

Declaration.

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this of any other university and is entirely my own work.

Signed _____

Dated _____

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my Supervisor, Dr. Jessie Rogers, who has been an unfailing source of help and guidance since I undertook this thesis. Her calm reassurance and encouragement, as well as her generosity in sharing her considerable knowledge in the field has been much appreciated.

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Finally, to my children, who make everything worthwhile.

Abstract

The aims of this thesis are to examine how biblical themes in the stained glass in 20th century Irish churches reflect re-emerging Catholic identity. In order to do this it focuses on two Roman Catholic buildings – Loughrea Cathedral built in 1903, with stained glass produced from 1903 to 1957 by An Túr Gloine, and the Honan Chapel built in the Hiberno-Romanesque style in 1916 and decorated by An Túr Gloine and Harry Clarke. A detailed iconographical study of the windows is undertaken. It looks for indicators of particularly Roman Catholic iconography within a biblical context. It also surveys recent scholarship indicating the connection between French and Irish Catholicism of the period, examining how the re-emerging stature of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland drew inspiration from the French Catholic Revival (1905-1944). It explores the centrality of Catholicism and its imagery to the identity of the new state following political independence. Ricoeur's theory on identity is consulted in order to make conclusions. Finally, it makes comparisons between 20th century Roman Catholic iconography and the biblical iconography of the Church of Ireland of the late 19th century, by examining the stained glass windows in St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork. The conclusions it makes are that early twentieth century Irish stained glass reflected Irish Catholic identity which was re-emerging following Catholic emancipation. It offers a new perspective on how Irish Roman Catholics restructured and fostered an identity which was projected to the outside world at the beginning of the twentieth century.



Fig. 80

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Figure 81



Fig. 82



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SEEING OURSELVES IN STAINED GLASS

A Comparative Study of Nineteenth and Twentieth-
Century Irish Stained Glass.

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Supervisor: Dr. Jessie Rogers

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INTRODUCTION

Medieval stained glass is one of the greatest treasures of Western civilisation. It is generally recognised that the high point of achievement in stained glass craftsmanship was in 13th century France, when the great Gothic cathedrals of Chartres, Notre Dame de Paris, Amiens, and Bourges were built and decorated in the High Gothic style which was unprecedented and never equalled. The French state, officially secularised in 1905, nonetheless takes great pride in this aspect of their national heritage, and recognises its enormous value to the nation as a powerful expression of its cultural identity.¹ Although fragments of medieval stained glass have been uncovered in Ireland, there are no extant stained glass windows in the Medieval buildings that are still intact. The reasons for this are varied, and beyond the scope of this thesis. While the lack of medieval stained glass in Ireland is regrettable, the regret is ameliorated somewhat by the survival of several Irish high crosses from the early medieval period, which predate stained glass by several centuries and were created for a similar purpose – to visually convey the biblical narratives. While scholars cannot be absolutely sure why the High Crosses were decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, there is general consensus that they were created both to celebrate the power of the biblical stories in images, and to serve a didactic purpose in enabling the illiterate to understand the bible. Centuries would pass before these unknown craftsmen who used the material at their disposal to convey biblical narrative were succeeded by a group of artists who would use a different material - glass, in order to convey the narratives of the bible mediated through centuries of Roman Catholic tradition. This thesis sets out to show how 20th century Irish stained glass succeeded in visualising the sacred themes, biblical and devotional, which reflected re-emerging Irish Catholic identity in the early stages of the last century.

It will attempt to demonstrate how this was achieved through the vision and determination of a group of individuals who aimed to visually represent a Catholic

¹ See Isabelle Renaud-Chamska, “La Création de vitraux dans les églises anciennes” *L’enseignement du fait religieux* les 5, 6 et 7 novembre 2002, Ministère Éducation Nationale, éducol: Portail national des professionnels de l’éducation, page 1, <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid46364/la-creation-de-vitraux-dans-les-eglises-anciennes> Accessed 14th August, 2013. This website of the French Ministry for Education for educational professionals in France describes the stained glass in French cathedrals as ‘hauts lieux spirituels et symboles de l’identité nationale’ – places of high spiritual importance and symbols of national identity’.

identity which had been undermined through the centuries. This thesis will set out to prove that Irish stained glass of the 20th century succeeded in expressing and reflecting a revitalised Catholic identity which remains as an enduring legacy and a reminder of the relevance of religious imagery in the self-image of the nation.

In order to evaluate the iconography in the early 20th century Roman Catholic churches chosen, it is deemed necessary to also examine the iconography of St. Fin Barre's Church of Ireland cathedral, built towards the latter stages of the 19th century. It is hoped that by comparing the type of iconography used, and examining the principal themes represented in the windows, it will be possible to highlight how these themes emphasise the particular viewpoint and beliefs of the communities involved.

The literature examining Irish stained glass in the 20th century up to this point has focused mainly on the documentation and listing of the buildings containing windows by the artists of Túr Gloine and Harry Clarke. Reviews and journal articles by McGreevy and Curran provide the earliest sources of information on the windows. The *Gazetteer of Irish Stained Glass* published in 1988 by Gordon Bowe, Caron and Wynne, contributed to study in the area by providing a detailed list of worldwide locations of the windows by the nine principal artists, as well as an account of the origins and development of modern Irish stained glass. Gordon Bowe's definitive 1989 study on the life and work of Harry Clarke was recently added to by Costigan and Cullen in their 2010 publication which photographed the entire collection of Clarke's windows.

The Church of Ireland archives contain a comprehensive database of the stained glass in Church of Ireland buildings located all over the country, and Lawrence and Wilson's 2006 account of the building and decoration of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork has been an important source of information on that subject. Each of these publications provides valuable information on the artists, patrons and type of iconography represented, mainly from an art historical perspective. To date there has been no study undertaken in order to assess the important role of the visual imagery in these windows in the construction and reflection of identity for the religious communities they served. The role of visual imagery in interpreting biblical narrative has been recognised for centuries, but the examination of how the interpretation of the bible in visual imagery plays a significant part in the formation and expression of

religious identity is relatively unexplored. The EDAM project, a checklist of sources for scholars of Medieval art and drama co-ordinated by Professor Clifford Davidson for the Western Michigan University is a very useful resource for publications on the history of Iconography related to this thesis. Ricoeur's philosophy of the self has highlighted the importance of narrative in the construction of identity, thereby opening up new areas of investigation into the area of visual representation of narrative. As stained glass was originally conceived as a medium through which biblical narratives were conveyed, as well as a source of light, it is an area of considerable potential in this field. Cultural studies point to the limitations of official history when attempting to understand the past. There is a considerable amount of emphasis placed in recent years on oral history, or 'secret history'. The history of Irish Catholicism has necessarily been cloaked in a certain amount of secrecy, which was sometimes crucial to survival. The artist's ability to express visually what may not be spoken or written down allows for some gaps in knowledge to be bridged, as the work of art is interpreted. The new style of stained glass introduced in Ireland in the early 20th century, marked a break with the type of glass used in the Victorian era. The detailed examination of the iconography from this perspective should provide interesting new insights into the formation and consolidation of Catholic identity which took place in this period.

Chapter 1 of this thesis will outline the methodology to be used, examining the concept of identity, how it is formed, and the role of narrative in contributing to the identity of communities, particularly religious communities. The work of Ricoeur and Gadamer in this area will be of considerable relevance in enabling evaluation of the relationship between the imagery conveyed in the windows, and the biblical narratives underpinning the imagery.

