Reconstructions of the Gothic past: the lost cathedral of Waterford

ROGER STALLEY

One of the curiosities of medieval Ireland was the existence of more than thirty bishoprics, a remarkable number given the size of the country's population. As each bishopric required a cathedral, it followed that Ireland had an equally large number of cathedral churches – in fact, more than England, Wales and Scotland combined.[1] Most of the Irish buildings were modest structures, far removed from the complexities associated with the great Gothic cathedrals abroad. Only three were designed with sophisticated interior elevations, the sort of schemes that immediately convey an impression of cathedral status. Best known are the two Dublin monuments, Christ Church and St Patrick's. The third member of the group, now largely forgotten, was the old cathedral of Waterford, demolished in 1773 to make way for a building in more fashionable classical taste. Compared with other 'lost' cathedrals, a considerable amount of visual evidence survives, allowing us to form a reasonable impression of what was once a very unusual structure.[2] The architecture of the cathedral has never been analysed in detail, although it has long been recognised that the design of the choir was inspired by Glastonbury Abbey, a connection that has not been satisfactorily explained. Equally interesting are the circumstances that led to the cathedral's demolition five hundred years later, circumstances that cast an interesting light on eighteenth-century attitudes to the Gothic past.

DESTRUCTION

It is not clear what events led up to the decision to replace the ancient cathedral in Waterford; there is no evidence of structural failure or sudden collapse. Nonetheless, on 23rd March 1773, a joint committee, representing both civic and

1 – Thomas Malton, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, c.1785 *(detail; see page 97 for full image)*
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

ecclesiastical interests, was appointed 'to inspect into the state and Condition of the Cathedral Church of the City, to have it examined and to consider whether it can be properly repaired or not or whether a new Church is necessary to be built'.[3] Opinion was evidently divided and there were clearly some who argued for repair rather than reconstruction. For professional advice, the committee turned to the architect Thomas Ivory, who submitted a report to the corporation of the city on 13th July.[4] He advised reconstruction, thereby sealing the fate of the medieval building. The following day a meeting took place between the bishop of Waterford (Richard Chenevix), the dean, other members of the chapter, along with representatives of the corporation. In the light of Ivory's report, they agreed that the old cathedral should be taken down and a new church erected in its place.[5] Operations began during the late summer and autumn of 1773 under the direction of the local architect John Roberts; the cathedral itself was demolished, though it appears that the tower was retained for a while, perhaps with the thought that it might be incorporated in the new work. In January 1774, however, the committee accepted Roberts' design for the new church and gave instructions for the old steeple to be removed.[6]

Roberts was over sixty years of age when he was given the task of designing and constructing the new work.[7] He had a long association with the cathedral, initially as a builder and carpenter: as early as 1747 he had been paid 7s 7d 'for making a Reading Desk, finding material, painting it and mending the Pulpit door'.[8] Roberts was clearly someone who inspired trust, and Bishop Chevenix (1746-79) is said to have admired his integrity, skill and experience.[9] He probably knew the old cathedral as well as anyone, though whether he was one of the advocates of demolition we do not know. Undoubtedly he had much to gain from the course of events, for the design of the new cathedral was to establish his reputation as a major architect (Plates 1, 2). As both builder and architect, his first task was demolition. In 1773-74 he was paid £150 'for pulling down the cathedral' and 'taking down the bells of the same out of the Steeple and putting them up in the French Church Steeple and also for pulling down the said cathedral Steeple'.[10] The cost of these operations was, it seems, offset by the value of materials recovered from the medieval building, much of which was recycled in the new work. The 'old stones' were valued at £120, with £57 deducted for their cleaning. Timber was valued at £75 and the (wooden) ceiling at £29.[11] The classical building we see today incorporates a fair amount of medieval material, and, as Ryland observes, somewhat portentously, in his history of Waterford, 'from the ruins of the old cathedral, and with much of the same material, arose the present building'.[12] The full extent of the cannibalisation became apparent some years ago when the walls were stripped prior to replastering and re-rendering. In fact, Roberts reused the lower sections of the north and south walls of the old structure, which thus determined the width of the new.[13]

The prominent role of city dignitaries in the events of 1773 reveals the close association that existed between cathedral and corporation. The cathedral depended on the corporation for the maintenance of the fabric, and the finances of the two bodies were closely entwined, a situation that had developed over a period of three hundred years or

2 – Thomas Malton, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, c.1785
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

more.[14] On various occasions the corporation acquired property or other possessions belonging to the cathedral, in return for which they agreed to contribute to repair and maintenance. Thus, in 1577, an impressive array of silver plate, worth £400, was handed over to the corporation.[15] Persuading that body to fund repairs in return, however, was not quite so straightforward, especially at moments of tension between the Catholic corporation and the Protestant clergy. In 1637, the corporation agreed to finance work on the cathedral only on condition that citizens be permitted burial within its walls.[16] In the year 1646, money for repairs was flatly refused. Likewise, in 1673, the corporation sought to avoid making any contribution, though relations had apparently improved by 1679 when the city agreed to provide two thirds of the money required for 'repairs and alterations'. It seems that the obligations of the corporation were not precisely defined, and, as Ryland notes (with ironic understatement), 'the repairs of the Cathedral were a fruitful source of contention'.[17] By the early years of the eighteenth century, costs were being shared, with the corporation taking responsibility for the nave. Thus, in 1723, the corporation paid for repairs to windows in 'the city part' of the cathedral, and eleven years later it provided £400 for repairing the roof of the 'City part', in the same manner as the dean and chapter had repaired their part (presumably the choir and chancel).[18] When it came to erecting the new cathedral, a substantial portion of the total cost of £5,397 was to come from

the corporation.[19] The decision to demolish the old building was thus not just a matter for the ecclesiastical authorities. It was very much a civic decision, one that demonstrated 'the self-confidence of Waterford's civic oligarchy', as Julian Walton has pointed out.[20]

The main argument in favour of demolition was presumably the poor condition of the fabric; Thomas Ivory may have concluded that the cost of repairing and maintaining the medieval building would be greater than the construction of a new church. It was said that the old cathedral had become so much decayed as to be 'judged unsafe for the purposes of public worship', though whether this was Ivory's opinion is not known (the text of his report does not survive).[21] As early as 1635, Sir William Brereton warned that none of the churches in Waterford 'are in good repair, not the cathedral, nor indeed are there any churches almost to be found in good repair'.[22] We know that renovations were carried out on the Lady Chapel at the east end of the cathedral in 1673, one of the occasions when the corporation was reluctant to assist, excusing itself (in vain) on the basis of lack of funds and the scarcity of timber.[23]

If the authorities in Waterford were worried about the state of their cathedral, they were not alone. By the mid-eighteenth century, the two cathedrals of Dublin were in a semi-ruined condition; there had been at least one suggestion that Christ Church should be dismantled and rebuilt.[24] The medieval cathedral at Cork had been demolished (in 1735), and the same fate befell the cathedral at Clogher.[25] In 1749 the ancient cathedral on the Rock of Cashel was abandoned, the authorities citing the inconvenience of the site and the cost of maintaining the ancient fabric.[26] Given the attitudes prevalent elsewhere, Waterford's negative approach to the Gothic past is not altogether surprising.

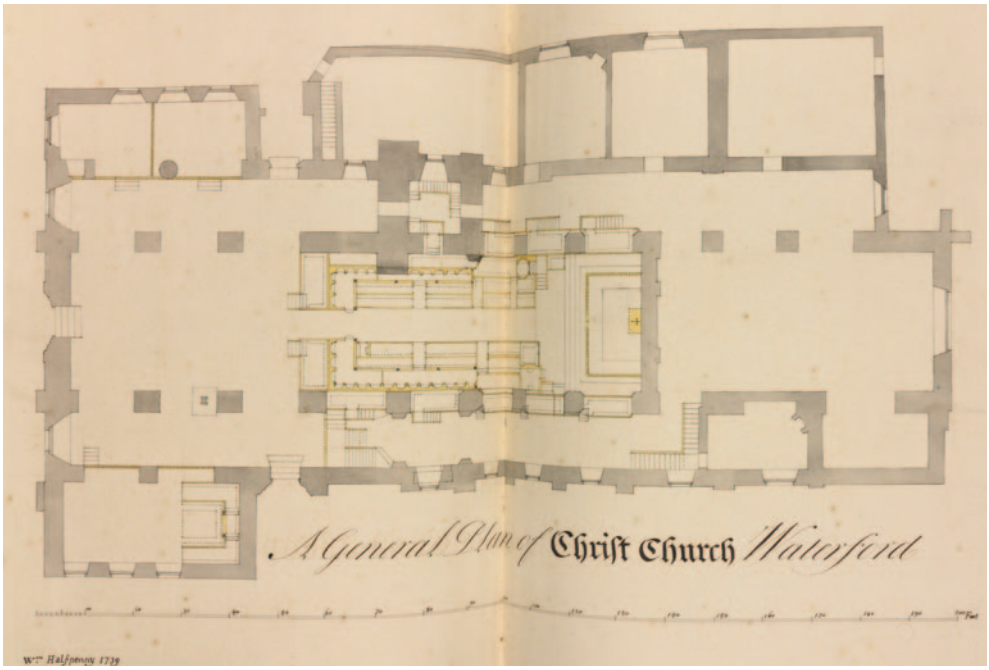
While the cathedral may have been in a state of decay, there is nothing to suggest that it was on the point of collapse. During the first half of the eighteenth century, considerable investment in the old building had taken place, with the provision of new furnishings and a new altarpiece; in the time of Bishop Milles, six of the bells in the steeple had been recast.[27] Nobody seems to have been overly concerned about impending catastrophe at this point; indeed, those who believed the building might have been saved have pointed to the strength of the old fabric and the difficulties encountered in dismantling it. There is more than a suspicion that concern about structural deficiencies was merely a pretext. James Graves tells an amusing story about the way in which Bishop Chevenix was won over:

> It is said, indeed, on the authority of local tradition that the bishop of the diocese long refused to sign the death warrant of the noble old pile, paying little attention to the frequent hints he received of the insecurity of the fabric. At last, however, the demolitionists hit on a lucky thought. As the bishop was coming out of the cathedral one Sunday morning, a person, mounted on the roof for the purpose, let fall a shower of rubbish close to his lordship, whilst others of the conspirators, accidentally present, took care so to improve on this text, that the bishop's fears got the better of his good taste...[28]

This has echoes of the situation in Cork forty years earlier. In November 1733 the bishop refused to allow his cathedral to be pulled down, contrary to the view of the dean and chapter who argued that it was 'in very bad repair and in great danger of falling'. But in September 1734 the bishop succumbed to pressure and the cathedral was demolished the following year.[29]

At Waterford, there were almost certainly non-structural arguments in the air, not least the inconvenience of the old building. The medieval cathedral was patently ill-suited to the liturgical needs of the eighteenth century; ancient chapels around the perimeter of the building were long since redundant (two had already been abandoned and unroofed), and by 1739 the Trinity or Lady Chapel at the east end of the cathedral lay 'unused'.[30] In contrast, the choir, where the majority of ceremonies took place, was a highly congested space, with the floor taken up by box pews, many of them reserved for the mayor and corporation. Although galleries had been squeezed in between the medieval piers, the choir was cramped, especially on major civic and religious occasions; no doubt many citizens felt it was time to replace 'the gloomy aisles and the gothic arches' with 'the light and vivid beauties of modern architecture'.[31] Roberts must have been familiar with such arguments, and in many respects his design of 1774 can be seen as a critique of the ancient building. He replaced the old choir with a spacious and well-lit interior, allowing plenty of room for the city dignitaries; broad galleries north and south meant that the assembled congregation had no difficulty in seeing and hearing what was going on (Plate 2).[32] Mindful perhaps of the old building, his design included a curious vestibule or narthex at the west end, presumably designed to replicate the former nave.[33]

Whatever the disadvantages of the old building, surviving drawings and plans suggest that Bishop Chevenix was not the only bishop with an interest in the past. In the time of Bishop Milles, a series of 'views' of the cathedral was commissioned from the English architect, William Halfpenny, along with a detailed plan of the building, all inscribed with the date 1739. The drawings are conserved in the National Library of Ireland,[34] but the plan is a separate item, now bound into an album of miscellaneous drawings in the collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects (Plate 3).[35] The album, which is linked with the Milles family, includes several engravings of Irish cathedrals after the surveyor and draughtsman Jonas Blaymires.[36] It also includes a series of unidentified house and church designs, amongst which the plan of the cathedral is inserted, an association that led to the suggestion (in 1966) that the church designs may have been intended as proposals for Waterford.[37] This, however, is unlikely: none of the drawings is inscribed, which is odd if they were intended as alternative schemes for a new cathedral; moreover, the scale of some of the buildings look more appropriate for parish churches and none seems grounded in the local situation.[38] The mixing of house and church proposals suggest a more speculative operation, as if all were intended for some sort of pattern book. There is, in fact, nothing in the drawings to connect them with Waterford, nor is there any evidence that Bishop Milles was actively considering the demolition of his cathedral, as often assumed. He was quite elderly at this stage, having been bishop for over thirty years.

