St Lasarian's, Leighlin
View of the cathedral from Grose's Antiquities of Ireland

The large medieval churches of the dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory: a study of adaptation and change – part II

ANA DOLAN

THE FIRST PART OF THIS STUDY EXAMINED THE MAIN AGENTS OF CHANGE THAT affected the medieval churches, and was published in this author's article in the second volume of *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* (later referred to as *IADS*, ii). This second part examines the individual histories of the twelve churches investigated, and the range of conservation issues presented by them.

The founding of the churches during the Anglo-Norman invasion was described in the previous article, as was the difference between a monastic church and a parish church. The two major changes of the sixteenth century, the Suppression of the monasteries and the Reformation, and their impact on the church buildings were also examined. Throughout the seventeenth century, as political and religious fortunes fluctuated, so too did the ownership of the churches. Repossessions by one side or another of the religious divide were common, bringing further changes to the church building. During the eighteenth century, despite the prosperity of the country, the condition of the churches declined sharply, with many completely ruined. The activities of the Board of First Fruits between the years 1777 and 1823 resulted in an impressive church-building programme. The reforms of the nineteenth century were the result of many years' agitation by the emerging Catholic community.

The first six case studies are the great medieval churches of the Anglo-Norman towns. The final six are monastic foundations: three Augustinian, two Cistercian and one Dominican. In each study the location, history and subsequent development is described, with particular emphasis on changes to the building fabric. The intention is to identify common threads that run through the histories rather

than provide detailed architectural description or analysis of the age or condition of the various parts of the structure.

It should be noted that the plans of the churches are published in the second volume of this journal (*IADS*, ii, pl. 6, 36-37). The later modifications also are shown in the same volume (pl. 12, 56-57). They are reproduced at the end of this article for convenience.

ST MARY'S, CALLAN
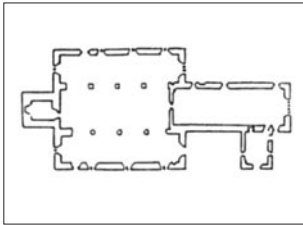
Callan is located fifteen miles south-west of Kilkenny, on a bridging point of the King's river, which is a tributary of the Nore. The town was relatively large and probably enclosed by a ditch. St Mary's parish church is prominently located in the centre of the town, beside the market place, at the junction of the main street and the road from the bridge. There was an Augustinian abbey located just outside the town walls, which is now a national monument in State care. William Marshall is generally credited with founding the town of Callan and also with building the church *c*.1220. The church prospered, and by the year 1300 St Mary's had annexed the tithes of the parishes of Tullamaine, Cooliaghmore, Killaloe, Ballycallan and Tullaroan.

The west tower is the oldest surviving part of the building and dates from the thirteenth century. During the fifteenth century all the original church was taken down except for the square tower or presbytery at the west end, and what is now know as the ancient parish church of Callan was erected on its site.[1] The fifteenth-century church consisted of a long rectangular chancel and a nave with wide aisles. There is a chapel on the south side of the chancel and traces of another chapel on the north side. The square tower of the first church has been incorporated into the later church as a west tower. The fifteenth-century church may be built on the site of the earlier one in order to retain the relationship of the church and tower. There is a modern wall separating the nave and chancel. The ruins are largely intact, with eight complete arches to the nave aisles and a large number of traceried windows and richly decorated doorways. Leask included sketches of the doors in his book on Irish churches. Externally, there is a bold batter to the base of the walls which finishes at a stringcourse. The nave and its relatively wide (3.8m / 15 feet) aisles had separate span roofs, the stone gutter for which was carried along the tops of the arcade walls. To allow for a sufficient slope or fall westward in the gutters above, the arches are kept low and the effect is rather clumsy.[2] The chancel is 18m long and

6.1m wide internally; the south wall of the chancel is 1.45m thick. The ancient baptismal font, with plain fluting on the four sides, and of huge proportions, stands immediately inside the entrance door.[3]

In 1641, during the Confederation of Kilkenny, the church returned to Roman Catholic hands, with Sir Nicholas Shee, who called himself 'Parson of Callan by jurisdiction from Rome', as rector.[4] In 1647 he was succeeded by Bartholomew Archer, another Roman Catholic, but by 1660 a Protestant minister is again rector. In 1731, Bishop Otway reported that 'Callan church, next to St Canice's, the largest in the diocese; west end needs repairing.'[5] These repairs were not carried out, for the following year, the chaplain, Vere-Hunt, was admonished to repair the north and south chapels. In 1781 the parish union included Callan, Tullaroan, Tullowmain, Coolaghmore, Killaloe and Ballycallen, with two churches in repair. In 1795 the church was in repair again, but by 1799 the nave of the church is 'now a ruin, but the chancel is kept in repair and used as the parish church'.[6]

In Robertson's *Antiquities of County Kilkenny* there is an illustration of the church *c*.1813 (Plate 1). The view of the church is from the north-east, and the chancel is shown as a roofless ruin with ivy growing over the walls. There is a finial shown on the apex of the east gable which is now missing. The doorway on the north wall of the chancel once led into a partially demolished structure on the north side of the chancel. The side chapel on the south side of the chancel is also ruined and roofless. The west tower appears to be in good condition, with battlements and a roof.

Callan Union was a wealthy parish, with an annual income in 1833 of £2,415, all of which belonged to the incumbent. The Board of First Fruits did not grant either a loan or a gift to the church, but in 1837 their successors, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, granted £393 for the restoration of the chancel. The work consisted in re-roofing the existing chancel and side chapel for use as a church. The restoration was carried out with little regard for the fabric of the earlier church, as shown in a photograph of the junction of the east gable of the south aisle with the new roof (Plate 2). The masonry of the east gable of the south aisle is hacked away where the new roof of the chancel is carried across it.

In 1949 the Commissioners of Public Works were appointed guardians of the ruins of the nave, the north and south aisles and the western tower by the Representative Church Body. The church in the chancel was in good condition in 1952 and was in use for worship (Plate 3). Conservation work was carried out on the west tower and the south aisle between 1949 and 1952 by the National Monuments department of the Office of Public Works. The ground levels inside the nave which had built up as a result of burials were also reduced at this time. In 1959, Percy le Clerc, Inspector of National Monuments, noticed that the south arcade had sunk since works were last carried out. There was a gap of three inches
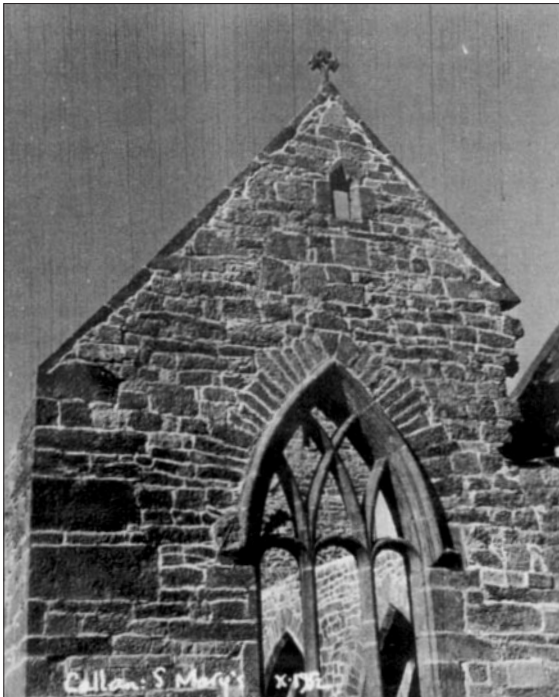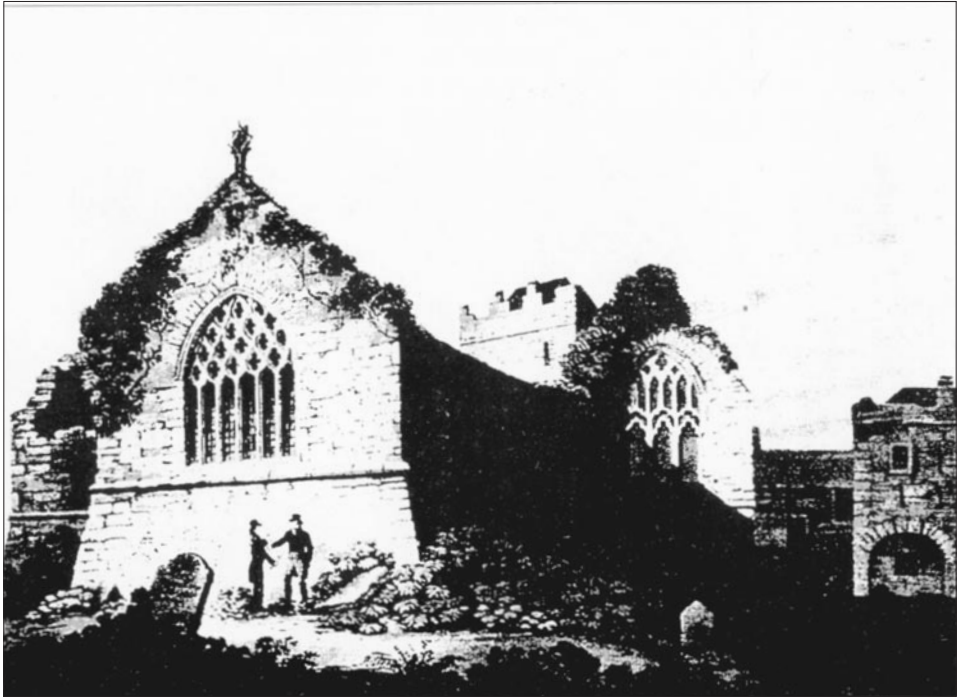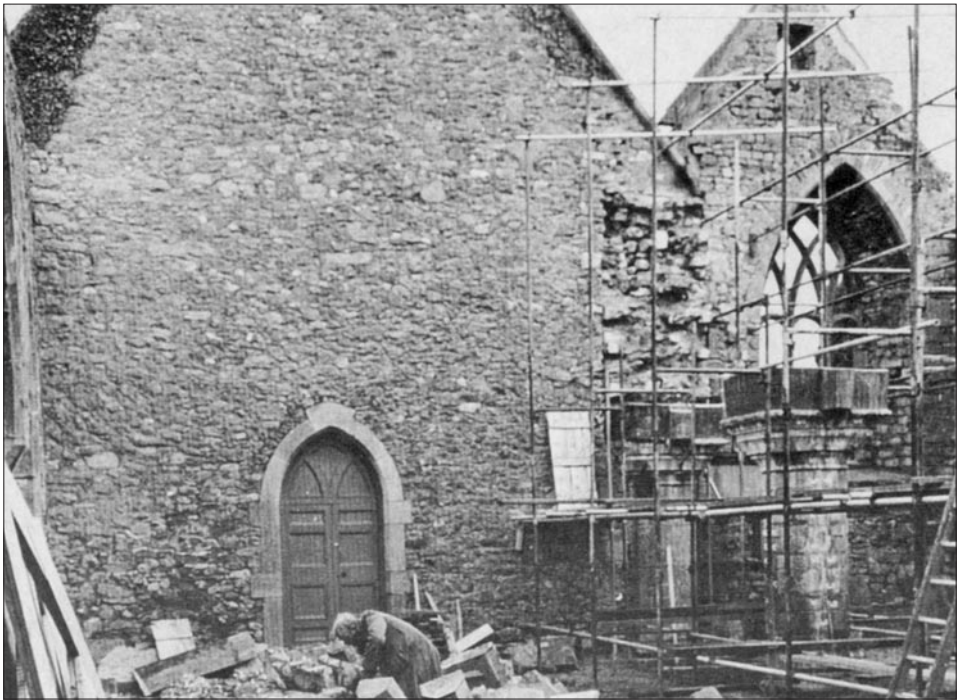
St Mary's, Callan

1 – William Robertson's illustration showing the church in ruins c.1813

2 – A photograph from the National Monuments file showing the east gable of the south aisle where it was hacked away in 1837 to accommodate the new roof

opposite

3 – The church in repair in 1952

*4 – The conservation work in 1959. The south arcade is ready to be taken down.*

between the flaunching on the top of the wall of the arcade and the wall itself. The arcade was about nine inches below its proper level. The subsidence was most likely due to the use of the nave as a burial place. The arcade was carefully recorded and taken down. A new concrete foundation was laid, and the arcade was rebuilt on top. Approval was given for an expenditure of £2,500, but the actual cost was £2,480! [7] Photographs from the National Monument's photographic library document this extensive restoration work (Plate 4).

By 1974 the roofed portion of the church was closed for public worship and was subjected to frequent vandalism. The Representative Church Body approached the National Monuments service and requested that the rest of the building also be taken into State care. Louis Feeley, Clerk of Works, inspected the church and reported that it was in 'excellent condition. The roof was particularly attractive and had best quality slating ... there was woodworm in most of the church furniture ... set in the floor are several fifteenth century grave slabs, ornately cut and in a remarkable state of preservation.' [8] The transfer was finally completed in 1976, and the entire building became a national monument. The contents of the church were stripped out by the RCB before handing it over.

The church building at Callan is the latest in date of the case studies. It has survived virtually intact, with minor modification carried out in 1837. These changes were hardly respectful of the medieval fabric, but no major demolition was undertaken. The Board of First Fruits was not involved with this church. Some of the restraint shown may have been due to the increase in interest in Gothic architecture, but it is more likely due to the modesty of the loan from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The roofed chancel is currently in poor condition, with no daylight as the windows are boarded up to protect them from vandalism. There is no electric light in the church so it is difficult to view the interior (*IADS*, ii, pls. 11, 55).

ST MARY'S, GOWRAN
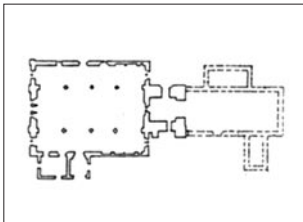
Gowran is located in the eastern edge of the fertile Kilkenny lowlands on a small tributary of the Barrow river. After the Norman invasion, Gowran was granted to Theobald fitz Walter, Chief Butler of Ireland and ancestor of the Ormond family. Before his death in 1206, he granted a charter of incorporation to his free burgesses of 'Ballingaveran'. He is also thought to have appropriated the rectory or moiety of Gowran to the Knights Templars, who are found in possession as early as 1254.[9] The town of

Gowran was partly walled, with trenches and ramparts making up the rest of the enclosure.[10] The church is located on the southern side of the town within the enclosure, set slightly back from the main street.

When the Knights Templars were suppressed, the church was passed to the Knights Hospitallers.[11] The church at Gowran, which was a secular college with four priests or vicars, continued to enjoy the patronage of the Butler family. In 1321 Edmond le Botiller, Earl of Carrick, who died in London, was brought back to Gowran and buried. In 1337 his son James, 1st Earl of Ormond was also buried here. The 3rd Earl, also James, was buried in Gowran in 1404, although he had acquired Kilkenny castle in 1391. The manor of Gowran remained in the possession of the Ormond family until *c*.1700, but by that time the family lived elsewhere.

In the Royal Visitation Book of 1615, four priests are mentioned living together as a group in their college. Gowran was captured by Cromwell in 1650 after a short siege. Bishop Tennison reported in 1731: 'the chancel is well paved and even. All between the belfry and west end of the church are in ruins, a nave and two aisles. One bell in the steeple. An English school and a Latin school under different masters. Minister's house no better than a cabin.'[12] In 1795 the rector reported the 'church in repair', but this probably refers to the chancel only. In 1799 £2 was spent on repairs of the church.

The church consists of a chancel with a tower between it and the double-aisled nave. Gowran is best known for the quality and richness of the stone carving, described by Roger Stalley as the work of the 'Gowran Master'. In 1793 Grose included an illustration of the church, as well as a plan, in his *Antiquities of Ireland* (Plate 5). It is fortunate that we have a plan of the building which predates both the collapse of the north aisle arcade and the restoration work of the next century, which included the demolition of the chancel. In Grose's plan, the chancel arches on which the tower is carried are shown open. There are three triple windows on the south wall of the chancel, as well as a large window in the east wall. There are side chapels to the north and south of the chancel. Both the north and south nave arcades are shown. The north aisle is subdivided into four small recesses, while the south aisle has three recesses with two further side chapels beyond. Grose's illustration of the church from the south-east shows the chancel roofed with a stepped east gable wall (Plate 6). The three sets of triple windows are shown in the south wall, as well as the smaller structure which is a ruin. The nave of the church has two aisle arcades to full height, although the entire structure is roofless and covered with ivy. The tower is also covered in ivy and there is an indication of a roof over the tower.