Chapter 2 will examine the windows of the nineteenth century Church of Ireland cathedral of St. Fin Barre in Cork. This building has been chosen in order to allow comparison with the Catholic churches that were built several decades later, at the beginning of the twentieth century. St. Fin Barre's has been chosen as it is a purpose built cathedral with a unified iconographic programme, designed and built by a single architect. Its iconographic programme depicts stained glass windows representing the Old and New Testaments, from Genesis to the Book of Revelation. The iconography will be examined in detail in order to identify areas where a particular Protestant interpretation of the biblical narrative can be detected in order to

allow comparison with the iconography in the Catholic churches. This chapter will necessarily be one of the longest chapters owing to the large number of windows involved, and the detailed analysis required. However, this analysis should facilitate a comprehensive comparison of the windows in the other churches examined.

Chapter 3 will look at the windows in Loughrea Cathedral, built at the turn of the century in 1903. It will examine the windows created between 1903 and 1912, from the time of the establishment of the stained glass company An Túr Gloine, to the last window to be created before the disruption to the decorative scheme caused by political turmoil at home and abroad.

Chapter 4 will examine the Honan hostel chapel in Cork. This chapel was built in 1916, at a time of considerable turmoil in Irish and world history, but it reflects the preoccupation of its founders to create a building which is founded on native Irish aesthetic and religious principles, to serve as a place of worship for the Catholic university students of Munster. This chapter will also examine an individual window executed by Harry Clarke for St. Joseph's Church in Terenure, Dublin in 1923. This window will be examined as it contains a wonderful depiction of women from the Old Testament, who are delicately depicted in the background of the main figure of the Virgin in Glory. Its treatment of the Old Testament women is almost unique in the context of a Roman Catholic church of the period, and stands out as an exceptional example of the potential of the medium of stained glass through its creative juxtaposition of Old and New Testament themes.

Chapter 5 will return to Loughrea Cathedral in order to evaluate whether the changes that occurred in Ireland in the intervening years between 1912 and 1925 can be detected in the iconography of the windows. It will question whether the Irish Free State's identification with Roman Catholicism impacted on the type of imagery conveyed in the cathedral windows.

In order to evaluate the biblical hermeneutic underpinning the stained glass windows produced in Irish churches in the first half of the 20th century, it will be necessary to examine the context in which the building of cathedrals and churches was undertaken on a relatively wide scale at this period in Irish history. By examining the context and the various historical and social circumstances surrounding this revival in church building, we hope to situate the hermeneutical framework upon which the artists who designed the stained glass for these new buildings were working. Harry Clarke and the artists of An

Túr Gloine were born in an era of an emerging national identity in Ireland – an era in which national identity was closely linked with religious identity in a way that 21st century sensibility may find difficult to understand. There can be little doubt that all the stained glass artists of this period were influenced to some degree by the emerging sense of Irish identity which permeated the Celtic Revival movement in literature and art. The various art movements in Europe, such as Art Nouveau, Art Deco and the Symbolist movement in France and Secessionist movement in Vienna would also have been influential in the work of these artists. In this section therefore we will begin by examining the artistic and political context of early 20th century Ireland. We will then examine the life and work of the stained glass artists of the time, thereby attempting to put their work into context, and finally we hope to be able to draw conclusions regarding the extent to which their work reflected this context, and how much of their work was informed by a particular biblical hermeneutic.

Following Catholic emancipation in 1829, a wave of church building began in Ireland. Most of the churches built in the early period following emancipation were designed according to the principles of neo-Gothic architecture as propounded by the leading exponent of this style of architecture in England, A.W. Pugin. Indeed, Pugin himself designed and oversaw the building of several cathedrals and churches in Ireland, including St. Mary's Cathedral in Killarney. He was particularly interested in reviving the art of stained glass production, which had fallen into neglect following the Reformation, and his work in this area together with his business partner John Hardman of Birmingham contributed considerably to the revival of stained glass craftsmanship in the newly built churches in England in the years following Catholic emancipation. Pugin lamented the difficulty of producing stained glass that could compare to the dense colours and rich textures of medieval windows. Despite the advanced technology and the antiquarian, entrepreneurial spirit of the 19th century, stained glass manufacture proved to be an elusive art. "With all our machinery, and facilities which they never possessed, we are hardly able to imitate the commonest of their productions" he complained in 1839.²

To Pugin's credit he continued in his efforts to perfect the art, despite the fact that he was never entirely satisfied with the results. Beginning in 1845, Pugin and Hardman attempted to push the art of stained glass design forward, or rather backward to the Middle Ages, "undoing all that the intervening centuries had done to make glass lighter,

²Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, (London:Penguin, 2007), 343.

thinner and easier to decorate”. He bought thick uneven flint glass instead of crown “to make the windows doubly rich in effect” and an engraving tool resembling the tools of old, which had the effect of doubling the labour, but which helped them to achieve a better effect.³ By 1850, through trial and error, the firm had set a high standard for stained glass in England, and there is little doubt that Pugin and Hardman laid the foundations for the ideals later espoused by William Morris, leading to the foundation of the Arts and Crafts Movement in England, which in turn influenced the setting up of a similar movement in Ireland. The Irish Arts and Crafts movement, whilst hardly comparable to similar movements in England or other wealthier countries, was nonetheless instrumental in creating the environment in which national aspiration for a particularly Irish aesthetic could find expression in the work of the artists emerging from a background of post-emancipation Catholicism. Many of the artists who turned their attention to the design and production of stained glass for early 20th century churches could trace their roots back to the formation of these earlier movements, whose influence coincided with the emergence of a key period in Irish religious and cultural history.

By the beginning of the 20th century however, neo-Gothic architecture had become tired, and almost a parody of itself. The scene was set for a change in the design of 20th century church architecture in Ireland. A combination of circumstances contrived to produce several churches built according to the ideals of a few individuals whose vision happened to coincide with the emergence of a group of stained glass artists in Ireland whose work is regarded today as exemplary. The Hiberno-Romanesque churches built in the early part of the 20th century are a testimony to the flowering of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland, and to the ideals of the Celtic Revival which permeated the art and literature of the period. The emergence of these movements in literature and the arts reflected a growing awareness of national identity which found expression through the newly acquired confidence of Irish Catholicism.

In order to understand the change in mindset which occurred at this period, it may be useful to examine the pronouncements of several high profile individuals who deplored the state of church architecture of the late 19th century. One such individual was Edward Martyn, who declared:

Could any practice better illustrate the symbol of using the bootjack for a hammer than the perversity everywhere, but nowhere so much as in Ireland, of preferring the

³Ibid., 344.

tradesman to the artist for the production of ecclesiastical ornament? And yet so it is. To produce art a tradesman is used instead of an artist.⁴

He continues by referring to his suggestion that the artists in Ireland should decorate churches and that tradesmen should “be obedient to them”. He pointed out that the only demand in Ireland at that time was from the churches, and that the artists who were “starving for want of work” were the people who should supply it, and how tradesmen would still be required to do the mechanical part of the work. Expressing his surprise that this simple suggestion “aroused such an amount of blank astonishment and mulish opposition” that it was never generally accepted, he nevertheless admits that it did bear some fruit, when the artists of An Túr Gloine were commissioned by Archbishop Healy when he was bishop of Clonfert to ‘experimentalise’ in the cathedral at Loughrea.⁵