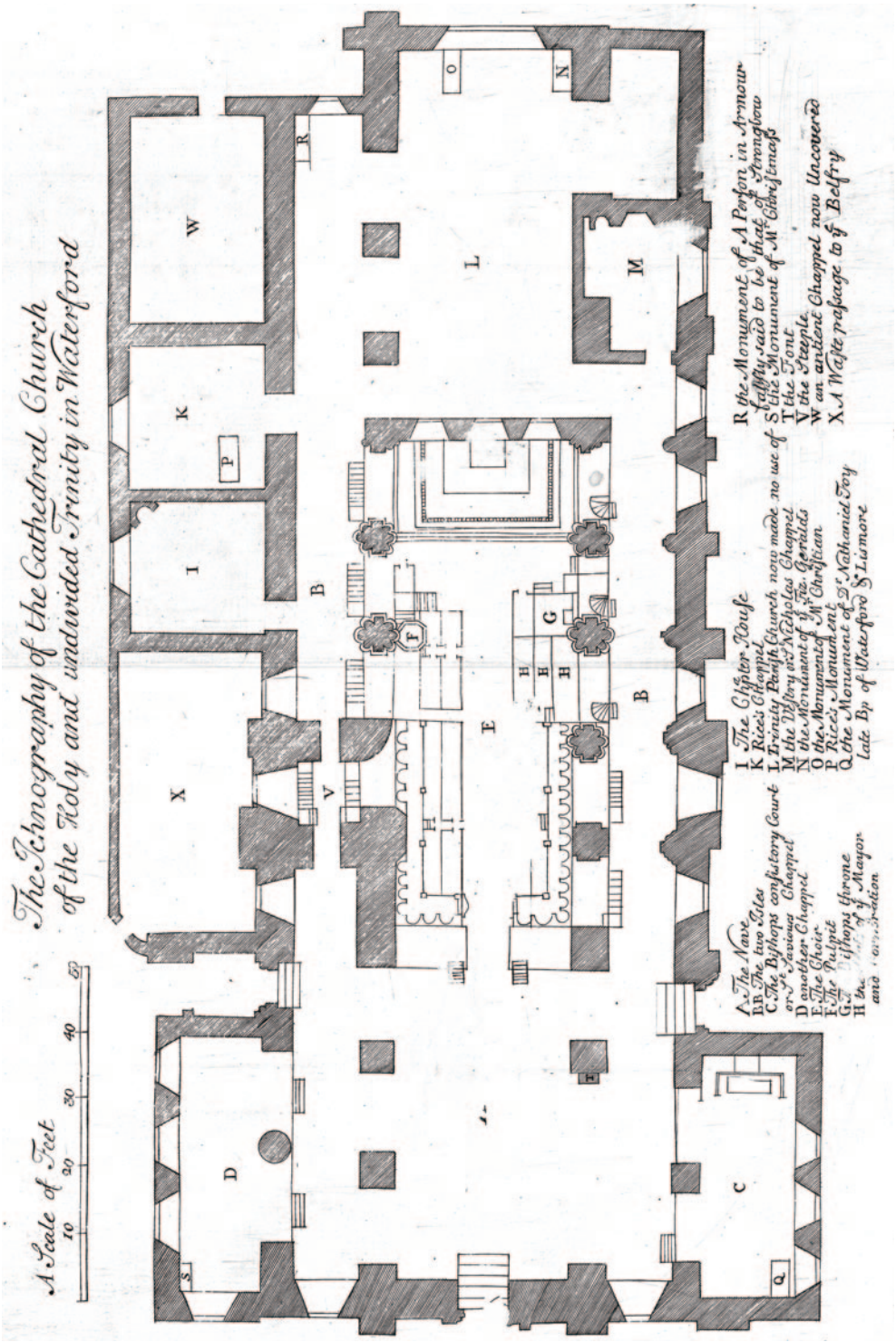


3 – William Halfpenny, plan of Waterford Cathedral, 1739
(courtesy British Architectural Library, RIBA, London)

opposite ***4 – Jonas Blaymires, plan of Waterford Cathedral as engraved in THE WHOLE WORKS OF SIR JAMES WARE, 1739*** *(courtesy National Library of Ireland)*

He died the following year.[39] If he had a new building in mind, he left it very late in his career.[40]

It is unfortunate that we do not know why the cathedral authorities in 1739 commissioned Halfpenny to prepare a plan of the medieval cathedral, along with three drawings of the exterior (Plates 7-9). If internal renovations were being contemplated, one might have expected interior views as well, but there is no evidence of such drawings (unless they have been lost). Even more curious is the fact that in the very same year, Jonas Blaymires arrived in Waterford to prepare a similar set of views or 'prospects' of the cathedral, as well as a plan. Blaymires was there in April, whether before or after Halfpenny we do not know. Commissioned by Walter Harris, the drawings of Blaymires are the source of the three well-known engravings published in *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware* (Plates 4-6). On his visit to Waterford, Blaymires received a less than forthright welcome. In a letter to Harris, he explained that he had done a plan, along with two prospects 'which are greatly approved of', but added that the bishop and dean were reluctant to contribute towards the cost of the work and would not pay for the plan. He waited around for ten or eleven days in the hope of receiving some cash. 'The Bishop at parting told me he would pay for the Northwest side provided that the rest was to be


The Topography of the Cathedral Church
of the Holy and undivided Trinity in Waterford
A Scale of Feet
10 20 30 40
A The Nave
B B The two Isles
C The Bishops consistory Court
or S.t Saviour Chappel
D another Chappel
E The Choir
F The Pulpit
G The Bishops throne
H The Throne of the Mayor
I The Chapter House
K Rice's Chappel
L Trinity Parish Church now made no use of
M the Vestry or S.t Nicholas Chappel
N the Monument of S.r Tho. Geraldo
O the Monument of M.r Christian
P Rice's Monument
Q the Monument of S.r Nathaniel Foy
late Bp of Waterford & Lismore
R the Monument of a Person in Armour
saffely said to be that of Strongbow
S the Monument of M.r Christmas
T the Font
V the Steeple
W an antient Chappel now Uncovered
X A Waste passage to y.e Belfry

engraved as well as it but if they was not he would not contribute an [*sic*] farthing.'[41] The artist was eventually given £6 10s 0d for his efforts by Dean Alcock. The letters from Blaymires to his patron, Walter Harris, are full of information about the character and ambitions of the various bishops encountered on his travels. Had Bishop Milles intended to demolish his cathedral, Blaymires would certainly have got wind of it; the correspondence contains no hint of any such scheme.[42]

Following the death of Bishop Milles, substantial sums were spent enhancing the choir of the cathedral. In 1752, Richard Pococke, the future Bishop of Kilkenny, described these 'renovations' in some detail:

> The Quire has lately been much ornamented if intermixture of Grecian with Gothick Architecture can be call'd an Ornament by a Corinthian Altar piece, which is the gift of Mrs Susannah Mason & cost £200; – by a very handsom Canopy over the seat of the Mayor & Aldermen, & by the same over the galleries, & the seats of the families of the Bishops and Dignitaries, by making a Gallery to the north for the Soldiers, to the west over the Organ for the Charity boys, – by adorning the Galleries with handsome Ballustrades, & New seating the Church & paving it with black and white marble, to which besides the white marble The Revd. Dr Jeremiah Milles, Chantor of the Cathedral of Exeter as he was likewise formerly of this Church & Treasurer of Lismore, gave the sum of fifty pounds.[43]

Despite the renovations, not all visitors to the cathedral were impressed: some years later, Edward Willes described the cathedral as 'a small sorry Gothick building and the pillars very clumsey; nothing worth observing in it except one old monument.'[44] Willes, like many of his eighteenth-century contemporaries, appreciated neither the interest of the building nor its importance in the architectural history of Ireland.

THE MEDIEVAL BUILDING: VISUAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

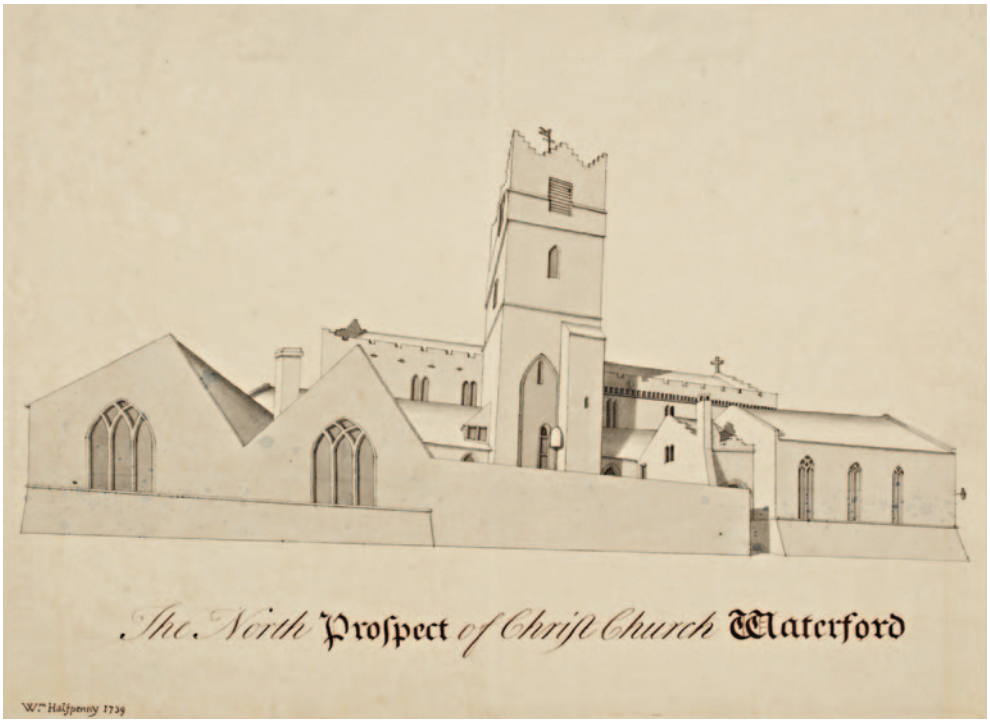
THE APPEARANCE OF THE CATHEDRAL IS RECORDED IN A SERIES OF PAINTINGS, DRAWings and engravings made before 1773, the best known of which are the works by Blaymires and Halfpenny. The three drawings by Blaymires, reproduced as engravings in *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, include a plan, intriguingly entitled 'The Ichnography of the Cathedral Church' (Plate 4). As well as revealing a fair amount of architectural detail, including the general shape of the piers, the plan identifies the name of chapels and marks the position of major monuments. The other engravings are exterior views taken from opposite corners of the cathedral, one from the south-east, showing the chapels at the east end (Plate 5), the other from the north-west, revealing the design of the west façade and the tower (Plate 6). Both views were taken from a raised position; for the north-west view, the artist might well have been seated in a window of the 'Apartment', the almshouse for clergy widows erected in 1702.[45]