In the *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (Ireland)* of 1833, Gowran was described as 'a church capable of accommodating 150 persons, built in 1827 by means of a loan of £738 granted by the late Board of First Fruits'. In
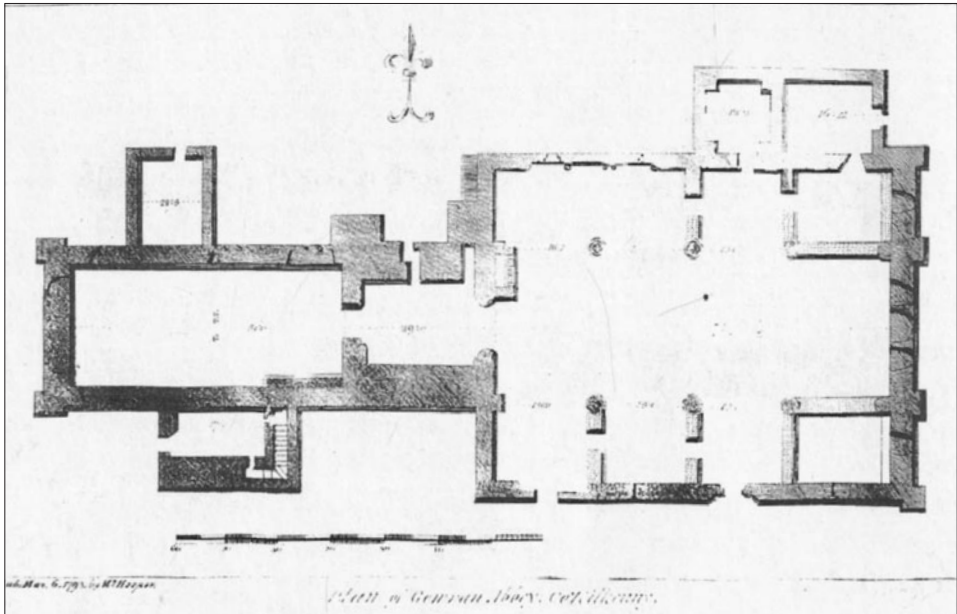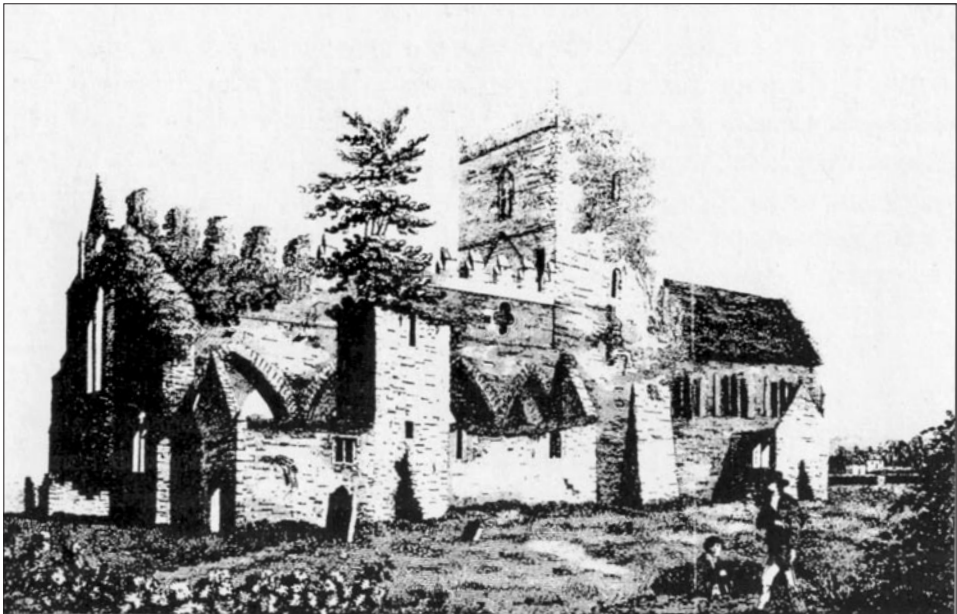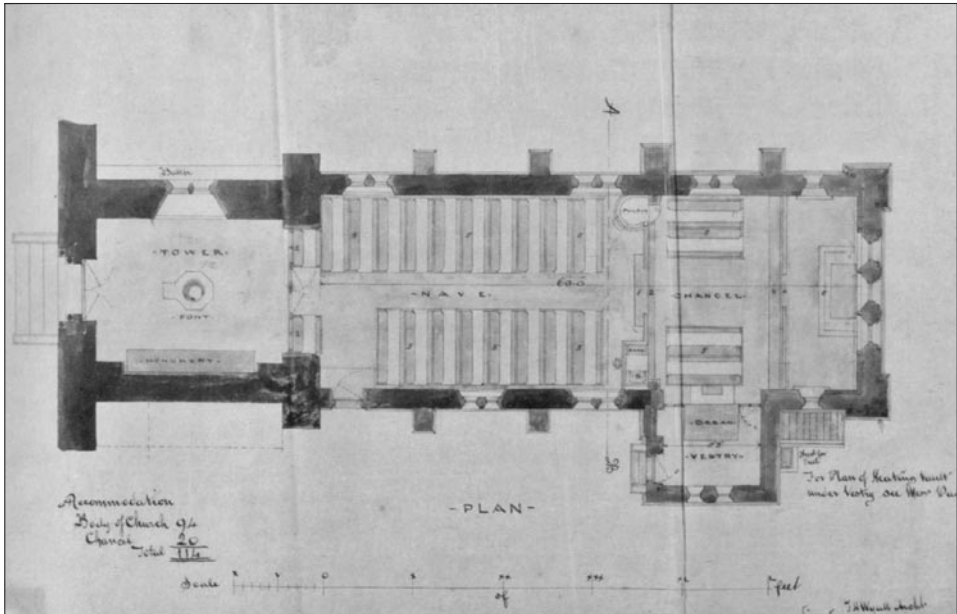
St Mary's, Gowran

*5 – Grose's plan of 1791 showing the chancel before it was demolished
and the south aisle arcade before it fell*

6 – Grose's view of the church showing the chancel before it was demolished
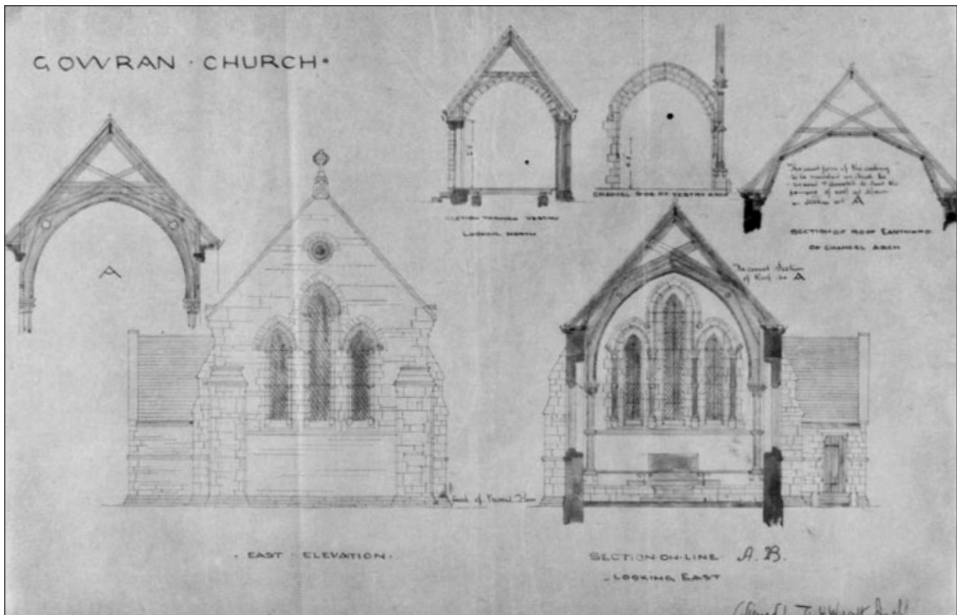
St Mary's, Gowran

*7 – T.H. Wyatt's proposals for the restoration of the church at Gowran c.1872
– plan of tower and church*

8 – Wyatt's proposed sections and east elevation

Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary* the church is described as

> restored in 1826 ... The ruins very interesting details in the early English style among which are a finely pointed arch of black marble leading into the chancel: a series of similar arches supported by circular and octagonal columns; some windows of elegant design, delicately ornamented in quatrefoil and several interior chapels: the doorways and baptismal font are black marble curiously sculpted.

William Robertson, author of the *Antiquities of County Kilkenny,* was most likely the architect for the works undertaken at Gowran in 1827. A drawing signed by William Robertson, but not dated, is in the National Monument's archive, and most likely represents this restoration (*IADS*, ii, pl. 13, 58). The works to the church involved demolishing the chancel and building a new church on its site. The plan is of the entire building, including the earlier part which is referred to as 'the Ruin'. There are also two cross-sections through the new building: the longer section is through the new church and the tower and the short section is across the new church. The drawing is beautifully executed and coloured, and shows details of the interiors. The vaulted arch underneath the tower mentioned by Lewis is not shown. The south arcade is shown to have a different plan shape than the north arcade. During the course of the current works, the cement render was removed from the interior of the church, and evidence was found of earlier openings in the south wall, which correspond to those in Robertson's drawing.

Following the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870, the RCB received compensation and began a programme of church-building. Thirty-five years after the new church was built on the site of the chancel it was almost entirely rebuilt. In 1872 the prominent English architect Thomas Henry Wyatt was employed to carry out the work, which was an attempt to adapt the existing simple 'prayer book church' to the ideas of the Gothic Revival. The church as it exists today differs slightly to Wyatt's plan and sections, which are in the RCB library (Plates 7, 8). The plan shows the altar in the 'chancel' raised above the 'nave'. A series of altar rails separate the nave and chancel. There is an attempt to introduce a 'choir' with the seats facing each other, and the organ is in the vestry. The pulpit and desk are shown at the 'chancel arch'. The box pews are replaced by rows of seats all facing towards the altar. The external walls have new buttresses attached, which are modelled on the buttresses in the original church. They appear to be an intrinsic part of the structure, but in reality are decorative. The sections show an elaborate chancel arch supported on circular columns which were not built (Plate 8).

At the time, there was some public debate about the restoration. *The Irish Builder* of January 1872 reports that 'some rebuilding and alterations are proceeding

at the parish church of Gowran according to the designs of Mr. Wyatt, Architect, of London.' The article goes on the quote *The Kilkenny Moderator*, in which there were 'objections to certain parts of the work' and 'some of the alterations made by the architect are in very questionable taste'. The *Moderator* continues as follows;

> ... the entrance to the church (as now being rebuilt), Mr. Wyatt's original plan was that it should be through the ruins of the ancient nave, the door being placed where it had been before the rebuilding of the choir, early in the present century, in the lower story of the belfry tower. But interments have since taken place very quickly in the old nave, so that any path through the ruins must of necessity pass over several graves. To avoid this, Mr. Wyatt arranged that a door should be made from the exterior in to the tower in a place where the wall is already arched for the purpose of admitting a loop hole or small light' so that the entrance to the re-edified church, in place of being connected with a passage through the ruins of the nave, will be in close proximity to the place in which the former chief entrance to the choir was, but passing in through the tower. We can only say that we regret very much that the original features of the original tower are to be at all interfered with, even so far, and we do hope that if a door way is there made, care will be taken that it shall be in as close keeping as possible with the original details. Great caution seems to us to be necessary in meddling with the tower in any way, for one of the piers on which it is supported seems in a very shaky state. We are very sorry to perceive that it was deemed necessary to remove altogether the lower vaulting of the tower, apparently with the view of giving the same elevation as the choir roof to the portion of the belfry which will form part of the church. However, that which most offended our eye, in a late inspection of the building, was the apparent intention of permitting the south door of the recent church still to continue in its original design of 'church warden gothic'. There are some other matters in connection alluded to by our contemporary which it seem to think will mar the entire design of restoration.

Although the *Moderator* regretted the destruction of the vaulting underneath the tower and the insertion of the new doorway, the principal objection was to the particular style of 'church warden Gothic' as adopted by Wyatt.

Even as late as 1872 the destruction of medieval structures was viewed as lamentable but not entirely unacceptable. Despite the superficiality of Wyatt's version of Gothic and the misgivings of the *Moderator*, there was a definite attempt to integrate the newer building with the original church. The window and door details of Wyatt's church are faithful, yet strangely dull copies of the original stone carvings. The windows of the new church are based on the original but without the

carved heads (Plate 9). The omission of the carved stops and their substitution with a plain square box may be an attempt at distinguishing the new from the old. If this is the case, it marks an advance in the way additions to existing structures were carried out. However, the destruction of the vaulting underneath the tower indicates a lack of sensitivity to the original stone carvings.

As in Callan, the older part of the church, including the upper two storeys of the tower, were first passed into the care of the National Monuments service. The new church continued in use until about 1970, when it became redundant. The church remained empty for a number of years until it too was transferred into State care. The Representative Church Body stripped the church of its furniture and fittings before it was handed over. The medieval font and the bust of Charles Agar were moved to St Laserian's in Co Carlow. When the modern church was transferred into State care, the roof was in very poor condition due to water penetration. In 1996 the entire roof was stripped and all decayed timber was removed and replaced. The roof was felted and battened and re-slated using the original slates and ridge tiles. The church is currently being restored by Dúchas, the Heritage Service, and will be open to the public in 2001. The fine medieval carved box tombs and carved effigies will be displayed in the modern church.

9 – St Mary's, Gowran
the original thirteenth-century window (left) and the T.H. Wyatt's copy c.1872 (right)
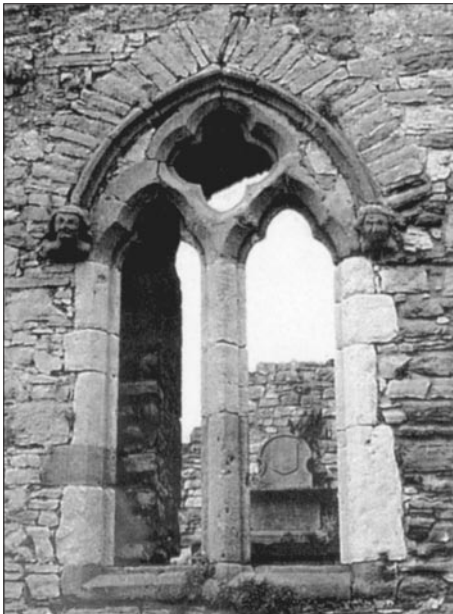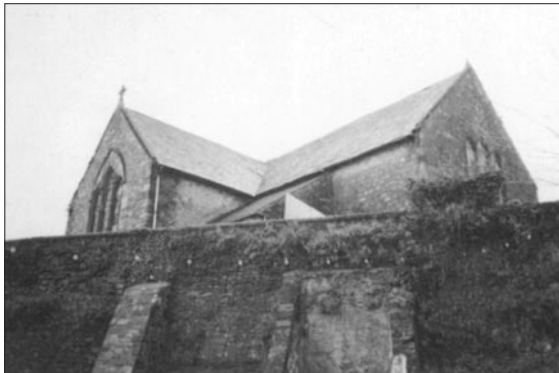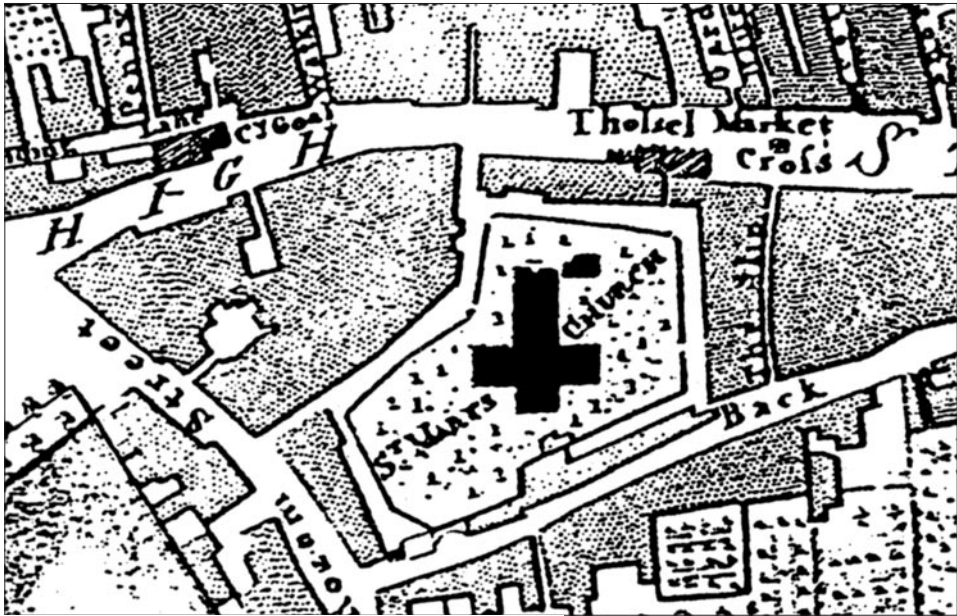
ST MARY'S, KILKENNY
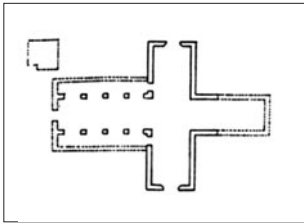
The church of St Mary's is located in the centre of Kilkenny city, just off High Street, behind the Tholsel. The church lies in the heart of the medieval town, surrounded by a network of narrow, stepped laneways. According to Bishop Rothe, the original church of St Mary's was founded merely as an oratory, in which the inhabitants of the southern division of the town might assist at Mass without having to make the journey to St Canice's cathedral for that purpose.[13] The Church of Blessed Mary was a William Marshall foundation, built between 1202 and 1218, and it served as the parish church for the Hightown of Kilkenny. The present church is cruciform in shape and was originally aisled. The nave, transepts and part of the chancel all date from the thirteenth century. A bell tower was added in 1343.[14] Rocque's map of Kilkenny from 1757 shows a free-standing tower to the north-west of the church (Plate 10).