Martyn, who had been responsible for the introduction of the Palestrina choir in Dublin, was to play a major role in the foundation of the Irish stained glass movement. Engaging the services of A.E. Child to teach in the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art, he also succeeded in persuading Sarah Purser to open a studio where Child could teach the art of stained glass. The artists of this studio, An Túr Gloine, were responsible for producing much of the stained glass which adorns many of the churches decorated in the early years of the 20th century in Ireland. Child had been a pupil of Christopher Whall, a follower of William Morris who was responsible for the reform of the applied arts and who had urged the return of the principle of the medieval craftsman in England. Martyn duly employed Whall to design a window for his family church in Ardahan, Co. Galway, and through his influence the commission for the first three windows for the newly built cathedral at Loughrea was given to Whall “with the proviso that the work should be executed in Ireland, in such a way that Irish assistants could learn his craft”.⁶ As Whall was unable to work continuously in Ireland, he made an arrangement with Sarah Purser to send over his chief Assistant, A. E. Child to execute his designs, and in collaboration with the School of Art he was able to set up a class in the school which was attended by the young Harry Clarke and Michael Healy as well as Evie Hone, Catherine O’Brien, and Wilhelmina Geddes. Whilst the early windows produced in Ireland by Whall and Child lacked the innovation and imaginary vision of the work that was produced later by Harry Clarke and the artists of An Túr Gloine, it was an important venture from the point of view of the inauguration of the craft in Dublin, the proper teaching of the technique, and the clear indications of the principles governing the production of stained

⁴James White and Michael Wynne, *Irish Stained Glass: A Catalogue of Stained Glass Windows by Irish Artists of the 20th century*, (Maynooth: The Furrow Trust, 1963). 5.

⁵Ibid, 6.

⁶Ibid, 6.

glass. It was not until the first pupils of the studio, particularly Michael Healy and Harry Clarke began working with their own individual talent and imagination to produce windows of outstanding craftsmanship and radiance that a new era in the art of stained glass design began to take shape in Ireland.

Edward Martyn's role in the setting up of An Túr Gloine was crucially important to the development of stained glass design in Ireland in the early 20th century. He was motivated by a desire to save the art of stained glass from the "crude paw of the tradesman" believing that the delicacy and refined nature of stained glass design and production was "the first to suffer and die under the clumsy hand of the Philistine".⁷ Martyn was not the only person of influence who wished to change the design of church buildings in Ireland at this time. When the Honan family of Cork city left a bequest for the construction of a chapel beside the hostel in the grounds of the Royal University (now University College Cork), they appointed Sir John O'Connell to oversee the management of the funds and the implementation of the building of the chapel. O'Connell's belief in the promotion of Irish industrial development and in particular the Arts and Crafts movement is reflected in his approach to the building of the Honan Chapel. With the support of Sir Bertram Windle, President of the university and a Catholic convert, he set about building and furnishing the chapel in a Celtic Revival style. His aspiration was for a "deliberately restrained Hiberno-Romanesque building dedicated to St. Finn Barr,⁸ on the approximate site of whose school and monastery it was being built; simple decoration and skilled craftsmanship were to be integral to its spirit and structure".⁹ O'Connell's vision therefore, like Edward Martyn's twelve years earlier at Loughrea Cathedral, reflected the profound national aspiration for independent, confident artistic expression which was evident in the revival of native Irish craftsmanship and design. Viewed within the context of the First World War, in which thousands of young men were dying, and in the aftermath of the Irish rebellion of 1916 and the tense political situation in Ireland of the time, the design and construction of the Honan Chapel can be seen as a reflection of an intense national pride as well as the powerful personal conviction and belief of one man. It is worth noting at this point that three of the individuals involved in the design of the Honan Chapel were former pupils of Belvedere College in Dublin, therefore each of them had been schooled in the

⁷ Nicola Gordon Bowe, *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), 34.

⁸ The various different spellings of St. Finbarr's name is due to the different spelling employed by Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland communities, probably in order to differentiate them from each other.

⁹ Virginia Teehan & Elizabeth Wincott Heckett (eds), *The Honan Chapel – A Golden Vision*. (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004) 166.

particular ethos of the Jesuit order. The Jesuit ethos places a strong emphasis on the sending out into the world of young men who would make a considerable contribution to society and this would certainly apply in the case of Sir John O'Connell, Sir Bertram Windle, and Harry Clarke, all of whom left a legacy of significant worth to the Irish nation even if one only considers their work in relation to the design of the Honan Chapel. However, what is of greater interest for the purpose of this thesis is the question of how much the religious formation of these men at Belvedere College informed the iconography displayed in the stained glass windows of the chapel, and to what extent if any this iconography reflects a particular biblical hermeneutic. We will return to this question later when reflecting on the work of Harry Clarke.

The examination of the specifically Roman Catholic aspects of the stained glass of this period will be considerably facilitated by a comparison study of the glass in the Church of Ireland cathedral of St. Fin Barre in Cork. This cathedral was designed and decorated by William Burges, who came from England with a team of craftsmen to oversee the implementation of the building and decoration in 1868 at a time of considerable change for the Church of Ireland community following disestablishment. It is hoped that a detailed examination of the iconography of the windows of St. Fin Barre's, will enable a more comprehensive interpretation of specifically Roman Catholic elements in Loughrea cathedral and the Honan chapel.

Before examining the windows of St. Fin Barre's in detail, however, in chapter 1 we will outline the methodology to be used, which will focus on the concept of identity, and the parallel concepts of art and narrative in biblical literature and how it is portrayed in the stained glass windows examined.

CHAPTER 1 - METHODOLOGY

The Question of Identity

One of the questions raised when engaging with the stained glass of early 20th century Irish churches and cathedrals, both Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland, is to what extent the themes and subject matter of the windows reflect the identity of the communities in which they are to be found. We will approach this question from several different perspectives. Firstly, we will examine the concept of identity itself – in other words, we will question what exactly we mean when we speak in terms of identity. Secondly, we will examine the concept of collective identity within the context of social memory, and finally we will interrogate the role that memory, identity and narrative plays in the construction of social, cultural and religious self-understanding. In examining the role of identity in this particular context, we will draw on the works of Ricoeur and Gadamer, whose large body of work on the subject will be of particular interest. We will also refer to the work of Ritva Williams, whose recent work on social memory and identity, particularly within a biblical context may help to illuminate the varying ways in which narrative is used to enable a community to form a collective identity. As we will be examining how religious identity in particular is formed and sustained, we will be focusing on biblical narrative as mediated through the visual imagery and iconography of stained glass in this period.

The first question which we will consider is the question of what exactly we mean when we speak of identity. In this context, it is important to recognise the existence of an individual identity found in the idea of selfhood, and also the broader concept of collective or social identity, which is formed through the cohesion and self-understanding of groups. This idea of group identity will be of particular interest in our examination of the role of the iconography of the stained glass windows produced in the period of the early 20th century in Ireland. Considering Ricoeur's work in this area, we will ask the fundamental question, what do we mean when we speak of the self?

