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"TRULY AND SINCERELY IRISH"?: THE MEDIEVAL SOURCES FOR THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE HONAN CHAPEL

Tomás Ó Carragáin

The Honan Chapel at University College Cork, the art of which forms the centerpiece of this exhibition, was one of the most historicist of Celtic Revival churches. The writings of John O'Connell, the lawyer for the Honan family trust who was the main driver behind the project, provide us with a unique opportunity to analyze the design choices of those responsible for commissioning such churches. They show how, inspired by recent antiquarian work and responding to cultural nationalist imperatives, he set out to revive a medieval architectural style—the Hiberno-Romanesque—which he considered to be "truly and sincerely Irish."[1] This essay will approach the Honan Chapel primarily from the perspective of its medieval models. It will focus on architecture, rather than mosaics and stained glass, although it will also look briefly at the sculpture. And it will consider not only the models themselves, but also the ideas they were believed to embody, both in the medieval period and at the turn of the twentieth century.

There are interesting parallels between O'Connell's conscious conservatism on the one hand and that of the medieval clerics he sought to emulate on the other. In their own ways, and in very different cultural contexts, both of these architectural styles are characterized by a reconfiguration of the past to suit the needs of the present. Like other important buildings, churches are storehouses of social memory—of beliefs about the past that a group or society holds in common. In the words of Susan Alcock, social memories are carefully selected to provide a group with "a coherent image of their past and a design for their future."[2] Both in the medieval period and the modern, everyone who built or commissioned a church had to negotiate its relationship with the past. The commissioners of churches in Cork in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries variously evoked classical, Renaissance, and Gothic pasts. For example, St. Finbarr's Cathedral, constructed in the 1860s, is an homage to buildings such as Reims Cathedral; its builder, William Burges, did not draw upon Ireland's much more modest Gothic heritage.[3] About fifty years later, those commissioning the nearby Honan Chapel, also dedicated to St. Finbarr, looked to an earlier, more local past: that of the Hiberno-Romanesque.

SOCIAL MEMORY AND THE HIBERNO-ROMANESQUE

Let us consider the original meaning of this architecture before looking at why it was revived in the early twentieth century. Like their Celtic Revival successors, many twelfth-century Hiberno-Romanesque churches were built to evoke a past Golden Age: namely the Age of Saints in the fifth to seventh century when Ireland was converted to Christianity and most of its great ecclesiastical centers were established by founders such as Patrick of Armagh, Columba of Iona, Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, and Kevin of Glendalough, who were later revered as saints. Throughout the intervening centuries, between the sixth and the twelfth, the pre-Romanesque churches built

1. St. MacDara's Island, County Galway. Pre-Romanesque church with antae and skeuomorphs of end rafters and finials.

in Ireland are unusually uniform and conservative (fig. 1).[4] Like the Honan Chapel, in modern scholarship these simple, austere buildings usually, and quite understandably, play second fiddle to the much more opulent artworks that some of them contained, such as the Book of Kells and the Ardagh Chalice. Initially of wood, the only distinctive features of the stone churches are carried over from their predecessors as skeuomorphs—features copied from one material to another—although they serve no practical or structural purpose in the new medium. Projections of the side walls beyond the end walls known as antae are translations into stone of wooden corner-posts, and in some churches the wooden end rafters and finials were also translated into stone. This building form was associated with the founding saints and so could not be improved upon. Perpetuating it in stone was almost like enshrining it: these buildings have a reliquary quality.[5]

The Hiberno-Romanesque developed from around 1100, before the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 but nevertheless at a time of profound change. The church was being reformed, a system of dioceses was being put in place, and ancient church sites had to compete with each other for a place in the new hierarchy. Some succeeded, but many others fell into obscurity. The arrival of the Romanesque offered architects and patrons endless possibilities to proclaim the importance of these old sites. They could have built larger churches with much more complex plans, engaged belfries, architectural sculpture, and vaulted ceilings. Such ideas *were* adopted in Ireland, for example, for the new Cistercian abbeys that were established from the 1140s and for special-function churches, such as Cormac's Chapel (c. 1134), a royal chapel at Cashel (figs. 2–3).[6] So the skills required to build churches that employed the full language of the Romanesque were present. But almost invariably, when it came to rebuilding the principal churches at the old