St Mary's was considered the church of the merchant classes, and the Corporation kept the church in repair and also held their meetings in the choir and in the bell-tower before the Reformation. In 1333, the Corporation of Kilkenny ordered that a chaplain should be paid to celebrate mass in St Mary's. There is an account in the records of Kilkenny Corporation of miracle plays being acted out in the church in the sixteenth century.[15] Before the Reformation, one half of the rectory was impropriate in the Deans of Ossory. In April 1603, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, St Mary's church was repossessed by the Catholics, and was solemnly re-dedicated by Dr White, Vicar Apostolic of the Diocese of Waterford. A few weeks later, however, it was again reclaimed by the Protestants.[16] By 1615, the church is reported to be 'ruinous', but the chancel was in good condition. In 1642 the church again returned to the Catholics and was reconsecrated. During the eight years of the Confederation of Kilkenny the church remained in Catholic hands. The arrival of Oliver Cromwell in March 1650 brought this to an end. In 1690, during the Jacobite rebellion, the church was used as a magazine.[17]

According to Rev J.B. Leslie, the medieval church was rebuilt before 1731. The rebuilding consisted of taking down the side aisles and the walling-up of the arches on either side. The chancel was shortened within twenty-one feet of the pulpit, and a new east wall was built.[18] Carrigan dates this to 1739 when the vestry books record that '£20 be sessed and levied for ye filling up the arches in ye church and making passages to the two side doors with bricks and plastering and finishing same to make the church warm and staunch'. A view of the church from the north-east shows the rebuilding of the north wall where the chancel was shortened (Plate

St Mary's, Kilkenny

10 – A detail of Rocque's map of the town showing the cruciform church of St Mary's with a detached tower

11 – The view from the north-east showing the shortened chancel on the left and the north transept on the right

12 – A plan showing the present arrangements and the surviving thirteenth-century structure (in bold)

A   Monuments Room
B   Kitchen
C   Toilets
D   Church Hall
F   Meeting room
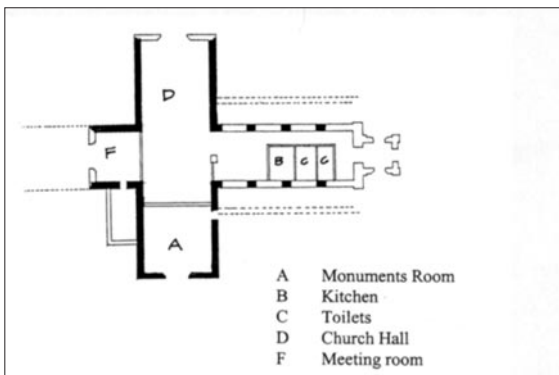
11). The intention was not to make the church smaller, but to arrange the interior according to the requirement that everyone could hear the preacher. The same record states 'that Mr. Wm. Watters shall have liberty to erect a gallery at ye north side of the church joining Mr. Lewes' gallery'.[19] These changes are in line with conversions of many other medieval churches to suit the requirements of the 'prayer book church'. In 1753 it is recorded that 'the proprietors of back seats in the old church should ballot for seats in the west aisle of the new church'.[20] The parts of the church which did not fit the pattern of the 'prayer book church', namely the long chancel and the side the aisles, were demolished during the eighteenth century. The north wall of the nave shows where the four-bay arcade to the north aisle was blocked. Three arches were infilled with windows, the one nearest the transept is blocked (*IADS*, ii, pl. 7, 47).

In 1774 the Corporation repaired the steeple of St Mary's, it being in a very ruinous condition. This steeple was taken down in June 1819 when it was replaced by a new steeple and spire, which was finished in 1820. In the *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners* (1833) the church is described as being 'capable of accommodating 700 persons, enlarged and newly slated in 1819 and a tower and spire added to it in 1826 by means of a loan of £1,107 granted by the Board of First Fruits and by voluntary subscription'. The enlargement is probably the addition of a vestry room to the rear, between the north transept and the shortened chancel.

By 1960, the church was no longer in use and was converted by the Representative Church Body into a parish hall. In 1963 the north transept was converted into a separate 'Monuments Room', into which was placed the important memorials of the church. The monuments room takes up three-quarters of the transept, and is the only part of the building without an inserted floor. This is the only place where the original scale of the building can be appreciated. The conversion of the church into a parish hall was carried out with little regard for the original layout and fabric of the church. A floor was inserted throughout the remainder of the church in order to create a second level of accommodation. On the ground floor there is a parish hall in the south transept and part of the nave (Plate 12). The main body of the nave has been converted into changing rooms and a kitchen. There is a small meeting room in the chancel.

St Mary's church is listed in *Kilkenny, Its Architecture and History*, by Lanigan and Tyler, as a building of national, historical and architectural importance, and is one of ten buildings in Kilkenny included in this category. In the graveyard there are two almshouses, one of which is derelict. Some of the graveyard is surrounded by a hoarding in order to prevent further vandalism of the tombs. The church yard is currently used as a car park.
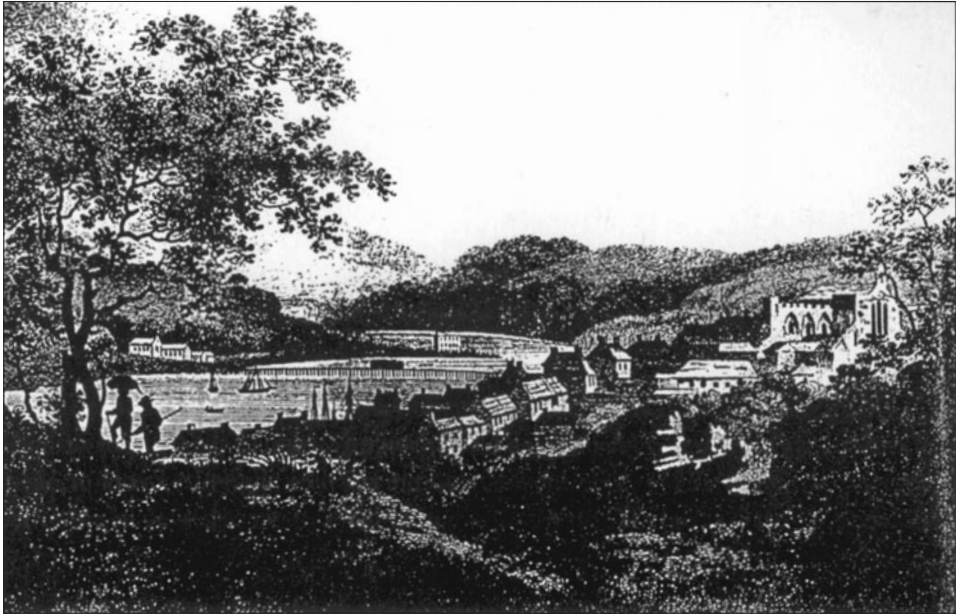
ST MARY'S, NEW ROSS
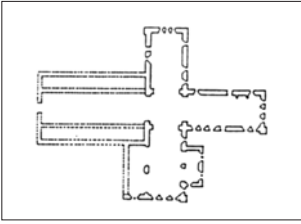
New Ross was an important river port at the junction of the Barrow and the Nore. The town is located on a steep hill, with the church in a prominent position on top of the hill just inside the town wall. The area enclosed by the town walls at New Ross is larger than that enclosed at Drogheda or Kilkenny Hightown, and significantly larger than Waterford whose rival it soon became.[21] St Mary's in New Ross has always been associated with William, Marshal of England, and his wife Isabel de Clare. William, who was also Earl of Pembroke, held title to the lands of Leinster through his wife, who was daughter of Aoife and Strongbow, and granddaughter of Diarmuid Mac Murrough. The chancel of St Mary's was built between 1207 and 1220. The cruciform church originally consisted of a chancel and nave with two aisles and two transepts. St Mary's church represents an important landmark in the history of Irish Gothic architecture. It was the most ambitious parish church of the early thirteenth century, and according to Leask it embodies in simplicity and grace much that was to be characteristic of later Irish structures.

The patronage of the church of New Ross was granted to the canons regular of the Priory of St John in Kilkenny, and their histories were interlinked thereafter. When the Priory of St John in Kilkenny was dissolved, the tithes of the rectory of New Ross were granted to Kilkenny Corporation. Fortunately, New Ross was part of a union of nine parishes, and the incumbent had an income from elsewhere. The Corporation of Kilkenny continued to hold the tithes until the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871. In 1684 it is described as having 'a high steeple, crowned in lead, a ring of five bells and a fair pair of organs'.[22] Richard Pococke visited New Ross in 1752, and describes the church as having a handsome tower. In 1759 the steeple of St Mary's was stated to be in ruinous condition and in danger of falling. A subscription was set on foot to have it taken down and rebuilt. In 1763 an additional sum of £200 was voted for the steeple repairs, but by some misfortune it fell.[23] The church is described in *Hibernian Magazine* in 1792 as 'most wretched'.

There is a view of the town of *c*.1799 which shows the church in its dominant position on top of the hill (Plate 13). The steeple is gone, but a short stump of the tower is visible on the west end of the church. The south wall of the nave is seen with a triple arcade to the aisle. Like St Mary's in Kilkenny, the south aisle is gone and the arcade is blocked with smaller windows or doors. The triple lancet window in the south gable of the south transept stands as it does today, but the bell tower on top of the gable is gone. The Corporation of Kilkenny voted £500 in 1800 and £250

St Mary's, New Ross

*13 – View of New Ross c.1799 from COPPER PLATE MAGAZINE (vol. iv)
showing the church on the right*

14 – Leask's plan of the church with the vestry and store in the north transept
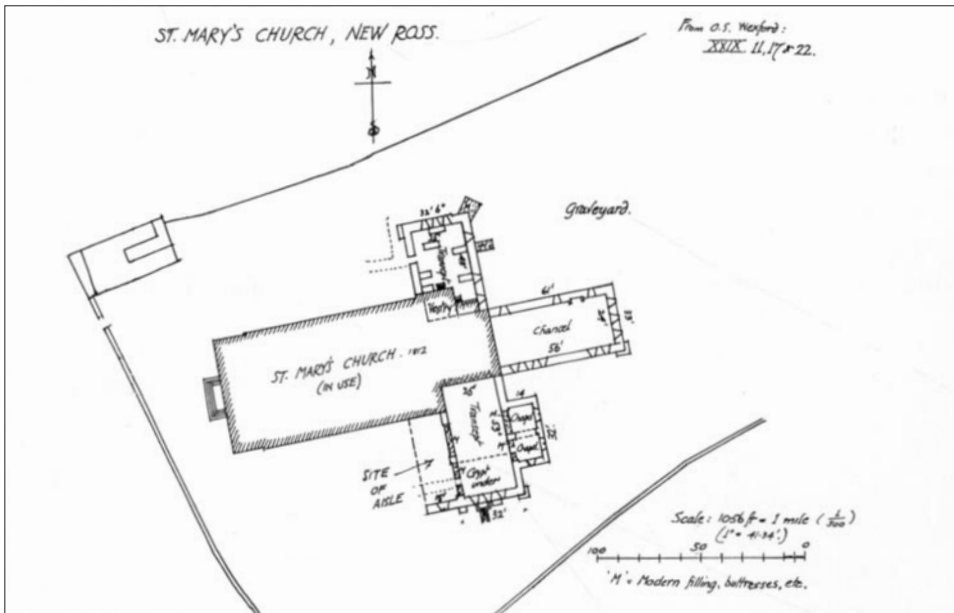
St Mary's, New Ross

15 – A general view from the north-east showing the medieval chancel with the modern church behind

16 – Grose's plan c.1791 showing the west tower and the two aisle arcades

in 1806 towards the repairs of the church.[24] Finally, in 1812, the nave was pulled down and a large church was built on the site. The new church was capable of accommodating a thousand individuals, and was built at a cost of £5,538. The Board of First Fruits granted a loan of £2,676, and the rest was raised by subscription.[25] Hore describes the new church in 1900 as 'but a rude heap of stones and mortar when compared with its predecessor'.[26] Although the nave was pulled down, a considerable amount of the original medieval church remains, including the walls of the chancel and the north and south transepts.

The new church occupies the crossing of the old church, so that the transepts and chancel are all separated from each other and have individual entrances. The

south wall of the chancel of the new church now blocks the arch to the south transept. To the left of the photograph the blocked arch to the south aisle can be seen (*IADS*, ii, pl. 16, 60). Leask's undated plan of the church shows a vestry building and store built into the north transept, these structures have since been removed (Plate 14). The south transept has two chapels and a south aisle with a vault underneath. The presence of two large external stone buttresses indicate some structural problems at the north-east corner of the north transept in the past. The position of the new church prevents any physical experience of the connection between remaining sections of the earlier church (Plate 15).

The building of the new church was undertaken with very little regard for the older church. The medieval walls were allowed to remain as long as they did not interfere with the new work. The new church is a fine example of an early eighteenth-century public building, and probably stands on the footprint of the nave of the medieval church. The church is now only used every third Sunday for service, and is the property of the Representative Church Body. The transepts and chancel are national monuments in State care. This division of responsibility for the parts of such a closely intertwined building presents problems for maintenance programmes.

ST MARY'S, THOMASTOWN
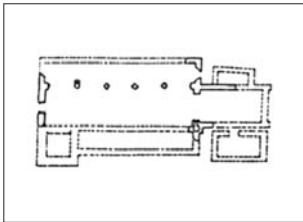
Thomastown was an important medieval river port located on a bridging point of the Nore. The town was founded by Thomas FitzAnthony, who received land in this area from William Marshall in the late twelfth century. The church is sited on the highest point within the town walls, and dates from the mid-thirteenth century. The details of the arcade which survive are similar to St Mary's in Gowran, but executed in a more severe architectural style.[27] FitzAnthony was also the founder of the Augustinian priory at Inistioge, and from the beginning he endowed the priory with the rectorial tithes of the parish of Thomastown. At the Dissolution, the parish church is listed among the possessions of the priory.

The original layout of the church consisted of a chancel and nave with two aisles. The nave and aisles are separated by an arcade, and the five-arch north arcade still survives. The style is Early English Gothic; three of the pillars are quatrefoil in plan and one is circular. The clerestory windows are over the piers rather than the arches. In 1731 Bishop Tennison had reported that 'the church's nave had

four arches on one side, five on the other and is unroofed, the chancel is covered and neatly wainscotted and pewed'. In 1732 the chancel was re-roofed and slated. The 'church', which probably meant the chancel only, was still in repair in 1781.[28]

Grose included both a plan of the church and an illustration in his *Antiquities of Ireland*. The plan shows that the church originally consisted of a chancel and a nave with aisles (Plate 16). There is an unusual arrangement with a tower located at the west end of the south aisle. The illustration shows this tower and the nave in a derelict condition (Plate 17). The only part of the church which is roofed is the chancel, which was used as the parish church. The detached chapel to the south of the chancel is also a ruin. Carrigan describes how

> ...thus matters stood till 1809, when the erection of the present Protestant church was decided upon. The site selected for the new structure encroached upon the ground occupied by the ancient church, and the removal of the south aisle and the south wall of the nave of the latter, with all its bays, thus became necessary.

The chancel was also dismantled, presumably to provide materials for the building of the new church. The new church, capable of accommodating 120 people, was completed in 1817, and is described by Lewis as 'a neat modern structure'.[29] The cost of the building was £1,168, all of which was a loan from the Board of First Fruits. When the new church was built, it was placed neatly within the nave of the older church, and it is orientated exactly along the same axis. The importance of occupying the ancient site can be seen in this careful positioning of the church squeezed tightly up against the north arcade. It is curious that one side of the arcade and the chancel were demolished and the other side is retained. There seems to be a deliberate decision to leave just sufficient standing to provide a backdrop, similar to a stage set, to indicate the earlier church (Plate 18).