5, 6 – Jonas Blaymires, two views of Waterford Cathedral, from the south-east and from the north-west, as engraved in THE WHOLE WORKS OF SIR JAMES WARE, *1739*

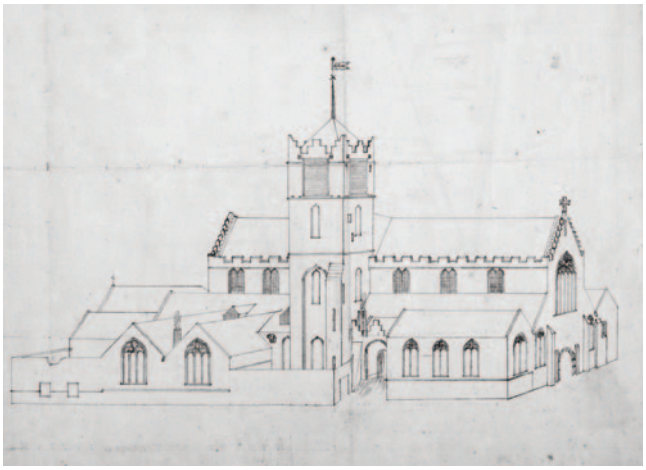
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

Blaymires' approach was quite different from that of William Halfpenny, whose three views (from the north-east, north and west) were taken from a low viewpoint.[46] Drawn in ink with a brown wash, they are signed at the bottom-left corner 'Wm Halfpenny 1739'. The low viewpoint, emphatic foreshortening and sparse technique accentuate the geometric mass of the building, the overall effect stark and dramatic (Plates 7-9). Halfpenny's plan of the cathedral (Plate 3) is more accurate than that by Blaymires.[47] It is drawn in black and sepia ink, with grey and yellow washes. The scale is 7/8 of an inch to 10ft, from which one can calculate that the external length of the cathedral was 195ft (59.4m). Unlike Blaymires, Halfpenny did not mark the position of tombs nor did he identify specific chapels, but staircases, choir stalls, altars and other features are more precisely delineated. Whereas Blaymires tried to give an impression of the multi-shafted piers in the choir, Halfpenny was content to mark them as rectangular blocks.

The National Library of Ireland possesses three further drawings of the exterior of the cathedral, none of them signed or dated. The first, taken from the north-west, is similar to one of the engravings of Blaymires (Plates 6, 10).[48] At first sight it could be mistaken for a preparatory work, but the perspective is slightly altered and there are differences in the architectural detailing, not least in the design of the battlemented parapets.[49] Drawn in brown ink, the precise construction of the horizontals and verticals suggest the hand of someone well versed in architecture. The second is a high-level view from the south-west, drawn in black ink with light washes on the roofs and windows



William Halfpenny, Waterford Cathedral, 1739
8, 9 – Drawings of the cathedral from the north (NLI, 1977, TX 2) and north-west (NLI, 1977, TX 3)
opposite 7 – Drawing from the north-east (NLI, 1977, TX 1)
(all courtesy National Library of Ireland)



Drawings of Waterford Cathedral (anonymous)

10 – Drawing of the cathedral from the north-west (NLI, 1977, TX 6)

11 – Drawing from the south-west (NLI, 1977, TX 5)

12 – Drawing from the south (NLI, 1977 TX 4)

(all courtesy National Library of Ireland)

(Plate 11).[50] Especially distinctive are the delicate, spindly outlines of the tracery in the windows. The third drawing is somewhat cruder, this time a high-level view showing the cathedral from the south (Plate 12).[51] Drawn in brown ink, it is characterised by heavy, uneven washes applied to the roofs. It has two obvious similarities with the previous drawing: in both cases the individual windows are filled with lattice patterns, suggesting small rectangular panes of glass, and in both works a scale is provided, an indication perhaps that the drawings were intended as some sort of record rather than as artistic compositions in their own right.

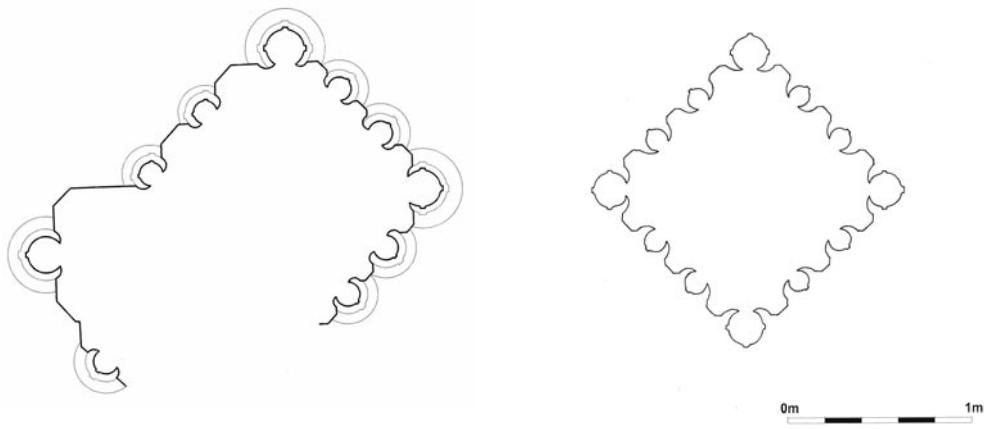
More ambitious depictions of the old cathedral come in the form of a pair of oil paintings, now hanging in the Waterford Museum of Treasures at the Bishop's Palace.[52] One is an aerial view showing the building from the north-west, with the city and hills beyond (Plate 13); the impressive red brick façade of the 'Apartment' is prominently depicted on the right. There is much human activity in the foreground, including dignitaries along with a coach, complete with footman standing at the back.[53] Unfortunately, the dark surface makes the details hard to discern. But there is one noticeable feature not found in other views, namely the omission of the wall running continuously from the tower to the eastern chapels. In its place there is an open yard filled with bushes and undergrowth, an indication, perhaps, that the painting preceded the other views. If so, it must have been made before 1739.

By far the most important of all the visual records is the second painting in the Waterford Museum. This is an interior view of the cathedral as seen from the high altar, looking west (Plate 14). It provides abundant information about the medieval architecture, as well as the furnishing of the choir. Especially noticeable is the bishop's throne, an extravagant affair, with an elaborate canopy protected by a brightly painted angel.[54] But it is the architectural detail that makes the work so valuable; without the painting, the design of the Gothic choir would be completely unknown. A date of about 1730 has been suggested; the painting was certainly made before 1752, as there is no sign of the renovations described by Richard Pococke (these included black and white paving in the choir and 'handsome' canopies over the seats of the mayor and aldermen).[55] In addition to specific views, there are a number of general illustrations of the city that show the cathedral from a distance. These include an engraving of 1673 and a painting by William van der Hagen, the latter commissioned by the Corporation of Waterford who paid £20 for it in 1736.[56]

As well as these illustrations, there are significant physical remnants of the old cathedral, some of which have come to light in recent years. The most impressive fragment is the lower section of one of the thirteenth-century piers (Plate 15). Previously accessible through a trapdoor (in the current 'vestibule'), this was permanently exposed to view in 1997.[57] Made of yellow limestone imported from the quarries at Dundry, near Bristol, the pier is asymmetrical in plan, suggesting changes in the alignment of the cathedral at this point (Plate 16). The base of the pier remains in intact, indicating that the medieval floor was approximately 1.5 metres below the modern paving. By 1739, ground levels

Waterford Cathedral
15 – The surviving pier in the south arcade (pier 3), photographed from the north
Carved fragments from the medieval cathedral are arranged on the upper surface (all photos by the author)
16 – Plan of the surviving pier in the south arcade (pier 3)
17 – Design of pier in the north arcade (pier 2)
(as reconstructed by the author of the basis of evidence found in 2011)

opposite 13, 14 – Two paintings of the cathedral by an unknown artist, c.1730 (?):
the exterior from the north and the interior of the choir looking west (Waterford Museum of Treasures)



around the cathedral had risen quite considerably, a point evident from the Blaymires and Halfpenny plans on which steps are shown leading down into the church (Plates 3, 4). The eighteenth-century cathedral was thus built at a higher level than the medieval building, the outer walls of which provided a foundation for the new.

There has long been a suspicion that further evidence may have survived, suspicions that were confirmed when another pier, likewise made of Dundry stone, was uncovered in January 2007 during the installation of under-floor heating.[58] This represented the second freestanding pier of the north arcade (counting from the east) (Plate 17). It is visible in the painting immediately behind the pulpit (Plate 14). The diamond-shaped plan was largely intact, revealing a design with twelve engaged shafts. The shafts on the cardinal points had triple fillets, the pair between just a single fillet.[59] The find was of considerable value since it revealed the design of what was clearly the standard form employed in the choir. Unfortunately, the surface of the pier could not be left exposed and the excavation was backfilled within a few days.

Two further excavations have been carried out recently.[60] One took place in the south aisle at a point corresponding to the Trinity Chapel in the old cathedral. Fragments of pier were encountered, which may have belonged to one of the free-standing piers separating the main body of the chapel from the adjacent aisle.[61] Less ambiguous were discoveries outside the walls of the cathedral in August 2011. Near the east end of the south wall a length of moulding over two metres in extent was revealed bonded into the wall of the eighteenth-century cathedral. Made of Dundry stone, this was furnished with a single horizontal fillet. The masonry was clearly *in situ*, demonstrating that the lower sections of the wall must have survived from the medieval building. The moulding evidently marked the top of some sort of plinth, perhaps at the top of an external batter.

