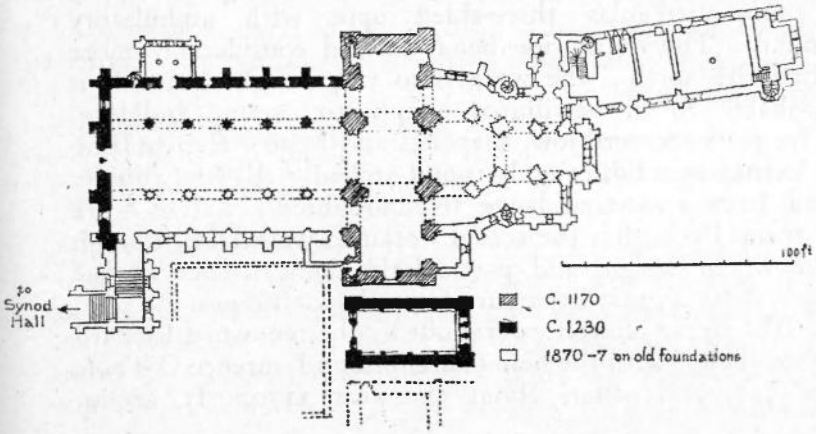


FIG. 5. PLAN OF CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN.

the same character leads into the rebuilt chapel of St. Laurence O'Toole[2] (archbishop, 1162–1180) on the east of the south transept; the end windows are in the same style. The side walls are pierced by round blindstory arches, each enclosing two little pointed openings. In the clerestory are grouped lancets, and the roofs are plain quadripartite vaults.

The nave is rather later in date, having been built in the early part of the thirteenth century, that golden

[1] This doorway was moved from the north transept in 1831.

[2] Grace's *Annals of Ireland* record in 1283: 'Arsit Dubliniae pars et campanile Trinitatis,' but this does not seem to have affected the nave. The present tower is practically modern. The church, like others, was called Trinity or Christchurch interchangeably.

age of Gothic art that enriched Europe with so many glorious fanes. The large piers are lightened by banded shafts whose foliage capitals with frequent heads do much to recall local peculiarities in Somerset. Above the well-moulded arches rise blindstory and clerestory, both comprised under one arch and each pierced by triple lancet arches, each middle one trefoiled. Of the original work only the north wall and arcade remain, and there are indications that the sixth and last bay on the west, beyond the crypt, was not part of the first design : the whole leans outward about a couple of feet. This may have been intended, but it seems more likely that it was caused by the slippery foundations which caused the whole south part to collapse in the reign of Elizabeth. This disaster and the subsequent rebuilding are recorded in an inscription :

THE : RIGHT : HONORABL : T : ERL : OF : SUSSEX : L : LEVTNT : THIS : WAL : FEL : DOWN : IN : AN : 1562 × THE : BILDING OF : THIS : WAL : WAS : IN : AN : 1570.

Though this lettering was preserved, the whole of the sixteenth-century work (which seems to have justified Edmund Spenser's criticisms of church restoration in Ireland[1]) was destroyed by Street when he restored or rather rebuilt the church.[2] So anxious was he to bring back, and even to improve upon, the original appearance in the thirteenth century, that he raised and greatly enriched the arches of the tower, and destroyed a long square-ended extension of the quire[3] that in the fourteenth century had taken the place of the apse, re-erecting the apse itself with the three square-ended vaulted chapels[4] that open from the ambulatory to the east. The work

[1] 'Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches, whereof the most part lye even with the grounde, and some that have bene lately repayred are soe unhandsomelye patched and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomeliness therof; therfore I would wish that there were order taken to have them builte in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatlye drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting therof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye, there is nothing in the seemelye forme, and comely orders of the church' (*View of the state of Ireland*: see *Works*, Globe ed. p. 680).

[2] In 1870–1877 at the expense of Mr. Henry Roe.

[3] The work of John de St. Paul, archbishop, 1349–1362. The structure is said to have been very poor. It says much for the massiveness of the crypt that no care was taken to strengthen its vault before building walls and pillars upon it.

[4] St. Edmund, St. Mary the White an St. Laud.

is extremely well done, many of the original carved stones are fitted in,[1] and the interior effect is most striking, giving the character of a noble cathedral with the dimensions of a moderate-sized church. The original appearance of the nave was rather unusually elaborate, especially the lancets of the aisles with their five-times-banded shafts.

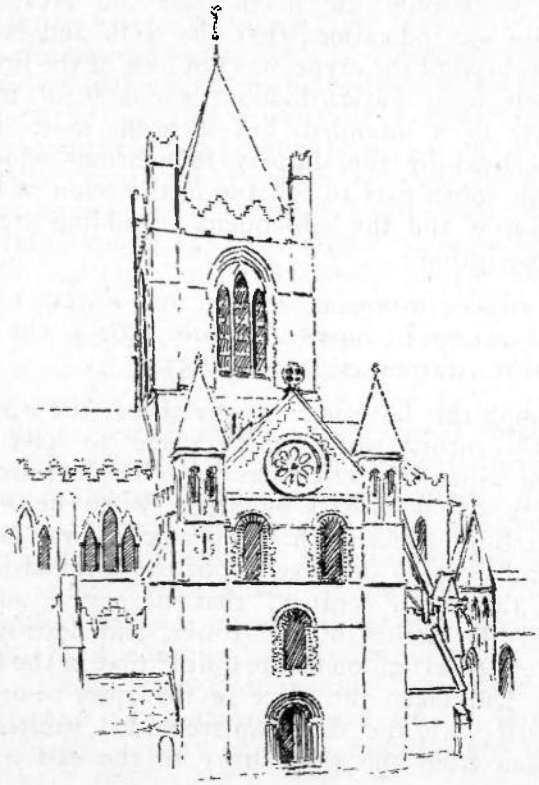


FIG. 6. CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN : SOUTH SIDE.

The exterior is almost entirely renewed, and the effect of the low central tower and extremely short quire (with its misshapen apse, having the east wall much longer than the north and south) is by no means very

[1] Many were available lying under the nave floor, which had been raised in level to avoid the trouble of clearing away the *debris* left by the fall of the south arcade, vaulting, etc.

satisfactory (fig. 6), though greater importance is given to the building by the new chapter-house and library extending on the site of an ancient chapel set irregularly to the north-east, a baptistery on the north side of the nave, and the synod-hall approached by a covered passage across the street. This last occupies the site and incorporates the tower of the church of St. Michael, a fine fourteenth-century structure with four square turrets very nearly as large as the cathedral tower itself.

By St. Laurence O'Toole the cathedral was placed in charge of Austin canons of the congregation of Arrouaise. The cloister was on the south side of the nave; little remains except the foundations of the beautiful rectangular chapter-house. It was vaulted in four bays with clustered shafts. Eastward was a large triplet; westward a door with window aside opened into the cloisters, all of early thirteenth-century character.[1]

DUBLIN: ST. PATRICK'S.

In a spot known as the Insula between two branches of the little stream of Poddle, a tributary of the Liffey, archbishop John Comyn founded a collegiate church which took its name from an old parochial one on the site. It was consecrated on St. Patrick's day, 1191. Tradition, reinforced by the discovery in 1901 of an ancient Celtic cross of granite on the site, claims for this church an origin in the very earliest times.[2] Here, without the city walls of Dublin, the primate was lord of the manor, and in his new foundation he looked forward to ampler control than he could exercise in the monastic

[1] The original Four courts were built where the cloister had been, and one of the approaches was through a dark passage from the east called Hell. This has generally been supposed to have been the slype between the chapter-house and the transept wall, on north of the chapter-house, but Grose's drawing (*Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791, vol. i, p. 5) shows the chapter-house itself forming a passage, the bases of its shafts, etc. covered up with earth. The name hell originated from a blackened old figure which some one pretended to mistake for the devil.

[2] Perhaps founded by St. Patrick himself, for, as Dr. Bernard (formerly dean, now archbishop) points out in his excellent history and description of the cathedral (G. Bell & Sons, 1903), p. 4, 'in Celtic times churches were never dedicated to non-Scriptural saints except in the case of the actual founders.' The ground must indeed have been holy when Ireland's greatest church was built on such a quaking bog. The original St. Patrick's well was close to the tower; there is another within the church at the entrance to the south quire aisle.

cathedral of the Trinity. Beside the new church he built a palace for himself which, in the true spirit of that crusading age, he named after the Holy Sepulchre.

By his successor, Henry de Loundres, St. Patrick's was made a second cathedral, in 1213; its relation to the older one is somewhat baffling. An arrangement, called 'Pacis compositio,' was arranged by archbishop Ferings in 1300. The archbishops were to be consecrated and enthroned in Christ church and it was ordained 'quod ecclesiae predictae sint ad invicem cathedrales etiam metropoliticae: ita quod ecclesia S. Trinitatis tanquam major, matrix, et senior, in omnibus iuribus ecclesiae seu negotiis praeponatur.'[1]

Despite its name, St. Patrick's resembled many other great foundations on Irish soil in being very exclusively English. In 1514, by a 'compositio realis' between the archbishop and the dean and chapter, 'the ancient custom of this church is confirmed and ratified that all Irishmen by blood and nation, and all who conform to them in mode of life, are shut out from being members of this cathedral.' We need not then be surprised to find this feature very strongly reflected in the architecture of the building itself; indeed, excepting its name and its site, there is hardly anything Irish about it, not even the greater part of its materials.

The two west bays of the south aisle of the nave (fig. 7[2]) seem to date from about the time of the foundation of Comyn. They are simply vaulted with stone ribs rising from quaint little shafts whose capitals resemble Norman scallop work. This part is so much lower than

[1] The document is printed in Monck Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, 1820, p. viii. John Allen, archbishop temp Henry VIII, says St. Patrick's is 'united with the cathedral of the Holy Trinity in one spouse, saving to the other church the prerogative of honour.' Campion's *History of Ireland*, under date 1182, says, 'Divers contentions were raised between Christs Church and it for antiquity wherein they of St. Patrick's are (no doubt) inferiour, as shall appeare. They are both written Cathedrall Churches, and both are the Bishop's Chapiter, in whose election they both ought to convent within the Church of the blessed Trinity, called Christs Church, which in all records hath the preheminency of place.'

I am not aware of any exact parallel for this duplication of cathedrals for the same diocese in the same city, though its apparent cause—strained relations between a bishop and his chapter—was by no means unknown elsewhere. There is some resemblance in the basilicas at Rome and the cathedrals in Moscow.

[2] On this plan I have thought it best to ignore the fact that most of the thirteenth-century work, including the whole north transept, has been rebuilt. It is most difficult to distinguish precisely between the old and new building.

the rest that a chapter-house is provided above it, and Sir Thomas Drew conjectured that it formed the original gateway ; this does not seem very likely.