The 'new' church is no longer in use and has been stripped of all its internal fittings. It is in poor structural condition with cracks in its east gable and south wall, probably as a result of burials. The church is still in the ownership of the Representative Church Body, but there is some discussion at local level about demolishing it in order to provide a better view of the medieval remains. The two churches are physically closely intertwined, and any attempt to demolish the later church would have a strong impact both visually and structurally on the older building. The earlier parts of the church are a national monument in State care.

The entire site is subject to vandalism, and the one remaining effigy still in a wall recess has been enclosed with a steel mesh in order to protect it. As at Callan and New Ross, the modern church is urgently in need of maintenance, while the medieval 'ruined' sections are in reasonable condition.
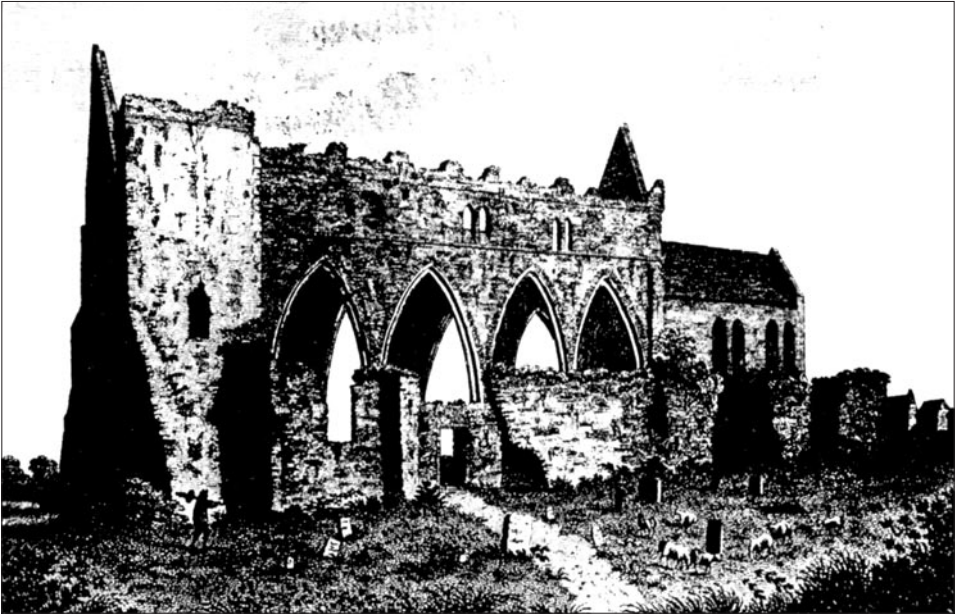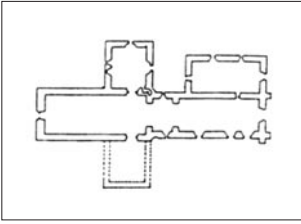
St Mary's, Thomastown

17 – Grose's view of the church with the nave and west tower in ruins. The chancel is roofed.

*18 – The chancel arch of the medieval church from the south-east
with the modern church on the site of the nave and south aisle*
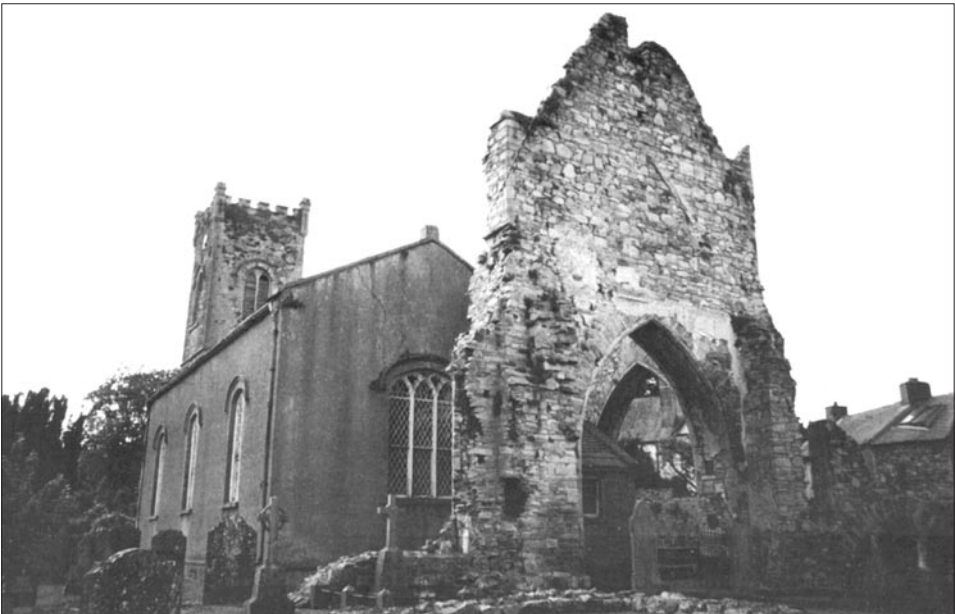
ST LASERIAN'S, LEIGHLIN

The monastery at Leighlin was founded in the seventh century by St Gobban, but the church is called after his successor, St Laserian. During the church reforms of the twelfth century, it was confirmed the cathedral of the diocese of Leighlin. The present church was probably built by Donatus, who was Bishop of Leighlin between 1152 and 1181. The first Norman bishop, Herlewin, was a Cistercian (*c*.1202-17). The cathedral was located on the frontier between the Anglo-Norman-controlled lands and the native Irish strongholds of Wicklow. The church was described as situated 'in the middle of a wicked and perverse nation, at the far boundaries of the diocese, in a mountainous, inconvenient and barren place'.[30] In 1248 there was a proposal to relocate it to 'a central safe and fit place in the diocese', presumably east of the Barrow and within the Pale.[31] This relocation was never carried out, and the diocese continued under Anglo-Norman control. The names of the bishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are all Norman, but Irish names occur again in the fifteenth century.[32]

The cathedral consisted of the long chancel and nave which survive today. The two transepts were built later, to the north and south of the nave. The northern transept is now a roofless ruin, and the southern one has been removed. There is a four-bay sedilia in the south wall beneath these windows, which is reputed to be the only one in Ireland. The later alterations, ascribed to Bishop Matthew Sanders (1529-49), included the insertion of the tower in the west end of the chancel, the addition of the large chapel on the north of the chancel, and the partial rebuilding of the north and south chancel walls. The tower is built on four arches set within the earlier walls, and has an elaborately ribbed vault.[33]

The cathedral returned briefly to Catholic hands during the reign of Queen Mary. Queen Elizabeth nominated the Protestant Daniel Cavanagh as her bishop in 1567.[34] The settlement at Leighlin was eventually superseded by a new one at Leighlin Bridge on a fording point of the river. The status of the cathedral was further undermined in 1832 when the diocese was united with Ferns as a part of the Church Temporalities Act. In the *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners* (1833), the tithe of the parish, which amounted to £461, was described as 'appropriated to the dean and chapter of Leighlin', and the church declined to parish status with one vicar. Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* includes an engraving by Barrett, dated September 1792, which shows the church set in the midst of an empty graveyard (Plate 19). The view today has not changed except that the short spire on the tower no longer exists. The Lady chapel, which is ruined in Grose's print with
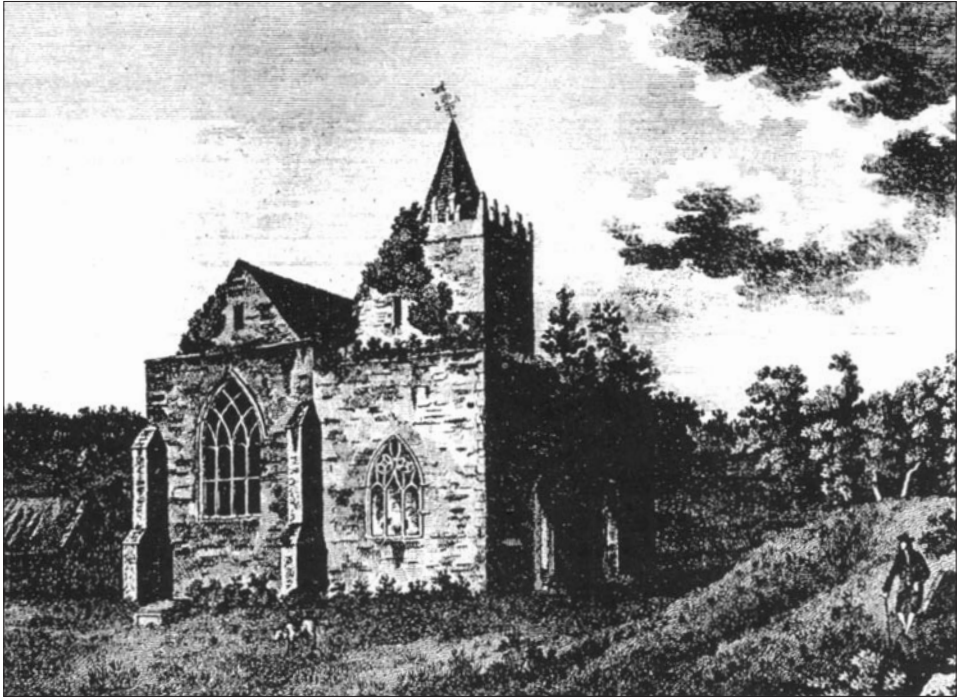
St Lasarian's, Leighlin

19 – The cathedral from Grose's ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND

*20 – The buttress built to support the south wall of the chancel*
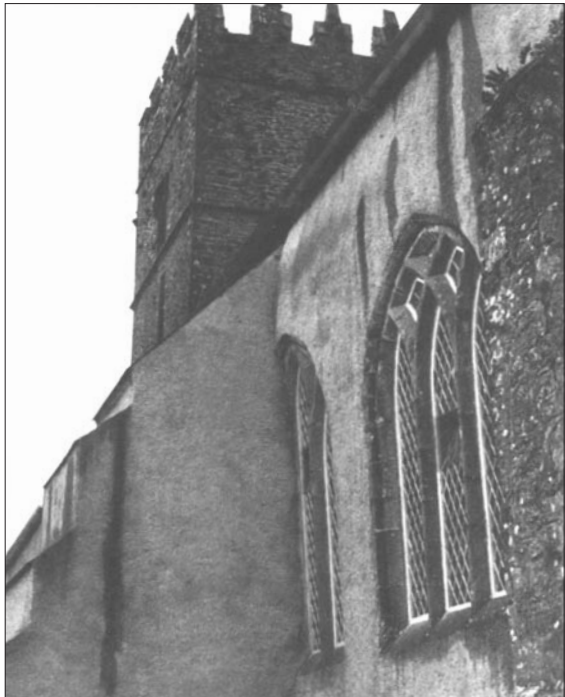
trees and ivy growing on wall tops and gable, is restored. One of the unusual features of the church is the stepped gable found on both the east and west ends of the church. The steps are most likely the result of the removal of the battlements and wall walks from the wall tops. If this is the case, the wall walks and battlements would have been unusually narrow. The tower has battlements, and as the church was located on the edge of the Pale, the remainder of the church probably had battlements also. The ruined north transept has this stepped-gable feature as well.

The medieval fabric of the building has deteriorated over the centuries. There are large buttresses providing structural support to the north and south walls. The nineteenth-century re-roofing of the church, which included the removal of the collar ties, increased the outward pressure at wall-plate level (Plate 20). The south wall of the chancel shows the top of the wall has moved out, probably as a result of pressure from the roof. The large buttress, which may be built using material from the south transept, crosses one of the chancel windows.

All the resources of the parish have been directed into the upkeep of the chancel, which is warm, bright, carpeted and well maintained. The nave, which is no longer in use for worship, serves as a large foyer to the chancel. It is unheated and faintly illuminated. There is a glazed screen with doors between the redundant nave and the chancel, which is large enough for the present congregation. St Laserian's represents a church caught at a particular stage of decay, preserved at a point where, two hundred years ago, the next step would be the removal of the roof of the nave. St Mary's in Gowran, New Ross, Callan and Thomastown, and St Selskar's in Wexford all went through this stage between the end of the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century. The roofs on the chapter house, nave and the chancel are in good condition. The ruined north transept has been abandoned. The openings have been bricked up and the wall tops are covered in vegetation. There are two fonts in the cathedral. The one standing in the chancel, which is in use, dates from the thirteenth century, while the one standing by the main door dates from AD 1225, when it was originally installed in St Mary's Church, Gowran. When the church in Gowran was closed, the church authorities moved the font to St Laserian's.
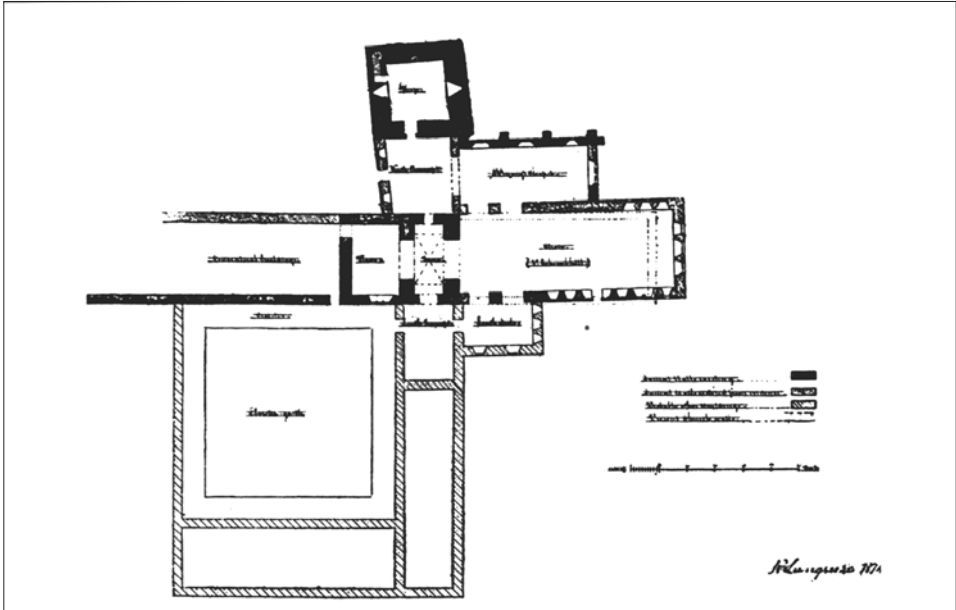
THE PRIORY OF INISTIOGE
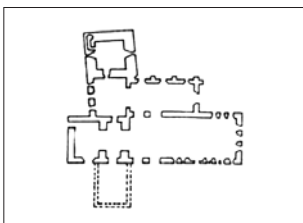
The town of Inistioge is located on a ford (and later a bridge) across the river Nore, between Thomastown and New Ross. The monastic tradition at this site dates back to the early Christian period, and is associated with St Colmcille. The Augustinian Priory of St Columba was founded in *c*.1206 by the Anglo-

Norman Thomas fitz Anthony, Seneschal of Leinster. Inistioge was a walled town, but the exact location of the walls is not known. Fitz Anthony made ample provision for the support of the new priory, endowing it with the entire village of Inistioge and several townlands, together with the fishery of the river Nore for a length of about three miles. He granted the priory the rectories or parishes of Inistioge, Grenan (now the civil parish of Thomastown), and Kilcrenath (now Dunkitt).[35] The nearby Augustinian priory in Kells supplied at least one of the priors of Inistioge, named Alured. However, relationships between the two foundations were not always cordial. In 1355 Stephen de Kerlyon, prior of Kells, was alleged to have robbed John Modbury, prior of Inistioge.[36]

In the early sixteenth century, Milo Baron, who was also the Bishop of Ossory, was prior at Inistioge. He built a new steeple and cloister, and surrendered the priory in 1540. The dating of the cloister is probably between *c*.1510 and 1528, and is one of the last medieval cloisters to be built in Ireland.[37] The church was drawn by Richard Langrishe for the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (*JRSAI*) in 1874. The plan shows a chancel church with a crossing tower and an extremely short nave (Plate 21). The north transept is shown at a slight angle to the tower connecting to another tower, which is known as the Black Castle. There is a Lady chapel between the north transept and the chancel. Langrishe also indicates by a lighter hatching the possible location of the cloister and the south transept. The priory at Inistioge presents an unusual arrangement with a short nave in comparison to the chancel. Langrishe's drawing is difficult to read and the lettering is illegible.