Numerous fragments of sculptured and moulded stone also remain, some displayed in the narthex beside the medieval pier (Plate 15). They include a voussoir decorated with chevron ornament, and three stiff-leaf capitals dating from the early thirteenth century (Plate 19). There is also the head of a two-light window with foliate decoration in the spandrels.[62] More fragments were exposed when the walls of the current building were uncovered, prior to replastering and re-rendering.[63] It is important to note that the majority of the tombs recorded by Blaymires have survived, though it appears that, at the time of his visit in 1739, some medieval monuments had already been lost.[64]

THE HISTORY OF THE BUILDING

It is likely that a church of some significance existed on the current site by 1096, the year in which Malchus was appointed as the first bishop of Waterford.[65] No remains of this building have come to light. For the earliest known work we have to turn to the eighteenth-century painting of the interior (Plate 14), which indicates that the main body of the cathedral was erected in at least two phases. The artist was largely occu-

pied with the Gothic choir, but earlier work is depicted in the more distant parts of the building, corresponding to the nave. This section of the church is devoid of vertical shafts, there is no triforium, and the main arches into the aisle appear to be round-arched rather than pointed. The solitary stone with chevron decoration may well have come from this area. The piece formed part of an arch in which zig-zags were cut on both the face and soffits, thereby forming a lozenge on the angle. It is possible – in fact, perhaps likely – that this early section of the church was, in origin, a single-cell building to which aisles and clerestory windows were subsequently added. The clerestory was certainly an addition (or modification), for it had the same window forms as the Gothic choir. There is also a possibility that the lower parts of the tower belonged to the earlier church.[66] Whatever the situation, we can be certain that a twelfth-century church existed on the site to which the early Gothic choir was an addition. This was presumably started well to the east, leaving the old building intact while construction was taking place. Less clear, however, is whether this new choir was designed as the first stage of a completely new building or whether it was intended merely as an extension.

The Gothic choir consisted of an aisled structure of four bays. To the east, behind the high altar, the central space terminated in a solid wall with a triple lancet window above (Plates 3, 4). How the rest of the east end was handled is more problematic. Eighteenth-century views give the impression that the aisles continued one bay further (Plate 5), which implies the existence of some sort of ambulatory or retrochoir; an arrangement of this sort would have been necessary to provide access to the large chapel behind the high altar, later known as the 'Trinity church'.[67]

The architecture of the interior is well illustrated in the painting (Plate 14). There was a three-storey elevation consisting of an arch leading to the adjacent aisle, a triforium with three graded arches, and a clerestory with a mural passage set in front of the windows.[68] The most striking aspect of the scheme is the manner in which a network of shafts rises from the pier, the centre shaft continuing up to the springers of the vault.[69] Two further shafts enclose the main arcade and the triforium, producing the 'giant' order. The height of this arch must have added considerable force to the overall design. The painting also shows a distinctive treatment of the arches leading into the adjoining aisles; here the mouldings were restricted to the angles, leaving the centre of the soffit quite plain, a technique defined over a century ago by Arthur Champneys as a 'reduced order'.[70]

The overall height of the cathedral must have been at least seventeen metres (56ft), and there is no doubting the vertical impact of the design.[71] Apart from the short string-courses below the triforium and clerestory, horizontal accents are almost non-existent. The continuity of shafts and arch mouldings, with no capitals to interrupt the flow, reinforce this impression. In fact, the only major (medieval) capitals visible in the painting are the foliage examples at the springing of the vault.[72] The anonymous artist appears to have been quite perceptive for he noted several inconsistencies in the design. Thus, in the clerestory, one window (on the north side) appears to be flanked by a cluster of thin shafts, while the others are framed by a single colonette. The latter may well have been

detached or *en délit*, since rings designed to lock them into the fabric are indicated in two cases.

Only three bays of the choir were complete to their full height. In the fourth bay on the south side (left in the painting) there is no sign of a clerestory, while in the corresponding bay to the north there is little, if any, indication of Gothic work. The blank wall in this area is explained by the presence of the tower alongside. The tower itself is in a curious position, placed above the aisle, halfway along the north side of the church. The construction of a tower over a pre-existing aisle would have been a hazardous undertaking at the best of times. In its final form, the tower was clearly a late medieval construction, but we know it replaced an earlier 'belfry' that fell in a storm in 1366-67. It is thus possible that the location of the tower was established before the Gothic choir was begun.[73]

More information about the construction of the choir can be gleaned from the unusual pier (pier 3) that separated the third and fourth bay. Although beautifully built in imported Dundry stone, its plan is unorthodox, not to say perplexing (Plates 15, 16). The irregularities are clearly deliberate, for the handling of the stone is consistent throughout and the pier appears to have been erected in one build. The north-south axis has been shifted approximately 0.57 metres to the west (on the south side) while the east-west axis has been moved approximately 0.35 metres to the north (on the north side). Presumably the irregularities were intended to overcome a particular problem at this point in the cathedral. Halfpenny in his plan spotted the irregularities, though Blaymires ignored them.[74]

The change of alignment in the east-west direction is best explained as an attempt to line up the new work with the old. The Gothic choir was evidently about one foot narrower than the Romanesque church, and the surviving pier marks the point where the two sections of the building came together.[75] The irregularities must have been designed to accommodate a shift in the axis of the south wall. But despite the ingenious layout, it is hard to see how such a change could have been disguised in the elevation above. The Blaymires plan (Plate 4) makes a distinction between the complexities of pier 3 and the simpler layout of pier 4 to the west. The latter is fundamentally square in layout, and formed part of the earlier Romanesque building. This is consistent with the evidence from pier 3, where the Gothic masons simplified the western respond to match the older and less sophisticated work on pier 4.

The north-south shift, whereby the shaft facing the nave is not aligned to that facing the aisle, is more difficult to explain, though it is far from unique in medieval architecture. Such practice was usually designed to solve a problem that arose when the bay divisions in the aisle had a different rhythm from those of the central nave. This situation might occur if the aisle, or at least its outer wall, was retained from an earlier building, as happened in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral after the fire of 1174.[76] But does this explain the situation at Waterford? At this point it is worth returning to the plan prepared by Jonas Blaymires (Plate 4). The wall of the south aisle appears to have been surveyed with some care, for Blaymires recorded a change in its design. To the west (left), the outer

wall is considerably thicker and the aisle responds quite substantial; to the east (right), where the outer wall is thinner, the responds are more compact.[77] The most significant aspect of these changes is that they take place opposite pier 3, the pier with the irregularities. This was clearly a critical point in the construction of the new choir, though exactly what was going on is still hard to say. At the very least, the layout of pier 3 must have been determined by the need to adapt the new work to pre-existing fabric. This in turn suggests that any intention to reconstruct the whole building (if it ever was intended) had been abandoned.

Unfortunately the exterior views of the cathedral do not throw any light on these issues. To the south, the aisle walls were pierced by a series of early Gothic lancets, those in bays 2, 4 and 5 being taller than the rest, their pointed heads rising into the roof where they were capped with gables (Plates 5, 11, 12).[78] In bay 6, there was a round-headed doorway, covered in the eighteenth century by a timber canopy. One of the drawings seems to indicate the presence of shaft rings, suggesting that it was a thirteenth-century addition. The same might be true of the west doorway, judging from the moulded jambs indicated in the Blaymires engraving.

In fact, there is good evidence to suggest that the Gothic masons remodelled the older parts of the building. The clerestory was uniform throughout the building, implying that the entire upper level of the cathedral was constructed in a single campaign. Each window was furnished with paired lancets on the outer face, but with just a single arch towards the interior. Curiously, the sequence of windows was interrupted midway along the building. On the north side this is explained by the presence of the tower, but there is no apparent reason for repeating the arrangement to the south.[79]

One of the more ambitious features of the Gothic choir was the intention to cover the main space with a ribbed vault. The painting of the interior shows the springing of the ribs on each side, though the stone vault itself – if it was ever built – had been replaced with a timber ceiling (Plate 14). A single shaft rose from the ground to correspond with the springing of the vault (the evidence from the surviving piers shows that the shafts were furnished with three fillets). The artist painted the vaulting shafts above piers 1, 2 and 3, but there are none in further reaches of the building. Nor is there any sign of ribs beyond this point. Herein lies a further problem. As the interior of the cathedral formed a single space, it would have been well-nigh impossible to vault half the building and not the other. This makes it unlikely that a stone vault was ever constructed.[80]

The overall impression of the cathedral in the middle years of the thirteenth century must have been disconcerting, the simple architecture of the nave awkwardly fused with that of the Gothic choir. The plan, likewise, did not follow cathedral norms: no transepts were included, so the building lacked the familiar cruciform shape seen in the majority of medieval cathedrals. As a consequence there was no 'crossing' at the centre of the building and no architectural division between nave and chancel. The tower was located to one side, over the aisle, rather than over the centre of the church. The cathedral was thus a hybrid structure, the inconsistencies all too apparent when gazing east

towards the high altar. It was far from a perfect exercise in Gothic design, a point presumably not lost on those who advocated demolition in 1773.

ADDITIONS AND MODIFICATIONS

By the end of the middle ages, the core of the cathedral was surrounded by an array of chapels, as was frequently the case in major churches of the time. On the north flank, four (or possibly five) extra chapels had been constructed, obscuring the original line of the building (Plates 3, 4, 7, 8). It is hard to argue with Ryland's comment that the old cathedral 'was disfigured by a confused mass of buildings, attached to the original pile without regard to simplicity or unity of appearance'.[81] The earliest additions may have come at the south-east corner, where the south aisle was extended, apparently in two stages, alongside the Trinity Chapel.[82] One of the chapels so formed was dedicated to St Nicholas.[83] The plan, as recorded by both Blaymires and Halfpenny, gives the impression that this became a semi-independent chapel, with space for a tomb in the north wall (Plates 3, 4). By 1739 it was being used as a vestry and chapter house.[84] To the north lay the Trinity Chapel, almost certainly erected in conjunction with the Gothic choir in the first half of the thirteenth century. It no doubt functioned as a Lady chapel, like equivalent chapels at Salisbury and St Patrick's in Dublin; subsequently it was used as a parish church.[85] Three arches opened into the adjoining north aisle, the east end of which provided an obvious location for another altar.[86] To the north lay a further chapel, which, by 1739, had been abandoned and deprived of its roof.

The chapel immediately to the west, dedicated to St Catherine and St James, is one of the best-known chantry chapels in Ireland in that it belonged to James Rice, eleven times mayor of Waterford (Plates 3, 4, 7, 8, 13). A man of great piety, Rice made the pilgrimage to Compostela in 1483, the year after his chapel was complete.[87] This, of course, was the original location of the famous tomb, with its effigy of a corpse in the process of decay.[88] Given the cost of the chapel and the relative wealth of the patron, the walls were no doubt painted and its window filled with stained glass. The 'switchline' or intersecting tracery is well recorded in one of the Halfpenny drawings (Plate 9). The chapel alongside at one stage served as the chapter house, which explains the presence of a fireplace and chimney stack. As the window tracery was identical with that in the Rice Chapel, it is likely that the two chapels were designed and built together. Both had been pulled down by 1746.[89] The tomb of James Rice was shifted into the 'parish church', the former Trinity Chapel, the first of several journeys this macabre monument was to make over the course of the years.[90]

To the west of the chapels lay an open yard in front of the tower, followed by a porch, giving access to the north door of the cathedral.[91] Beyond was the final chapel on the north side, the dedication of which is unknown.[92] This was a spacious chamber, with three windows to the north and one to the west, each filled with curvilinear tracery (Plates

6, 9). It opened to the nave through two arches supported on a central column (Plates 3, 4). The corresponding chapel on the south side was not quite so long, but in this case there is no doubt about its function, for this was the chantry chapel of St Sepulchre (Plates 3, 4, 5).