Ricoeur is profoundly aware of the role that myth and symbol play in attempting to form an authentic response to the question who am I? While he acknowledges that what he refers to as the first naiveté of primordial openness to religious symbolism has receded with the

advent of modernity, he considers that a second naïveté of belief is possible based on the sacred traces remaining in the world of narrative. Ricoeur's understanding of the relationship between symbol and identity is well articulated by Mark Wallace in the Introduction to *Figuring the Sacred* as follows:

Ricoeur maintains that human beings enter consciousness as prior denizens of a world of symbols and myths. Figurative language first interprets us before we interpret it. Since there are no 'shortcuts' to selfhood, only when the subject traverses a hermeneutical "long route" through the revealing power of the symbol can she or he enlarge and empower a fuller and more satisfying understanding of the self.¹⁰

While Ricoeur's idea of a hermeneutic of suspicion operating in productive tension with a hermeneutic of restoration, where a critical consciousness operates in dialogue with a mature openness to the symbolic world holds some relevance for our discussion, it is important to remember that the world of early 20th century Ireland was radically different to the world of contemporary Ireland. In many ways, apart from a few highly educated and well-travelled individuals, early 20th century Ireland was pre-modern in its sensibility. It would be safe to assume that the advances in biblical criticism in mainland Europe in the 19th century which led ultimately to Ricoeur's hermeneutic of suspicion would have affected very few Irish people of either religious community, even perhaps the tiny minority within the educated classes in the country. It is reasonable to assume therefore that both Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland congregations in the early 20th century would generally have held a pre-critical viewpoint of biblical narrative, and this would have been reflected in the work of the stained glass artists of the period.¹¹ This factor draws attention to the fact that a work of art has almost limitless potential for interpretation, as it continues to be viewed by later generations, holding different critical perspectives. Gadamer refers to this when he speaks about the work of art displaying itself under various conditions. –

¹⁰ Paul Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative and Imagination*, trans. D. Pellauer, ed. M. I. Wallace, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 1-2.

¹¹ The following quotation from *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, published in 1908 gives some idea of how biblical criticism of the period was perceived: "The Church warmly recommends the use of criticism according to sound principles unbiased by rationalistic pre-suppositions, but it must condemn undue deference to heterodox writers and any conclusions at variance with revealed truth". See G. Reid, "Biblical Criticism (Higher)" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908). Retrieved March 8th, 2014 from New Advent Encyclopedia at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathes/04491c.html>. The heresy trial in Belfast of 1927 where Ernest Davey was accused of heresy for taking a progressive/liberal interpretation of the bible based on modern scholarship gives an indication of the view of the reformed churches in this area. Although Davey was acquitted, the trial itself is an indicator of the suspicion with which modern biblical scholarship was viewed until relatively recently. See <http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/1956> Accessed April 2nd, 2014.

The viewer of today not only sees things in a different way, he sees different things...thus the work's unique relation to the occasion can never be finally determined, but though indeterminable this relation remains present and effective in the work itself.¹²

The approach of this thesis therefore will be to engage in visual exegesis which maintains a creative tension between the original interpretation of the imagery, and the interpretation of the contemporary viewer who has been exposed to the questions raised by historical criticism. The process of visual exegesis has been described by Paolo Berdini, specifically in relation to the work of the late sixteenth-century artist Jacopo Bassano. O'Kane describes the process as follows: "the complex dynamics of visualization" combines the text with the ideas and images provided by the painter as he or she reads and responds to the text".¹³ The process essentially involves the encounter with the text made possible by the image, and the expansion of the text by the artist's reading of it. The visualisation of biblical narrative therefore involves a three-way relationship between the original text, the artist as interpreter of the text, and the viewer, who brings his or her own experience to bear. As O'Kane remarks "Art, like a text, reveals the world, experience and vision of the artist and thus can broaden the viewer's knowledge and transform or intensify his or her vision of the subject".¹⁴ Keeping these ideas in mind, we will continue to examine how Ricoeur and others attribute an important role to narrative, and particularly biblical narrative in the recognition of selfhood, and the formation of identity.

The Role of Biblical Narrative in Identity Formation

Stating the validity of the following chain of assertions, Ricoeur establishes his theory accordingly: "self-understanding is an interpretation; interpretation of the self, in turn, finds in the narrative, among other signs and symbols, a privileged form of mediation; the latter borrows from history as well as from fiction, making a life story a fictional history, or if one prefers, a historical fiction..."¹⁵ For the purposes of our investigation we will pay particular attention to the role of biblical narrative as portrayed in the stained glass in the formation and reflection of Irish Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland identity. Deliberately eschewing reference to biblical narrative in *Onself as Another* through "concern to pursue, to the very last line, an autonomous, philosophical discourse" Ricoeur nevertheless briefly alludes to the twin lectures with which he concluded the Gifford Lectures delivered in

¹²Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (London: Continuum, 1975), 141-2.

¹³ Martin O'Kane, *Painting the Text: The Artist as Biblical Interpreter*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 41.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: 1992), 114.

Edinburgh in 1986.¹⁶ The first of these lectures entitled “Le soi dans le miroir des Écritures” (The Self in the mirror of Scripture) interrogated, as Northrup Frye did in *The Great Code*, the teaching and summoning proceeding from the symbolic system inherent in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Through examination of the features by which the understanding of oneself best responded to this teaching and summoning which solicit the self in the manner of a call, Ricoeur states that “the reader configures the internal narrative of the text, but also the text itself refigures and transforms the self”.¹⁷ For Ricoeur therefore, the words of Scripture have the power to stir the listener’s and the reader’s desire to understand himself and herself in the characters it portrays, undergoing a shift from text to action when confronted with the reader’s assimilation of the text. In other words, the biblical text projects a model of existence that calls upon the reader to orientate his or her being in accordance with this model. If this is true of the individual, it applies also to the community interpreting the biblical narrative, as “the community interpreting the Scriptures is also interpreting its self-understanding, i.e., while interpreting we are ourselves interpreted”.¹⁸

This reference to Scripture as a mirror through which believing communities interpret themselves leads us to the second part of our examination of the role of identity whereby we will interrogate the role of symbol and narrative in the formation of collective identity. We have already seen how Ricoeur’s work highlighted the narrative constitution of self-consciousness. Developing these ideas, we will attempt to demonstrate how individual and collective narratives aim to create the possibility of recognizing the past as a collective history with its own values and its own search for truth. Our aim will be to interrogate how this possibility is mediated through biblical narrative, and how the biblical narrative and related commemorative rituals maintain a group’s common beliefs, values and identity. We will then examine how these beliefs, values and identity find their expression in religious art and architecture, in particular through the medium of stained glass.

Social Memory

In recent years, social memory studies and its conceptual relations with history have been applied to the study of the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament and Christian origins with some degree of illumination. The pioneers of social memory studies, Emile Durkheim

¹⁶ Ibid., 23-24.

¹⁷ Paul Ricoeur, “Amour et Justice”, *Le Soi dans le miroir des Écritures*, (Paris: Editions Points, 2008) 50-51.

¹⁸ Michael Sohn, *Paul Ricoeur and the Renewal of Christian Tradition* in <http://cas.uchicago.edu/workshops/religionethics>. Accessed 14/5/2012.

(1858-1917) and his student Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) introduced the term “collective memory” to the discipline of sociology in Halbwachs groundbreaking study, *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925). He applied his insights to Christianity, demonstrating that all religions with their origins in antiquity are oriented to the past, and to preserving the remembrance of its origins. He maintained that these past events continue to impact our lives and form our identities through our participation in commemorations, and festive enactments. More recently the label “collective memory” has been replaced by “cultural memory” or “social memory”, and refers to the ways that social groups – families, tribes, societies and nations – are shaped consciously and unconsciously by the past. All communities have special places, monuments, rituals, ceremonies, songs, narratives and visual imagery that celebrate its origins. However it is important to recognise that, as Williams remarks:

The ability to influence or control social memory is directly associated with power and status. Who gets to tell the story has important consequences. Social memory is malleable, vulnerable to manipulation, neglect and loss. Yet it remains remarkably persistent and even resistant to change.¹⁹

Interestingly, Halbwachs regards collective memory as more sociologically significant than history. He believes that “collective memory is the living, active past informing our identities here and now, in contrast to history, which preserves pasts that are no longer important to our lived experience”.²⁰ The French historian Pierre Nora argues this point even more persuasively in his influential “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*” (1989). Nora regards history as representation of a past which no longer exists. Memory in contrast, is in a permanent state of evolution, forever remembering and forgetting in order to bond individuals to an eternal present. Anthropologist James Fentress and historian Chris Wickham also explored the relationship between social memory and history, particularly oral history in their 1992 volume *Social Memory*, and concluded that “Western society steadily devalued memory as a source of knowledge, increasingly relegating it to the private and personal”.²¹ This is surely counter-intuitive, as all societies studied by historians tend to place a high value on memory as a source of social identity. It would seem therefore that Williams is correct in asserting that an understanding of the ordering and transmission of social memory in non-literate societies is essential for the pursuit of historical knowledge.²²

¹⁹ Ritva Williams, “Social Memory” in *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Vol. 41, Number 4, pp. 189-200, p. 192. For an interesting evaluation of the relationship between power, recognition, domination and servitude see Paul Ricoeur, *The Course of Recognition*, trans. David Pellauer, (Harvard :2005).