Leask describes the Black Castle as a 'curious octagonal tower on a square base with no easily datable features', but suggests it may date from the thirteenth century. If the Black Castle is earlier than the rest it would explain the asymmetrical relationship between the tower and the north transept. The unusually short nave may be due to the fact that Milo Baron never completed the work of extending the nave, either because he became bishop in 1528 or the Dissolution intervened in 1540. There is a roof scar on the crossing tower which indicates that there was a south transept (*IADS*, ii, pl. 17, 60). Following the Dissolution, in 1541, the jurors reported that the priory church was 'parochial', and that all other buildings with orchards and gardens within the precincts were necessary for the farmer. The priory, including the interest in fourteen rectories, was granted in 1566 to Sir Edmond Butler whose father was James, 9th Earl of Ormond.[38] The estate eventually passed to William Tighe who converted the prior's tower, or Black Castle, into a family mausoleum in 1874.

There is an illustration of the priory dating from about 1770 in *The Dublin Sunday Magazine* which shows the chancel of the church in ruins with ivy growing over the walls (Plate 22). The adjoining Lady chapel is shown neatly roofed, and
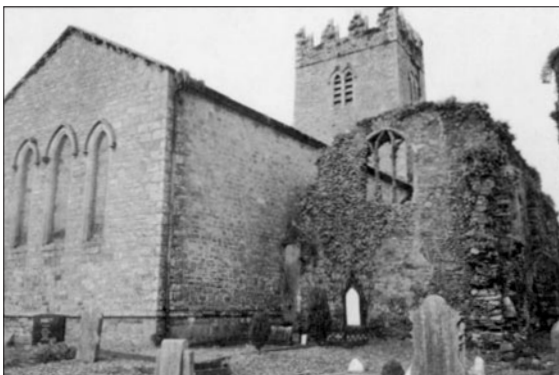
The Priory Church of Inistioge

21 – Richard Langrish's plan in JRSAI, 1896

22 – A drawing of the priory from the east by Seymour, c.1770, from THE DUBLIN SUNDAY MAGAZINE

23 – The modern church built in 1825 is on the left. The ruins of the Lady chapel are on the right.

was used as a Protestant church until 1824. The Black Castle stands to the right of the Lady chapel. In 1825 the chancel of the old church was demolished and a new church was built on the site, capable of accommodating 200 people. The church cost £1,169, and a grant of £830 was given by way of a gift and £276 by way of a loan by the Board of First Fruits. The remainder was supplied by a donation from the Rt Hon W.F. Tighe.[39] When building the new church in 1824, the walls of the Lady chapel were cut back, in a similar fashion to Callan, to allow the new walls to be built (Plate 23). The older structure was treated with little respect, with the new vestry built into the north transept, almost blocking access the Lady chapel.

In his article in the *JRSAI* Langrishe looks back at events in 1824 from his post-Gothic revival position of 1896, and describes how 'the mode of restoration adopted was to pull down the choir entirely, and to erect the present building in imitation of it. Unfortunately no architect seems to have known better in that degenerate period.' Despite his disapproval of the demolition of the chancel, Langrishe describes how the Rev James Graves 'found in the old church in Kells a fine twelfth-century font with one side carved; the others had been left plain'.[40] The Rev James asked one of the stone carvers involved in the restoration of St Canice's Cathedral to carve the other three sides to match the first one. 'This most suitable gift', the Kell's font, was presented by Mr Langrishe to the W.F. Tighe, as he had been a munificent benefactor of the restoration of the cathedral.

One of the interesting aspects of this study is the relationship between the Catholic and Protestant church. A new Roman Catholic church was built in the nineteenth century on the site of the cloister and as close as possible to the original monastic church. This shows the desire of the Catholics to repossess the ancient sites. Many fragments of carved stone were unearthed during the building of the Catholic church, and several panels are built into the wall of the church yard. The graveyard located between the two churches is strewn with carved stone from the vanished cloister. There is more carved stone at a 'holy well' situated above the village. Both churches are in use today.

THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST JOHN, KILKENNY
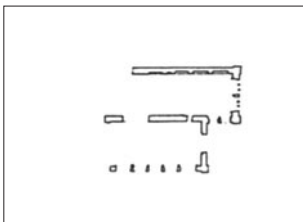
Kilkenny was the site of an important early Christian monastic site and the administrative centre of the kings of Ossory. The city is located on a bridging point of the river Nore, and the Anglo-Normans established a borough here in 1176. The Priory of St John is located on the far bank of the river, where set-

tlement was initiated shortly after 1200. This settlement was enclosed by a separate wall and was connected to the rest of the city via St John's Bridge. The priory was founded in 1211 by William Marshall for the canons regular of St Augustine, but the monks continued to reside in their earlier foundation near John's Bridge until 1325. In 1227, William Marshall, the 2nd Earl of Pembroke, appropriated the parish church of St Evin and New Ross with the chapel of the Blessed Virgin to St John's, Kilkenny. In 1230, Peter, Bishop of Ossory, granted the priory part of the tithe of the church or rectory of Claragh. The priory continued to prosper, and about 1290 an elaborate Lady chapel was built on the southern side of the chancel. The layout of the church and the priory is not known, but in 1315 the bell tower of the priory church fell.

The priory continued to gather tithes from the surrounding area, and by about 1350 its possessions included the parishes of 'Jeryponte, St John's with Loghmetheran, Dromerthir, Claragh, Kilmelag, Dunfert, Tibretbretayn, Kildrey-nagh, McCully, Castlecomer and Scatheryk (Skirke)'.[41] In 1374, the prior was confirmed in the possession of the church or parish of Castlecomer by Alexander Balscot, Bishop of Ossory. Edmond Comeford was the prior of St John's in 1506, he was also the Bishop of Ferns and the Dean of Ossory. In 1540, Richard Cantwell, the last prior of St John's, surrendered the priory and all its possessions to Henry VIII. A portion of the possessions, together with the priory itself, was granted to the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny.[42] The church was deemed to have been 'parochial', and Richard Cantwell was appointed curate and chaplain of the parochial church of St John the Evangelist, Kilkenny, 'receiving the third part of the church, rectory or chapel aforesaid (St John the Evangelist) and also the third part of all tithes together with a house and garden in Kilkenny'.[43] By 1615, the church and chancel were in ruins and the Corporation was ordered to repair it.[44]
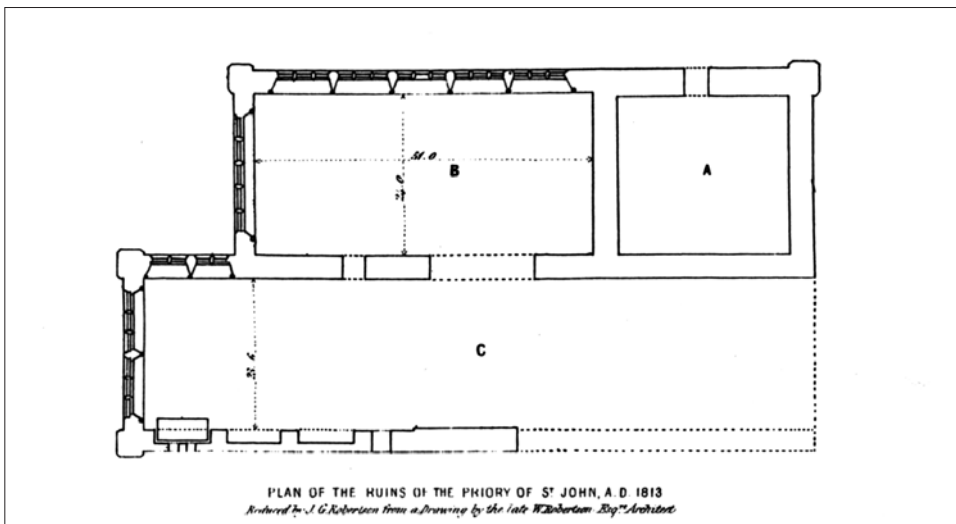
In 1645, during the time of the Confederation of Kilkenny, Thomas Rothe, a secular priest, Dean and Vicar-general of Ossory, was appointed commendatory prior of St John's abbey. The Jesuit fathers were made a grant of the priory, confirmed by the Nuncio Rinuccini, to use the site for a college or seminary.[45] After Cromwell's capture of Kilkenny in 1650, the Jesuits were driven out of St John's priory. Forty years later, during the reign of James II, the Jesuits applied to the Corporation to be restored to the priory, but in the meantime the Capuchins had taken over a plot in the priory grounds and the Corporation were reluctant to move them. However, within a few years, the Catholic Corporation was disbanded and both the Jesuits and the Capuchins were banished. In 1731 Bishop Tennison reported, 'here are seen the ruins of a very large church, a vestry room still remaining. An old masshouse and 3 Popish Priests, two popish schoolmasters. 460 Protestants, 1,366 Papists.'[46] In about 1780, the nave of the church, with its two square towers,
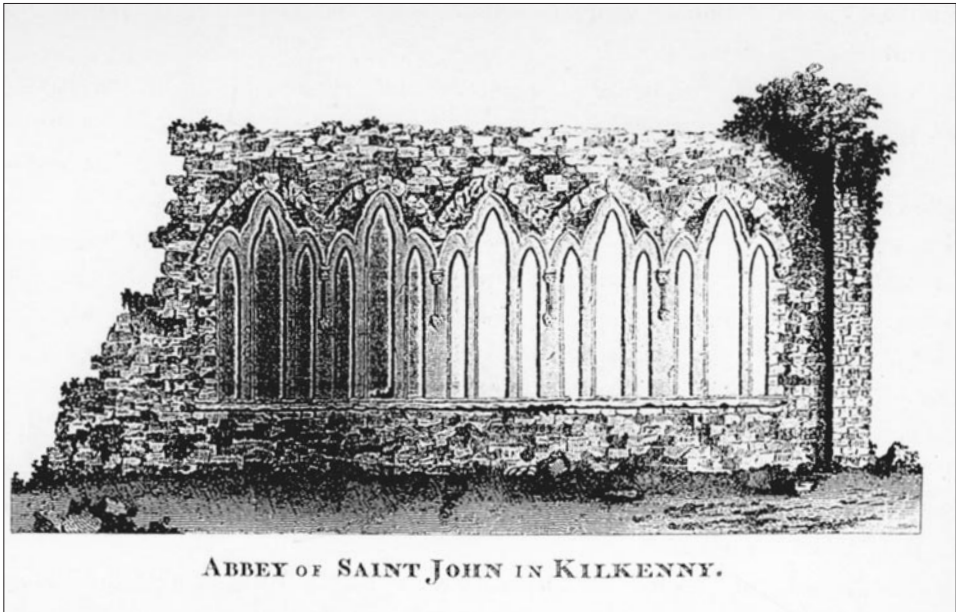
The Priory Church of St John, Kilkenny

*24 – William Robertson's illustration of the Lady chapel, c.1813
– the impressive east window is shown with its lower section blocked*

*25 – Robertson's proposed restoration, c.1813*

PLAN OF THE RUINS OF THE PRIORY OF St JOHN, A.D. 1813
Reduced by J G Robertson from a Drawing by the late W Robertson Esqr Architect

ABBEY OF SAINT JOHN IN KILKENNY.

St John's, Kilkenny

26a – A drawing of the south wall of the Lady chapel from the National Library before rebuilding

26b – A photograph of the south wall as rebuilt

27 – A plan of the church showing the parts of the structure in State care (in bold)

L - new church built in 1815
V - vestry
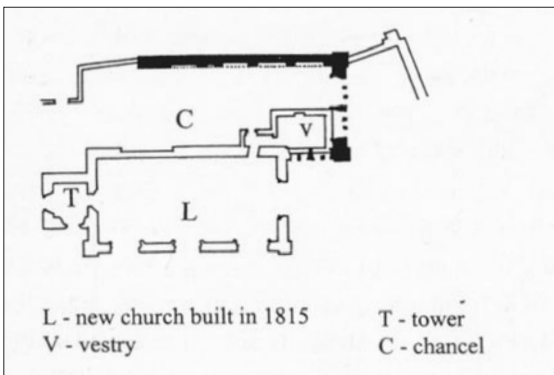
T - tower
C - chancel

and the domestic buildings were knocked down and the materials used to construct a nearby infantry barracks.[47]

By 1780 only the chancel, Lady chapel, and the base of a tower remained of the original church. The Lady chapel was widely known as 'the lantern of Ireland', due to the elaborate traceried windows which filled the entire east gable wall and south wall of the church. There are several contemporary illustrations of this wonder, including one in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* (*c*.1791). In this illustration the Lady chapel is in ruins, but five triple windows fill the south wall, and the east window fills the entire gable wall. Grose describes this as 'about sixteen feet wide and thirty high'. Another engraving from this period, this time by J. Walker, shows the chancel and the Lady chapel with a large, open archway between. The windows in the east gables are shown partially blocked, and the engraving is accompanied by a description of the ruins, which 'extend through several gardens and adjoining yards on the banks of the river, where many antique monuments and vestiges of the cloister still remain preserved'.

The Kilkenny architect William Robertson also recorded St John's about 1813. He included two views of the interior of the ruins – one of the Lady chapel and the other of the chancel. In his view of the Lady chapel, the impressive east window is shown with the lower section blocked (Plate 24). On the north wall of the Lady chapel there is a belfry on top of the wall, and at the base there is a tomb niche with a canopy arch. This niche is now built into the boundary wall of the graveyard. Robertson's second view, the interior of the chancel, shows the fine east window surviving today (*IADS*, ii, pls 18-19, 61). The south wall of the chancel has a pair of windows that also survive, as do the three plain tomb niches shown on the left. The ground level in the chancel seems to be considerably higher than that in the Lady chapel to the right. There are two further niches, with a canopy arch overhead, in the south wall of the Lady chapel.

In 1815 the Corporation of Kilkenny granted a lease of the 'two chancels and the churchyard' of St John's to the vicar Robert Shaw and two of the churchwardens in order that 'a church might be built on the site for the use and benefit of the Protestant inhabitants of the parish'.[48] William Robertson undertook the restoration of the ruins, and in an article in the *JRSAI*, his proposed plans are reproduced (Plate 25). He was 'very anxious to preserve the entire of the ruins and sepulchral monuments', and proposed that the chancel was used as the parish church (marked C on the plan), that a groined entrance porch was provided for the church (marked A), and the Lady chapel was roofed with the intention of having it form a receptacle for the ancient tombs and other relics of ornamental sculpture lying about the ruins (marked B).[49] In this drawing it is not clear if all the structure shown is the surviving medieval church, but if this is correct, there was a tower at the west end of the Lady

chapel. Robertson's proposals were rejected by the vestry on account of the expense involved, and the 're-building and re-roofing of the Lady Chapel alone' was determined upon by the parochial authorities. Mr Robertson's views having been frustrated, he declared himself 'not to be held accountable for the present rather incongruous arrangement, and the sad havoc made amongst the ancient tombs'.[50] The new church was built in 1815 at a cost of £1,246, of which sum £369 was granted as a gift and £553 as a loan from the Board of First Fruits. The residue was raised by private subscription.[51] Mr Robertson continued as architect for the project, and he describes how 'the ruin of the Lady chapel was taken down for the purpose of building a church, the front wall (which contained the famous arcade of five triplets) was inclined above fourteen inches out of the perpendicular and the entire height did not exceed twenty feet, yet non of the mullions had fallen.'[52] The wall was rebuilt and much of the original carvings was replaced with copies. The attempt to reproduce the earlier façade did not extend as far as replacing the five windows which had been the main glory of the original chapel. Three of the five windows were replaced, with the area in-between blocked with masonry (Plate 26). Inside the church the original thirteenth-century windows were retained, but outside the original carvings were replaced by accurate copies of the original. The location of the medieval stone carvings discarded during the project is not known. The east window of the Lady chapel, which had filled the gable, also disappeared, and it was replaced by a considerably smaller window which resembles a section of the earlier one.

The location of the vestry and coal store was handled in a similar fashion to New Ross (in the north transept), Thomastown (directly against the arcade) and Inistioge (in the north transept). In St John's, the vestry and coal store are built in the adjoining chancel (*IADS*, ii, pl. 19, 61). The building of the vestry required the blocking up of the lower sections of both the south and east windows of the chancel. The vestry roof prevents proper access to the windows for conservation work.

Since 1933 the chancel of the medieval church is a national monument in State care. The area in guardianship is shown on the plan of the modern church (Plate 27). The modern church, including the vestry and store in the chancel, are the responsibility of the Representative Church Body. As in the case of St Mary's in New Ross, it is difficult to carry out a satisfactory conservation programme to the medieval part of the church. The church is still in use as a Church of Ireland parish church, and is in good condition. The interior of the church was reordered in 1871, and still retains its fixtures and fittings from that time. The chancel is in poor condition; the presence of the vestry and coal store are visually intrusive and prevent proper access to the east and south windows. At present, there is no public right of way into the chancel.