Henry had been present at the consecration of Salisbury cathedral in 1225, and the influence of that church on the design is exceedingly marked, especially in the arrangement of the lady chapel, perhaps in the absence of a central tower,[1] but St. Patrick's is on a con-

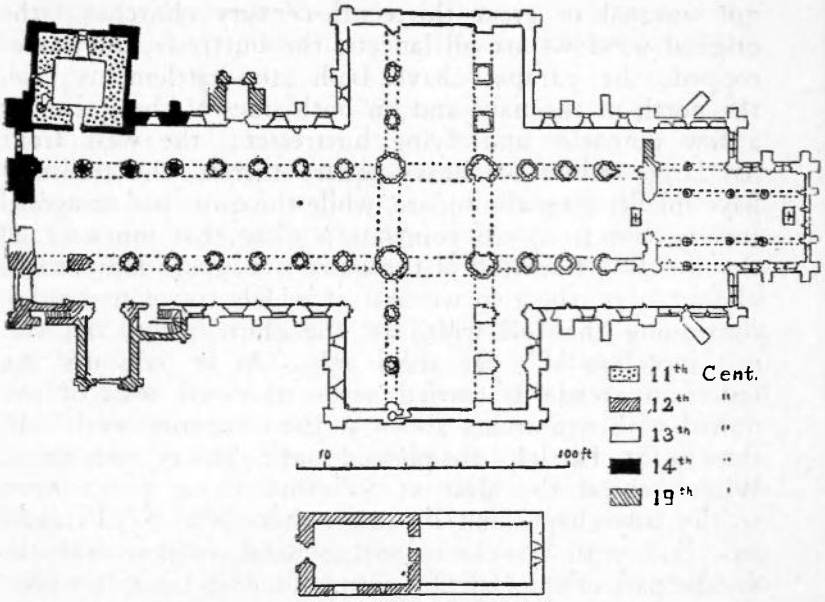


FIG. 7. THE LARGEST AND SMALLEST IRISH CATHEDRAL CHURCHES COMPARED : ST. PATRICK'S (DUBLIN) AND AGHADOE.

siderably smaller scale, its total length being but 300 feet instead of 473. Nave, transepts and quire are all shortened, the nave from ten bays to eight, the transepts from four to three, the quire from seven to four. The east transept of Salisbury and also the great north porch[2] are at St. Patrick's omitted, but on the other hand the

[1] At Salisbury the bells were hung in a great detached tower which was destroyed in the eighteenth century by Wyatt. If one may judge from the arches that now with difficulty sustain the loftiest of English spires, little in the way of a middle steeple was originally contemplated.

[2] Both the St. Patrick's porches are modern.

great transept has aisles both east and west, instead of (as at Salisbury) eastern alone. Both churches are built of West of England oolite stone.

As Dr. Bernard points out (p. 9), the first documentary notice of the building of St. Patrick's is in the Patent roll for 1225, when a protection 'was issued for four years for the preachers of the fabric of the church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, going through Ireland to beg alms for that fabric.' The exterior is severely plain, as is not unusual in great thirteenth-century churches; the original windows are all lancets, the buttresses are gable-topped, the parapets have Irish step-battlements; on the north of the nave and on both sides of the quire are a few pinnacles and flying buttresses; the west front has large and rather heavy square turrets, the transepts have smaller ones also square, while the quire has octagonal turrets, but from old prints it is clear that much of all this is new. Eastward of the quire is a superb lady-chapel of four bays, the two western of which are of five aisles, continuing the full width of the church, but the two east bays are of three aisles only. As at Salisbury the triforium arcade is carried across the east wall of the quire[1] with five arches above at the clerestory level. All these in St. Patrick's are pierced; at Salisbury, only three. While behind the altar at Salisbury three arches open to the lady-chapel and its aisles, there is at St. Patrick's only one, with a niche on either hand, so that only the middle part of the chapel is seen. In both cases, however, the view is enriched by a sight of the eastern triplet of the lady-chapel above the reredos of the high altar. The St. Patrick's lady-chapel is traditionally assigned to archbishop Fulk de Saundford (c. 1270), and its erection probably marked the completion of the church in general accordance with the original design.

The interior is spacious and striking, and though in its present form it is mainly modern,[2] the general character of the original is fairly well preserved. The central arches and the vaulting between them, with some of the

[1] At St. Patrick's three arches, each subdivided into two, with a niche high up on either side; at Salisbury five simple arches rising from clustered shafts.

[2] Carpenter was the architect chiefly responsible, but much of the work was done without expert advice.

stone roofing of the aisles, are the genuine work of the thirteenth century: other parts have been largely rebuilt, and the nave vault is lath and plaster, as a heavier weight could hardly be borne. Most of the pillars are octagonal,

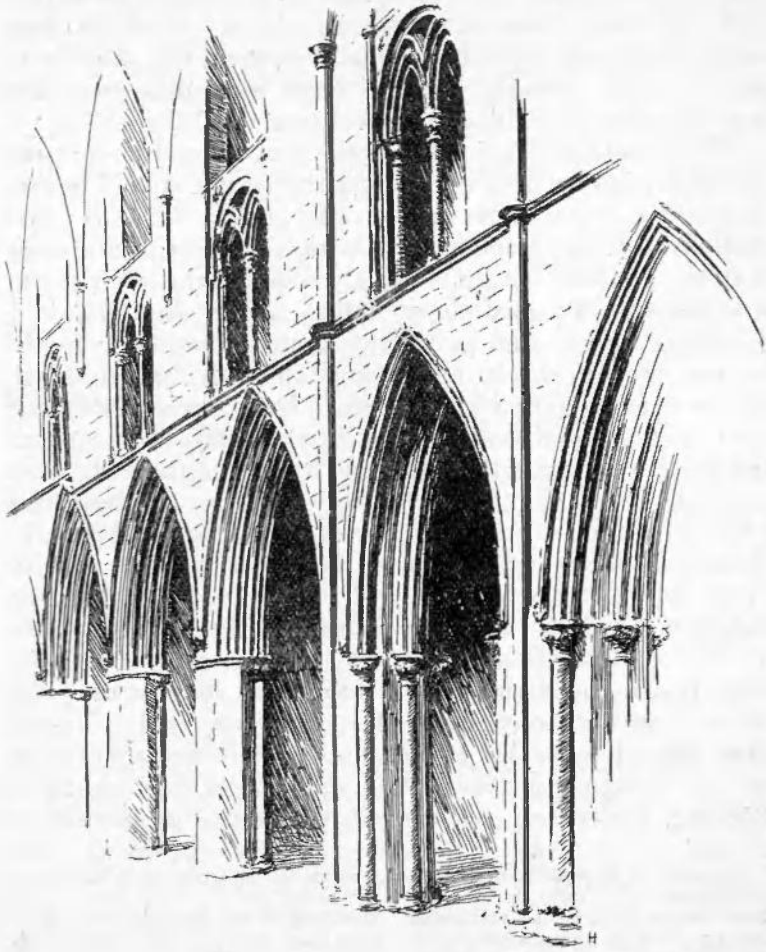


FIG. 8. ST. PATRICK'S: NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.

with three shafts to support each arch and one each for the vaulting of centre and aisles (fig. 8), but there is some variety: the pillars of the east aisle of the transept are oblong and have their shafts differently arranged. Above the large and well-moulded lancet arches the blindstory

has in each bay two small arches comprised under a larger one, and the clerestory is lit by single lancets, except that the middle bay of each transept, which is slightly wider than the other two, has triplets both east and west; this is also the case in the quire, where, however, only the central lancet is pierced. In the nave the two upper stories in each bay, as at Christchurch, are comprised under a single arch,[1] but in the quire and the transepts they are divided by a string.

The beautiful lady-chapel was once gutted, so that practically everything is modern, though the original design has been fairly preserved. There is a distinct reminder of the quire of the Temple church in the way that the vaulting springs from the slender clustered shafts without any intermediate arches.[2]

Partly from the very bad foundations and partly because of fires, the structure has frequently been a source of much anxiety to its guardians. Only about a century after the original building, a fire in 1362 necessitated the reconstruction by archbishop Minot of the four west bays on the north of the nave. This was carried out with a certain amount of variety in plan. The plain octagonal pillars of the new work have shafts against them only for the vaulting of the aisles and to carry the inner orders of the elaborately moulded arches. These are higher than the others (fig. 8); the two eastern ones reach the stringcourse under the blindstory, and the two western ones cause it to be a few inches higher than elsewhere. The stories above are very much the same in design as in the rest of the nave, except that the vaulting shafts rest on corbels between the blindstory

[1] A sketch by R. O'C. Newenham in 1828 (Bernard, p. 21) shows the blindstory arches entirely gone, so that the passage along the clerestory is interrupted in each bay. The nave has a timber roof, and the pillars are deprived of most of their shafts. The west window is a large five-light opening in the style of the fifteenth century, though it only dated from the end of the seventeenth. It has been superseded by three great lancets to match the other arm of the church; but this is a very questionable improvement.

[2] A letter by dean Pakenham, published in vol. vii (1850) of the *Ecclesiologist*, gives some idea of the extent of rebuilding that had to be done. '*All* the arches in the choir were entirely closed, and four in the other part of the building. Monuments filled some and galleries cut across others, for the support of which the capitals of the pillars were cut away to let in joists. . . . The lower windows of the choir were of all sorts of shapes and heights; some to suit ovens put into them by Oliver Cromwell, some to make vaults. . . . The lady-chapel was in so disgraceful a state that, after having had all the original lines taken accurately by Mr. Carpenter, the old building was totally taken down.'

openings instead of reaching the ground. The beautiful fourteenth-century window of three lights with flowing tracery at the west end of the aisle dates from the same time, and to Minot is also attributed the great tower with four square turrets which still bears his name.[1] It appears certain that in reality this was a much older tower, against which the church was originally built,[2] and that what the archbishop really did was to re-face and to heighten it. It is extremely massive, the walls are ten feet thick and the work is extremely plain except for the two-light upper windows in the style of the fourteenth century. A most unflattering account of the masons is to be gleaned from a register of St. Patrick's, commencing 1367, among the manuscripts quoted by Ware[3]: 'After the burning of St. Patrick's church, sixty stragling and idle fellows were taken up, and obliged to assist in repairing the church and building the steeple; who when the work was over returned to their old trade of begging; but were banished out of the diocese in 1376, by Robert de Wikeford' (archbishop 1375–1390). The octagonal granite spire was added in 1749 from a design by George Semple (the builder of the old Essex bridge over the Liffey), money for the purpose having been left by John Stearne, dean 1704–1713, and afterwards bishop of Dromore (1713) and Clogher (1717–1745).

Few great churches have experienced stranger vicissitudes. As early as 1320 archbishop Alexander de Bicknor set up a university in the cathedral, whose work seems to have consisted chiefly of lectures given by its own clergy; but, as Ware[4] says, 'for want of a sufficient

[1] He took as his seal a bishop holding a steeple.