2. Baltinglass Cistercian abbey, County Wicklow, showing mid-twelfth-century aisled nave.

3. Cormac's Chapel, Cashel (c. 1134) from the south.

4. Kilmalkedar, County Kerry (c. 1130s) from the west.

sites, very sparing use was made of the Romanesque even though in many cases the same masons were involved. Often the only Romanesque elements are a decorated portal and chancel arch, and perhaps a bit of blind arcading at the interior. Instead, the emphasis was still on simple forms and skeuomorphs such as antae (fig. 4): the past was what mattered most. As these sites competed with each other for a place in the new hierarchy, their claims were based on their association with the founding saints, the original evangelizers of these newly formalized bishoprics. The overriding concern of those who commissioned these sites was to remain faithful to the lineage of structures believed to have its origin in a simple wooden edifice built by the saint. These sites effected institutional change through the use of a symbolic language that had continuity at its core.[7]

ANTIQUARIAN UNDERSTANDINGS

The Honan, also built at a time of profound change, likewise looks to the past in order to help influence and manage that change. Medievalists like myself are used to interpreting buildings with limited help from textual sources: perhaps a laconic mention in the annals or an oblique reference in hagiography. In contrast, we find a great richness of documentary sources relating to the Honan Chapel. First and foremost, as mentioned already, is John O'Connell's *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork*, which was published to coincide with the consecration of the chapel in 1916. A lesser-known but interesting source is a popular booklet, *The Chapel of St Finbar, University College, Cork*, published in 1920 by Patrick Power, both a canon and the Professor of Archaeology at University College Cork (UCC).[8] O'Connell and his collaborators were able to draw upon a considerable body of antiquarian scholarship on the Hiberno-Romanesque, for antiquarians such as Edward Dunraven, Margaret Stokes, and Arthur Champneys had written extensively about these buildings.[9] In particular, the great antiquarian George Petrie had recognized that these churches were meant to evoke the Age of Saints: "the unadorned simplicity [of these churches is not]...the result of poverty or ignorance of the arts....[But a] choice originating in the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for some model given to them by their first teachers."[10] This association was crucial for both O'Connell and Power. O'Connell states that Irish architects should look to this style not because of its "symmetry and beauty" but because "it brings us back to the early ages of the Faith in Ireland. It reminds us of the labours and works of the saints." The young Catholic men of Munster should realize that "they have here a counterpart of what their forefathers did nearly a thousand years ago for the Glory of God."[11] According to Power, "The great old Irish builders—Ciaran of Clonmacnoise...[and] Finnian of Clonard, must...have rejoiced to see revived—restored again to life in this glorious building—the long forgotten art of Ireland."[12]

CONTESTED TERRITORY

The location of the Honan heightened its ideological significance. On the one hand, O'Connell and Power claim that it was on the site of the early medieval mon-

astery reputedly founded by St. Finbarr around 600, the first substantial settlement at Cork: it is "almost on the very spot where St Finbarr...had marked off his caseal [stone enclosure] and had set up his monastery and his school"[13] where "the Roman and the Frank, the Angle, the Iberian and the Teuton from beyond the Rhine met and studied...and brought back with them to their own lands glowing accounts of Irish scholarship, Irish sanctity and kindly Irish hospitality."[14] Such continuity of location was, of course, an essential characteristic of its Hiberno-Romanesque models: they were new versions of the church built by the saint. In reality, the early monastery was some distance to the east, where Burges's Gothic cathedral now stands, but the Honan was close enough for O'Connell and Power to be able to suggest continuity with the Age of Saints, not only in terms of architectural style but also of location.

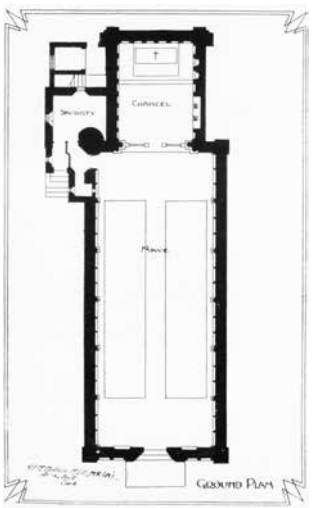
On the other hand, in its early twentieth-century context, the Honan Chapel was built in what might be considered liminal, even contested, territory. It was situated on private land bordering the campus of University College Cork, which was considered a successor to St. Finbarr's school (the university's motto is: "Where Finbarr taught, let Munster learn"), as a way for the Catholic Church to gain a foothold on the campus of this so-called godless institution.[15] Of course, this plan was supported by the president, Bertram Windle, a prominent convert to Catholicism,[16] and probably by most of the staff; but it did not exactly enter into the spirit of the Irish Universities Act, which stated that no church could be built on the grounds of the college. This non-sectarian dimension of the act was widely read as anti-Catholic, and John O'Connell clearly saw the Honan as an act of defiance against the British Parliament: "Irish history is full of instances in which the people were put in the anomalous position of being compelled to evade the laws in order to preserve their rights….It is perhaps partly in this spirit, to render ineffective the restrictions imposed in the Universities Act...that this chapel...has been erected."[17]