²⁰ Ibid, 192.

²¹ Ibid.,

²² Ibid.

Fentress and Wickham concluded that memories must be analysed on two levels: as narratives with their own structure and as functional guides to social identity. Biblical narrative lends itself particularly to such interpretation as memory played a pivotal role in the construction of the narratives of the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament, and the importance of memory in understanding and interpreting these narratives throughout history cannot be underestimated. Indeed memory plays as vital a role in the modern hermeneutical thinking of Gadamer and Ricoeur, as it did in the origins of Judaism and Christianity. We can conclude therefore that memory, identity and narrative are intrinsically linked. Identity is constructed by social and religious groups through the remembering of past narratives, and the present is reconstructed by the oral transmission of memory through narrative. These remembered narratives in turn find representation in the ritual, liturgies and artistic expression of the groups in question. These representations convey the identity of the represented communities from the time of their creation to the contemporary reader or viewer. Gadamer points out that “The fact that works stretch out of a past into the present as enduring monuments still does not mean that their being is an object of aesthetic or historical consciousness. As long as they still fulfil their function, they are contemporaneous with every age”.²³ The reader or viewer is therefore presented with the task of interpreting the work of art in terms of time. This task will be an important element of the process Paolo Berdini refers to as ‘visual exegesis’, which will be applied in the following chapters.²⁴

The Role of Imagery

Having examined the role of written narrative in the formation of individual and collective identity, we will now turn our attention to the importance of iconography and imagery as an equally valid medium through which narrative finds expression. The question we will consider in the light of our previous conclusions in regard to narrative and identity is one which has been expressed by M.R. Miles as follows: “Does the use of images as historical evidence enable us to differentiate perspectives, interests and values within communities in a more nuanced way than if we were to use only texts?”²⁵ Miles makes the interesting observation that the English word ‘text’ is derived from the Latin ‘textus’ meaning texture or woven structure, and suggests that words *and* images act together to help form, inform and support individual lives.²⁶ While this is undoubtedly true, it is also important to observe that

²³ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 119.

²⁴ Cf. Martin O’Kane, *Painting the Text: The Artist as Biblical Interpreter*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 36. O’Kane suggests application of both Gadamer’s hermeneutical approach and Berdini’s emphasis on exegesis to the visualization of biblical subject matter.

²⁵ M.R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 76.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 10.

the emphasis placed on word or on image varied throughout history depending on the religious and historical context. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine the history of iconography in the context of various iconoclastic controversies in the past, suffice to say that from the prohibition of graven images in the Decalogue to the Byzantine iconoclasts and 16th century Reformers the role of religious iconography has often been contentious. Gadamer points to the fact that it was the Greek fathers who overcame the Old Testament's aversion to images when it came to Christology, stating that:

They regarded the incarnation of God as a fundamental acknowledgment of the worth of visible appearance, and thus they legitimated works of art. In their overcoming the ban on images we can see the decisive event that enabled the development of the plastic arts in the Christian West.²⁷

The difficulty of interpreting images containing multivalent meanings has been one of the most common arguments raised against the use of visual images as historical evidence. This argument however would seem to suggest that words do not present us with similar problems in interpreting meaning, a suggestion that does not stand up in the face of contemporary biblical and literary criticism. It is therefore possible to suggest that both words and images are equally problematic in terms of interpretation, as articulated by Berliner when he stated "If words are not exempt from misunderstanding and [need] explanation, they have no basic advantage over pictures".²⁸ If visual images can be seen to have an important role in the expression of a particular content of narrative signification, the question arises as to how significant this role is in relation to the representation of biblical narrative. Mieke Bal draws attention to this question when she states that "visual images are almost always narrative in some way or another. If they don't tell stories, they perform one, between image and viewer".²⁹ This statement has particular resonance in relation to the aim of this thesis. In examining the work of stained glass artists at the beginning of the 20th century, we are attempting to demonstrate that these works of religious iconography are more than simply a form of architectural decoration. The biblical narrative portrayed in the work of these artists represents a powerful statement of the beliefs, values and religious focus of the artists themselves, as well as a compelling indicator of the religious self-identification of the particular communities from which they emerged. Philosophers such as Ricoeur and Gadamer, who seek to question the certainties of the modern age and who draw attention to the aspects of what has been lost in our enthusiastic embrace of all the tenets of the

²⁷ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 136.

²⁸ Rudolf Berliner, 'The Freedom of Medieval Art, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Ser. 6, no. 28 (1945), 267-268.

²⁹ Interview with Mieke Bal in 'From Cultural Studies to Cultural Analysis' in *Interrogating Cultural Studies* (2003) [www.cardiff.academia/edu/Paul Bowman/Papers/96841/Interview with Mieke Bal](http://www.cardiff.academia/edu/Paul%20Bowman/Papers/96841/Interview%20with%20Mieke%20Bal). Accessed 17/4/2011.

Enlightenment offer us a means of reinstatement and rediscovery of 'Tradition'. Ricoeur's endorsement of a second naiveté, and Gadamer's justification of 'Tradition' in terms of what lies beyond the rational foundation of modernity challenge contemporary thinkers to reinterpret the past in the light of the understanding and insight gained from the belief that all aspects of life have a hermeneutical construction. While this structure may be fundamentally linguistic, it is also true, as Lawn states, that visual imagery provides "a crucial point of access to fundamental truths about the world and what it is to be human. Art uncovers truths about ourselves that no amount of scientific endeavour can reveal"³⁰. For Gadamer art works as another partner in a hermeneutical dialogue, and is essentially a primordial engagement with truth. It has an essential role in humanity's search for truth and recognition; "Gadamer suggests that great art binds in so far as we experience ourselves as a larger whole, a part of Western Culture and a part of a common humanity"³¹. In our investigation into the role of the art of stained glass in Ireland in the early 20th century, we hope to develop these ideas in order to enable a greater understanding of what constitutes a particular religious identity, and how that identity is constructed through the medium of religious art. This is an area which has only recently been recognized as being important to the evaluation of the formation of collective religious identity. As recently as 2003, Cusack and Bhreathnach-Lynch stated the following: -

With a few exceptions, the symbol-systems of nationalism, particularly visual imagery have received little attention. Fintan Cullen and Seán Farrell Moran remarked on the crucial place of visual imagery in constructions of (Irish) national identity, but also on the tardiness of historians and others in addressing the need for visual analysis (Cullen 1997:2-3, Moran in McBride (1999:166-76)).³²

While this statement critiques the lack of examination of visual imagery in constructions of national identity specifically, it can equally apply, and is most relevant when it comes to the matter of religious identity which, in Ireland particularly at the beginning of the 20th century, became synonymous with national identity. P. J. Mathews' study of the Irish Revival has demonstrated that the first decade of the twentieth century was marked by an intense and at times heated debate over what constituted Irish identity.³³ Mathew's study focuses on the co-operation of various self-help movements, such as the Abbey Theatre, the Gaelic League and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society to encourage material and cultural

³⁰ Chris Lawn, *Gadamer – A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: 2006), 87.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, eds, *Art, Nation and Gender, Ethnic Landscapes Myths and Mother-Figures* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003) 4.