[2] Mr. P. M. Johnston writes to me: 'I think the core of the lower part of St. Patrick's tower is probably Danish of the eleventh century.' I am inclined to attribute it to about that date from its general character and the four large round-arched recesses in the walls of the ringing chamber. That it is at any rate older than the church seems evident (1) from its not joining at right-angles, but making an awkward projection into the aisle (see plan, fig. 7), [Desire for some particular axis to the church or carelessness in setting it out might easily put the cathedral at a slight angle to an already existing tower, but it is most unlikely that a tower would be *added* in such a position], (2) from the huge massiveness of the tower, which would have been most suitable for military purposes, but has no apparent reason in a bell-tower of a church, (3) from the fact that the tower opens by a mere doorway and not by an arch, (4) from the great improbability that so important a building as St. Patrick's would lack a tower for so many years, while there is no trace of any other having existed. The stair is built on the corbel principle, without a central newel, but such are usual in Ireland both in military and ecclesiastical buildings.

[3] *Bishops*, p. 333.

[4] *Bishops*, p. 330.

fund to maintain the students, by degrees it dwindled to nothing.' In the reign of Edward VI part of the church was turned into a law-court. In that of Elizabeth it was very nearly decided to make the cathedral the seat of a new university, but this unsatisfactory plan was defeated, largely, by the opposition of archbishop Loftus, who secured instead the far more suitable site of the Augustinian house of All Hallows, still occupied by Trinity college. The cathedral chapter was preserved, one day to be presided over by Jonathan Swift, the chief of the worthies of Dublin. The lady-chapel has at different times been used as a church for conformist Huguenots and for the inauguration of the knights of St. Patrick.[1]

The church possesses hardly any mediaeval monuments, but there are some late brasses[2] as well as really striking and interesting memorials of more recent date that do much for the appearance of the aisles. By far the most remarkable is the huge four-storied seventeenth-century monument erected on the site of the high altar by Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork.[3]

LIMERICK.

The only Irish cathedral whose architectural history is as complicated and difficult to disentangle as are those of most of the English ones is St. Mary's at Limerick (fig. 9). A small building, about 160 feet long and with the only tower at the west end, its external appearance is that of a mere parish church, but within the long line of stalls,[4] extending to the west end of the nave, and the

[1] This order dates only from 1783; since 1871 it has had nothing to do with the church, but many of its banners hang over the quire stalls.

[2] Dean Sutton, 1528: dean Fyche, 1537; Sir Henry Wallop, 1599; Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, Cheshire, 1579.

[3] This is one of the very finest of its kind; there are the usual columns and cornices with figures on four levels. One of the smallest represents the famous Robert afterwards described as 'father of Pneumatic Philosophy and brother of the Earl of Cork.' Strafford's share in getting this structure removed from behind the altar antagonised a powerful family, and greatly contributed to his fall. It is now at the west end of the nave. For the good order in which the church appears to-day the world is indebted to the devotion of Sir Benjamin Guinness and Lord Iveagh.

[4] Many of them are oak-work of the fifteenth century with carved misericords of some spirit, interesting as being among the extremely scanty specimens of mediaeval woodwork that Ireland has to show. They are figured by T. J. Westropp: *Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1892, p. 74. Help from his plan of the church is very gratefully acknowledged.

added transepts, so numerous as to present the effect of double aisles, give much of the character of a cathedral, the appearance being rather continental. Lavish restoration with a liberal use of plaster has done very much to obscure the history of the building.

The church was founded by Domhnall O'Brien, king of Munster (d. 1194); he lies at rest in the quire under a slab with ornate cross, animals and interlacing scrolls. His work evidently consisted of an oblong west tower, nave of three bays, with narrow aisles engaging the tower, square transepts and very short quire. The heavy square piers have corner-shafts with very simple capitals, mere

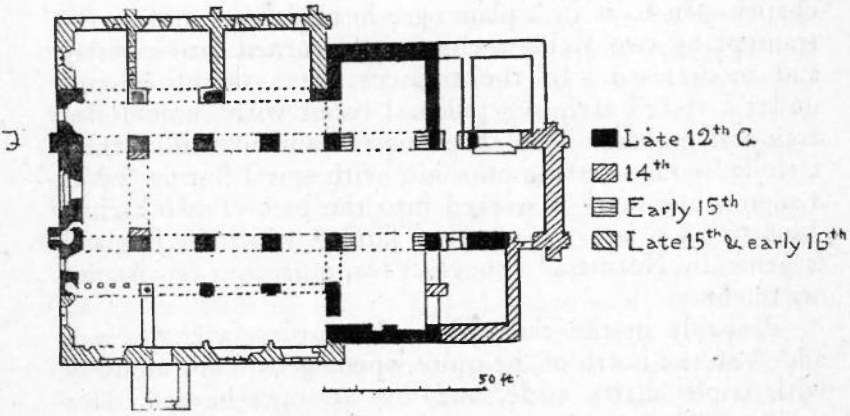


FIG. 9. PLAN OF LIMERICK CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

abaci with little pieces of carving here and there. On each side of the nave are three plain pointed arches with flat soffits, and above them five round-headed clerestory windows with a passage along. There still remain plain scallop-cap corbels for arches across the aisles, and other plainer little blocks of stone to sustain their wooden roofs. The only further existing detail which seems contemporary is the west door of the tower, which has four orders, the two outer ones with detached shafts. Some of the capitals have characteristic Celtic interlacing work.

The solemn gloom of this primitive Gothic was unsatisfactory to later ages: in the fourteenth century an inserted tall arch with filleted shafts opened more widely

to the nave the three large lancets in the west wall of the tower, the upper part of which appears to date from about the same time. The two-light windows have their tracery varied. The turrets and battlements are modern; the old summit was destroyed in the siege of 1690–1691.

During the fourteenth century also the quire was slightly lengthened (or possibly only rebuilt): in its north and south walls remain rather poor windows of the period. The great east triplet is modern. The sedile bench is open below, and in the back of the recess is a round window. At or about the same time as the lengthening of the quire, there was built on the south a chapel open to it by a plain ogee-headed door, and to the transept by two arches: this is now turned into a vestry and modernised. In the transept are a double piscina under a trefoil arch, a sepulchral recess with cinquefoiled arch and pinnacles, and three most beautiful sedilia, their trefoiled arches resting on shafts with spiral fluting, while a merchant's mark is worked into the base of two arches. This seems a late use of spiral fluting, which in England is generally Norman,[1] though it reappeared in renaissance ornament.

Probably in the early fifteenth century, a chapel was added on the north of the quire, opening by a fine archway with triple shafts aside, and by an ogee-headed door similar to that on the other side. The arch, which breaks one of the side windows of the quire, is now blocked by a large and rather fine renaissance monument to an earl of Thomond, restored after damage in wars by an earl of Limerick in the late seventeenth century. A house stands on the site of the chapel.

During the first part of the fifteenth century also very wide and lofty new transept arches were inserted, elongated corbels carrying their thin inner orders. The object of this rather questionable improvement was evidently to throw open the remarkable end windows of the transepts, each of which consists of three great

[1] It is not very common; there is an example at Pocklington, Yorks. on a shaft now loose in the north chapel. Champneys dates the beautiful sedilia at Limerick 1360–1370. The fifteenth-century font consists of an octagonal bowl on a short base, fluted spirally.

trefoiled lancets under a single arch, and another lancet on either side. They appear to be insertions of the fourteenth century, for in Ireland lancets are common in every period.

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were added those peculiarly Irish transept chapels that give the building its special character. On the south the three eastern ones are open to each other to form

FIG. 10. LIMERICK CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

an outer aisle, and the old wall of the inner aisle is pierced by three pointed arches which are perfectly plain and covered with modern plaster except the capitals, which look like an imitation of Norman work. The chapel furthest east has a very remarkable five-light window, whose head is pierced by a multitude of little openings, like net-work stretched with perfectly vertical divisions (fig. 10). The other windows are of the familiar intersecting mullion type, one of three lights and the other of

two. In the corner south of the tower is another chapel with chamber above. This has ornate modern fittings with recumbent effigy for lord Glentworth (d. 1844).

To the great transept on the north side is added westward another chapel in the form of a still larger and more protuberant transept, which has happily never been thrown open by an arch to the nave, but looks into it through the original arcade and clerestory windows. Its end wall is pierced by five huge lancets, and under them are some square-headed windows in the style of the late fourteenth century. In this, known as the Arthur chapel, is a very large stone altar slab, with the usual five crosses, standing on small stone legs. The Arthur chapel occupies two bays, and two smaller chapels continue its projection to the west face of the tower. These now form lady-chapel and baptistery, and have modern vaults in plaster and wood.[1] No part of the church is vaulted in stone.[2]

CASHEL: THE CATHEDRAL.

The situation of the cathedral, which looks down upon the golden vale of Tipperary from the renowned rock of Cashel, is entirely unrivalled in Ireland, and the building itself is one of the most original and impressive in the island. It consists of a very massive central tower with long and lofty quire and transepts, each having two east chapels, a very short nave of only two bays[3] originally

[1] From J. Ferrar's *History of Limerick* (1787) it appears that the church had formerly elaborate renaissance fittings with Corinthian columns surrounding the altar and throne. The restoration about 1860 under Mr. Slater's direction is described in the *Ecclesiologist*, xviii. The cathedral in its present condition is described by Mr. T. J. Westropp in *R. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1898, pp. 112–121.

[2] At Newtown Trim are the ruins of a remarkable monastic cathedral of the early thirteenth century, a church forming a simple oblong, 136 by 30 feet, and vaulted throughout. It is particularly described with sketch plan on p. 108 of this volume. There are pilaster buttresses both on the front and sides at the east end; only on the front at the west. The whole central portion has disappeared. The west part seems slightly later than the east; its vaulting shafts are filleted and spring from strangely curving corbels; each side wall had a passage on two levels, and a passage passes along the west gable. The scaffolding holes are conspicuous. The altar platform still survives; there are two moulded round-headed sedilia. A clumsy traceried window replaced the beautiful eastern triplet, but very little survives.

[3] It is not easy to account for this rather capricious reduction of the nave to a mere vestibule of the transept. From the aesthetic point of view it was unquestionably a mistake, as it places the two great towers so close together that they frequently

with large north and south porches, of which only the south porch remains, and a military west tower which formed the residence of the primate of Munster. There are no aisles (fig. 11).