The Honan Chapel, therefore, is a building in which religion and nationalism were inextricably linked. Its small, marginal site and modest size made it all the more important that the chapel made an impact through its form and its art. It was the ideal project to revive the modest but symbolically sophisticated architecture of the Hiberno-Romanesque; and it is no coincidence that the Honan is the finest and most historicist of so-called

5. The Honan from the northwest. Note the small round tower-like belfry over the sacristy.

6. Romanesque round tower, Ardmore, County Waterford, with contemporary cathedral at left.

7. Dunlewey, County Donegal.



8. Plan of the Honan Chapel. From M. J. O'Kelly, *The Collegiate Chapel, Cork* (Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 1955).

Celtic Revival churches. The resources and skill lavished on it were disproportionate to its physical size; it is an exquisitely put together and ideologically charged little building.

The Honan was not visually as prominent on the campus of UCC in the early twentieth century as it is today, for it was screened off by several other buildings that have since been demolished.[18] Its effect on the atmosphere and environment of UCC was not solely visual, however, for its architect James McMullen states that its round tower-like belfry "chimes the Angelus thrice daily, and strikes each hour" (fig. 5).[19] Recent scholarship on the much larger freestanding round towers that stood next to its Hiberno-Romanesque exemplars emphasizes their aural as well as their visual impact (fig. 6). Round towers placed their church sites at the center of soundscapes. The sound of their bells expressed dominion over a territory and its people and became central to people's sense of place and identity, punctuating their daily lives and reinforcing their loyalty to the church.[20] In a very different cultural context, the Honan's round tower helped to extend its impact beyond its private enclave onto the campus of this "godless college."

"THE MOST PERFECT REPRODUCTION OF OLD IRISH ARCHITECTURE"

Power states that the Honan is "perhaps the most perfect reproduction of old Irish architecture yet attempted in Ireland...more fully than any other modern building, it suggests the characteristic atmosphere of the ancient Church of Ireland."[21] As we shall see, the Honan is not faithful to its Hiberno-Romanesque models in every respect, but it certainly comes far closer to them than most Celtic Revival churches, which usually borrow very selectively from the style, combining some sculptural motifs and perhaps a pedimented doorway or round tower-like belfry, with a range of other influences (fig. 7).[22] Although some details (e.g., blind arcading, vaulted ceiling) are derived from Cormac's Chapel, Cashel (c. 1134), a subsidiary royal chapel, the Honan's main models were the simpler, principal churches associated with the founding saints, such as Roscrea, County Tipperary (fig. 17) and Kilmalkedar, County Kerry (fig. 4). This lineage is evident, for example, in its bicameral plan and the position of the main doorway in the west wall (fig. 8). Given that the round tower had become such an icon of Irish

9. West façade of the Honan Chapel. The pedimented doorway flanked by blind arcading is derived from Roscrea (fig. 17).

10. Ardamore Church, County Kerry (1866–71), based on Kilmalkedar (fig. 4).

cultural nationalism, it would have been hard for those commissioning the Honan not to include a round tower-like belfry. Principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches did not usually have engaged round towers, however; instead a freestanding tower usually stood nearby. O'Connell seems to have been conscious of this, for, whereas the Honan ticks the obligatory round tower box, its example is unusually small and placed in an unobtrusive position (on the north side at the junction of the nave and chancel) so that it does not dominate one's visual (as distinct from aural) experience of the building.[23] Instead, like principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches, the emphasis is on the west façade, as O'Connell highlights in his book (fig. 9).[24]