³³ P. J. Mathews, "Field Day Monographs" *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, The Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*, (Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 2003), 35.

development.³⁴ Edward Martyn's involvement with all of these movements underlines his understanding of the importance of indigenous cultural programmes in promoting and asserting national identity. Martyn's formation of the stained glass company An Túr Gloine indicates that he also understood the importance of visual imagery in the establishment of a strong religious identity. There can be no doubt that the early attempts to define an authentically Irish cultural and religious identity was fraught with insecurity, as Irish Roman Catholicism sought to identify itself more by negation than by positive assertion. In other words it sought to identify itself more by what it was *not*, rather than what it was. In the nineteenth century, for instance, bible reading was closely identified with Protestantism, and by extension pro-British sentiments. As a result of this, "Catholics were dissuaded from personally reading the scriptures, relying instead on clerical interpretation".³⁵ This tendency was far removed from the early period of the Irish church, when memorising all the psalms in Latin was a basic requirement in medieval Irish monastic schools.

The imagery in the windows in Roman Catholic churches follow an iconographic programme based less on direct biblical themes than on biblical themes as they are mediated through Roman Catholic practices such as the Rosary, the angelus, the stations of the cross, popular devotions such as that of the Sacred Heart, and devotion to the saints. This is in direct contrast to the unmistakeable biblical themes of the Old and New Testaments which adorn the stained glass in the Church of Ireland glass, such as St. Fin Barre's cathedral. John Turpin's contention that "Catholicism was centrally important for Irish society mainly because it was inextricably bound up with the sense of national identity of the majority, in contrast to Protestant Britain"³⁶ is undeniable. Seen in the context of colonial and post-colonial anxiety, however, it is understandable. Conway and Carr have pointed out how postcolonial criticism can illuminate the study of the bible as well as the history of its interpretation.³⁷ While outside the scope of this thesis, a study of the reception of the bible in Ireland could prove to be invaluable in assessing the decline in biblical knowledge among Irish Catholics after the Reformation. While this lack of knowledge is not unique to Irish Catholicism, it would be interesting to evaluate the success of Vatican II's exhortation to study of the bible in *Dei Verbum* within an Irish context.

³⁴ It is worth noting that Edward Martyn was very involved in all of these movements, and according to W.B. Yeats, it was Martyn who provided the money to set up the Abbey Theatre.

³⁵ See Miriam Moffitt, "Scripture Reading Among Irish Catholics in the Nineteenth Century", in *Treasures of Irish Christianity*, Vol. II, (Dublin: Veritas, 2013) 183.

³⁶ John Turpin, "Visual Marianism and National Identity in Ireland: 1920-1960", *Visual Art, Gender and Nation*, 67.

³⁷ David M. Carr and Colleen M. Conway, *An Introduction to the Bible: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 30.

The complexity of the question of identity is further highlighted by consideration of the fact that two narrative threads were running through Irish history simultaneously, while keeping their distance from one another. Ricoeur draws attention to the fact that the life history of each of us is caught up in the histories of others, referring to “the entanglement of life histories in a dialectic of remembrance and anticipation”.³⁸ While in the past, historians tended to take a partisan view of Irish history, depending on what “side” – Roman Catholic or Church of Ireland - they came from, recent attempts to understand history in a more nuanced way have begun to bear fruit. As Mathews points out, one of the most enduring orthodoxies of Irish history suggests that the early part of the twentieth century in Ireland can be seen as a battle between two civilizations. He quotes F.S.L. Lyons’s statement of this position in *Culture and Anarchy* as follows:

...the great interest of the first decade of the new century is to see how fusion [of culture] was first resisted, and then destroyed by hostile forces. Essentially, they were the forces of resurgent nationalism, allied with a still powerful and articulate Catholicism.³⁹

Mathews then articulates the counter argument to this immensely influential perspective referring to Margaret O’Callaghan’s rebuttal, where she states that “the shabby reality of a burgeoning, philistine, Catholic-Gaelic power” is held responsible for the demise of “a dignified, gracious and urbane Anglo-Irish ethos”.⁴⁰ Aside from the cultural snobbery inherent in this widely accepted viewpoint, Mathews highlights that the struggle for Irish identity at this period “was not a clear-cut ‘ethnic contest’, but rather a conflict between those who believed in the cultural worth of the Irish language and literature and others intent on wiping it out in the name of imperial cosmopolitanism.”⁴¹ He suggests that at a century’s remove from the period, the time may be ripe to re-evaluate the ‘battle of two civilizations’ thesis. In the interest of contributing to a re-evaluation of this thesis, keeping in mind the powerful links that were assumed to exist between Irish identity and Catholicism, and Anglo-Irish identity and Protestantism, it is worth examining more closely the contribution of two major figures in our study who confound these stereotypes; Edward Martyn, and Evie Hone. While Hone’s contribution will be considered in the final chapter in connection with her work in Loughrea, it will be useful to consider Martyn’s contribution at this point, particularly in relation to his involvement in the artistic, cultural and religious arenas of the

³⁸ Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, 33.

³⁹ P. J. Mathews, *Revival*, p. 94. See F.S.L. Lyons, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890-1939*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 57.

⁴⁰ Ibid. See Margaret O’Callaghan, ‘Language, Nationality and Cultural Identity in the Irish Free State, 1922-7: The *Irish Statesman* and the *Catholic Bulletin* Reappraised’, *Irish Historical Studies* 24 (1984), 226-45.

⁴¹ Ibid, 94.

period. As his involvement was intrinsically linked to the renewal of Irish Catholic identity in the early 20th century, it deserves closer attention.

Edward Martyn

Martyn's contribution to the assertion of Irish Catholic identity at the beginning of the 20th century is beyond dispute. His involvement with almost every cultural and political movement directed towards this end has already been highlighted. Interestingly, while his name appears in almost any examination of the cultural politics of the period, he is rarely given credit for the broad extent of his interests. His involvement in the establishment of the Abbey Theatre was immense, and included the writing and production of a number of well-received plays,⁴² he established the Palestrina choir in Dublin which still exists and is responsible for bringing back the music of polychronic choir to Dublin.⁴³ His involvement in church architecture and design has been highlighted above, and his political activities involved membership of the Gaelic League, and Presidency of Sinn Féin in its early incarnation.⁴⁴ He also found time to act as governor of Galway College, now NUIG. He travelled extensively to the continent where he engaged with European culture in the company of his cousin, the writer George Moore. By any standards he can be considered to have been a cultured individual.

Martyn's position in Irish society at the time was unusual however in that he was a Catholic who belonged to the Landlord class,⁴⁵ while many of his associates, including Lady Gregory and Sarah Purser had Anglo-Irish ascendancy backgrounds. His belief that Irish Catholic identity could be fostered and developed through revival of Irish ecclesiastical architecture, as well as integration within the wider European civilisation was pivotal to his commitment to both Catholicism and nationalism. According to Lyons, for Martyn "the commitment to Catholicism was absolute. Life would have been unthinkable without it. The commitment to nationalism was perhaps less complete, but it was nevertheless strong."⁴⁶ Martyn's experiences are, according to Lyons, part of "a neglected chapter of the intellectual history of

⁴²In an RTE documentary first broadcast in 1956, Denis Gwynn, a contemporary of Martyn's stated that "Martyn not only conceived of the idea of the theatre, but had considerably more success than Yeats' early works". See *The Turret Room*, (1956, Dublin: Radio Telefís Éireann, 2013.), pod-v-22045644m31sttheturretroomcodocnone-pidO-2671536-audio.mp3.