THE PRIORY CHURCH OF SS PETER & PAUL (SELSKAR), WEXFORD
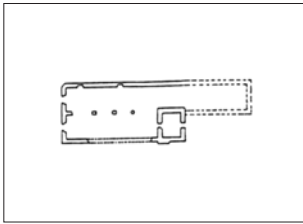
Wexford is located on a ferry point of the Slaney river where it enters the sea. The city was founded by Norse settlers on the south shore of the bay, but was taken by the Anglo-Normans in 1169. The church of the Augustinian Priory of SS Peter & Paul (commonly called Selskar's) is located just inside the town walls, beside the west gate. Part of the priory may have been outside the walls.[53] The foundation date of the priory is unknown, but it seems likely that it was established *c*.1216. Sir Alexander des Roche was its patron. On 24 January 1541, the jurors of the Dissolution reported that the priory church had been a parish church from time immemorial.[54] The monastery was described as holding the advowsons or interests in twenty-one rectories and vicarages.

The ruins today consist of an unusual arrangement of a naved church with a tower at the east end of the south aisle. The rectangular tower dates from the fourteenth century. It has quoins of imported Somersetshire stone with a projecting turret that accommodates the spiral stairs. There is also a nave with a four-arched south aisle arcade supported on two rectangular and one hexagonal pier. The west gable walls of both aisle and nave stand to full height, together with two arches of the arcade. The west window of the nave is pointed, and originally held a five-light traceried window. The west gable of the aisle also held a pointed window. Excavations carried out in 1973 found traces of a rood screen, and also revealed that the thirteenth-century nave had originally been built without aisles. The tower had probably been built at the same time as the aisle was built.[55]

There is an illustration of the church in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* (vol. 2) which shows the church in ruins (Plate 28). The chancel is shown with the eastern gable wall standing to full height with a round-headed window and two windows in the south wall. The battlements of the tower are shown in poor condition, and in the background the gateway on the town wall is visible.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Established Church authorities decided to reuse the site for worship. The ruins of the chancel were demolished to accommodate a new church built between 1818 and 1826 and consecrated in 1826. The new church was not built on the site of the chancel, but instead on the southern side of it, carefully centered on the existing tower. The construction of the new church cost £1,384, of which £830 was a gift and the remainder was a loan from the Board of First Fruits. An illustration by Anne Wylie shows the church around 1840 (Plate 29). The new church is a handsome Gothic Revival building with carefully detailed stone features. It is a more complex structure than the stan-

The Priory Church of SS Peter & Paul (Selskar), Wexford

*28 – An illustration from Grose's ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND
showing the church in ruins*

29 – Anne Wylie's illustration, c.1840

dard 'box with square tower' associated with the Board of First Fruits. In my opinion, the church is undoubtedly the work of John Semple who was employed as an architect by the Board of First Fruits from 1825 until 1831.[56] The church is similar in detail to those built by Semple at Feighcullen, Co Kildare, and Tallaght, Co Dublin. Semple is known to have built fourteen churches for the Board, but St Selskar's has not previously been included.

An examination of the stone work of the new church shows that a substantial amount of the stone from the demolished chancel was reused in the new work (*IADS*, ii, pl. 15, 59). There is a clear difference between the large square granite stone used in the base of the walls and the red sandstone used higher up the walls. A commentator in 1915 describes the ruins as 'well worthy of a visit, and the tower is still in good preservation. The beauty of the spot is marred by a modern Protestant church.'[57] The new church was part of St Patrick's Union of fourteen churches, and remained in use until the 1960s. The older part of the ruins, consisting of the nave and aisle, was passed into State guardianship in 1947, while the remainder, including the tower and the nineteenth-century church, passed into State guardianship in 1970. The Representative Church Body removed the roof and all internal fittings and furniture prior to handing over the church. The locations of the memorial plaques can be seen by marks left in the plaster. Conservation work was undertaken at the site in 1972. The works consisted of wall-top flaunching in the nave, resetting of copings, removal of rubble and blocking of dangerous openings at the west end. Works to the tower consisted of repointing, flaunching and general repairs to the masonry. A total of £6,000 was spent at the site, making it a 'major work' lasting until 1973.[58] There is no mention of any work carried out on the later church. Conservation work to date has focused on the medieval parts of the church, and little attention has been paid to the nineteenth-century ruin.

## DUISKE, OR GRAIGUENAMANAGH ABBEY CHURCH
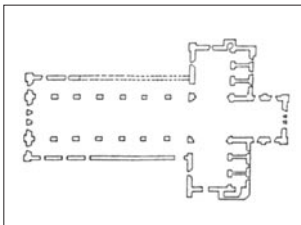
Duiske Abbey was founded in about 1204 by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who acquired extensive territory in Leinster. Monks from the mother house in Stanly in Wiltshire were brought over to start this Anglo-Norman foundation. The abbey was located on the banks of the river Barrow in an isolated valley. The building of the monastery began in 1204 and was probably finished about 1230 to 1240.[59] Duiske is one of the finest examples in Ireland of the early English style of architecture. The church is cruciform in shape,

with symmetrical aisles to the seven-bay nave and three chapels to each arm of the transept. It is identical in plan, and very nearly in dimension, to that of Strata Florida Abbey in Cardiganshire, which was partly completed by 1201. Its total over-all length is 64.65m, and it measures nearly 36.6m over the transept. It is the largest of the Irish Cistercian churches and, with its claustral buildings (which surrounded a garth of 36 square metres), the largest abbey of the order in Ireland.[60] The tower was part of the original design and was carried on four enormous arches, of which only one remains. The piers of the seven bays of the nave were square in plan with the clerestory windows over the piers, according to the Irish fashion.

The monastery was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1536. The abbot, Charles O'Cavanagh was granted a pension of £10, and the site and the other possessions were granted to James, Earl of Ormond, in January 1538. In 1541 the jurors found that 'the site of two acres contained a church, a cemetery, several granges, many cottages, three water mills, four eel-weirs, with an interest in five rectories, total value given as £76. But much property was undervalued being waste, unoccupied or in ruins.' [61] The story of Duiske from 1541 to 1691 is closely allied with the family history of the Butlers. Tradition says that one actually built a residence in the nave of the church, and was thereafter commonly referred to as 'Mr. Piers Butler of the Abbey'. The last Butler to possess Duiske was Piers Butler, the 3rd Lord Galmoy, who fought at the Boyne, Aughrim and Limerick, and became one of the 'Wild Geese'. He died without issue in 1740.[62]

By 1729 the roof had fallen, and a 'mass house' was erected against the outer walls. In 1774 the tower collapsed, bringing with it two of the four great arches underneath and the groin vaulted roof of the chancel. The cloisters, scriptorium and refectory were all incorporated into the buildings and gardens of the town.[63] The earliest illustration of the abbey is from Beranger's *Views of Ireland*, and dates to about 1776, about fifty years after the tower fell (Plate 31). In this view, the claustral buildings are shown roofed and obviously in use. The chancel and the north transept are both in ruins. There is a small building with a thatch roof (possibly the mass house) erected against the side of the north transept. The nave, which is just glimpsed behind the transept, is roofed. This roofed nave is probably the Protestant church, which was fitted up in 1754.[64] The building was most likely leased from the owner. Grose includes two views of the ruins dated 1792. The external view of the chancel and the north transept is similar to Beranger's. Grose describes the ruins 'of great extent, and the architecture and sculpture, even in its present ruined state, excite our admiration'. William Robertson has two views of the monastery which date from *c*.1815. The internal view shows the north transept and the chancel, with one of the two surviving arches of the tower (Plate 30). In 1807, the Established Church decided to build a new church and school a short distance away at White-
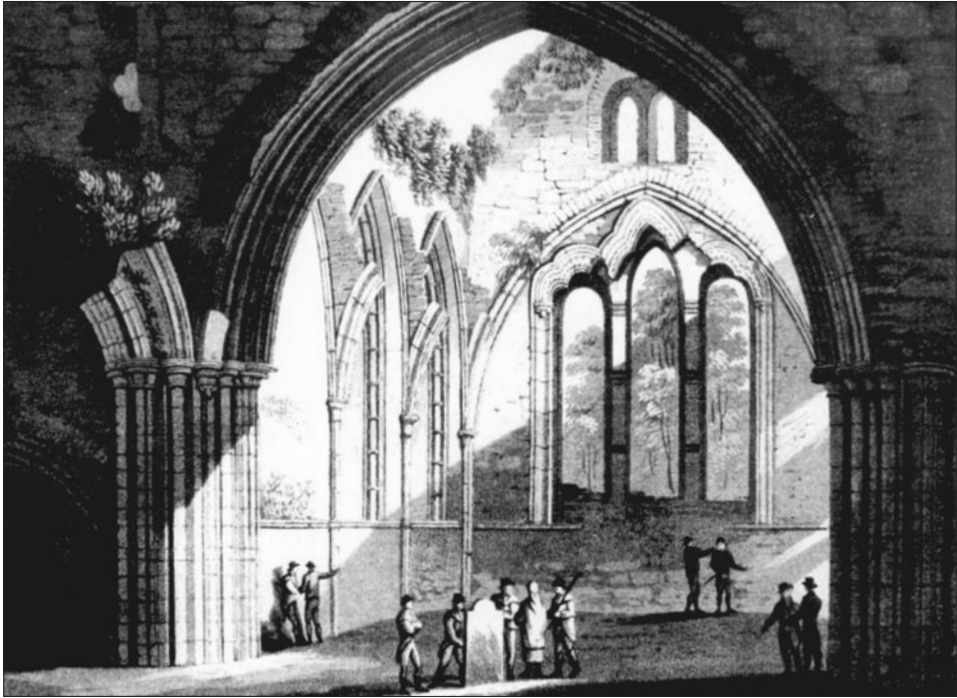
Duiske, Co Kilkenny

30 – William Robertson's illustration of the interior of the chancel c.1815

31 – The earliest illustration of the abbey, showing the claustral buildings roofed and the chancel and north transept in ruins, from Beranger's VIEWS OF IRELAND, c.1776
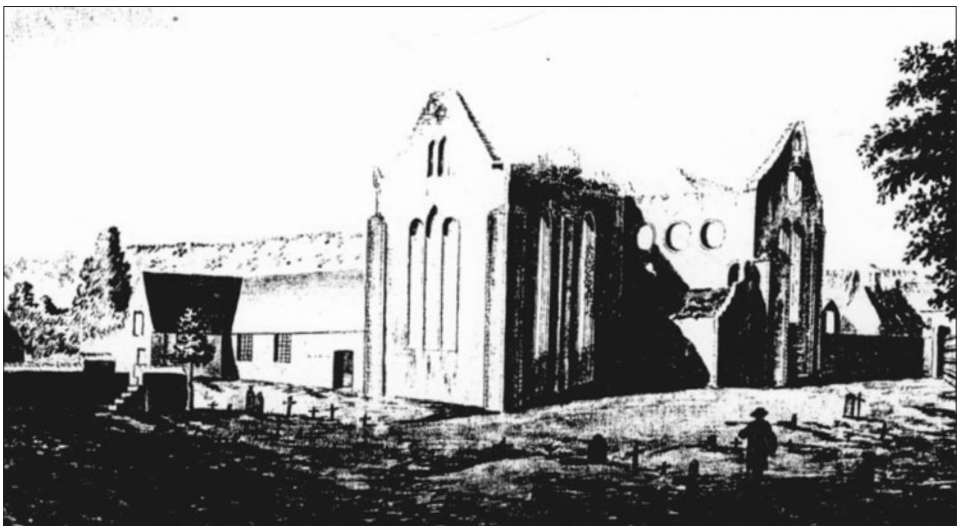
32 – Duiske, Co Kilkenny
the view from the nave towards the altar, underneath the crossing

hall. They took down the roof erected in 1754 for incorporation into the new church.[65] A description of the church from this time by John Bernard Trotter described the ruins in 1812: 'I cannot describe how nobly venerable it looked. I do not except the celebrated Abbey of Tintern in Monmouthshire when I say that nothing could be found more venerable and beautifully interesting in the empire than Graignamanagh [*sic*] Abbey.'[66]

From 1813 the church was re-roofed and used for Catholic worship. This project was undertaken against the backdrop of the tithe wars and the gradual recovery of the fortunes of the Catholic community. The parishioners, under the direction of the parish priest, the Rev Louis Moore, re-roofed the greater part of the church, rebuilt the walls where they had collapsed (the walls of the nave towards the west remained standing, but the section towards the crossing had fallen), and added three galleries. At the same time, the debris from the fallen tower was spread over the floor space to a depth of about five feet.[67] In 1886 the western part was roofed over. The damaged arches were repaired and joined to the gable of the present church. A bell was installed the following year, and 'this event caused much rejoicing when its mellow tones first echoed over the valley at Christmas 1887'.[68]

The church continued to be used by the Catholic community for the next hundred years. By the early 1970s the church was in need of extensive and costly repairs. Percy le Clerc, who had been an inspector of national monuments and who had directed the work at Rothe House, Ballintubber Abbey and Holy Cross, was commissioned to prepare plans and estimates for the work, including the removal of the galleries, the reordering of the interior, the removal of the blocking of the arcades, and the construction of a new roof at the original line of the gable. The decision to restrict work to a 'sympathetic adaptation of the medieval church leaving the original fabric unaltered' rather than a full-scale restoration was based on the available resources.[69] The demolition of the roof and galleries began in 1974. While clearing the way for rebuilding wall supports for the new roof in the chancel, the exit from the staircase leading to the tower and apartments over the groined arches of the choir was discovered. Stripped of the galleries and furnishings, a clear picture of the massive church could be appreciated (Plate 32). The circular rose window was opened, and on either side two additional window openings could be seen. These, like the window in the north transept, were badly damaged by the removal of part of the window in 1813 to lay the low pitched roof.[70] There is a viewing point where the original medieval floor can be seen in situ at least five feet below the present level. The restored church is so large that the interior has been reordered, with the altar now located under the crossing in order to reduce the distance between the congregation and the priest. The chancel has a separate altar that can be used for more intimate services. The side chapels on the south transept are also used for small services.

The history of this church serves to confirm the belief that if the Protestant congregations abandoned the ancient places of worship, they would be repossessed by the Catholics. The reason they succeeded in this instance is due to the fact that the church was not declared to be 'parochial' at the Dissolution, and passed into lay hands. The Established Church used the church for worship, probably holding a lease until 1807. The persistence and commitment of the Catholic community in roofing the church in 1813 is contrasted by the well-endowed Protestant community supported by the Board of First Fruits. The survival of the medieval church may be due to the overwhelming scale of the surviving elements that, by the end of the eighteenth century, were universally recognised as 'romantic' and of some value.

The symbolic importance of the church to the Catholics can be seen here where the site is first colonised by a mass house built up against the walls and eventually regained. The descriptions of the recent restoration of the church are triumphantly described with an emphasis on continuity with the past. The church is in good condition today and in daily use.

BALTINGLASS MONASTERY CHURCH
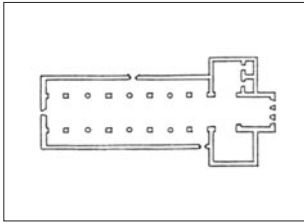
In 1148 Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, brought Cistercian monks to Baltinglass from Melli-font to found a new monastery which he called 'The Valley of Salvation'. The foundation at Baltinglass, located in the western foothills of the Wicklow moun-tains, was one of the first wave of the expansion of the Cistercians in Ireland. Baltinglass in turn was the mother-house of a number of other Cistercian foundations, including Jerpoint, founded in 1160, Abbeymahon in 1172, Monasterevan in 1178, and Abbeyleix in 1184. Baltinglass was not an Anglo-Norman foundation, although Dermot MacMurrough was later closely associated with the Anglo-Normans and his daugh-ter married Strongbow. Baltinglass was located on the edge of the Pale, on the west-ern borders of the O'Byrne and O'Toole strongholds in Wicklow, and the abbey maintained a strong Irish identity. The location of the monastery at the frontier gave it a strategic importance as a military outpost. The monastery was the centre of a number of disputes in the thirteenth century, one in which the monks were accused of harbouring 'felons against the English'.[71]

The church was cruciform in plan, consisting of a nave with aisles, chancel and two transepts. The building was probably complete about 1180, with the tower inserted in the crossing at a later date. The church is almost as large as Duiske but the carvings have a distinct Irish character. The north arcade of the nave is gone, but the eight-bay south arcade still stands. The piers are alternatively square and circu-lar in plan, and all but one rises from low walls now broken away in the openings. The capitals of the piers are boldly carved with simple Irish motifs. Peter Harbison describes the decorative carved stone at Baltinglass as 'showing an interesting fusion of Cistercian and Irish Romanesque architecture'.