Thanks to the survival of its original register, more is known about this chantry than any other in Ireland.[93] It was founded by John Collyn, Dean of Waterford (1441-80), who compiled much of the register himself.[94] It provides a wealth of information about the administration of the chantry, its endowments, gifts and bequests, as well as the duties of the chaplain. Thanks to the register, we know that a Mass of the Holy Spirit was to be celebrated in the chapel before the election of the mayor and bailiff.[95] The chaplain, who had an annual stipend of six marks, had the right to occupy a chamber in the precincts with a solar above. He was required to serve in the choir of the cathedral and to wear the habit of a vicar.[96] The gifts bequeathed by Collyn to his chapel are especially interesting: they included two chalices from the Cistercian monastery of Graiguenamanagh, which he held in pawn for £6; likewise, a two-volume Bible belonging to the same abbey, held in pawn for 6s 8d (the misfortunes of the Cistercian monks were thus not without benefit to clergy elsewhere). Collyn bequeathed a portfolio in two volumes, a book he himself had written on the sacraments, a small book of sermons, a chest in his study, a genealogy of the Virgin Mary in English, and a number of vestments, some of which still survive.[97] He also left a copy of the *Ars Moriendi*, or the 'Art of Dying', one of the most popular works of the later middle ages.[98] In its contemplation of death, the text belongs to the same world as the cadaver effigy of James Rice; the two men were friends, so Collyn may have had some influence on Rice's choice of funeral monument.[99] The register of St Sepulchre thus provides a remarkable insight into the life and activities of a cathedral dignitary, but by the time Blaymires arrived at Waterford 250 years later, all this was in the past, the name of Collyn evidently forgotten. The chapel then served as the consistory court, its memorial associations taken over by a more recent dignitary, Nathaniel Foy, Bishop of Waterford (1691-1707), whose lavish tomb filled one corner of the chapel.[100]

About ten separate chapels were thus added to the core of the cathedral during the course of the middle ages, each with their own altar and specific dedications, an agglomeration of sacred places that illustrates the diversity of religious life on the eve of the Reformation.[101] In addition, there were further altars, their setting not defined in specific architectural terms. It is known that the Trinity Church or chapel contained an altar of St Blaise, belonging to the shoemakers, and an altar of St Martin, associated with the 'webers' or weavers, as well as a chapel of Jesus said to lie beside the Trinity Church. Somewhere in the building was the merchants' chapel, otherwise known as the chapel of the 'pittie Rode', after the small crucifix housed there.[102] In 1524 it had been enacted that this chapel should receive a halfpenny for every pound's worth of goods traded out of the port of Waterford, the money to go to the upkeep of the chapel and to cover the annual salary of £5 for the chantry priest.

The addition of chapels was not the only architectural development in the later

middle ages. Windows were enlarged in several places, designed no doubt to incorporate expanses of stained glass. In the fifteenth century, a large traceried window was inserted in the west façade, a five-light design with curvilinear patterns in the head. It is well illustrated in one of the Halfpenny drawings (Plate 9). This window – or at least its masonry – may yet survive. During demolition works in 1773, the window was carefully dismantled and the stones taken to Curraghmore, where they were intended for use in a Gothic folly on the estate of the Earl of Tyrone. The cathedral architect, John Roberts, had previously worked at Curraghmore, and the reuse of the window could have been his idea. The folly was never built; in 1895 the dressed stones were still lying in a pile in a wood on Clonegan Hill. At this time, they formed a cairn covered with 'furze and briars', the masonry apparently having suffered little damage.[103] A window with curvilinear tracery was also added to the east gable of the Trinity Chapel, though its design is not illustrated with clarity in any of the drawings and engravings. Curvilinear patterns were very much part of the fashion of the time; so too was the decision to add battlemented parapets to the high roof (Plates 5-10). These allowed for a continuous walkway along the edge of the roof, with steps leading over the gable at either end. The drainage holes at the base of the parapet are well marked in the eighteenth-century views. This modification is one that took place in the vast majority of Irish churches in the later middle ages, replacing the system of overhanging eaves generally used before. While some observers have seen this as a move towards fortification, the wall walk made it easier to maintain the upper roofs, so the principal motive may have been utilitarian. At Waterford, the parapets were relatively modest affairs, in contrast to the tall stepped forms found on many churches and castles of the time. The upper levels of the tower, with its steeply pitched crenellations, likewise belong to the later middle ages.

Inside the cathedral there were developments in the chancel. Sir James Ware states that 'Nicholas Comin, the Bishop, and Robert Lombard, the Dean of Waterford A.D. 1522 adorned the Choir and Chancel of this Church with an arched or vaulted Ceiling.'[104] It is difficult to know what this entailed, for the wooden-panelled ceiling shown in the eighteenth-century painting is, strictly speaking, neither arched nor vaulted (Plate 14). Moreover, it extended the full length of the building and was not restricted to the chancel.[105] Ware's comment also raises the question of what was there before the timber ceiling. If no vault had been constructed in the thirteenth century, was the choir previously open to the rafters?

The painting of the interior shows a number of sculptured grave slabs lying between the stalls in the centre of the choir. From the fifteenth century onwards, the cathedral accumulated an increasing number of memorials, not all of which were noted by Blaymires. They included the monument of Bishop Richard Cantwell (1426-46), whose effigy, with pastoral staff in hand, was said to be 'curiously cut in alto relievo'.[106] Attached to one of the Gothic piers was a stucco monument, erected in memory of William Clusius of Bruges (d.1545). It incorporated a kneeling figure and was said to be 'very well executed'.[107]

By the sixteenth century the cathedral had also accumulated a remarkable quantity of liturgical silver; this was the collection that in 1577 became the subject of an agreement between the cathedral and the corporation in relation to maintenance and repairs.[108] The silver was itemised as follows:

> Two candlesticks of silver gilt, weighing fourscore ounces,
> A cross of silver, double gilt, weighing 126 ounces,
> Two candlesticks, of silver gilt, weighing 105 ounces,
> A standing cup of silver, double gilt, weighing 28 ounces,
> A cross of silver, double gilt, weighing 49 ounces,
> Five censers of silver, whereof two are partly gilt, weighing 211 ounces,
> A monstrant [*sic*] with two angels of silver gilt, weighing 49 ounces, and other articles of the same description, amounting altogether to seven hundred, fourscore and seven ounces, a rate of five shillings the ounce.[109]

In the aftermath of the Reformation, most of these items were deemed superfluous, being valued as financial assets rather than for their religious or artistic worth. While the cathedral relinquished its silver in 1577, it held onto some valuable furnishings until 1650, when a Cromwellian army arrived in Waterford under the command of General Ireton. The Cromwellians seized a range of metal furnishings, weighing some sixty tons, which the cathedral later sought to recover.[110] They included: 'a great eagle of massy brasse' (presumably a lectern of some sort); 'a great standing pelican to support the Bibles' (made of bronze); 'two great standing candlesticks of about a man's hand of massy brasse'; 'branched' candlesticks, likewise of brass; a 'fonte' supported on a 'pedestal and pillors' and 'to be ascended unto by three degrees or staires', together with its 'cover of massy brasse' (the latter said to be about three feet in diameter); numerous 'brasses, eschocheons, and atchements' torn from 'the ancient tombes, many of which were almost covered with brasse'; a 'brazen grate' for charcoal, sculptured with the 'Lumbardes armes'; and 'ye greate paire of organs' (valued, it seems, for its metal pipes). In 1661, several inhabitants of Waterford recalled how they had seen the items gathered together in an underground vault, ready for disposal. Although the Cromwellian regime was anxious to commandeer and recycle anything made of metal, the fabric of the cathedral itself was not neglected. Repairs in 1656 included the replacement of 32,000 slates and the 'whiting' of the interior of the church.[111] Not everyone was happy with this approach. One of the Cromwellian commissioners, Samuel Wade, objected to the expenditure, suggesting 'that it was better for them to pull down the said Cathedrall, for that they might have seaven hundred pounds for the matterialls of it, rather then goe to repaire such a steeple house',[112] a foretaste of things to come.

The lists provided by the agreement of 1577 and the depositions of 1661 provide a good impression of the furnishings and fittings to be found in an Irish cathedral at the end of the middle ages. Especially interesting is the bronze font, reached by steps and covered with a bronze cover. Irish medieval fonts were normally made of stone, and one

wonders how many other cathedrals possessed examples in bronze.[113] It has been argued that most of the bronze items were imported from abroad, perhaps from the Low Countries or the Meuse Valley,[114] and the memorial to William Clusius of Bruges is a reminder of the far-flung commercial contacts of the port of Waterford. The mention of memorial brasses is likewise significant, for these were once a prominent feature of Irish church interiors.[115] None of the medieval brasses from Waterford appears to have survived. What does remain, however, is a magnificent set of late-medieval vestments, items that provide a hint of the splendour encountered in the cathedral on great occasions.[116]

Following the Restoration in 1660, additional repairs and modifications took place. The high altar, adorned with the Decalogue, was replaced by an altar decorated with groups of angels, though this did not last for long.[117] At some point, galleries were inserted above the aisles of the choir, each gallery reached by a separate staircase, as indicated in the Halfpenny plan (Plate 3). It was probably at this time that dormer windows were inserted into the roofs of the north aisle. These works may have been carried out under Bishop Gore (1666-91), who is said to have been at considerable expense in adorning and beautifying the cathedral.[118] The box pews, illustrated in the oil painting of the interior (Plate 14), are usually attributed to him.

THE GOTHIC CHOIR AND ITS CONTEXT

THE ONE FEATURE THAT GIVES THE CHOIR OF WATERFORD A DISTINCTIVE PLACE IN THE history of early Gothic architecture is the use of the giant order. It was the only example of such an arrangement in Ireland, and it must, presumably, have represented a conscious choice on the part of the patron and his master mason.[119] Unfortunately, neither the identity of the patron nor the date of construction have been established with any certainty, though it is recognised that the design was modelled on the great church at Glastonbury, the only Gothic version of the giant order known in England.[120]

The concept of the giant order has a long history, going back to the writings of the Roman author Vitruvius.[121] In a medieval context, the term refers to an arch that rises through two storeys, enclosing or containing a sub-arch below. When applied to internal elevations, this means that the principal arch embraces both the main arcade and the triforium (or gallery). The system was adopted in a number of English Romanesque buildings, as at Oxford, where the supporting piers alternate between cylindrical and octagonal forms, and at Romsey, where a mixture of cylindrical and compound piers was employed.[122] The system can be interpreted as an ingenious compromise, allowing builders to exploit tall column-like piers, evoking memories of Rome, while at the same time retaining a conventional three-storey elevation. There is no agreement about whether it reflected a direct knowledge of Vitruvius or whether it emerged on a more empirical basis within the architectural workshops of the eleventh century. With the notable exception of Glastonbury and Waterford, the scheme was abandoned in the Gothic era.

Glastonbury was the best endowed of all English Benedictine houses, and its buildings had been sumptuously rebuilt in the middle years of the twelfth century. But on 25th May 1184 the abbey was devastated by a fire that, in the words of the chronicler Adam of Domerham, 'consumed not only the church and the rest of the buildings, but its ornaments, its treasures, and what was more valuable, the greater part of the relics'.[123] Thanks to the support of Henry II, reconstruction of the 'ecclesia major', or great church, began almost immediately, though it is not known how much had been achieved when the king died in 1189.[124] The building was destroyed following the Reformation, but substantial sections remain either side of the crossing, work that is usually dated to 1185-89 (Plate 18).[125] It is here that remnants of the giant order are to be seen. The critical feature is the way in which the triforium, with its three sub-arches, is enclosed by a great arch springing from ground level. Given the wealth and prestige of Glastonbury, it is surprising that the monks opted for a composition that was already becoming *retardataire*; the contrast with the contemporary architecture at Wells, not far away, has often been noted.[126] Nothing is known about the Romanesque church at Glastonbury, but it is possible that the elevation incorporated a giant order, which the monks were anxious to retain.