Some of the details of the Honan's west façade diverge substantially from its exemplars; for example, that façade is flanked by features that were clearly meant to be antae. But they project from the side walls as well as the end walls and so have more in common with the clasping buttresses found in Gothic buildings, and are capped by little turrets that find no parallel in early Irish architecture.[25] These turrets were presumably dreamed up because at the time there was no clear understanding of what antae were and how they functioned. It is remarkable how little attention antae received from nineteenth-century antiquarians. Petrie was a great pioneer but not a careful analyst of architectural details, and he makes no reference to antae in his important monograph. A few other antiquarians referred to them in passing as buttresses, while in 1910 Champneys argued that they were derived from the antae that define the façades of many classical buildings, and this term has stuck.[26] Not until after the Honan was built was it generally accepted that antae are skeuomorphs—translations into stone of large corner-posts in timber churches, which supported end rafters and finials. Indeed, Power's 1920 booklet on the Honan was among the first publications to suggest this: "The side walls of our Chapel, it will be observed, project somewhat beyond the gables…no satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon has ever been offered. The writer ventures to suggest that the projecting piers represent the great protruding corner posts of the wooden house on which the stone Church was modelled."[27] It would take R. A. S. Macalister and later Harold Leask to develop this idea fully.[28] In fairness, then, we should probably blame unobservant antiquarians rather than John O'Connell and his architect, James McMullen, for the inaccuracy of the Honan's antae. Yet it is possible to find a few earlier

and contemporary examples that are much more accurate. For example, the renowned Gothic Revival architect J. J. McCarthy built a church at Ardamore on the Dingle Peninsula, County Kerry (1866–71), which quite accurately echoes the nearby Hiberno-Romanesque church of Kilmalkedar, complete with antae that support stone skeuomorphs of end-rafters (fig. 10).[29] Similarly, one of the altar frontals made for the Honan Chapel by the Dun Emer Guild features a depiction of St. Brigit carrying her church of Kildare in which antae clearly support end rafters (pl. 44).[30] Both of these are historically more accurate and aesthetically more successful than the turrets of the Honan.

The proportions of the Honan's west façade are also very different from its Hiberno-Romanesque models, which have quite low sidewalls and very steeply pitched gables; indeed some of these churches are as high as they are long. This is something that early medieval writers emphasize when they describe their churches: for example, in the seventh century, the church at Kildare was of "awesome height towering upwards" according to Cogitosus.[31] In contrast, the Honan has relatively high sidewalls and a more modestly pitched roof, and the impression created by its façade is therefore very different. Of course, the high walls contribute to an interior that is also far removed from those of Hiberno-Romanesque churches (fig. 11). Its plaster vault is much higher up than the stone one of Cormac's Chapel, for example, as are the piers of the chancel arch. The use of natural light is also very different. In Hiberno-Romanesque churches natural light is used very sparingly: tiny windows essentially provided spotlights to add to the drama of the liturgy and the sense of the church as an otherworldly space (fig. 12). One almost never finds windows in the north and west walls, and certainly the banks of windows in all walls of the Honan were unheard of. Also, although their chevron decoration is Romanesque, in form and proportions, as well as in certain other details such as embrasure form, the use of string coursing, and the niches to either side of the window lights, the Honan's windows are closer to thirteenth-century windows of the Gothic-influenced School of the West, such as those of Clonfert Cathedral, County Galway (figs. 13–14).[32] In addition, to provide more natural light and a larger canvas for stained glass artists, the lights of the Honan's windows occupy far more of the embrasure than they should. In the case of the choir windows, from a distance the tops of the lights

11. Interior of the Honan Chapel.

12. Donaghmore, County Tipperary, illustrating the small size and number of windows found in principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches.

13. Harry Clarke's *St. Brendan* (l) and *St. Gobnait* (r) windows in the south wall of the Honan Chapel.

14. Thirteenth-century east window, Clonfert Cathedral, County Galway.

appear to be truncated by the embrasure arches in a way that a medieval mason would never have countenanced (except where mistakes were made such as at Corcomroe Abbey, County Clare, where the upper east window is truncated because the masons miscalculated the height of the vault) (see east window in fig. 11; also cf. figs. 13–14).