After the Suppression in 1541, the jurors found in the precinct 'a very ruinous church' to which the parishioners resorted. They also found on the site 'a castle, hall with chamber, and a very ruinous kitchen, all unvalued. There were some 2,300 acres of land, several unmeasured holdings, with castles or manors, granges, many messuages and cottages, mills, and an interest in a number of church-es',[72] with a total value entered at £126. The property was granted, with other monasteries, to Sir Edmond Butler in 1556. The church was deemed to be 'parochial', and continued to be used for worship. In 1793 there is an illustration in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* showing the later-inserted crossing tower standing to full height (Plate 33). The tower, which has a curious set-back on the north face, is roofed and topped with a structure that probably housed the bell. The roof scar of

the nave is visible, but there is a smaller, shorter building intruding into the nave which incorporates the first arch of the north aisle arcade on the north wall of this structure. The west wall of the north transept stands almost to full height, and the archway from the transept into the north aisle is also visible. The chancel, which is just glimpsed behind, is roofed. The south arcade and the west wall stand as they do today. The principal change between Grose's view from 1793 and 1815 was the destruction of the crossing tower. The building intruding into the nave was retained, and a square tower was added on to the west end (*IADS*, ii, pl. 1, 26). The arches of the crossing tower were retained on the two east-west walls, but were removed where they crossed the new church on the north-south axis. Together with Callan, this is the only example among the case studies where the original chancel is used for worship, and not demolished and rebuilt.

The *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners* of 1833 states that the living is a rectory with an income is £618 per annum, all of which is derived from the tithe of the parish. The church was capable of holding five hundred people. There is no record of a loan from the Board of First Fruits, but £27 was raised by the Exclusive Vestry for keeping the church in repair, and £6 for erecting a new

33 – Baltinglass Monastery, from Grose's ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND

gallery. In his *Topographical Dictionary*, Lewis reports that 'in 1815, at an expense of £500, the church which occupies the site of the chancel of an ancient abbey was repaired and a square tower added to it. A grant of £252 had "lately" been made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for its further repair.'[73] In 1883, the church in the chancel was abandoned when a new church was built beside the ancient ruin. This move was due to the desire for a comfortable building rather than any great concern with the principals of Morris and Ruskin. The new church was built with the stone from the 'Abbot's castle' to the south-east, which was demolished in 1882 by the rector to provide materials for the construction of the new parish church and a glebe house.[74] The new church was built in the Gothic Revival style, and the abandoned church became a national monument in State care. The church in the chancel was dismantled and the roof of the tower was removed.

Baltinglass illustrates the change brought about by the introduction of the Irish Church Act. At the start of the nineteenth century the Church of Ireland was compelled to remain at the site of the Abbey. However, by the end of the century, as a result of legislation which effectively prevented any worship at the site, the Church of Ireland could relocate and build a more convenient building. The ruins are in a reasonable condition today.

THE BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY
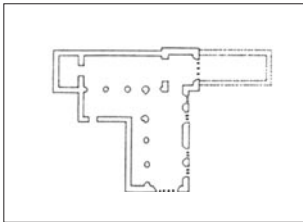
The Black Abbey was founded by William Marshall, the younger, in 1225. It was the third Irish house for the Dominican order, after Dublin and Drogheda. The abbey was located on the banks of the Bregagh river, just outside the walls of the new Anglo-Norman settlement of Hightown in Kilkenny and just below the older settlement of Irishtown centred on the Cathedral of St Canice. The abbey prospered, and five general chapters of the order were held there between 1281 and 1349. In 1337 the Corporation entrusted the keys and custody of the 'Blackfreren Gate' to the Dominicans.[75] During the great plague of Kilkenny in 1349, eight friars died within a period of three months. As a result of their destitute conditions, the Corporation, in 1352, allowed the friars the rents of two houses to provide hosts and wine for daily mass. The finances of the abbey improved in 1437 when King Henry VI granted the friars two parts of the tithes of the rectory of Mothel.[76] In 1487 a Dominican named Oliver Cantwell became Bishop of Ossory, a post he held for almost forty years. He had close connections with the Shortall family who were responsible for the insertion of the central tower

at the junction of the chancel, nave and transept.

The remains of the abbey church do not conform to the standard arrangements of Anglo-Norman foundations. The churches of the Dominicans were 'assembled over time – the diversity of junctions and the ensuing unresolved, additive quality becoming one of the chief characteristics of the type'.[77] The original church consisted of a chancel, a nave with a south aisle, and a western tower. The remarkably long south transept, which is easily as large as the nave, was added about 1324. The south window with its elaborate tracery is the largest of its type, filling almost the whole of the south gable wall. The plan of the Black Abbey provides a remarkable contrast to both Baltinglass and Graiguenamanagh. The unity of style which is associate with the Cistercian foundations is entirely absent in the Black Abbey. The Cistercians built their abbeys, according to a preordained layout, in one main phase of construction, but the Black Abbey is typical of the ad hoc style of the mendicant friars. The churches of these foundations, representing a middle ground between the austere monasteries and the regular clergy, evolved over many years. The crossing tower is usually not centred on the transept, but located, as at the Black Abbey, further to the east. Sherkin Abbey, Kilcrea Abbey and Timoleague Abbey, all Franciscan foundations in Co Cork, display these features. There is a marked lack of symmetry and order.

The addition of the transept with its west aisle transformed the rectangular shaped building into a T-shape. The tower is inserted between the nave and the chancel but is not centred on the south transept. As a result, when viewed from the end of the transept, the south crossing arch is half visible to the right, and the first arch of the south arcade of the nave is to the left. The tower is of early sixteenth-century date. In 1543 the abbey was dissolved and its possessions were granted to the sovereign and to the burgesses and commonality of Kilkenny and to their successors forever.[78] After the Suppression, the church was converted into a courthouse. The Dominicans remained on in Kilkenny, and obviously did not relinquish their hopes of regaining the abbey. In 1603, when the news of Elizabeth's death reached Kilkenny, three Dominicans, with the help of townspeople, broke open the doors of the abbey, pulled down the bars and benches, and set up an altar for the celebration of Mass.[79] During the Confederation of Kilkenny from 1642 to 1649, the Black Abbey again returned to Catholic hands. A public ordination was held there by the papal nuncio, Rinunccini. When Cromwell arrived in March 1650 the Dominicans were ejected. The Dominicans remained on in Kilkenny, and there are records of priors in 1663 and in 1667. The Duke of Ormond complained in 1683 of their insolence and indiscretion fitting up four chapels at Kilkenny.[80] The building continued to be used as a church by the Catholics until June 1694 when the Protestant bishop complained to the Lord Deputy that, 'Even on Sunday last they set their mass pub-
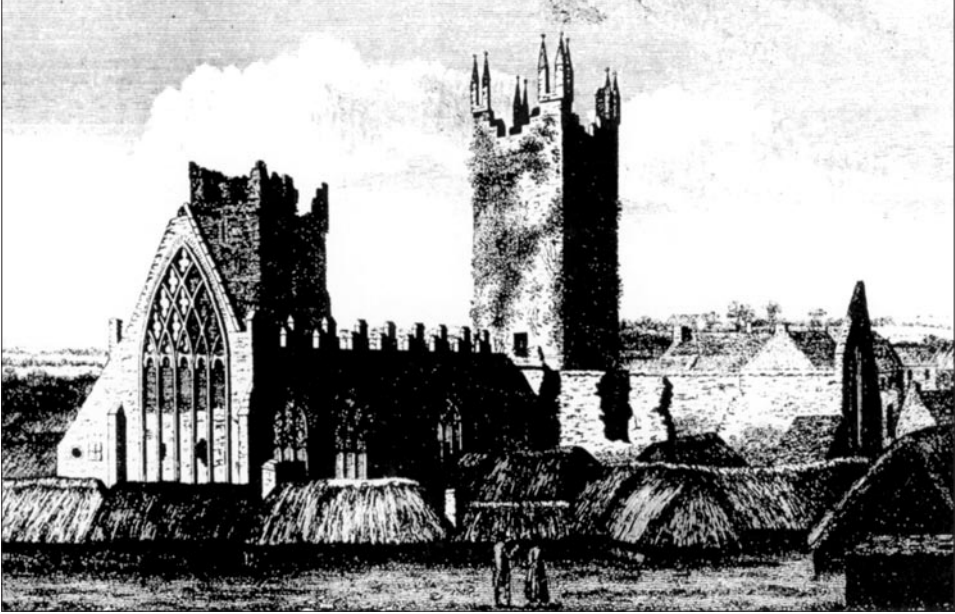
The Black Abbey, Kilkenny

34 – The Black Abbey, from Grose's ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND

*35 – The Black Abbey today from the south-west,
with the south transept on the right*

licly on foot again in their late hallowed abbey in Kilkenny; which they undertook to the Lord Lieutenant to alter to a session-house, as it formally was.' [81] The abbey was again returned to use as a courthouse and the sovereign was thrown into prison. By 1744 there were no Dominicans left in Kilkenny. In 1776, a Dominican curate, in an attempt to regain the abbey, became the tenant of the lease holder. In 1788 Fr Shaw succeeded in roofing the transept and repairing the walls, but the bishop forbade its use as a church as he felt that there were enough chapels in Kilkenny already.

Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* included two views of the abbey from 1793. The external view shows that the entire abbey is ruined (Plate 34). The transept and tower stand to full height, as they do today. The west tower is shown standing to its full height. The chancel is still standing but is in poor condition, with large holes in the south wall where the cut-stone window surrounds have been robbed. The east gable, with three lancet windows, stands to full height. The marked difference between the condition of the transept with all its battlements complete and the chancel may be due to Fr Shaw's efforts at restoration. Around the perimeter of the church are clusters of thatched cabins. The Dominicans continued to hold the lease on the church but did not use it for worship until 1816 when Fr Gavin, against the wishes of his bishop, celebrated public Mass in the roofed transept of the abbey. Following this rebellion he was replaced by another priest, John Prendergast, who was given strict instructions never to open the church again. Despite this order, by 1850 there was a committee for the 'repairs of the Black Abbey' in existence. In 1859 J.J. McCarthy was engaged in making plans for the entire restoration, although no drawings of the church survive. In 1864 the restored church was rededicated (Plate 35).

The present building consists of a nave with a south aisle of about the thirteenth century, a south transept also with an aisle built about 1330, a crossing tower inserted in 1527, and a west tower of fifteenth-century date. The claustral buildings extended north of the abbey, with the river Breagagh forming the boundary. The present church was restored in 1976 when the area underneath the tower that was used as a sacristy was opened up. The transept and the nave are both used for worship today, and the church is in good condition and is well maintained. The church passed through a familiar history of ruination and restoration. The major destruction was the chancel and the top of the west tower, but the rest has survived in good condition. The history of the Black Abbey provides proof of the importance of the possession of the ancient places of worship and the desire for continuity with the past.

———

CATHOLIC RESURGENCE AND THE IRISH CHURCH ACT

The history of the churches show that despite declining numbers, the Church of Ireland possessed the majority of the ancient churches and actively restored for use those that had become derelict. The churches at St John's in Kilkenny, St Selskar's in Wexford and St Mary's in Callan had all become ruins before their restorations in 1813, 1826 and 1837 respectively. The two medieval churches which had not been declared 'parochial' by the jurors following the Dissolution of the monasteries were regained by the Roman Church. The first step was the establishment of a foothold by building a mass house against the outer walls. The restoration of Duiske began in 1813 and continued through most of the nineteenth century. The case of the Black Abbey suggests that the desire to regain the site was beyond reach of practical argument.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church undertook an impressive building programme, acquiring new sites in prominent locations. The Church of Ireland gradually began to abandon churches and close sites. The introduction of new legislation to protect important medieval ecclesiastical remains was paradoxically the result of many years agitation by the Catholic community. The Irish Church Act of 1869 set out to reduce the number of cathedrals to eight and all other churches would have parish status. The Church of Ireland was disestablished and partially disendowed. The churches which were still in use were vested in the Representative Church Body (RCB). A number of the residual churches, not in use but considered important on the grounds of age or architectural merit, were vested pursuant to Section 25 of the act in the Commissioners of Public Works. The category of National Monument was devised for these buildings. Until this time, the Office of Public Works had been concerned with drainage and other State-sponsored civil engineering works. One of the specific provisions of the document was that the churches could not be used for worship but would be preserved as ruins. The first building to be vested in the Board was the Rock of Cashel in 1873. Before it was fully transferred, a bill was presented in the House of Lords seeking to amend Section 25 of the act so that the Rock of Cashel could be vested in a group of trustees in order that they might restore the cathedral for use by the Catholic Church. The bill was defeated on each occasion. In the case of Holycross Abbey, which is a national monument, when the church was restored for use as a Catholic church a special Act of the Dáil was passed in order to circumvent the original act. The Irish Church Act can be seen as a recognition of antiquarian values, but the effect was to neutralise the danger of their repossession. The exclusion of buildings regularly for use for worship from legal protection carried through to the National Monuments Acts of 1930, and still exists today.

Many of the churches, such as St John's in Kilkenny, St Mary's in New Ross and Thomastown, are the responsibility of two organisations: the Representative Church Body and Dúchas, the Heritage Service. If a church is used for worship it is effectively outside the provisions of the National Monuments Acts. A further complication arises if a section of a church ceases to be used for regular worship, such as the north transept at St Laserian's. It is not clear in this case if it comes under the provisions of the National Monuments Acts, or if the exclusion covers the entire building complex. A recent development is the Conservation Plan, which takes into account the significance of the site and recognises the value of the later interventions. The plan addresses the conservation issues on each individual site and includes all relevant drawings, research and historic data. It includes a record of all church monuments, furniture and fittings, as well as all conservation work carried out at the site. The obligation to making the plan should rest with the bodies responsible for the up-keep of the building. Any proposed alterations to the building fabric is considered in the context of its impact on the building as a whole and only if the management plan has been prepared.

From the antiquarian viewpoint, when seen in isolation the churches are compromised monuments. Unlike St Canice's cathedral for instance, they do not retain their original medieval character. The churches are reduced and partly demolished, but are also rich in information about the society that made them and events in our past. The aspiration of conservation work must be to retain the fabric from all the significant phases of the building's existence. Each phase embodies evidence that has a unique Irish context and importance. The churches are a shared but contested heritage for all the community. Their survival, in this compromised condition, provides physical evidence which illuminates our understanding of the past.

―――――

ENDNOTES

1   Rev W. Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (Dublin 1905) 297.
2   H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 3 vols (Dundalk 1966) iii, 84.
3   Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 297.
4   Rev J.B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (Enniskillen 1933) 212.
5   *ibid*., 217
6   *ibid*.
7   National Monuments file, Dúchas, the Heritage Service (Dublin) F94/732/2, 23.
8   *ibid*., 63.
9   Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 400.

[10] A. Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin 1992) i, 115.

[11] A. Gywnn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses in Ireland* (Dublin 1970) 329-30.

[12] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 272.

[13] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 90.

[14] *ibid*.

[15] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 356.

[16] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 91.

[17] *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1872, 219.

[18] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 356.

[19] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 91.

[20] *ibid*.

[21] Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland*, 179.

[22] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 227-8.

[23] P.H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford* (London 1900) 193.

[24] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 228.

[25] *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (Ireland)* (London 1833).

[26] Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford* (London 1900) 92.

[27] Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, ii, 117.

[28] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 367.

[29] S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London 1837) 622.

[30] A Gwyn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses, Ireland* (Dublin 1970) 89.

[31] Sir A. Clapham, *The Archaeological Journal*, memorial supplement (London 1952) 26.

[32] Gwyn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 89.

[33] Clapham, *The Archaeological Journal*, memorial supplement, 27.

[34] Gwyn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 90.

[35] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 105.

[36] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 180.

[37] C. Manning, 'The Inistioge Priory Cloister Arcade', *The Old Kilkenny Review*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1976.

[38] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 180.

[39] *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners*.

[40] From Richard Langrishe, 'The Priory of Inistioge', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1874.

[41] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 253.

[42] *ibid*.

[43] *ibid*.

[44] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 351.

[45] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 254.

[46] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 351.

[47] *ibid*.

[48] *ibid*.

[49] J. Robertson, 'Architectural remains of the Priory of St John, Kilkenny', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol 1, 1849-51, 433.

[50] *ibid*., 434.

[51] *Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners*.

[52] Robertson, 'Architectural remains of the Priory of St John, Kilkenny', 434.

[53] A. Thomas, *The Walled towns of Ireland* (Dublin 1992) 212.

[54] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 198.

[55] National Monuments File, Dúchas, the Heritage Service (Dublin) F94/680/1.