18 – Glastonbury Abbey: the ruins of the great church showing the east face of the transepts

The use of the same system at both Glastonbury and Waterford should not obscure numerous differences in detail between the buildings, the nature of which suggests that the Irish cathedral was designed some decades later. At Glastonbury, for example, the piers are composed of groups of shafts, which include rolls with an ogee keel, a contrast to the triple-filleted shafts seen at Waterford (Plates 15-17). At Glastonbury the triforium is surrounded by a continuous moulding, which acts as a string-course before continuing as part of the arch, a feature not found at Waterford. The triforium at Glastonbury was composed of three round-headed arches, with cusps below, in contrast to the use of three pointed arches at Waterford, a design that has more in common with the triforium at Wells Cathedral. Also noticeable at Glastonbury is the presence of chevron ornament, absent from this part of the Irish cathedral. Finally, it is important to notice the design of the clerestories: at Glastonbury three arches open to the interior of the building, whereas at

19 – Waterford Cathedral: thirteenth-century 'stiff-leaf' capital

opposite 20 – Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: capital in the north arcade, c.1234, with analogies to that at Waterford

Waterford there was just one.[127] The handling of the two designs is thus very different, and there is no suggestion that the master mason employed at Waterford had previously worked at Glastonbury.[128] In fact, many of the features seen at Waterford are more easily related to Irish buildings of the period *c*.1220 to *c*.1240. The triple-filleted shafts, for example, were used extensively in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, of *c*.1234, and so too was a distinctive moulding in which a pair of narrow filleted shafts are placed side by side.[129] One of the fragmentary stiff leaf capitals at Waterford can also be compared with examples at Christ Church (Plates 19, 20).[130]

The major mystery, however, is why the giant order of Glastonbury, the wealthiest Benedictine abbey in England, was regarded as an appropriate model for an Irish cathedral.[131] The scheme certainly looked impressive, but it was not easily integrated with other systems. The choice was ambitious and, one assumes, quite deliberate. If reconstruction of the whole cathedral was intended, then the choice would have made sense, but as part of a piecemeal extension the rationale is hard to discern.

Given Waterford's maritime trade with Bristol and other English ports, it is no surprise that the clergy looked to the west of England for guidance.[132] As already noted, the dressed masonry was imported from the quarries at Dundry, four miles from Bristol.[133] Glastonbury is just over twenty miles further south, and, apart from the cathedral at Wells, its new church must have been celebrated as one of the most grandiose projects in the area. There were, moreover, some specific ecclesiastical connections. Glastonbury was a Benedictine house and the cathedral of Waterford had a long-standing association with the Benedictine order. Its first bishop, Malchus, was a Benedictine monk, and there was a Benedictine house in Waterford itself. This was the hospital of St John, which was affiliated to Bath priory.[134] There was regular contact between the two houses: members of the Benedictine community in Waterford, for example, were expected to travel to Bath to make their profession and the priors of Waterford were appointed by the prior and convent of Bath. Far more relevant is that two of the Benedictine priors of St John became bishops of Waterford. The first was Walter, bishop from 1227 to 1232, the second being Stephen who held the see from 1232 until 1250.[135] While the identity of the bishops does not, in itself, provide a direct connection with Glastonbury, it certainly takes us into the

heart of the Benedictine world of the west of England. There were, however, some direct links with Glastonbury. According to Ware, Bishop Robert (1210-22) 'granted twenty Days Indulgences to the Abby of Glastonbury in England and ten Days to the church of Torre belonging to the said Abby'. Bishop Walter (1227-32) renewed this privilege, adding further indulgences to churches belonging to the abbey and 'thirteen days to the Reliques of it'.[136] The mention of relics is especially significant, since Glastonbury claimed to have the body of St Patrick, who, it was supposed, had returned to live at the abbey after his mission to Ireland. His tomb lay in the *vetusta ecclesia*, the ancient wooden church, one of many buildings destroyed in the fire of 1184. According to William of Malmesbury, the relics were much visited by Irish pilgrims.[137]

These relationships may help to explain why the great church at Glastonbury attracted attention in the city of Waterford. Was it one of the two Benedictine bishops – Walter, or perhaps Stephen – who promoted the idea of using Glastonbury as a model? The stylistic features seen at Waterford would not be out of place during their episcopates, and a starting date of *c*.1230 is consistent with the evidence.[138] In fact, the idea of enlarging the cathedral could have been a response to building activities in Dublin. The start of work on St Patricks cathedral, *c*.1225, was exactly the type of event to kindle architectural ambitions elsewhere.[139]

There is, however, one caveat to this line of argument. Despite the prosperity of the city, bishops of Waterford frequently drew attention to the poverty of their see, a point

scarcely consistent with the start of an expensive architectural enterprise. Poverty, no doubt, is one reason why the bishops were anxious to take over the neighbouring diocese of Lismore, a demand supported in the 1220s by Henry III. As the king explained to Pope Gregory IX, 'the revenues of the bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore are so poor that their bishops are obliged to beg for necessaries without their sees. It is not decent that persons of their eminence should be subject to such want.'[140] Architectural ambitions and claims of poverty are not necessarily unrelated: the prospect of reconstruction at Waterford exposed the meagre resources of the bishop and the chapter, making demands for financial aid all the more urgent. The fact that the giant order petered out in the fourth bay suggests that the financial status of Waterford never matched the clergy's architectural aspirations, a situation far from unique in medieval Ireland.[141]

Although the choir at Waterford was the most sophisticated example of Gothic in the south of Ireland, its impact in the region appears to have been negligible. This is not altogether surprising since a three-storey elevation and a ribbed vault were well beyond the resources of most Irish institutions. Some individual features, however, can be paralleled in the neighbourhood: compound piers with triple-filleted shafts, for example, are found in the crossings at Graiguenamanagh and Lismore; twin openings in the clerestory were deployed at Graiguenamanagh and Thomastown; the round-arched doorway (complete with ringed shafts) added on the south side of the nave recalls examples at Kilkenny and Graiguenamanagh. Such parallels reflect contemporary practice in the masons' yard, and there is no reason to assume direct influence from the cathedral workshop. One other feature, much favoured in medieval Ireland, was the 'reduced order', visible in the main arches of the choir. This technique, which left a substantial section of the underside of an arch without mouldings, was presumably a cost-cutting exercise since it reduced the amount of stone-carving required. It was an economy exploited in the transepts of St Patricks, Dublin, at much the same time.

CONCLUSION

For a short period in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it seems that the authorities in Waterford were intent on constructing a cathedral on a par with those in Dublin, intent perhaps on reinforcing the status of Waterford as Ireland's second city.[142] It is interesting that the three major Gothic buildings in Ireland, though constructed at much the same time, followed different models, which suggests that individuality and local identity really mattered. The fact that Glastonbury, the richest Benedictine house in England, was taken as a model for Waterford, certainly underlines the ambitions of those involved. Whether or not there was an intention to rebuild the entire cathedral remains unclear, but the decision to restrict the new Gothic work to the choir inevitably led to a fragmented result. The importation of Dundry stone, unloaded on the quays just a few yards from the cathedral, underlines the maritime connections of the city and the signif-

icance of Bristol as a trading partner. But it was the Benedictine connection rather than commercial contacts that best explain the choice of the giant order, by far the most interesting facet of the cathedral. By the 1770s the significance of this was lost on Protestant communities, concerned with the structural and utilitarian aspects of their churches rather than their historic value.[143] Once John Roberts had constructed his new cathedral, there was no place for the medieval past. Most of the ancient tombs were thus banished to the graveyard (though, as attitudes changed, many of them were happily brought back inside). There is an interesting parallel here with events a century later at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. As part of the restoration of 1871 to 1878, George Edmund Street likewise dispensed with old and unwanted memorials, in this case dispatching them to the darkness of the crypt. The irony is that in Dublin, at the height of the Gothic Revival, it was classical memorials that were banished, out of fear that they would adulterate the purity of a Gothic interior.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

CDI H.S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171-1250*, I (London, 1875).
DIA *Dictionary of Irish Architects* online, Irish Architectural Archive
NLI National Library of Ireland
RCB Representative Church Body library

1 Aubrey Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland* (London, 1970) 54-59. Thirty-eight dioceses were recognised at the synod of Kells in 1152, though the number was slightly reduced in subsequent years; *ibid*., 52.

2 The design of the medieval cathedral has been considered by Alfred Clapham, 'Some Minor Irish Cathedrals', *Archaeological Journal*, 106 (supplement, 1952) 30-33, and by Roger Stalley, 'Three Irish Buildings with West Country Origins', in Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper (eds), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury,* British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, IV (Leeds, 1981) 66-71.

3 RCB, 16/C/1, no.166.

4 At the time Ivory was in charge of the Dublin Society drawing school, where he taught the rudiments of geometry, architecture and perspective. He had achieved considerable status as an architect in

1769 when he was placed first amongst the Irish entries for the Royal Exchange competition. Edward McParland, 'Thomas Ivory', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XVII, nos 1 and 2, 1974, 15-18; *DIA*, 'Ivory, Thomas', accessed 23.8.2012.

5 R.H. Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (London, 1824), 145.

6 Julian Walton, 'Classicism and Civility', *Irish Arts Review*, 21, no. 1, 2004, 102-07, especially 103. The estimated cost was £3,704 5s 6d, though the final cost was £5,397. Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 145.

7 *DIA*, 'Roberts, John', accessed 23.8.2012.

8 RCB, C18/8, p.6, 'A short history of Christ Church Cathedral Waterford', paper read by J. Ernest Harris at a meeting of the Old Waterford Society at the Cathedral, 6th February 1951.

9 *DIA*, 'Ivory, Thomas', accessed 23.8.2012.

10 RCB, C16/5, fol. 11, 'Book of Accounts compiled by Simon Bouigue in 1779'. The French church was the former Franciscan Friary, the tower of which still survives to its full height.

11 RCB, C16/5, fol.11.

12 Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 146.

13 This point was demonstrated by excavations in August 2011 outside the south wall of the existing cathedral, where a section of medieval string-course or plinth was found *in situ*, bonded into the existing wall. Although the overall width was much the same, Roberts widened the aisles of his building at the expense of the central space.

14 Joseph Hansard, *The history, topography and antiquities (natural and ecclesiastical), with biographical sketches of the nobility, gentry and ancient families, and notices of eminent men, &c. of the county and city of Waterford; including the towns, parishes, villages, manors and seats* (1870; new ed. 1997) 89-90.

15 James Graves, 'The Ancient Fabric, Plate, and Furniture of the Cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford', *Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, II, part 1, 1852, 76-77.

16 Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford / Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin, 2007) 262-63; Ryland, *History of Waterford,* 136-37.

17 Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 140.

18 RCB, 16/C/1, no. 166, extracts from the City Council Booke.

19 Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 145. The figure is repeated in S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1837) II, 690; Hasard, *History, topography and antiquities*, 95.

20 Walton, 'Classicism and Civility', 103.

21 Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 145.

22 Edward Hawkins (ed.), *William Brereton, Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634–1635*, Chetham Society, vol. 1 (Manchester, 1844) 401. Brereton's comment may well reflect the size of the protestant community in Waterford and the difficulties it had in maintaining large ancient churches.

23 RCB, 16/C/1, no. 82. The reference to timber suggests that the roof was one area in need of attention.

24 Roger Stalley, 'The 1562 collapse of the nave and its aftermath', in K. Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, A History* (Dublin, 2000) 218-36. As early as 1638, Wentworth had envisaged replacing the medieval cathedral with a new building.