A very fine old round tower[1] joins the north transept in its north-east corner; Cormac's chapel extends irregularly between the south transept and the quire. Its west wall is clumsily incorporated with the east wall of the transept, reducing its eastern chapels to mere recesses instead of their being quite deep projections, as on the north. The north tower of the chapel just touches the

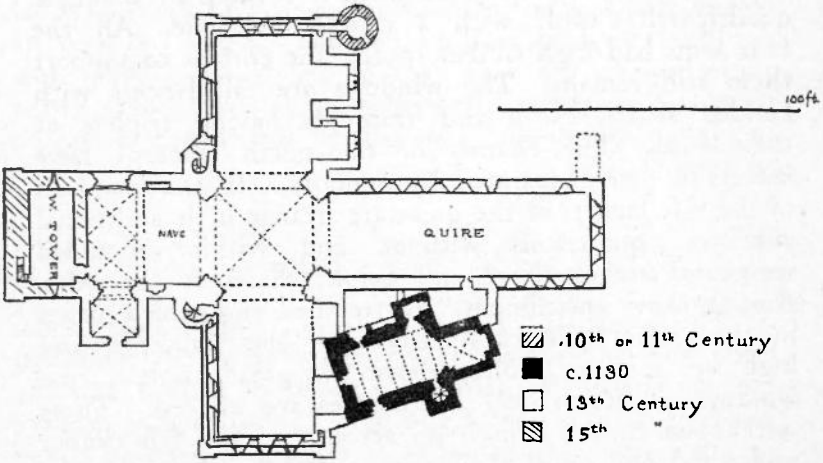


FIG. 11. PLAN OF CASHEL CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

south wall of the quire, leaving a little open court in the angle of the transept (west of the tower); a short wall connects the north-east corner of the chapel with the quire, and the space enclosed (east of the tower) was roofed to form a little chapel.

appear joined in a rather confused and inartistic mass. The manner in which the round tower and Cormac's chapel are incorporated also leaves much to be desired. As a general rule the happy blending of the work of different ages is a great glory of British architecture. Here, however, the general effect is almost as incongruous as in the cathedral at Aix-la-chapelle, whose later quire and numerous chapels seem to cling to the octagon with sixteen-sided ambulatory built by Charles the great like shell-fish to a stone.

[1] The lower part is rubble, the rest very good ashlar in small regular sandstone blocks. The door, south-east, as usual some feet from the ground, has a round arch; the other openings have lintels except the top windows which have triangular heads cut in single stones. The conical roof is perfect. The tower rises to the height of 77 feet.

Ware[1] says that the founder of Limerick cathedral 'built a new church there (at Cashel) from the foundation, about the time of the arrival of the English, in the reign of Henry II, which he endowed with lands, and converted Cormac's old church into a chapel or chapter-house, on the south side of the choir.' This is puzzling; for the whole of the present building is clearly half a century later. The middle tower rests on lancet arches (each of three orders and bevelled) that rise from filleted shafts, all banded except the central ones; little heads look out from the foliage of their caps in a manner characteristic of Somerset. The space between is covered by a simple quadripartite vault with a central bell-hole. All the four arms had high timber roofs; the corbels to support them still remain. The windows are tall lancets with banded shafts, quire and transepts having triplets at their ends. The chapels of the north transept have lancets in pairs, separated by mullions. In the spandrels of the side lancets of the quire are strange little additional windows, quatrefoils without and within, moulded segmental arches above and below, shafts at the sides. Among other enrichments are trefoiled and gabled niches in the corner pilaster buttresses of the transepts, and high up in their gables, above the great triplets, rose windows of which only the centres are pierced. These were open to the church on account of the tall timber roofs, and one result they have is slightly to depress the inner arches over the middle lancets. The lancets themselves have been rather clumsily reduced in height.

The western of the two narrow little bays of the nave was roofed over by a vaulted stone gallery, but little more remains than a clustered respond in the centre of the west wall and the lower part of a flight of steps. The vestibule below the gallery was extended north and south by two porches opening by arches (with filleted shafts and foliage caps) like transepts, recalling, though on a smaller scale, the ante-chapels of New college, Magdalen, Merton, and All Souls' at Oxford. The north porch has entirely disappeared; the other one is still perfect.

[1] *Bishops*, p. 464.

Ware[1] tells us that archbishop Richard O'Hedian (1406–1450) 'built a hall for his vicars choral, whom he also endowed. . . . He repaired some of the archiepiscopal palaces in his manors; and (which ought not to be concealed) new-built the cathedral of St. Patrick; or at least repaired it from a very ruinous condition in which it then was.' The vicars' hall with other chambers adjoin the curtain-wall of the rock on the south. They are very plain, and some of the windows are enclosed by ogee arches. It is very evident that the works undertaken on the cathedral itself included the building of the upper part of the middle tower and the reconstruction of the west tower, practically from the ground. The former is a great, square, military-looking structure, rather low, for it is overtopped by the round tower, and has a most unusually large stair-turret to the top, south-west. Round the summit is a flagged parapet-passage with frequent little gargoyles, and, as is frequently the case in Ireland, the gables, east and west, are thin walls kept within it. Immediately below the gable-marks for four great arms of the church are little windows, each of two trefoiled lights, no hood of any kind above them.

Above the south porch are chambers with two large hooded fire-places: at the end of one of the projecting hoods is a quarter stone ring connecting it with the wall, a very strange feature. These rooms formed a portion of the fortified mansion of the primate of Munster, most of which was contained in the oblong west tower, which had gables north and south, its vast saddle-roof being thus at right-angles to that of the central tower, only thirty-five feet away. The chief apartment was a hall with tunnel-vaulted roof, about half of which remains, and basement chambers below. Above are two stages of rather cheerful rooms approached by straight stairways in the massive walls.[2] Their windows command fine views over the golden vale, and one of them has a large

[1] *Bishops*, p. 480.

[2] Possibly such a combination of church and dwelling was a legacy from Celtic days, but it is by no means uncommon elsewhere. In the middle towers of Carmelite church at South Queensferry and the Hospitallers' church at Torphichen are dwelling-rooms with fire-places (see *Berwick and Lothian Coast*, by I. C. Hannah, pp. 319, 345). Rooms over porches are common in England, particularly East Anglia. One at Cromer has a garderobe.

hooded fire-place. Despite its strange position at the west end of a cathedral, this structure is exactly similar to the numerous fortalices, many of them belonging to the same period, which are to be found in every part of Ireland (fig. 12).[1]

The fact that the episcopal residence was an integral part of the cathedral makes more intelligible the frequently quoted story of how Gerald FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, tried before Henry VII for burning the church, suddenly confessed himself guilty, but added in explanation: 'By Jesus, I would never have done it, had it not been told me the archbishop was within.' However, the thick

FIG. 12. CASHEL CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

walls, heavy vault and indestructible stairway of the tower would seem to make it most unlikely that any one who happened to be within would perish in a conflagration, unless, perhaps, he were asleep at the time.[2]

[1] A striking example of a dwelling-house is to be seen between the south aisle and tower (south-west) at Terrington St. John, Norfolk.

[2] The cathedral contains a few ancient tombs (including that of archbishop Meiler Magrath, d. 1621), rather plain sedilia and sundry fragments of carving, especially in the north transept. It was dismantled by archbishop Price (1744–1752) in the middle of the eighteenth century, a classical church down in the town being built with some of the materials. Rising over the square stone on which the kings of Munster were crowned is a curious late cross with a figure of St. Patrick and tracery on each side under the cross-piece. It is seen by the south-west corner of the transept in fig. 12. The whole rock is defended by a curtain wall, so that the cathedral formed a sort of keep.

KILDARE.

Beside the holy fire of St. Bridget at Kildare an English bishop, Ralph de Bristol (1223–1232), erected another fortified cathedral on a site which, like the rock of Cashel, is still dominated by a Celtic round tower (fig. 13). This structure rises to a height of over a hundred feet, but its appearance is very much spoilt by the fact that modern battlements have replaced the ancient cap. The lower part is very substantially built of granite ashlar with simple plinth; this only extends for nine or ten feet, and the

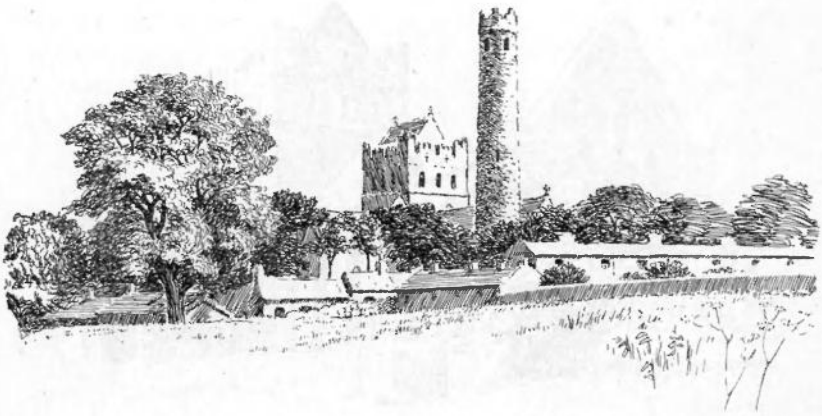


FIG. 13. KILDARE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

rest is limestone rubble, largely overgrown by plants. Beside the doorway, some fifteen feet from the ground, the walling is partly of red sandstone ashlar, including a gable line above the arch. The door is round-headed in three orders, each having a kind of zigzag. The inner one has a very remarkable ornament, a sort of diaper formed by placing eight-petalled flowers within the diamonds made by two lines of zigzag coming together at the angles. This inner order alone has rough shafts, two aside in the same plane, but only carved in low relief. The four top windows are very wide and round-headed; the other openings are also round-headed or triangular-topped.

In the churchyard are very slight foundations of two Celtic chapels, one of which was traditionally the site of the holy fire. In the south transept is a very plain old oblong font of a common Irish form; in 1891 an unsculptured wheel-cross was re-erected to the south-west of the church (fig. 14).

The cathedral consists simply of nave, transepts and quire; there is no aisle, but a chapel once extended eastward from the south transept. By far the most striking feature of the building is the series of arches that spring from buttress to buttress to carry the parapet walks along

FIG. 14. KILDARE CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

the eaves of nave and quire. At first sight one might conclude that aisles had existed and that the arches that opened to them were walled up. It is a form of building very rare in the British isles, though found sometimes in castellated churches on the continent, for example in the very striking and vast Santa Chiara at Naples. There are six such arches on each side of the nave, two and a half[1] in the quire. The parapet walks, protected by Irish battlements, rest upon these arches, but are upon the top of the archless walls of the transepts; they are continued

[1] The half-arches end against the tower. The present work is new, but presumably the original was like it.

by steps over the four gables. As both walls of the nave and the west walls of the transepts are built outside the lines of the walls of the tower, the walk is continuous from the south-east to the north-east corner of the tower, over the west end of the church, but the walks of the quire are separate, as there are no openings through the eastern corners of the tower. Through the soffits of the arches there are machicolation holes, except (where one would imagine them most in point) over the south door; but in truth the fortification is far more in appearance than in substance.

The interior is extremely impressive from the dignified simplicity and the good effect of the low lantern over the arches of the tower. There are no piers on the east where the arches rest on the corners of the quire and transept walls, but on the west are provided the plainest of projecting blocks, necessitated by the arrangement already mentioned, the nave being a little wider than the other arms, and the transept walls being slightly west of the west wall of the tower. The arches are of lancet form and of the very simplest design; in the centre of each flat soffit is a thin inner order resting on a filleted shaft. These are largely of granite, and the caps and bases suggest that this work may be owing to the recorded repairs carried out by bishop Lane in 1482.