[56] M Craig, 'John Semple and his Churches', *Irish Arts Review*, *1989-90* (Dublin 1989), 145-6.

[57] G. Flood, *The History of the Diocese of Ferns* (1915) 142

[58] National Monuments File, Dúchas, the Heritage Service (Dublin) F94/680/1.

[59] R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland* (London and New Haven 1987) 72.

[60] Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, ii, 86.

[61] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 133-4.

[62] E.W. Hughes, 'Graiguenamanagh', *The Old Kilkenny Review* (1962) 46-7.

[63] E.W. Hughes, 'Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh', *The Old Kilkenny Review* (1974) 4-5.

[64] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 227.

[65] S. Swayne, *Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh*, (nd) 6.

[66] *ibid*.

[67] *ibid*.

[68] Hughes, 'Graiguenamanagh', 46-7

[69] Swayne, *Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh*, 7.

[70] Hughes, 'Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh', and 'Abbey Triumphant', *The Old Kilkenny Review* (1977) 255-6.

[71] P. Harbison, *Guide to the National Monumnets in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin 1970) 340.

[72] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 127-8.

[73] S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 101

[74] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 242.

[75] H. Fenning, *The Black Abbey: The Kilkenny Dominicans, 1225-1996* (nd) 8-9

[76] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 178.

[77] N. McCullough and V. Mulvin, *A Lost Tradition – The Nature of Architecture in Ireland* (Dublin 1987) 31.

[78] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, 178.

[79] Fenning, *The Black Abbey*, 14.
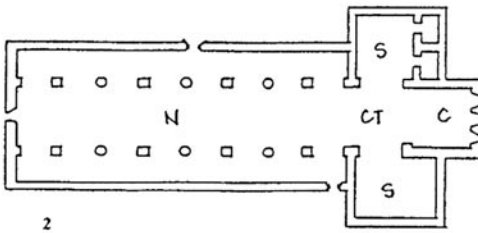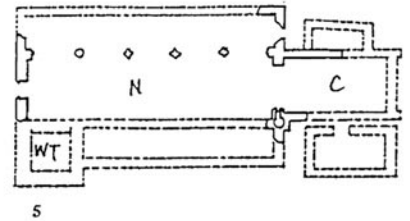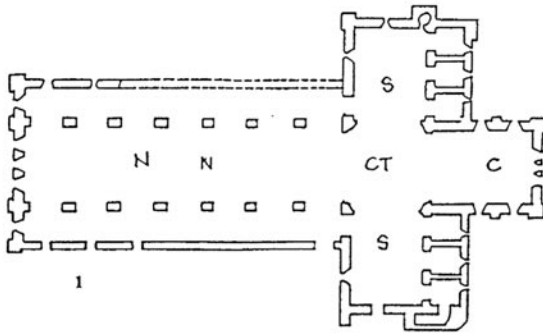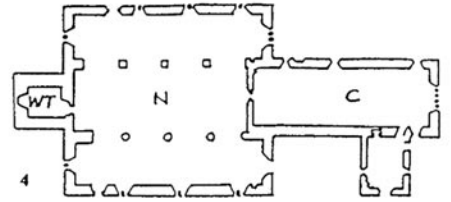
[80] *ibid*., 21.

[81] *ibid*.

———

overleaf

36 – Plans of the case-study churches and St Canice's Cathedral (pp 152-153)

37 – Plans of the case-study churches showing early nineteenth-century alterations(pp 154-155)
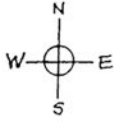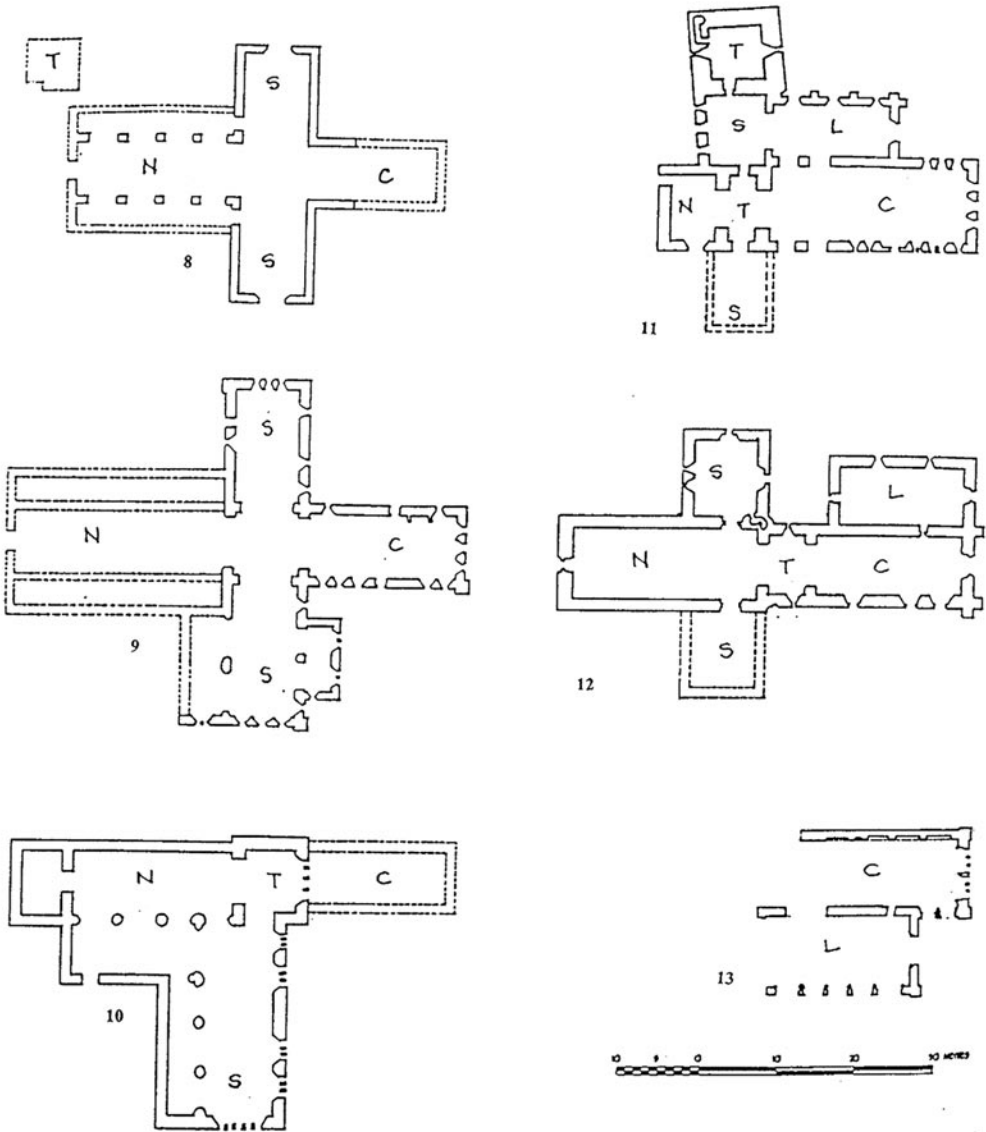
Key

N	NAVE
C	CHANCEL
S	TRANSEPT
T	TOWER
L	LADY CHAPEL
CT	CROSSING TOWER
WT	WEST TOWER
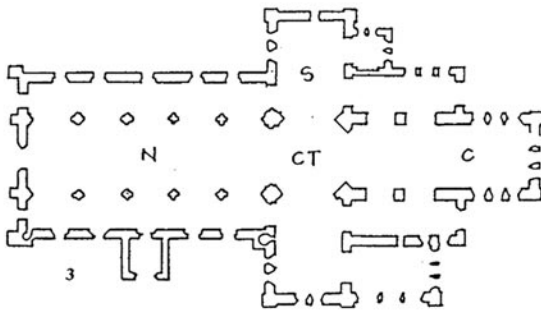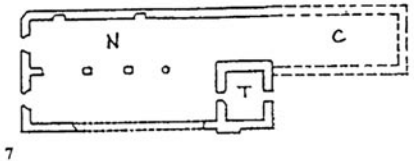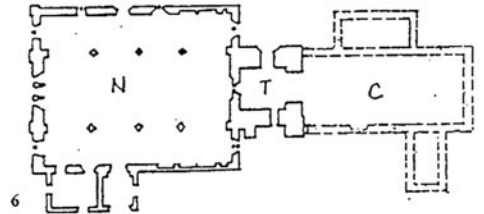
CHURCHES WITH NAVE AISLES, TRANSEPTS AN
1. CISTERCIAN ABBEY DUISKE/GRAIGNAMANAGH
2. CISTERCIAN ABBEY BALTINGLASS
3. ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL KILKENNY

CHURCHES WITH NAVE AISLES AND WITHOUT T
4. ST. MARY'S CALLAN
5. ST. MARY'S THOMASTOWN
6. ST. MARY'S GOWRAN
7. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. SELSKAR'S WEXF

36 – Plans of the case-study churches and St Canice's Cathedral

CHURCHES WITH NAVE AISLES AND TRANSEPTS
8. ST. MARY'S KILKENNY
9. ST. MARY'S NEW ROSS

CHURCH WITH ONE NAVE AISLE AND ONE TRANSEPT WITH AN AISLE
10. DOMINICAN ABBEY/BLACK ABBEY KILKENNY
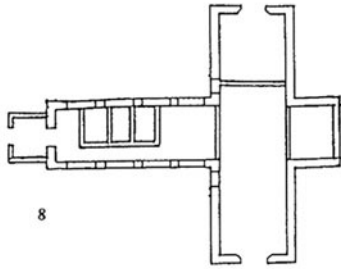
CHURCHES WITH TRANSEPTS AND WITHOUT NAVE AISLES
11. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF INISTIOGUE
12. ST. LASERIAN'S CATHEDRAL OLD LEIGHLIN
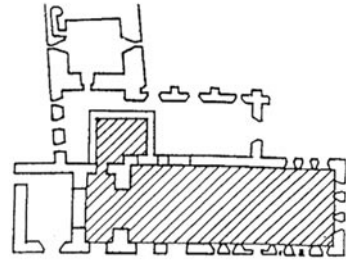
CHURCH WITH ONLY THE CHANCEL AND LADY CHAPEL SURVIVING
13. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. JOHN'S KILKENNY

153

37 – Plans of the case-study churches
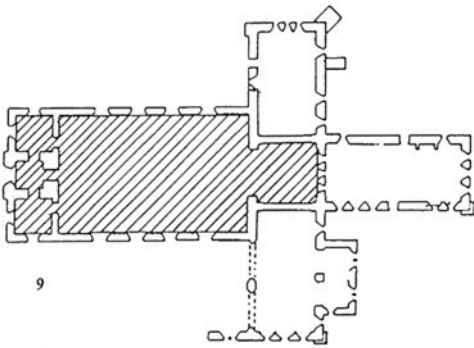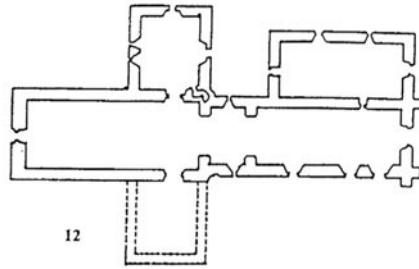*showing early nineteenth-century alterations*

Key

NEW CHURCH BUILT BY THE [...]
c. EARLY 19th CENTURY

RE-ROOFED FOR USED AS A C[...]
c. EARLY 19th CENTURY

8

11

9

12

10

13

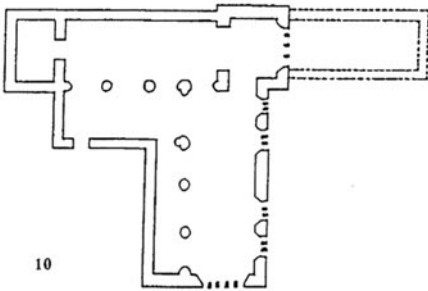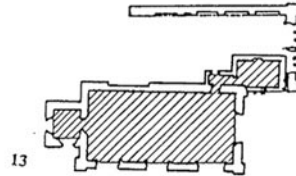10   5   0   10   20   30 METRES

BOARD OF FIRST FRUITS

CHURCH
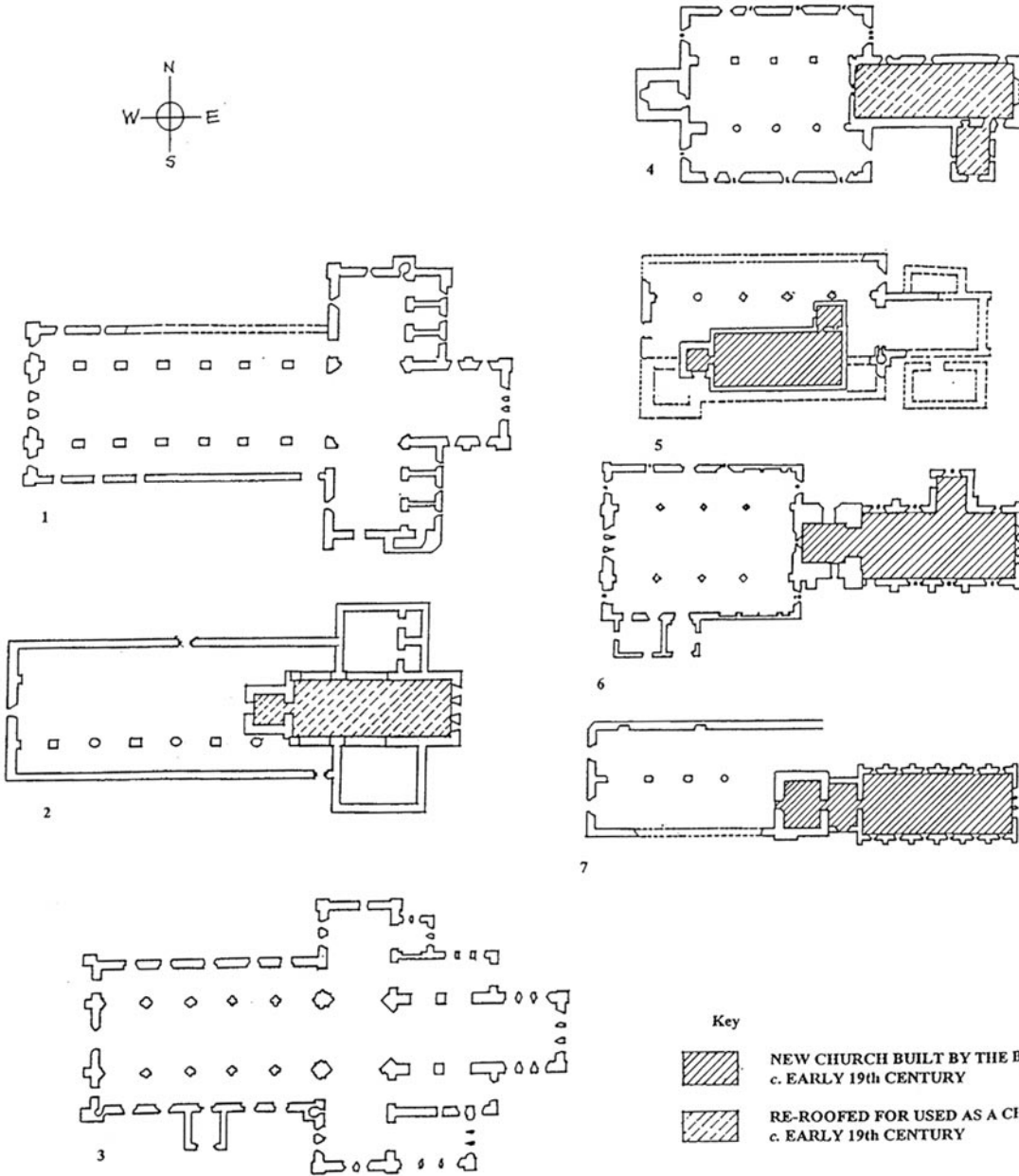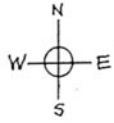
1. CISTERCIAN ABBEY DUISKE/GRAIGNAMANAGH
2. CISTERCIAN ABBEY BALTINGLASS
3. ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL KILKENNY
4. ST. MARY'S CALLAN
5. ST. MARY'S THOMASTOWN
6. ST. MARY'S GOWRAN
7. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. SELSKAR'S WEXFORD
8. ST. MARY'S KILKENNY
9. ST. MARY'S NEW ROSS
10. DOMINICAN ABBEY/BLACK ABBEY KILKENNY
11. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF INISTIOGUE
12. ST. LASERIAN'S CATHEDRAL OLD LEIGHLIN
13. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. JOHN'S KILKENNY

155