25 Peter Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (Belfast, 1992) 41-42, 58. For Cork, see also T.M Fallow, *The Cathedral Churches of Ireland* (London, 1894) 46-50, and A.C. Robinson, *St Fin Barre's Cathedral, Historical and Descriptive* (Cork, 1897) 12-16.

26 Galloway, Cathedrals, 37-38

[27] C. Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* (Dublin, 1746) 175, 178.

[28] Graves, 'Ancient Fabric, Plate, and Furniture', 82.

[29] Fallow, *Cathedral Churches of Ireland*, 47.

[30] See comment added to the 1739 plan by Blaymires (Plate 4).

[31] Hasard, *History, topography and antiquities*, 95.

[32] The classical building is described in Walton, 'Classicism and Civility', 102-07.

[33] In the context of eighteenth-century church design, this area in highly unusual, a point made to me by Edward McParland.

[34] NLI, TX 1977, 1-3.

[35] Victoria & Albert Museum, Royal Institute of British Architects Architecture Study Room, B3 VOS 66, Miscellaneous Antique Prints.

[36] The first item in the album is a large engraving of Isaac Milles. As well as Irish material, the album contains classical and English items, the latter including engravings of English churches, excerpts from Thomas Hearne on Glastonbury, etc.

[37] Jill Lever (ed.), Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects G-K (London, 1966) 82-83: 'It must be assumed that all nine designs for the Church are projects for the rebuilding of the Protestant Cathedral, associated as they are with the survey of the old Cathedral dated 1739.' Given the heterogeneous contents of the album, there are no grounds for such an assumption. Jill Lever compounded her error by suggesting that three of the dedicatory inscriptions on the engravings of Irish cathedrals were prepared by William Halfpenny, since they are signed 'WH'. The letters, in fact, referred to Walter Harris, who commissioned Blaymires to prepare the drawings. Friedman repeated this mistake: Terry Friedman, 'William Halfpenny's designs for an "Early Christian" cathedral at Waterford', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, I, 1998, 13.

[38] The nine church designs have been discussed by Friedman, 'William Halfpenny's designs', 8-33. With some hesitation, Friedman accepted Jill Lever's opinion. For the life and career of Halfpenny, see H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* (London and New Haven, 4th ed. 2008) 467-69.

[39] John Bergin, 'Thomas Milles', online *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (dib.cambridge.org), accessed 24.8.2012.

[40] Bishop Milles subscribed to James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture*, published in London in 1728. His nephews, Jeremiah Milles, precentor of Waterford (1737-44), and Richard Pococke, vice-general of the Waterford and Lismore dioceses (1734-44) and later bishop of Ossory, were both remarkably well-travelled and may have encouraged their uncle's architectural interests. Friedman, 'William Halfpenny's designs', 11.

[41] Armagh Public Library, MS K1. II.14, Topographical and statistical returns ... sent to Walter Harris and the Physico-Historical Society 1745. The letter was written to Walter Harris on 21st April 1739. I am grateful to Edward McParland for alerting me to the existence of the letters. Bishop Milles may have subsequently provided more generous support, given the fulsome acknowledgement to him in the inscription within the cartouches on the two engraved views of the cathedral. The source of the problem seems to have been Dean Bolton, who was angry that he had not been forewarned of Blaymires' activities. Dean Alcock, who eventually provided Blaymires with some cash, was Dean of Lismore.

[42] While staying at Waterford, Blaymires also had meetings with a 'Mr Mills', evidently Thomas Milles, the well-travelled nephew of the bishop, who surely would have known had there been any intention to replace the medieval cathedral. This is a contrast to Lismore, where building schemes were certainly in the air; as Blaymires explained, the authorities could not decide whether to build a new

cupola over the crossing.

43 John McVeigh (ed.), *Richard Pococke's Irish Tours* (Dublin, 1995) 108. Jeremiah Milles was the nephew of Bishop Thomas Milles. He became precentor of Exeter Cathedral in 1747, so the renovations can be dated to *c*.1747-52. P.W. Thomas, 'Milles, Jeremiah', online D*ictionary of Irish Biography* (dib.cambridge.org), accessed 24.8.2012.

44 James Kelly (ed.), *The Letters of Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes to the Earl of Warwick 1757-62* (Aberystwyth, 1990) 42-44.

45 Smith, *Ancient and Present State of Waterford*, 184-85; Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven and London, 2001) 72-74. The 'Apartment' was built in 1702 to house clergy widows. Constructed in red brick, the building has since been rendered.

46 NLI, TX 1977, 1-3.

47 Friedman incorrectly states that the two plans are identical. Friedman, 'William Halfpenny's Designs', 12.

48 NLI, TX 1977, 6.

49 Both works include a tiny object on the north wall of the north choir aisle (below the dormer), an intriguing correspondence that seems to confirm a close relationship between Blaymires and the anonymous artist. Was it by Blaymires himself – an initial effort perhaps? Unfortunately we do not have any original drawings by Blaymires with which to compare.

50 NLI, TX 1977, 5.

51 *ibid*., 4.

52 The paintings have identical frames and in both cases the canvas measures 109.5 x 75.3 cm (measurements kindly supplied by Rosemary Ryan).

53 Eamonn McEneaney has made the interesting suggestion that the painting may depict the arrival of the mayor and corporation at the cathedral.

54 There may have been two angels, one at each corner (there is a hint of a wing in the background).

55 McVeigh (ed.), *Pococke's Irish Tours*, 108.

56 The engraving of 1673 shows the cathedral tower furnished with a tall spire, a contrast to the low roof shown in other views. There is no other evidence to suggest that such spire ever existed. The painting of the city by van der Hagen is now on display in the Waterford Museum of Treasures at the Bishop's Palace.

57 Edmond O'Donovan, 'Archaeological Monitoring at Christchurch Cathedral, Waterford', unpublished report on behalf of Margaret Gowen & Co Ltd (1998).

58 Melanie McQuade and Tim Murphy, 'Archaeological Monitoring, Christ Church Cathedral Waterford City', unpublished report on behalf of Margaret Gowen & Co Ltd (2007, licence no. 06E1205) 7. The pier was encountered at a depth of 39cm below the current floor level. There was no opportunity to excavate much beyond this depth.

59 In fact, only one of the triple-filleted shafts survived intact (that to the west), but there is little doubt that the other three had the same form. It is interesting that Roberts made no attempt to found the columns of his new church on the masonry of the old piers. Almost all the eighteenth-century columns fall in the spaces between the ancient piers.

60 Both excavations were conducted by Orla Scully, to whom I am grateful for providing me with a comprehensive photographic record.

61 The stone is moulded in the same way as the thirteenth-century piers, so, if *in situ*, it might confirm that the Trinity Chapel was built as an integral part of the choir campaign. There is a possibility, however, that the material was reused as some sort of foundation, perhaps as part of the chapel of St Nicholas, the west wall of which was inserted at this point.

[62] This was discovered recently. It was found in 2011 in excavations in front of the undercroft, to the east of the cathedral, in a late eighteenth-century context. The arches are round-headed and cut with glazing grooves. I am very grateful to Orla Scully for alerting me to its existence.

[63] The work was subject to archaeological monitoring. Apparently window mullions and pier fragments were identified along with painted stone and architectural fragments containing masons' marks. McQuade and Murphy, 'Archaeological Monitoring' (2007) 5.

[64] Blaymires, for example, makes no reference to the tomb of Bishop Richard Cantwell (1426-46), nor to a stucco memorial of William Clusius of Bruges (d.1545). Walter Harris (ed.), *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1739) I, 536.

[65] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 100.

[66] The history of the tower is difficult to unravel. In its final form it belonged to the later middle ages. It was reconstructed at least once, *c*.1366-67, when it was reported that the 'belfry of the Blessed Trinity' had been 'broken to earth by a tempest'. Byrne (ed.), *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, 17.

[67] The aisle roofs and window patterns continue for one bay beyond the main structure of the choir, suggesting that an ambulatory, if constructed, would have been only one-bay deep. The window and roof arrangements seen in the eighteenth-century views suggest that the aisle was subsequently extended eastwards in two separate phases, both apparently thirteenth century in date. Whether this scheme was laid out at the beginning is a moot point, but it was certainly consistent with thirteenth-century ideas on liturgical planning. There are, in fact, striking analogies with St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and with cathedrals abroad. Michael O'Neill, 'The architectural history of the medieval cathedral', in J. Crawford and R. Gillespie (eds), *St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, A History* (Dublin, 2009) 96-119, and Roger Stalley and Michael O'Neill, 'St Patrick's Cathedral' in C. Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland, Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005) 606-13.

[68] Unfortunately, Blaymires gives no indication of the stairs providing access to the triforium and clerestory passages. See Plate 4.

[69] It is, admittedly, not easy to equate the pier depicted in the painting with the twelve-shafted compound pier uncovered in the excavations of 2007.

[70] A. Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London, 1910) 143-44. An interesting architectural problem arises at this point. From the excavations we know that the piers were provided with a large triple-filleted shaft, which should have corresponded with the inner order of the main arcade. As the painting shows no sign of such an order, what happened to the shaft and what purpose did it serve?

[71] The estimate of 56ft refers to the lateral elevations and is based of the assumption that the box pews visible in the painting are about 4ft in height. This is greater than Christ Church Dublin (49ft), but similar to St Patrick's (56ft). The choir was said to be 66ft in width and 45ft in length. Smith, *Ancient and Present State of Waterford*, 172.

[72] Small Gothic capitals can also be seen in the clerestory. The seemingly ancient capitals at the springing of the main arch, in fact, belong to the galleries, inserted in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

[73] Byrne (ed.), *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, 17. The bell of the cathedral acquired considerable status in the city as a time-keeper. In 1578 it was ordained that it should be rung at five o'clock in the morning so that servants, artificers and labourers could begin and attend their labour; *ibid*., 173.

[74] Curiously, the draughtsman employed to prepare the plan for Sir Alfred Clapham's article, 'Some Minor Irish Cathedrals', decided this was a standard form, repeating it throughout the south arcade. Clapham, 'Minor Irish Cathedrals', 31. The plan of the pier, shown on page 32 of Clapham's article, contains major inaccuracies.

[75] If the same adjustment was made on the north side, there would have been a difference of approximately two feet between the width of the Romanesque and Gothic work.

[76] Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1981) 108.

[77] The drawing of the south wall reveals further complications since the width of one bay (between piers 3 and 4) is even thicker than the wall to the west. None of these variations appear in the north aisle. At this point, coinciding with the window embrasure, Halfpenny marked some sort of passage or platform.

[78] A similar use of gables, in the same part of the building, can found in the Cistercian church at Abbey Dore, Herefordshire. Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude, Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton, 1984) 99 and pl. 120. I am grateful to Peter Draper for first pointing out this parallel.

[79] While the windows in the choir were centred over the bays below, this may not have been the case in the nave. The break in the clerestory on the south side is puzzling. The enlarged buttresses in bay 4 of the south aisle (visible on the Blaymires plan, Plate 4) make one wonder whether a second tower was envisaged in this position, though there is no evidence for this in any of the ancient views.

[80] The stones that make up the springing point of the ribs are typically worked in horizontal courses and bonded back into the clerestory wall, a technique that meant they had to be constructed at the same time as the clerestory itself. In such cases the rest of the vault was not normally added until the roof was in place. In some cases, stone springers were used to support a wooden vault, as has been argued for Llanthony Abbey in south Wales. M.F. Hearn and M. Thurlby, 'Previously undetected wooden ribbed vaults in Medieval Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 101, 1997, 48-58.