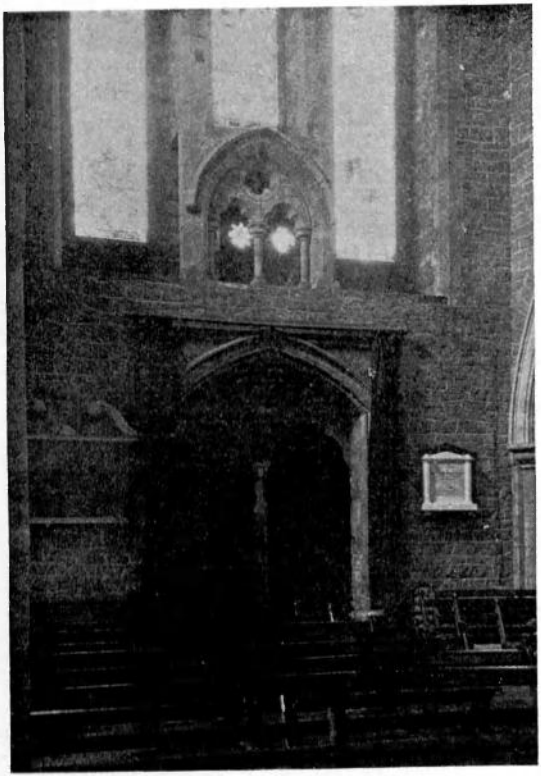
The rubble walls are unplastered; the windows are all lancets, triplets at the ends, except that in the east bay of the nave there are simple openings of double lights.[1] The moulded inner arches rest on shafts which in some cases terminate in knots of foliage, in the beautiful and not unusual Irish way, instead of being continued to the sill. All the roofs are modern timber. Some of the modern glass is unusually good, with groundwork of Celtic coils instead of the more usual canopy patterns.

The quire was rebuilt and the rest restored from ruin by Street. Harris' edition of Ware's *Bishops* (1739)[2] says: 'The church of Kildare is for the most part in ruins, yet the walls are still standing, together with the south side of the steeple.' Grose[3] publishes a view of 'Kildare abbey' showing the south transept, the south

[1] Which suggest that the building was not finished by bishop Ralph.

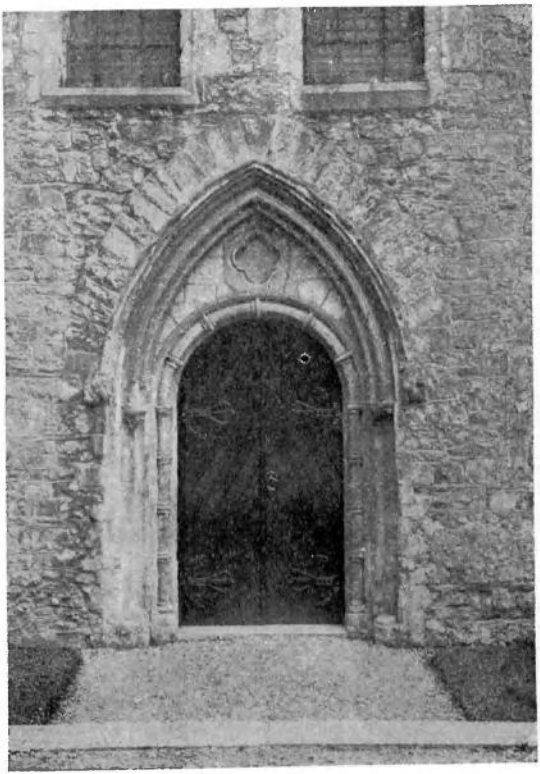
[2] p. 379.

[3] i, p. 25 (1791).



NO. I. KILKENNY, WEST END OF NAVE.

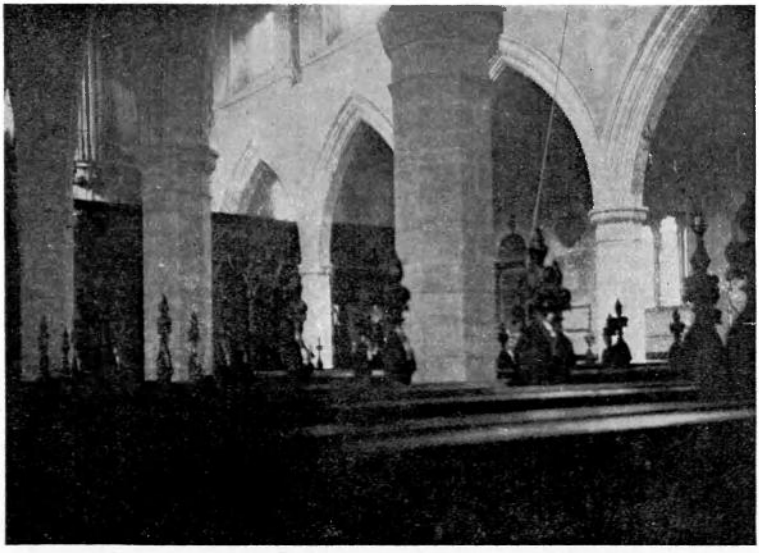
To face page 380.



NO. 2. KILKENNY, NORTH TRANSEPT DOOR.

PLATE I.

NO. 1. LEIGHLIN CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



NO. 2. DERRY CATHEDRAL CHURCH LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

side of the nave and the south wall of the tower intact. T. M. Fallow[1] gives an illustration showing the quire rebuilt by bishop Moreton in 1683 as very similar to work of about the same time still existing at Lismore[2]; there is a wretched 'gothic revival' steeple in the angle of the quire and north transept, touching the ruined middle tower. Though the church at present has a very modern look, it seems that the original lines have been strictly followed.

TUAM.

The peculiarity of heavy external arches under the parapet is also found in the early-fourteenth-century quire of the cathedral at Tuam,[3] but on a less bold scale than at Kildare. This church is of much earlier origin, claiming St. Jarlath as its founder in the sixth century.[4] The oldest existing part is a small sanctuary that almost certainly belonged to the church built by O'Hoisin, abbot 1128–1150, and afterwards first archbishop. The sanctuary has a tunnel-vault of rubble in the ancient Irish style. In the east wall are three round-headed windows of equal height. Without they have a simple roll-moulding, and within they are splayed with plain Celtic patterns in low relief. The arch of triumph, as the approach to the chancel is still in Ireland sometimes called, is a well-known structure in five orders, built of red sandstone with large shafts and very rich ornament, including various mouldings, grotesque heads and interlacing coils. This arch long formed the chief entrance to the church and is much weathered, but it now opens into the sanctuary of the fine modern cathedral designed by Sir Thomas Deane in the style of the thirteenth century, a cruciform structure with central spire whose altar stands in the original position.

In the early years of the fourteenth century there was erected east of the chancel the quire already referred to. It is unconnected with the older part by an arch or even by a door. The three east windows of the older

[1] *Cathedral Churches of Ireland* (1894), reprinted from the *Reliquary*, p. 26.

[2] ibid. pp. 64–67.

[3] It occurs elsewhere in Ireland, for example at Holycross abbey.

[4] Though it is dedicated to St. Mary, Tempul Jarlath is a ruined church of the thirteenth century, standing a short distance to the east.

sanctuary look straight into a narrow vestibule that forms a sort of low tower, open to the three bays of the quire by a very massive arch (in three chamfered orders without caps). The large windows have modern tracery,[1] and the roof is a plaster vault, but there remain an original wide sedile opening and a beautiful double piscina with foliage caps and deep-cut mouldings.[2] The appearance without is semi-military: the buttresses are very heavy with off-sets, and on the south trefoil-headed niches. Between them extend massive segmental arches on plain corbels, five across the east, and three between each pair of buttresses at the sides.[3]

KILKENNY.

Outside Dublin the finest of Irish cathedrals is the beautiful church of St. Canice at Kilkenny, a structure worthy of note from the way in which it produces much of the true cathedral effect without either triforium or vaulting. Its site, on a low hill, does not seem to be mentioned in Irish records before 1085, when the *Four Masters* say: 'Ceall-Cainnigh was for the most part burned.' The round tower, which still stands by the south transept (fig. 15), is, however, in all probability a century or so earlier than that, while excavations in 1847 showed that it is built over graves which the workers did not wish to destroy. It is a structure of rubble, though of largish stones. Eight stories are marked by internal off-sets; the doorway, which faces away from the cathedral, has a round arch formed of three large stones that extend through the wall; all the other openings, including six wide windows at the top, are covered with lintels. The original cap has disappeared, and the present roof, which seems to be not much later than the rest, is of stone, constructed on the principle of a dome, but very nearly flat.

[1] Which is probably a copy of the old.

[2] This part now forms the chapter-house, and is fitted with beautiful stalls of inlaid work from Italy; they are dated 1740.

[3] For a time this quire was used as a fortress. See p. 128 of this volume.

Preserved in the porch and built into walls of the existing cathedral are some fragments of an earlier Romanesque church whose foundations were found in 1845 at the east end, when they were cut through for the present walls.[1] The fragments display a sort of magnified nail-head, Celtic interlacing work and other patterns. The church is a fine cruciform structure with aisles to the nave and west part of the quire, south porch and transept chapels (fig. 16). It appears to have been built during the later part of the thirteenth century; the general

FIG. 15. KILKENNY CATHEDRAL CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

design being preserved, but the details greatly modified as the masons worked from east to west.[2]

The structure is of extreme simplicity and the rubble walls are unbuttressed except by corner pilasters, over which

[1] *History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny*, by Rev. James Graves and J. G. Augustus Prim; Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. (1857), 32. I have made considerable use of this work.

[2] 'Hugo de Mapilton (bishop of Ossory, 1251–1256) huius nomine secundus, primus fundator ecclesie istius Canici Kilkennie qui eandem primo edificare incepit, et quasi usque ad finem suis magnis sumptibus, laboribus, et expensis opus perfecit.' Geoffrey St. Leger (bishop, 1260–1286), 'Magnamque partem operis ecclesie istius Canici prius per Hugonem Mapleton incepti construxit,' and so was called 'Secundus fundator dicte ecclesie.' *Nomina episc. Ossorien.* E 3, 13, fol. 88, Trinity college, Dublin.

Champneys, however (appendix Y, p. 237),

in the nave only rise little octagonal stone spires. The material is chiefly a local slate-coloured carboniferous limestone, which can be polished to look rather like Purbeck marble, but the details are largely of sandstone and there is no attempt at colour effects. In fact the limestone is hardly used for detail except in the tombs. The east end of the quire has a really magnificent effect; east, south and north three tall lancets pierce the walls, enriched

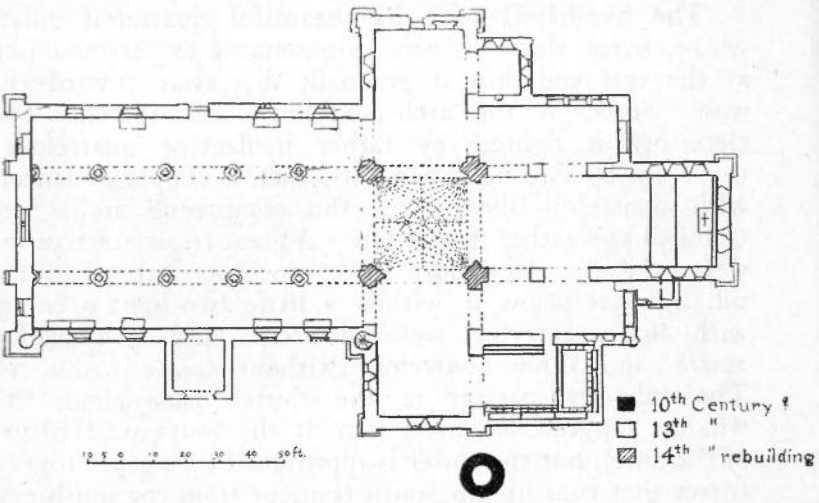


FIG. 16. PLAN OF KILKENNY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

with banded shafts and trefoil arches with dog-tooth on a large scale; the side lancets have round outer arches.

points out that this manuscript list of the bishops is due to bishop Rothe (d. 1650), who has certainly made some mistakes; and he adds: 'It would be incredible that Transition work was being built (not restored) after 1250 A.D. at Kilkenny by a bishop of English origin; so he attributes the quire and transepts of the cathedral to the first English bishop of the see, Hugh Rufus, 1202–1218.