Thus, the similarities are in some respects quite superficial. The sensory experience of approaching, entering, and moving through the Honan is, in fact, far removed from that created by its Hiberno-Romanesque archetypes. This, of course, is what we should expect for a church built centuries later. Notwithstanding the claims of O'Connell and Power, the architecture of the Honan draws selectively on the Hiberno-Romanesque. The Honan was built in a radically different cultural context to fulfill a very different purpose.

"PECULIAR TO THE CELTIC RACE": THE HONAN'S SCULPTURE

As O'Connell emphasizes, sculpture is used quite sparingly, and its form and positioning are reminiscent of the Hiberno-Romanesque. For example, the human head capitals with their interlacing hair (fig. 15) are like those at sites such as Killeshin and Timahoe (fig. 16), and the blind arcading is like that of Cormac's Chapel. In particular, as in principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches, sculpture is used sparingly on the exterior, apart from the west portal and the blind arcading flanking it, a combination that faithfully evokes the west façade of the 1130s cathedral at Roscrea, County Tipperary (fig. 17).[33] Like the better-preserved and roughly contemporary church at Kilmalkedar, County Kerry, there is somewhat more sculpture in the interior. O'Connell is justified in contrasting the restraint of the Honan with the ornamentation of Victorian churches, which he characterizes as over-elaborate and inauthentic.[34] This sentiment is echoed by Power: "Here is nothing overdone or false; there is no plaster masquerading as marble, no shocking tinsel mockery of gold or gems within God's house…everything is what it seems to be—stone or wood or metal or enamel."[35] Apart from the plaster ceiling masquerading as a stone vault, this assessment generally stands. O'Connell also emphasized the use of local craftsmen and materials as well as styles, which of course chimes not only with the ethos of the Arts and Crafts movement internationally but also with the cultural nationalist movement in Ireland.

As we have seen, Romanesque sculpture arrived in Ireland in the twelfth century. However most nineteenth-century antiquarians thought it originated far earlier, and for obvious reasons they tended to downplay any English influences. Not until 1910 did the English

15. Honan Chapel west door sculpted capitals.

16. Timahoe round tower door sculpted capitals as drawn by George Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 236).

scholar Arthur Champneys demonstrate beyond doubt that Norman England was the most important source for Hiberno-Romanesque sculpture.[36] As one might expect, it took a long time for his views to find acceptance in Ireland. John O'Connell takes on Champneys in his Honan Chapel book, but he must have realized that his arguments were weak. When all else fails he states that the "feeling" of the sculpture is "peculiar to the Celtic race," so rational argument goes out the window.[37] Patrick Power goes further, ignoring Champneys entirely, instead portraying this sculpture as part of a native continuum going back to the eighth century. In his reading, far from providing the models for this art, Norman England was responsible for its demise. This art was "fully developed by the 8th century.…The sun which shone for four centuries sank in the 12th century as suddenly as it rose. For the suddenness of its rising we cannot account. We know, only too well, why its decline was rapid. The coming of the Norman killed it. Ere however it set forever it crystallised in Cormac's Chapel and elsewhere a few expiring rays to tell to future ages the glory of the art that died."[38]

CONCLUSION

As University College Cork's Professor of Archaeology, Power had a duty to present this building and the ancient architecture it was modeled on in an objective and balanced manner, taking full account of current scholarship, including that of Arthur Champneys. That duty was clearly trumped, however, by his religious vocation and his commitment to Irish independence. In fairness, we should remember that his booklet was published in 1920 during the War of Independence. In March of that year Tomás Mac Curtain, the Lord Mayor of Cork, was

17. The west façade is all that survives of Roscrea Cathedral (c. 1130s).

shot dead and his successor, Terence McSweeney, went on hunger strike and died in October. In such circumstances, it would probably be too much for us to expect academic impartiality even from the Professor of Archaeology. Nevertheless, it is striking to see the extent to which both Power's and O'Connell's publications manipulate the past to suit the needs of the present. The creation of social memory is as much about selecting and forgetting as it is about remembering, and these authors gloss over anything that detracts from their vision of what this building should represent. Indeed, O'Connell misrepresents his medieval models to make them conform to what he had created. He erroneously states that Hiberno-Romanesque churches were characterized by triple west windows and northern sacristies, presumably because these were features he had selected for the Honan.[39]