⁴³ Martyn stipulated that no music composed later than the end of the 17th century should be sung.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that Martyn disapproved strongly of violence as a means of achieving political aims, and resigned from Sinn Féin when he perceived the direction it was taking. Lady Gregory recorded in her diaries that his early membership played on his conscience in later years. See Lady Gregory, *The Journals, 1916-30*, Vol. 1, ed. Lennox Robinson (London: Putnam, 1946) 494.

⁴⁵ The Martyn's of Tulira, though Catholic, held on to their land by royal decree, as they had helped Protestants in distress during the rebellion, saving their lives. Edward Martyn was proud of the decree from Queen Ann which was displayed in his castle at Tulira.

⁴⁶ F.S.L. Lyons, "George Moore and Edward Martyn" *Hermathema*, No. 98 (Spring 1964). 9-32.

modern Ireland”,⁴⁷ and militate against the idea that the search for an authentic Irish Catholic identity was necessarily insular and partisan. The stained glass in Loughrea Cathedral, particularly the earlier work of the fledgling company of An Túr Gloine executed at the early stages of the twentieth century reflects the struggle for identity with which Irish Catholicism was engaged at this time. The work of A.E. Child, and the early work of Healy and the other artists owes much to the influence of European Catholicism with which Martyn was familiar from his many travels abroad. The biblical narratives portrayed are seen through the lens of Irish Catholic anxieties of the period, but they are also universal in their subject matter. Martyn seems to have understood that the bible contains universal themes which are relevant to all people in every era, and by enabling the portrayal of these themes in beautiful stained glass windows, he could enable Irish Roman Catholics to identify with them. By engaging the talents of gifted artists, he was acknowledging the crucial role of visual imagery in the construction of this identity. According to Lyons “All this was a remarkable achievement for one man, and no other man in Ireland could have done so much, for no other man in Ireland combined his peculiar qualities – Catholic, devout, rich, cultivated”.⁴⁸ Martyn died in 1923, and his request that his body be donated to scientific research and buried in an unmarked grave, as well as the fact that his papers were mislaid probably accounts for his lack of prominence in historical accounts of the period. He would probably be pleased with that outcome, but his enormous contribution to Irish religious, cultural and political history is indisputable.

The Challenge of Modernism in the Irish Free State

John Turpin has drawn attention to the failure of the Irish Free state to address the challenge of Modernism in the visual arts, pointing out that “there has been a generally negative and sweeping critique of Catholic art and architecture of the Irish Free State period”.⁴⁹ He suggests however that the charge that religious art in Ireland in the twentieth century has reflected the extreme conservatism of the Roman Catholic Church is not entirely accurate. Referring to the analysis that the Catholic Church derived most of its power from the fact that the 94.9 per cent of Irish Catholics who made up the 1946 census believed in it and “saw it as an essential part of their whole racial, national and ideological identity,”⁵⁰ Turpin gives an account of the various debates on Modernism in architecture and the fine arts which took

⁴⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 25.

⁴⁹ John Turpin, “Visual Culture and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 57, No. 1 (January, 2006), 55. Turpin quotes Dorothy Walker, *Modern Art in Ireland*, (Dublin: 1997), 29-30 as one of the critics referred to.

⁵⁰ Turpin quotes Brian Fallon, “Ireland, 1930-1939: eye on the twentieth century”, *Irish Times*, 12th October, 1999, 13.

place from the 1920s to the 1950s, and demonstrates that despite political dissension, there was general agreement on the centrality of Catholicism and Catholic imagery to the identity of the new state. Modernism was generally viewed with suspicion, probably in view of Pope Pius X's 1907 encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* which characterised modernism as 'the synthesis of all heresies'. Turpin points out that there was an important religious implication to the suspicion of Modernism which was based on the fact that most Catholic artists were of modest social background, therefore the artists who were most interested in Modernism were of middle-class Protestant background.⁵¹ This group of artists included Hone and Jellett who came from socially and economically privileged backgrounds. This factor allowed for the intellectual curiosity and financial resources which enabled them to travel and discover new artistic directions in Europe. Of all the artists of the period, Turpin indicates that Hone and Jellett, having spent many years in Paris, were most open to the potential of Modernism in religious art.⁵² This important aspect of the situation in Irish artistic circles is crucial to understanding how Modernism managed to circumvent the suspicion that it engendered in the Irish Free State by edging in the back door through the medium of stained glass. Because Hone regarded stained glass as the ideal medium with which to express her deep spirituality, and by extension to express the essential nature of Irish spiritual identity, the area of stained glass production became the one area of Irish art where Modernism was allowed to flourish. The irony of the fact that the only area of Irish culture where Modernism was successfully applied was in the stained glass windows which adorned the churches and cathedrals cannot be overlooked. The following summary of the situation by Turpin gets to the heart of the matter: -

Stained glass was the one area where Irish artists created work which was a unique Irish achievement, yet was also of the highest quality and could be linked to the Modern movement in art. In the stained glass of Harry Clarke, Michael Healy, Hubert McGoldrick, Wilhelmina Geddes, Richard King and Evie Hone, Irish Catholicism received a distinctive and original national artistic identity, more so than in any other art or design form...This is evident in the glass of Loughrea Cathedral and the Honan Hostel chapel at University College Cork.⁵³

Because Evie Hone was one of the last of the artists of An Túr Gloine, and probably the youngest to have direct involvement with the decoration of churches and cathedrals in Ireland her work was instrumental in expressing Irish Catholic identity within a modern context. The fact that her original background was Anglo-Irish highlights the folly of rigidly defining what constitutes Irish Catholic identity. Both herself and Edward Martyn defy

⁵¹ Ibid. 59.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 71.

categorisation and any attempt to create cultural stereotypes. They exemplify the ability to transcend fixed notions of identity - Martyn as a Roman Catholic landowner with enough resources and interest to contribute enormously to the religious, cultural and political life of early twentieth century Ireland, and Hone as an Anglo-Irish Protestant Modernist artist, who found a role in visual expression of the Irish Catholic religious imagination, following her conversion to Roman Catholicism. Thiessen's statement that "in a work of art artists reveal through their style their own ultimate concerns as well as that of their group and their period" can certainly be applied to Hone and to all of the stained glass artists whose work we are about to examine.⁵⁴

This chapter on methodology began by interrogating the question of identity, and sought to examine the factors which contribute to the formation of identity. By focusing initially on the work of Ricoeur and Gadamer in this regard, it has been possible to construct a model of how narrative constructs and contributes to a sense of identity in the individual and the community. Advances in cultural studies have highlighted the role played by ritual and artistic expression in the identity formation of groups, and how this is particularly important in the construction of religious identity. The studies of the Canadian literary critic Northrup Frye have identified how the biblical narratives underlie every aspect of Western literature in *The Great Code*, reflecting the words of William Blake. Asserting that biblical narrative is one of the most powerful means of constructing and reflecting identity, Ricoeur elaborates further on Frye's insight by stating "Le lecteur de la Bible, dirons-nous encore une fois avec Northrop Frye, est finalement invité à s'identifier avec le Livre".⁵⁵ The implications of this statement are twofold; firstly, all Jewish and Christian identity is constructed and defined through the reading of the bible, secondly, the reader is invited to respond to the biblical narrative through imitation, thus broadening the dissemination of the biblical revelation. If this is the case when reading the bible, it is equally true of the visual expression of the biblical narratives, such as is found in stained glass. While the argument could be forwarded that as Irish Catholics have traditionally eschewed private reading of scripture in favour of guided interpretation from the clergy, they may not have the same identification with the bible as Christians from other traditions. It is nonetheless true that all the traditional religious devotional practices, such as the rosary, the angelus, etc. have their roots in the biblical narrative. It is also true that the biblical narratives have been absorbed through the readings at the Mass. The fusion of popular piety with the liturgy and the

⁵⁴ Gesa E. Thiessen, *Theology and Modern Art*, (Dublin: Columba Press, 1977) 19.