From so very high an authority as Champneys, who has done more perhaps than any one else to increase our knowledge of Irish architecture, I differ with the utmost reluctance and diffidence, but it seems to me that the work is not 'Transition' but developed Gothic, despite the round-headed 'lancets' and the corner pilaster buttresses. The latter occur at Cashel with lancets that are *almost* round-headed (fig. 12), and in Ireland, as in Scotland, round arches can occur at any period. At Church Fenton, Yorkshire, the south transept has pilaster buttresses in connexion with a window consisting of two lancets with a quatrefoil above (very like the aisle windows at Kilkenny) that must be pretty late in the thirteenth century.

The arches that open to the aisles both from transepts and quire are exceedingly plain, shafts or corbels to their inner orders and with the simplest block-piers. The transepts are lighted by tall shafted lancets in pairs, the side ones round-arched. The north transept is entered by a very remarkable door (plate 1, no. 2). A well-moulded outer lancet arch rests on shafts with foliage-caps, and within it, surmounted by a quatrefoil, is a round-arched opening surrounded by a thirteen-times-banded roll.

The five-bayed nave has beautiful quatrefoil pillars whose bases show a very pronounced water-moulding at the east end, but it gradually dies away toward the west. Some of the arch-mouldings are filleted. The clerestory is lighted by rather ineffective quatrefoils; the aisles by two-light windows, each a couple of lancets with quatrefoil above, and the comprising arches are trefoiled and rather flat within. A great triplet pierces the western wall; its middle lancet does not extend to the sill, but has below it, within, a little two-light opening, with shafts carrying trefoiled arches and a quatrefoil above, and three quatrefoils without (plate 1, no. 1). The only wall-passage in the church runs along this window (approached by a stair at the south-west corner of the aisle), but the tower is approached by a gable-topped turret that runs up the south transept from the south-east corner of the aisle. Under the west window is a very fine double doorway; the enclosing lancet-arch is sustained by double shafts with foliage-capitals; in the spandril between this arch and the two inner arches is a quatrefoil with an angel in a circle on each side, and each doorway has a cinquefoiled arch. Both porch doors and the north door of the nave have shafts, but they are much less ornate.

The transept chapels have the air of being after-thoughts, but they were evidently erected with the rest of the work. The northern one is small and very plain; in the north and east walls are double lancets, and in the south a remarkable piscina with the peculiarly Irish step-head. The southern chapel is a most striking piece of building from its lamp-like effect. Three triple lancets under large arches pierce the south wall and three two-

light openings the east: all the arches rest on banded shafts.[1]

A common mediaeval misfortune befell the cathedral in 1332. 'Cecidit campanile Sancti Kannici, Kilkennie, et magnam partem chori, vestibulum capellarum, et campanas, et meremium confregit, die Veneris ii kal. Junii, unde horribile et miserabile spectaculum erat contuentibus.'[2] The necessary repairs, with much additional enrichment, were carried out in a very conservative spirit by bishop Ledred.[3] The present tower piers are clearly his work, parts of the original being retained. The shafts are filleted and have plain moulded caps except that thin extra corner shafts towards the nave have foliage. The arch mouldings die into the chamferings of the piers. Much later the space within the arches was vaulted with very complicated ribs (fig. 16) by bishop Hacket (1460–1478).[4] The tower at present rises only just above the ridges of the roofs. A low shingled spire, that seems to have been part of bishop Williams' restoration after 1660, appears in Grose's view (I, 33), but it was removed in 1851. John Pooley, bishop of Raphoe (d. 1712), left £120 towards raising the steeple thirty feet and repointing

[1] This chapel appears to have influenced the still more ornate lady-chapel of the priory of St. John in the city, which is called the lamp of Ireland. Its walls, consisting of little more than lancets in triplets with banded shafts between, produce much the same effect as some English work of the fifteenth century (for instance St. Mary's, Nottingham), different though the details are. Its date is exactly known. 'Anno m° cc° nonagesimo die annunciacionis beate marie celebrata fuit prima missa in capella beate marie in monasterio sancti iohannis in kylkenny.' *Liber Primus of Kilkenny*, in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, quoted by Champneys, p. 159. The chapel is now the only part of the church in use. The nave arcades of the cathedral seem also to have been imitated in the parish church of Thomastown, near Jerpoint abbey.

[2] *Annals of Ireland* by Friar John Clyn, p. 24.

[3] Ledred 'utcunque, sub finem anni 1354, in gratiam receptus est, et hac tempestate sedata (a quarrel with the king and a sorcery trial), reliquum aetatis in magna tranquillitate transegit, ecclesiam cathedralem hic multum ornavit, omnesque fenestras de novo erexit, ac vitro obduxit, inter quas enituit fenestra orientalis opere tam eximio adornata, ut in universa Hibernia par ei non inveniretur': *Hibernia sacra*, p. 144. Any repairs made to the actual stonework of the windows seem to have been carried out without change of detail. The famous glass lasted till the days of the commonwealth. In 1650 "the great, and famous, most beautiful Cathedral church of saint Keney, they have utterly defaced and ruined, thrown down all the Roof of it, taken away five great and goodly Bells, broken down all the windows, and carried away every bit of glass, that, they say, was worth a very great deal; and all the doors of it": Bishop Griffith Williams, *Prefatory Remonstrance; Seven Treatises. Very necessary to be observed in these very bad days:* London, 1661.

[4] Bishop Hacket 'testudinem praeterea campanilis Ecclesiae Canicanae, e polito lapide, erigi curavit': *Hibernia sacra*, p. 144.

the round tower,[1] but nothing much seems to have been done, though in 1722 'Mr. Dean having produced in chapter several draughts of a dome to be erected over ye belfry, drawn by Captain Portall,' was desired to write him a letter of thanks.[2]

The burial of the dead within the walls of places of worship is distinctively Christian. From the sanitary point of view it may be open to objections, but aesthetically it has contributed enormously to the effectiveness of Gothic architecture. Most great churches in that style owe very much of their beauty to the stately tombs with their canopies and screens that do honour to the illustrious dead. Many sumptuous mosques suffer somewhat from the absence of anything of the kind. Of Irish cathedrals Kilkenny alone is rich in sepulchral memorials, and although these as individual works are rather crudely carved and in most cases moved from their original positions, the general effect they produce is superb.[3] Very little is before the sixteenth century.

The whole structure has been admirably restored to something like its original appearance and the new fittings and stained glass do much to enhance the general effect.[4] Notwithstanding, it is impossible not to mourn that the former classical fittings of the quire have been replaced by the work of the nineteenth century that tries to look six centuries older than it is. The modern timber roof seems a poor substitute for the one which Ware describes: 'The compass ceiling of the choir is chiefly remarkable for its fine fretwork; in which are a great number of curious modillions; and in the centre a group of foliage, festoons and cherubins; that excells anything of the kind I have seen.'[5] The combination of mediaeval and renaissance

[1] Chapter book A, p. 126.

[2] Chapter book, 1722, p. 186.

[3] An extraordinarily crude effigy to Honoria Schorthals with large two-peaked head-dress is dated 'mccccc,' left unfinished but afterwards filled in '96.' The greater part of Messrs. Graves and Prim's work is taken up with a description of the monuments, which were very neglected at the time they wrote. There is a most interesting collection of Celtic crosses and interlacing patterns. Some monuments which Graves and Prim do not mention were presumably concealed in their day.

[4] The mediaeval fittings seem to be confined to the font—which has fluting all round the square bowl, and crude conventional leaf-patterns in the corners by the round opening, evidently a relic of the old church—and a stone seat with arms that was possibly the throne. It is thirteenth-century work and called St. Chiarain's chair. Till the last restoration the east tower arch was filled by a stone screen pierced by a narrow door.

[5] *Bishops*, p. 434. The renaissance work in the quire was the work of bishop Thomas Otway (1679–1692).

work is not in the least more incongruous than that of Romanesque and later Gothic, and the desperate and untruthful effort to deny in stone and wood that the renaissance ever touched Ireland seems a matter extremely to be deplored.

KILLALOE.

For beauty of thirteenth-century detail the cathedral of St. Flannan at Killaloe is certainly unsurpassed in Ireland.[1] The building[2] is usually attributed to the same king of Munster who founded the cathedral at Limerick (p. 370), and Lord Dunraven quotes a letter to Petrie alleging that in 1827 the date 1182 was found on the east window. The triplet in question has the curious arrangement within that the two detached shafts which divide the lancets are carried straight up to the soffit of the great arch, which is adorned with a sort of herring-bone moulding. The jamb-moulds practically form clustered shafts and there are foliage-caps. A couple of shafted niches on either side, a string along the four lancets of both north and south walls, and roof-corbels with foliage and interlacing patterns all combine to produce a very rich effect.[3] The east lancets of quire and south

[1] Part of the church is earlier, but the only detail surviving is a very ornate Hiberno-Romanesque doorway in the south wall of the nave, richly adorned in four orders with zigzag having pellets and other complications, various floral designs, grotesque animals, chain moulding and carved shafts.

This is traditionally connected with the sovereign whose death is recorded in 1119 by the *Four Masters:* 'Muircheartach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, prop of the glory and magnificence of the west of the world, died, after the victory of reign and penance, on the festival of Machaemhog of Loath, on the 6th of the Ides of March, and was interred in the church of Cill-Dalua.' He had been crowned at Tara in 1100. The date exactly suits the style of the existing door, which seems to have been moved from its original position, as what was evidently the outer face is within the nave. The oft-repeated statement that it led to his tomb has not much element of probability.

[2] Which is cruciform without any chapels or aisles, 126 feet long; the north door of the nave opens outward and has a large bar-hole. Possibly it led into some chamber or other.

[3] There are good drawings of the details, plan, etc. in an article on this church by T. J. Westropp, in *R. Soc. Ant. of Ireland*, 1893, pp. 187–201. Although the central eastern 'lancet' is round-headed and the corners of the walls have pilaster-buttresses (forming quasi-turrets) it would not be easy to believe that the work was as early as 1182 even if it were in England. It is quite incredible that by the care of the same king these light and well-developed lancets were being built at the same time as the heavy and eminently 'Transition' work of the far more important cathedral of Limerick. The fact that the south transept is larger than the north, with

transept have on the exterior very deeply cut early twelfth-century mouldings. All the other windows are lancets, and the west door has deep mouldings and banded shafts. The nave turrets have similar corner mouldings; on the east these mouldings are more like regular shafts and the quire has a sloping plinth.