There are, then, some interesting parallels between the Honan and its Hiberno-Romanesque models, not only in terms of form but also in their use of the past. In the latter what we see is the conscious continuation of an existing and current tradition, with very selective use of international Romanesque elements that only serve to emphasize the conservatism of these buildings. By contrast, the Honan is a conscious revival of a long-dead style from what was perceived as Ireland's Golden Age, so this is a case of the *creation* of continuity. As O'Connell puts it, this style "seems to unite us with the teachers of the church in Ireland to whom we owe so much, with a chain of faith and piety which throughout the ages has known no weakening and no break."[40] As we have seen, the Honan Chapel is not as exact a recreation of the Hiberno-Romanesque as its patrons claimed, and these disparities are, in themselves, very revealing. Whereas the building has some architectural merit, its chief importance, of course, is as a receptacle for stunning artworks in metal, stone, textiles, and especially glass. Although these have lost none of their impact, in some respects the Ireland that those who commissioned the Honan were trying to create, through selective remembering, now seems almost as removed from contemporary Ireland as the medieval Golden Age that they sought to evoke.

1 John R. O'Connell, *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork: Some Notes on the Building and the Ideals Which Inspired It* (Cork: Guy, 1916), 6–8.

2 Susan Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 1.

3 David Lawrence, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork: William Burges in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006). When, however, he later visited the Gothic cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny, he is reported to have said: "If I had had any idea that there was such a church as this in Ireland, I would never have built a French church in Cork." Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, "Why Medieval Ireland Failed to Edify," in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, ed. Jill Franklin, T. Heslop, and Christine Stevenson (Suffolk: Boydell, 2012), 303.

4 Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010), 15–48, 87–142.

5 Ibid., 143–66.

6 Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2003), 96–165.

7 Ó Carragáin, *Churches*, 293–96.

8 Patrick Power, *The Chapel of St Finbar, University College, Cork: Its History, Architecture and Symbolism* (Cork: Purcell, n.d.). Although there is no date on the booklet, it must have been published in 1920, for it was reviewed in the *Irish Book Lover* 12 (1920): 63–65, as Elizabeth Twohig has pointed out. Elizabeth Twohig, "Devoted to Archaeology: Professor (Canon) Patrick Power (1862–1951)," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 118 (2013): 131.

9 Edward Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, 2 vols. (London: Bell, 1875–77); Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland* (London: Bell, 1878); Arthur Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London: Bell, 1910).

10 George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1845), 192.

11 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 21, 64.

12 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 20.

13 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 20.

14 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 5, 22.

15 Virginia Teehan, "A Golden Vision: John O'Connell, Bertram Windle and the Honan Bequest," in *The Honan Chapel: A Golden Vision*, ed. Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett (Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2004), 17–36.

16 Ann Keogh and Dermot Keogh, *Bertram Windle: The Honan Bequest and the Modernisation of University College Cork, 1904–1919* (Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 2010), 111–40.

17 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 9–10.

18 Teehan, "Golden Vision," 19–20.

19 James McMullen, "St Finn Barr's Collegiate Chapel," *University College Cork Gazette* 7 (Dec. 19, 1916): 187–88.

20 Roger Stalley, "Sex, Symbol and Myth: Some Observations on the Irish Round Towers," in *From Ireland Coming: Irish Art from the Early Christian to the Late Gothic Period and Its European Context*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), 27–48; Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Ireland's Round Towers* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004); Ó Carragáin, *Churches*, 161–65.

21 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 5.

22 Examples include St. Patrick's, Jordanstown, Antrim (1865–68), Rathdaire, County Laois (1887–90), Dunlewey,

County Donegal (1877), Newport, Mayo (1918). See, for example, Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830–1930* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 129, 130, 137, 145.

23 Temple Finghin, Clonmacnoise, is the only Hiberno-Romanesque church with a round tower-like belfry at the junction of the nave and the chancel, although it is to the south rather than the north. Larmour made the reasonable suggestion that this was the model for the Honan's round tower. Paul Larmour, "The Honan Chapel: The Architectural Background," in Teehan and Heckett, *Golden Vision*, 37–51, 43. It should be noted, however, that the Honan's architect, James McMullen, makes no mention of this building but instead states that the Honan's round tower was derived from St. Kevin's, Glendalough, another subsidiary church. McMullen, "St Finn Barr's," 187–88. Certainly, in proportion to the building as a whole, St. Kevin's round tower-like belfry is more closely comparable in size to that of the Honan, although it is positioned on the axis of the building rather than to one side. The position of the Honan's round tower, over a north sacristy at the junction between the nave and the chancel, may be derived from Cormac's Chapel, Cashel (see below, note 39). We should not, however, rule out the possibility of influence from illustrations of Temple Finghin in publications such as Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, 267.