[81] Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 141.

[82] Differences in the windows and in the roof-lines imply this was very much an additive process.

[83] Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin also had a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas, a saint much favoured by sailors and merchants.

[84] The Halfpenny plan shows what appears to be a fireplace set at an angle.

[85] In its liturgy, Waterford followed the Sarum rite, so the relationship with Salisbury may not be coincidental. In the fifteenth century, the 'Trinity Church' appears to have had a number of separate altars, one dedicated to St Blaise, another to St Martin. Byrne (ed.), *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, 101; Eamonn McEneaney, 'Politics and devotion in late fifteenth-century Waterford', in Rachel Moss, Colman Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) 38.

[86] One of the chapels alongside the Trinity Church or Chapel was described as the 'Chapel of Jesus'. Byrne (ed.), Great Parchment Book of Waterford, 96.

[87] McEneaney, 'Politics and devotion', 35-39; Eamonn McEneaney, *A History of Waterford and its Mayors* (Waterford, 1995) 84-88.

[88] Edwin C. Rae, 'The Rice Monument in Waterford Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 69C, 1970, 1-14.

[89] Smith (1746) notes that Rice's chapel 'together with another ancient chapel to the E. of it, and the chapter house, were lately taken down, in order to enlarge the church yard'. Smith, *Ancient and Present State of Waterford*, 170. In 1752, Pococke made the same point: 'To the North was Rice's Chapel & the Chapter house, both now pulled down.' McVeigh (ed.), *Richard Pococke's Irish Tours*, 108.

[90] The tomb is shown in the Trinity Chapel in Blaymires plan of 1739 (Plate 4). It was moved outside the cathedral at the time of the demolition in 1773, which may explain why the apostle figures are badly weathered. It was brought back into the cathedral sometime after 1824 as it was still outside when Ryland wrote his book. Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 151.

[91] Judging from Blaymires' plan, the doorway had elaborate jambs, apparently with engaged or detached shafts. There are no depictions of it in any of the eighteenth-century views. Was this a Romanesque portal belonging to the twelfth-century church or a Gothic addition?

[92] Blaymires identifies it merely as 'another Chappel'.

[93] Gearóid MacNiocaill (ed.), 'Registrum Cantariae S.Salvatoris Waterfordensis', *Analecta Hibernica*, 23, 1963, 135-222. The original is in the British Library, MS Harley, 3765.

[94] *ibid*., 137.

[95] *ibid*., 141.

[96] *ibid*., 146.

[97] McEneaney, 'Politics and devotion', 40.

[98] *ibid*., 148-50.

[99] Collyn was dead by the time that Rice's chapel (and presumably Rice's tomb) was complete. It is unlikely that Collyn had any direct role in the design of the monument.

[100] Harris (ed.), *Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, I, 543.

[101] An excellent survey of the richness of liturgical life at this point is provided by McEneaney, 'Politics and devotion'.

[102] Byrne (ed.), *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, XIX-XXI, 96, 105, 110-11. The dedications of the various chapels provided by Blaymires in 1739, long after the various chantries had been dissolved, may not reflect the situation in the early sixteenth century.

[103] Patrick Power, 'The West Window of Old Christ Church Cathedral', *Journal of the Waterford and South East Ireland Archaeological Society*, I (1895) 287. The Archaeological Survey states that the stones have been divided and scattered, some lying in a coniferous wood, others taken to Kilbunny church. National Monuments Service, Archaeological Survey, ref. WA004-028.

[104] Harris (ed.), *Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, I, 526.

[105] The design shown in the painting would not be out of place in the early sixteenth century. It is, of course, possible that it was subsequently extended to cover the nave.

[106] Bishop Richard died in May 1446 and was buried in 'a Monument fixed in the Wall of his own Cathedral'. Harris (ed.), *Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, I, 536. Ryland refers to Bishop 'Anckel', an error for Cantwell, *History of Waterford*, 143. This error is repeated in Hansard, *History, topography and antiquities*, 93.

[107] Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 141-42.

[108] The silver was handed over on the understanding that the corporation would be bound to the dean and chapter for the sum of £400, should cash be required for legal costs or other stated reasons. The agreement was the subject of much dispute in future decades.

[109] Ryland, *History of Waterford*, 135; Graves, 'Ancient Fabric, Plate, and Furniture', 75-83.

[110] The details that follow are taken from a roll in the RCB library, C16.4. This section was transcribed by Graves, 'Ancient Fabric, Plate, and Furniture', 79-82.

[111] *ibid*., 82.

[112] *ibid*., 81.

[113] It is, of course, possible that the font was commissioned in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

[114] The origin of some of these items is discussed in M.J.C. Buckley, 'Ecclesiological Gleanings and Jottings', *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, IV, 1898, 105-09.

[115] For Irish brasses, see Heather King, 'Irish Memorial Brasses to 1700', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 94C, 1994, 111-40.

[116] McEneaney, 'Politics and devotion', 41-45; Eamonn McEneaney, 'The Art of Devotion', *Irish Arts Review*, 21, no. 1, 2004, 112-15.

[117] Smith, *Ancient and Present State of Waterford*, 173. The seventeenth-century altar included images of Moses and Aaron, as well as Moses receiving the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. According to Smith 'the whole was indifferently performed'; *ibid*., 173. It was removed to the western aisle of the church – in other words, to the nave. This altarpiece was itself replaced *c*.1750 by a 'Corinthian altarpiece', the gift of Mrs Susannah Lewis. McVeigh (ed.), *Richard Pococke's Irish Tours*, 108.

[118] Harris (ed.), *Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 526.

[119] Peter Draper comments on this point, noting that decisions to use the various forms of the giant order were almost certainly taken by the patrons. Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic, Architecture and Identity* (New Haven and London, 2006) 47.

[120] Clapham, 'Minor Irish Cathedrals', 32. The comparison was likewise stressed by D.M. Waterman, 'Somersetshire and Other Foreign Building Stone in Medieval Ireland c.1175-1400', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, XXXIII, 1970, 63-75: 63.

[121] M.H. Morgan (trans), *Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture* (New York, 1960) 134-36.

[122] Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (New Haven and London, 2000) 172-76, 188-89, 261-62. Little is known about the Romanesque church at Bath Abbey, though there is no evidence to suggest that it had a giant order.

[123] Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Adami de Domerham Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1727) II, 334; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Cambridge, 1866; reprinted 1990) 11.

[124] The main source for the rebuilding is Adam of Domerham, a member of the community at Glastonbury, in the second half of the thirteenth century. He states that a great part of the church ('magnum ecclesiae partem'), 400ft in length, was built by the time of Henry II's death in 1189. Hearne (ed.), *Adami de Domerham Historia*, II, 335. Five years for the building of the major part of a huge church would represent remarkable progress.

[125] Apart from the *terminus post quem* of 1184, the chronology of the buildings is not known in any detail. Based on Adam of Domerham's comments and the stylistic character of the work, the transept elevations are usually placed about 1189. For the architectural context see Harold Brakspear, 'A West Country School of Masons', *Archaeologia*, LXXXI, 1931, 1-18, and Carolyn Marino Malone, 'West Country English Gothic Architecture 1175-1250', unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1973, 130-45.

[126] 'Poles apart in sensibility', in the words of Malone, 'West Country English Gothic', 130.

[127] It is also worth noting that in both buildings the vault springers are placed at the level of the clerestory string-course.

[128] There are potential parallels between the plan of the choir at Glastonbury as laid out *c*.1184-85 and that at Waterford, since both included a straight or rectangular ambulatory behind the high altar. In both cases, however, the precise arrangements are unknown.

[129] None of the paired rolls remain *in situ*, but there is a loose stone with the moulding located beside the surviving pier. Leask was particularly interested in this detail, and noted its presence at Graiguenamanagh (monks' doorway) and New Ross. It is also found at Lismore Cathedral. Its distribution thus belongs to the south and south-east. H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 3 vols (Dundalk, 1955-60: 1958) II, 88.

[130] The similarity lies in the use of tall stalks. The Christ Church examples are to be found on the east side of the first free-standing pier, counting from the west (north arcade). Roger Stalley, 'The construction of the medieval cathedral, *c*.1030-1250' in Milne, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, 69, pl.

16b. There are also similarities with the foliage capital on the processional doorway at Graiguenamanagh, though both here and at Christ Church the abaci are round rather than polygonal as at Waterford.

131 It is, of course, possible that there were other Gothic versions of the giant order that have been destroyed without trace.

132 The significance of Waterford as a port is discussed by Eamonn McEneaney, 'Mayors and Merchants in Medieval Waterford 1169-1495', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds), *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin, 1992) 147-76, esp. 153-55.

133 Waterman, 'Somersetshire and Other Foreign Building Stone', 66.

134 Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses,* 108. The union between the convent of St Peter of Bath and the hospital of St John Waterford was confirmed by John on 26th August 1204. *CDI*, 220. For the later history of the priory see Byrne (ed.), *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, 11-16.

135 The episcopal succession at Waterford in the early thirteenth century has been the subject of considerable confusion, but an accurate record is provided by the *New History of Ireland*, IX, 308-09. Bishop Walter (1227-32) has been mistakenly described as William, an understandable error since he is described as 'W. Waterfordensi episcopo' in some original entries – for example, *Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1227-1231* (London, 1902) 60-61; *CDI*, no. 1615. The entry in the Patent Rolls for 1227 reads: 'Dominus rex electioni facte de magistro Waltero priori Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Waterford in episcopum Waterfordensum regum adhibuit assensum et favorem.' *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1225-1232* (London, 1903) 139. At the time of royal assent to his appointment, Stephen (1232-50) was described as 'sometime prior of St John the Evangelist, Waterford'. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1232-47* (London, 1906) 6.

136 Harris (ed.), *Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 529-30.

137 W. Stubbs (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I (London, 1887, Rolls Series) 26-27: 'Requiescit in dextro latere altaris vetustae ecclesiae, in pyramide saxea, quam argento vestivit posterorum diligentia. Hinc Hiberniensibus mos inolitus ad exosculandas patroni reliquias locum frequentare.' See also N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (London, 1870, Rolls Series) 197.

138 One feature absent from the cathedral is dog-tooth ornament, widely exploited in Ireland by about 1230-50.

139 O'Neill, 'Architectural history', 101-03.

140 *CDI*, nos 1337 and 1616. The conflict between Waterford and Lismore in the first two decades of the thirteenth century was very bitter, so violent that it led to the murder of one of the bishops of Waterford. Harris (ed.), *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 527-30. While the endowments of the bishop and chapter may have been limited, it was no doubt possible for the cathedral to draw on the wealth of the city when seeking donations to the building fund.

141 Tuam is the most obvious case of an unfinished cathedral. Roger Stalley, 'Gothic Cathedral building in medieval Ireland', in Roger Stalley (ed.), *Irish Gothic Architecture: construction, decay and reinvention* (Dublin, 2012) 15-53.

142 McEneaney notes that in the early decades of the thirteenth century, Waterford had, after Dublin, the greatest density of settlement and 'probably population'. McEneaney, 'Mayors and Merchants', 153.

143 Olivia Horsfall Turner has pointed out that in the eighteenth century, references to 'the associative power of medieval buildings' was 'almost entirely absent from the sources'. O.H. Turner, 'Ruin and reparation: medieval parish churches in seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Ossory', in Stalley (ed.), *Irish Gothic Architecture*, 161-99.

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