The four middle arches are extremely plain, starting from the corners of the walls, and corbels sustain their thin inner orders, no larger than the ribs of the very plain quadripartite vault. A curious feature is that the nave and quire being wider than the transepts the central space is oblong, but the low tower (whose upper stage is modern) is carried up square, thus having a gallery just above the ridges of the roofs both north and south (fig. 3).

LISMORE.

The cathedral of St. Carthach at Lismore is a small and aisleless cruciform building; the oldest part of which, the remains of a plinth and wall shaft incorporated into the south wall of the rather long quire, seems to date from about 1160. The far earlier original foundation is evidenced by various ancient stones built into the west wall, including a very tiny Celtic cross in memory of bishop Cormac who died in 918, and inscriptions for abbots of the century before. A very rude and small square font without a drain, which is still in use, is supposed to have belonged to the seventh century founder, Carthach.

The existing walls seem largely to be the work of the fourteenth century, although all the details except the buttresses and the four central arches are later.[1] The eastern arch appears to be the earliest, probably of the thirteenth century; it is pointed and springs from clustered shafts with dog-tooth on a very small scale. The other three arches are strangely varied but seem all to have been

other indications, seem to show that this church was not all built together. The *Four Masters* record a burning of the churches at Killaloe in 1185.

[1] I cannot understand Fergusson's statement (*Handbook of Architecture*, ii, 915), 'The cathedral of Lismore has entirely disappeared,' nor is it possible for the modern student to agree with his contemptuous remarks about Irish architecture, however much he may admire Fergusson's admirable work.

erected in the course of the fourteenth century. The southern one is pointed and has clustered shafts with capitals carved in low relief. The west and north arches spring from semi-octagonal responds, but the latter is pointed and the former round. These arches would be greatly improved both in appearance and interest if they could be relieved from the thick whitewash by which they are encrusted.

A Magrath table-tomb of 1548 in the nave is an admirable example of the vigorous, but very rude, sculpture usual in Ireland of that date. On top is a large floreated cross and St. Gregory with the triple papal crown: the crucifixion, SS. Patrick, Katharine and Carthach with the apostles extend along the sides.

The restoration of the church in the early seventeenth century by Sir Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, is interestingly set forth in his letters. On 10th January, 1633, he wrote: 'God bless my good intendments and endeavors in this work. This day I resolved, with the assistance of my good God, to re-edifie the ancient cathedral ch. of Lismore wch was demolished by Edmund FitzGibbon, called the White Knight, and other traitors in the late rebellion of Mownster. The chancel of wch ch. I did at my own charges of £ccxvi. 13 and 9d. rebuyld, & put a new rooff, covered with slatt, and plaistered & glazed: then furnishing it with seated pews & pulpit: And now have given order to have the ruyns of the body and ile of that church cleered, & to have the same new built and re-edified, as fair, or fairer than ever it was before.' The orders were apparently not obeyed with much alacrity, and on 9th April, 1638, he wrote: 'God bless my good intencions. I this day began to enter on the pulling down of the ruyns of the old defaced chapels of Lismore wh was so ordered to be done by an act of the bp. dean and chap. with a godly resolucion to rebuyld the demolished cathl. ch. of Lismore.'[1]

Unfortunately it is impossible to discover any existing work that can be referred to this rebuilding, though the

[1] *Lismore Papers*, ser. i, vol. v, p. 46. Quoted in Fallow's *Cathedral Churches of Ireland*, p. 67.

side windows of the transepts[1] are of late seventeenth-century character and it is evident some further works were undertaken at that time. Bishop Gore of Waterford in 1690 left £200 to provide a ring of bells and to beautify the quire. A view of 1739 shows a central octagon in the style of the period which has disappeared in another view of 1774.[2] Nearly all the existing details, including the plaster vaults and the western spire, belong to the early years of the nineteenth century.

CLOYNE.

The marvellous beauty of the best work of the fourteenth century in England, so superbly represented, for instance, in the quire of Selby abbey, is in Ireland almost unknown, and the commonplace and towerless cathedral at Cloyne, built within that period, is remarkable as showing how very poor a stucture could suffice for the mother church of an ancient and not unimportant diocese. The fabric is a sort of reduced reproduction of the collegiate church of Youghal (fig. 17). It consists of nave and aisles of four bays, transepts and quire. The plain chapter-house, projecting northwards from the last, is entered by a narrow door skewed through the wall as far east as possible to avoid interference with the stalls. The whole exterior is refaced, and the monotonous expanse of slate roof, unbroken by any clerestory, gives a very poor general effect: the removal of all the battlemented parapets, which was done in 1705,[3] still further spoils the look of the church.

The interior is entirely plastered and hardly an original feature is to be seen. The nave is separated from its aisles by plain pointed arches simply pierced through the walls, the square piers between being without capitals

[1] Each with two round-headed lights and a circle under a round arch.

[2] Both reproduced by Fallow, pp. 64 and 66.

[3] *Annals of the Cathedral of St. Coleman, Cloyne*, by Dr. Caulfield, F.S.A. (Purcell & Co. Cork, 1882), p. 22. No part of the existing church seems to me earlier than the latter part of the fourteenth century, though a higher antiquity has been claimed. The refacing or plastering of everything makes it most difficult to speak with any precision.

or any other feature save that the edges are bevelled off. There are arches from the central space to nave and transepts but not to the quire. The east window is of five lights with net tracery; all the other windows are lancets, mostly grouped, the end wall of the south transept having apparently been pierced originally by five lancets divided by mullions, the central one trefoiled. The very plain north door of the nave is marked by a little head, a tiny quatrefoil within a quatrefoil, and very simple ornaments at the foot of the bevelling, here reproduced (fig. 17). These seem more like the idle and extempore

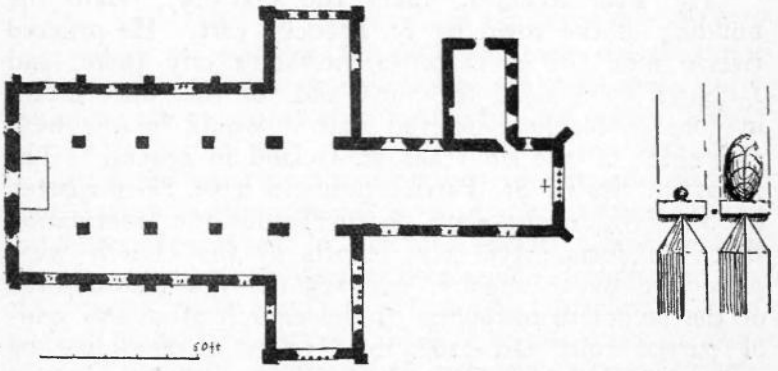


FIG. 17. PLAN OF CLOYNE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND DETAILS OF NORTH DOOR.

embellishments of a mason than any serious part of the design.[1]

In the eighteenth century there was erected under the arch opening from the nave to the transept a striking screen with gateway surmounted by a gable and furnished with large Ionic pilasters, a feature reminding one of several college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge. Fallow (p. 43) gives an illustration of this work in its original position; it has most unhappily been removed to the west end to form a rather meaningless porch. Its

[2] There is a description of this church by T. J. Westropp in *R. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1897, pp. 334–340. I am indebted to him for the plan.

date must be about the time of the famous George Berkeley, who was bishop here 1734–1753.[1]

ARMAGH.

A very great disappointment is in store for the antiquary who, without previous knowledge, visits the metropolitan church of all Ireland, the primatial cathedral at Armagh, the burial place of the renowned Brian Boru, where was preserved the famous *bachal Isa* or staff of Jesus, which had been used as a crozier by St. Patrick himself.

The *Four Masters*, under the year 457, relate the building of the town by St. Patrick's care. He ordered twelve men 'to erect an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns, and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it would be the head and chief of the churches of Ireland in general.' The tripartite life of St. Patrick (said to have been written by St. Evin in the sixth century) adds the information that the form, style and length of the church were prescribed by an angel.[2] In 1125 the *Four Masters* tell of the complete re-roofing of the church after 130 years of partial ruin. In 1268 they relate a rebuilding by primate Gillapatrick O'Scanlain, whose work is evidently to be found in the existing transepts. They have lancets at the sides and three-light traceried windows at the ends. One lancet on the south, very plain, splayed but without shafts, seems to be original; all the rest is concealed by

[1] A superb recumbent effigy of this prelate, by Bruce Joy, was placed in the north transept in 1890.

In the yard are foundations of a Celtic chapel, about 34 by 23 feet. It is called St. Colman's firehouse, from the founder, whose death the *Four Masters* record in 600. In the north transept is a not very early bas-relief of the crucifixion found on the site of the chapel. A more interesting relic of Celtic times is a round tower, west of the church, separated from the yard by a road. The masonry is a sort of compromise, large smooth stones laid in fairly regular courses but giving the impression of rubble rather than ashlar. The stone is of reddish colour, but two-thirds of the way up a band is made by about three courses of greyer stone. The doorway (on the south-east, facing the cathedral), as usual some feet above the ground, and the four look-out windows at the top are covered by lintels; some of the other openings are triangular-headed. Instead of the proper cap the top is furnished with Irish battlements that seem to date from repairs made in 1683. It is astonishing how ineffective these round towers become when deprived of their appropriate roofs.

[2] The length was to be 140 feet.

the refacing without and plastering within that was carried out in 1834 by primate lord J. G. Beresford.[1] Besides the transept the church consists of quire of three bays and nave with aisles of five (fig. 18). The quire is in the style of the fourteenth century and may have been erected by primate Miles Sweetman (d. 1380). The nave and its aisles form a good specimen of the style of the early fifteenth century. The oblong clustered pillars have ten shafts apiece, the outer ones filleted as is so commonly the case in Ireland. The arches are well

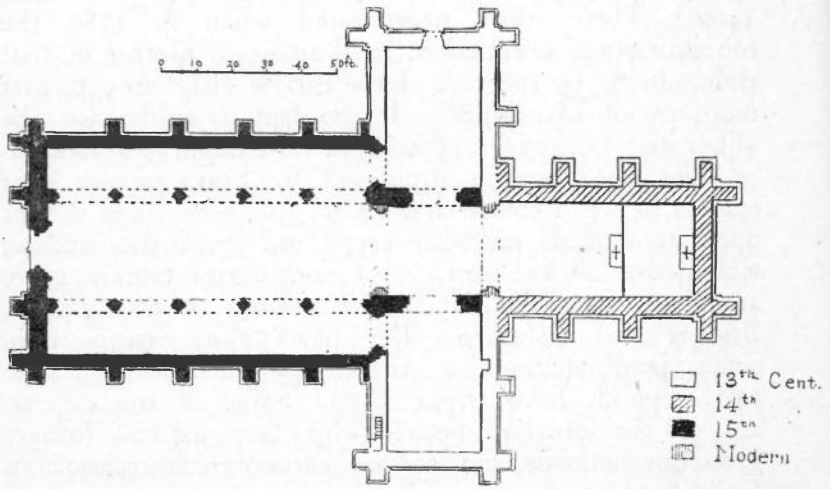


FIG. 18. PLAN OF ARMAGH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

moulded and even in their present plastered condition by no means without a certain dignity. The aisles have

[1] A member of the chapter told me that it was recently proposed to attempt to restore the original stonework in the interior, but that the removal of the plaster showed that it was in a very decayed condition and that it had been covered with a thick coat of tar to keep in the damp. Almost the only parts of the interior that look old are the north and south arches of the tower, the others having not long ago been rebuilt to open out the view. Primate Robinson, lord Rokeby of Armagh (1765–1794), however, in the late eighteenth century tried to build a replica of Magdalen tower in the middle of the church, but was obliged to desist, as the north-west pier gave way and had to be reconstructed. In 1786 he built the present low and feeble tower and unfortunately never began his scheme of erecting his Magdalen steeple as an addition to the west end. He was a great benefactor to the city, founding the library and the observatory.

three-light windows; those of the clerestory are of two lights and splayed downwards.[1]

DOWNPATRICK.