24 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 31.

25 Larmour, "Architectural Background," 43–44.

26 Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 36–38. In the 1932 edition of his Honan book, O'Connell adds a quotation from Butler's popular article on Irish architecture in the *Irish Free State Official Handbook* (1932), including the following: "Another feature peculiarly Irish is the use of antae or the side walls produced (or prolonged) and appearing in the gables, as in Greek work." John O'Connell, *The Collegiate Chapel, Cork: Some Notes on the Building and on the Ideals Which Inspired It* (Cork: Cork Univ. Press, 1932), 30.

27 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 7.

28 R. A. S. Macalister, *The Archaeology of Ireland* (London: Methuen, 1928), 248–49; Harold Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Volume 1* (Dundalk: Dundalgan, 1955), 43–47.

29 Paul Larmour, "Hiberno-Romanesque Revival," in *Art and Architecture of Ireland: Volume 4; Architecture, 1600–2000*, ed. Rolf Loeber et al. (Dublin: Yale Univ. Press, 2014), 107. The church was re-roofed and refurbished at some point in the twentieth century, but the antae at least are original. Another example is the O'Growney Memorial Tomb, Maynooth, County Kildare, completed in 1905. See Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 138. Although its antae project from the side walls as well as the end walls, in a manner rarely found in early Irish churches, they are accurate insofar they support stone skeuomorphs of end rafters.

30 Virginia Teehan, Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, and Peter Lamb, "The Inventory," in Teehan and Heckett, *Golden Vision*, 221, fig. 20.

31 Ó Carragáin, *Churches*, 23.

32 Harold Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Volume 2* (Dundalk: Dundalgan, 1960), frontispiece.

33 McMullen, "St Finn Barr's," 187–88; Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 8. This façade had already been copied, albeit less exactly, at Rathdaire, County Laois (1887–90).

34 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 15–19.

35 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 9.

36 Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 112–44.

37 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 26–27.

38 Power, *Chapel of St Finbar*, 6.

39 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 28–29. In fairness to O'Connell, this was probably partly due to limitations in his knowledge of the Hiberno-Romanesque. In addition to antiquarian publications, this knowledge was partly derived from visits paid by his architect, James McMullen, to a number of churches, apparently all in County Tipperary (McMullen, "St Finn Barr's," 187–88). Although he does not mention it, these probably included Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, which, as noted above, was a subsidiary royal chapel rather than a principal church. It is one of the few Hiberno-Romanesque buildings to feature a (now blocked, single-light) west window and almost the only one with a chamber on its north side that might have functioned as a sacristy. Like the Honan's sacristy, it is located at the junction of the nave with the chancel and at the base of a tower although the Cormac's Chapel tower is much larger and different in form. For a recent discussion of the significance of this chamber see Tomás Ó Carragáin, "Relics and Recluses Revisited: Some Thoughts on Cormac's Chapel," in *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin*, ed. E. Purcell et al. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2015), 326–37. One of the principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches visited by McMullen was Monaincha, which he states provided the model for the Honan's chancel arch. This features a single-light later medieval window inserted above its west door, which McMullen might conceivably have thought was original. Even so, O'Connell's claim that three-light west windows, "each light being comparatively small, the outer two being smaller than the middle light," were a characteristic feature of the Hiberno-Romanesque, is pure fantasy arising from the imperative to present the Honan as an accurate reproduction of this style. Even in thirteenth-century School of the West churches, where one sometimes finds three round-headed lights side by side—for example in the east walls of Ballintubber Abbey and Corcomroe Cathedral—they are usually of equal height, unlike the west windows of the Honan. West windows are extremely rare in principal Hiberno-Romanesque churches. There are small single-light examples at Killeshin and Ullard, but in both cases their west façades were extensively rebuilt in the later Middle Ages, at which point these windows may well have been repositioned from elsewhere. Tadhg O'Keeffe, "Diarmait Mac Murchada and Romanesque Leinster: Four Twelfth-Century Churches in Context," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 127 (1996): 66; O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland*, 252.

40 O'Connell, *Honan Hostel Chapel*, 21.