The cathedral at Downpatrick, notable for its association with the three most famed of Irish saints,[2] formed the church of a great Benedictine house that stood just west of the town. The whole of the buildings have disappeared except that there still stand the walls of the clerestory and aisles of the quire, dating from about 1400.[3] These were incorporated when in 1789 the rebuilding was commenced in the bastard Gothic of that time, chiefly by the care of the earl of Hillsborough, first marquess of Downshire. It had lain in ruin since the abbey was burned in 1538, by a lord deputy of Ireland.

The east front is supported by heavy square stair turrets between centre and aisles; between them a door opens to a small vault-like crypt, and above the window, which, like all the rest, is of nondescript Gothic type, are three trefoiled niches with statues of SS. Patrick, Bridget and Columba. The block piers within have single jamb shafts and ornately moulded arches; the east responds have triple shafts. Some of the capitals are of the greatest beauty with very natural foliage, grotesque animals and so on, certainly unsurpassed in Ireland. Unfortunately plaster and whitewash make it difficult to distinguish what is really mediaeval and what dates from the restoration. The present vaulting is but lath and plaster, and the restorers showed deplorable ignorance of the style in which they essayed to build; nevertheless the west screen surmounted by the organ, and the stalls extending the whole length, giving the effect of a college chapel, brightened up by some fair glass and coloured coats of arms, all combine to produce so cheerful and striking a general impression that criticism is largely disarmed. One would hardly credit how far

[1] A number of fine monuments, none of ancient date, with several flags help to give the interior a cheerful effect.

[2] See p. 107 of this volume.

[3] I arrived at this period from a careful study of the base-mouldings. Fallow (p. 13) gives the date about 1412, but unfortunately does not mention his authority. Presumably he had documentary evidence.

the spirit of a Gothic interior could be realised with details so shockingly bad. In some ways at least the effect is superior to that of the pitch-pine and machine-made details that were so much admired in the sixties.[1]

While the restoration works were actually in progress, during 1793, the ancient round tower was destroyed in a rowdy election riot[2]; its place is most indifferently supplied by the square steeple which in 1826 was erected, partly on the site of the old middle tower.

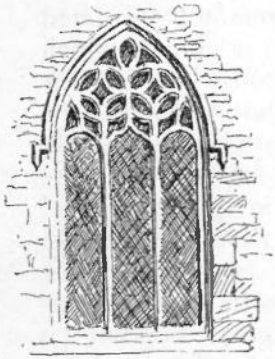
LEIGHLIN.

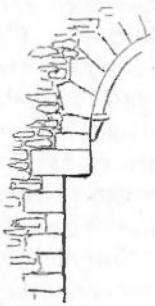
A most interesting example of very Gothic work is presented in the small and rather remotely situated cathedral of Old Leighlin (co. Carlow), a church which was remodelled and to a great extent rebuilt by Matthew Sanders, bishop 1527–1549, a prelate who supported the reformation, though he had been appointed by the pope. The most curious feature of the building (plate II, no. 1) is that it exactly follows the plan which in Ireland is usual in the churches of friars. The aisleless nave has transepts at its eastern end; a 'tunnel tower' rises over the west end of the quire whose very large north chapel communicates only by a door. The original building is usually attributed to bishop Donat (1158–1185), but the only detail which suits his period is a plain lancet in the south wall of the quire which at present lights the lower part of the tower. There are some very beautiful details of the thirteenth century. The quire has four trefoiled sedilia with shafts and exquisite deep-cut mouldings. In the south wall are two three-light windows, one of them having three lancets under a larger arch and the other intersecting mullions. The west door of the nave has deep mouldings in two orders with shafts to the outer one; this is worked in granite, as is much of the other detail.

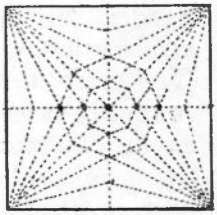
[1] The parish church of Hillsborough, built from the ground by the same nobleman who restored the cathedral in 1774, is also a surprisingly good piece of eighteenth-century Gothic. A stately avenue of trees leads up to the tall west spire, and other towers rise at each end of the transepts, thus forming a most unusual design.

[2] The tower appears in the view of the building given by Grose on the title-page of his first volume.

The dark and nearly windowless nave is divided into three bays by buttresses; in the furthest bay east are lancet arches with plain bevelled double orders, the inner rising from filleted shafts. Of the south transept nothing remains: the north transept is a roofless ruin. A western lancet and an eastern shafted niche are doubtless original; three later windows were probably inserted when the church was reconstructed by bishop Sanders. Leaving the eastern banded shafts that enclosed the original east window, probably a triplet, he inserted between them a structure of four lights, transomed and with intersecting mullions, flat round-arched heads to the







LEIGHLIN CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

FIG. 19. EAST WINDOW OF CHAPEL. FIG. 20. NORTH SIDE OF WEST TOWER ARCH. FIG. 21. TOWER VAULT.

lights being provided below. The outer dripstone rises to a little figure.

At or about the same time a large and very lofty chapel was added on the north side of the quire. It is extremely plain but remarkable for the possession of a very unusual east window of three lights, the central one ogee-headed, the others round and without any cusps.[1] The tracery seems an attempt to revert to the forms of the fourteenth century, and there are shafts within. The exterior is illustrated in fig. 19.

[1] This chapel is roofless in the view published by Ledwich (*Antiquities*, p. 255) which also shows a low spire with large vane.

It seems to have been bishop Sanders who inserted a 'tunnel tower' over the west end of the quire. It is very similar to those steeples that in nearly every case were erected within the churches of Irish friaries. So much narrower is it than the church as to have a little sloping roof each side, and under these are the usual arched recesses north and south. It was not desired, however, to shut off the view more than could be helped, and the east and west arches have their jambs cut away, so to speak, as far as was considered safe (fig. 20). A very ornate vault,[1] exactly reproducing that erected by bishop Hacket in the cathedral of Kilkenny (p. 386), only a few miles off, except that being considerably smaller the Leighlin vault omits one pair of ribs in each segment (fig. 21). In front of this tower, but not (as is usual in friary churches) extending into it, was a large timber rood-loft which blocked up the west tower arch and both the arches that open into the transepts. Two of the corbels that supported it are still to be seen on each side of the tower arch and also, on a lower level, two others west of the transept arches.

LISBURN.

The cathedral at Lisburn, built in 1622, is a poor and uninteresting structure on the whole, but the tower is a fairly good specimen of the revived Gothic of the age. Its windows have three lancets each, under single arches, the top of the central lancet joined to the keystone by a short bar.[2] This particular form of window was reproduced at the neighbouring cathedral at Dromore, built by bishop Jeremy Taylor (d. 1667), but all except his southern wall and part of the tower have been renewed in the dreariest style.

[1] For some rather inscrutable reason the design of the tower vault is one of the ornaments on the altar-tomb of William O'Brien, who died 17th January, 1569–1570. His wife was a Kavanagh, but the date of her death is left blank. A loose stone has a more ornate plan for the vault.

[2] In the eighteenth century were added four spiky pinnacles and a tall stone spire. The church has been transformed since it was built and is a simple oblong chamber with galleries on three sides. The only object of special interest is a bas-relief to the memory of John Nicholson.

DERRY.

In the cathedral of St. Columb at Derry, erected by the citizens of London in 1633, we have one of the most interesting examples that exist of the restored Gothic of Jacobean age.[1] In type it is an ordinary parish church, west tower and nave with aisles. The most distinguishing feature is the existence of rood turrets at so late a date. These project from the aisle walls and seem to have contained stairs to the galleries.[2] The parapets of both aisles and clerestory have battlements of English character; the windows are under very flat arches and have cusped lights, triple everywhere except in the south aisle where they are quadruple. The exterior might at first sight be taken for a church in the last age of true Gothic, say about 1500.

The arcades within seek to reproduce the work of a rather earlier age; the arches are of lancet form with rather thin mouldings. The octagonal pillars have rather lean moulded caps and bases, with the curious peculiarity of being banded about a foot below the caps[3] (plate II, no. 2). The five-light transomed east window has a sharply pointed arch and rather good tracery of fifteenth-century type. The original stonework is set up in the present chancel, which is modern. The tower dates only from 1805; it contains the famous 'No surrender' cannon-ball.

CORK.

The ancient cathedral at Cork has entirely disappeared, and on its site stands a beautiful structure by W. Burgess which, except for its three tall spires, seems largely to be modelled on Lisieux. The Roman Catholic cathedral

[1] Its chief rival is St. John's church at Leeds.

[2] The latest example of rood turrets leading to a regular rood-loft, apart from modern revivals, seems to be in the extremely interesting Elizabethan church at Standish, Lancs. Different parts are dated 1584–1589, and the details are a most curious mixture of Gothic and Renaissance.

[3] Possibly these bands show Irish influence, for this kind of thing is much more usual in Irish than in English mediaeval work. Otherwise the church shows no decipherable native features.

at Killarney, a severe example of the English thirteenth-century style, cruciform with tall central spire, is on the whole Pugin's most satisfactory piece of work. Other cathedrals, both Anglican and Roman, are of considerable interest to the student of the Gothic revival, but the antiquary is not otherwise concerned with them than in so far as he must sincerely regret the fact that they are all alike in utterly refusing to be influenced by the ancient architecture of Ireland.

The wayfarer whose ideal of a mediaeval cathedral refuses to move far from the stately structures of Lincoln and Notre-Dame may leave Ireland entirely unsatisfied, but whoever is willing to see in the cathedrals of a nation some echo of that nation's past, and realises the vast diversity in the circumstances of different European lands in mediaeval days, will find the ancient cathedrals of Ireland as interesting a collection of churches as is to be found on the surface of the globe.