⁵⁵ Ricoeur, *Le soi dans le miroir des Écritures*, p.74. "The reader of the bible, we can say with Northrop Frye, is finally invited to identify themselves with the Book".

perception of the rosary in particular as a biblically inspired prayer which is centred on meditation on the salvific mysteries of Christ in association with Mary, his mother, has been a feature of Roman Catholic devotion for centuries. In the following chapters, therefore, the role of traditional devotional practices will also be referred to in the examination of the imagery portrayed in the stained glass windows.

CHAPTER 2 – ST. FIN BARRE’S CATHEDRAL

Our investigation into the iconography of the windows in St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral will be helped considerably by the work of David Lawrence who researched and established the *Gloine* database on behalf of the Representative Church Body. Containing glass from all of the Church of Ireland churches in the Republic of Ireland listed according to location, artists, and iconography, this database will be invaluable to our research. We will also consult Lawrence’s book, co-written with Ann Wilson, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre At Cork – William Burges in Ireland* (2006), as well as The Heritage Council’s very informative publication on the occasion of the Exhibition mounted in October 2005 entitled *Conserving the Dream: Treasures of St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral*. Because St. Fin Barre’s was designed by a single architect, William Burges, according to his own unique vision, the archival material is substantial, and in fact, few buildings that pre-date the twentieth century possess such a complete record of their own creation. With such an extensive record available, it is hoped that an analysis of the iconographical programme conceived by Burges will provide a key to the self-image of the Church of Ireland community which it served. It is important to note that the Irish Church Act was passed in 1869, during the building of St. Fin Barre’s, as a result of which the Anglican Church in Ireland lost its status as the established church, and thus also lost many of its endowments. As a result, the Irish Anglican laity were required to accept financial responsibility for their church. Led by clergymen such as Robert Gregg, congregations were encouraged to contribute to the

building of the churches and cathedrals which were built in response to this challenging situation. As a result five Church of Ireland cathedrals were either rebuilt or built from scratch during this period. Disestablishment also had an effect on the character of the church building of the period, as Lawrence and Wilson recount that the term ‘Anglo-Catholic’ was used in referring to the Church of Ireland by Richard Caulfield in a lecture given on the bishops of Cork and St. Fin Barre’s in 1864.⁵⁶ Several of those involved in the plans for St. Fin Barre’s, including Burges, subscribed to High Church ideals, creating a building which had a distinctly High Church character. The building can be seen therefore to have been an assertion of Irish Protestant identity, at a challenging period in its history, which found its highest expression in the belief in the absolute authority of Scripture. Indeed the Dean of Cork at the time of the exhibition in October 2005, Michael Burrows, points out the emphasis placed on biblical authority during the period of the building of the cathedral as follows: -

William Burges and his fellow-labourers worked in a climate of late nineteenth century Irish Protestant theology which had a very high view of the authority of Scripture, and took a somewhat literalist line in the interpretation of it. Virtually all the intricate craftsmanship in the cathedral is therefore capable of a robustly Protestant interpretation – those who paid the bills would not have been content to have it otherwise.⁵⁷

Burrows contends however that Burges planned to present Scripture in a more subtle way than it would appear, and suspects that this may have created tensions within the community and among his critics. Suggesting that his wish was not merely to present the contents of Scripture in a literal interpretation, but to explore depths in ways that may not always have been comfortable, Burrows states that;

In the rather restricted theological world of the years of Irish Disestablishment, Burges was helping as an artist to set the theological agenda of the disestablished Church of Ireland. He was engaged in what Hebrew scholars might call midrash.⁵⁸

This insight by Burrows creates an interesting dimension to the research, and may enable us to explore the various ways in which Burges subverted the literalism demanded by a congregation who listened soberly to the preached word. Just as some of the windows in Loughrea, and particularly the *St. John* window in the Honan Chapel display an inadvertently Protestant interpretation of Gen. 3:15, as will be shown, it may be possible to discover whether the acknowledged influence of the Oxford Movement’s reinstatement of

⁵⁶ Lawrence and Wilson, 37.

⁵⁷ Michael Burrows, ‘Introduction: Art, Worship and Doctrine’ in *Conserving the Dream: Treasures of St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral* (Cork: St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral, 2005) 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 4.

the Catholic tradition on Burges' work may be detected in his less than literal interpretation of Scripture. As Lawrence and Wilson point out, High Churchmanship in the Church of Ireland preceded, and was independent of the Oxford Movement, although it was initially linked with the Movement.⁵⁹ Many churches during this period were built according to Tractarian principles by architects of the Gothic Revival which had been initiated by Pugin and it is interesting to note how pervasive the influence of the movement was within both Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland communities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lawrence points out the reasons for building large expensive buildings in nineteenth century Ireland as follows; "The Church of Ireland, as we have seen, was undergoing the trauma of Disestablishment, and this provoked a certain pride, an assertion of identity, a defiance even, which physically manifested itself in church building".⁶⁰ Pointing out that the Roman Catholic Church had begun the century powerless and poor, and by 1900 had become a wealthy and significant political force in Ireland, he remarks that it too used church-building as a means of expressing its identity and success, as well as providing functional buildings for its large congregations. Not surprisingly therefore the issue of expression of identity appears to be a major factor in the building of St. Fin Barre's. A certain element of competition can be detected from a report from the general committee on the progress of the rebuilding of St. Fin Barre's in 1864:

Our Roman Catholic neighbours [are] engaged in building beautiful churches in the City, and it is said contemplating a cathedral at a vastly greater cost. Your committee rejoice in thinking that the united Church of England and Ireland will be represented in a cathedral, not merely beautiful, but inferior to none that the highest art of the present day is able to produce.⁶¹

The fact that both the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were intent on presenting themselves as the natural successors of the church founded by St. Patrick in the 5th century led to many Irish Anglican churches adopting Hiberno-Romanesque features in the latter half of the century. This issue did not concern Burges however, as the only concession to the Celtic Revival in St. Fin Barre's is the presence of 'Irish crosses' on the top of the spires, which were insisted upon by the building committee in 1878, according to Lawrence.⁶²

Building began on St. Fin Barre's in 1865, and it marked the triumph of the Early French Gothic phase in the evolution of Victorian architecture. Burges considered 13th century Gothic to be the peak of medieval achievement, eminently adaptable to nineteenth century

⁵⁹ David Lawrence and Ann Wilson, *The Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork: William Burges in Ireland*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) 45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.* 44.

conditions. According to Mordaunt Crook, St. Fin Barre's was his attempt to match the "boldness, breadth, strength sternness, and virility" of that glorious phase of architecture'.⁶³ Having travelled extensively, Burges had a reputation as an accomplished antiquarian and collector, whose most important influence was the writings of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, who was involved in the restoration of Notre Dame Cathedral from 1844 and 1864, and the Sainte Chapelle from 1840 to 1849. Some stylistic influences of Viollet-le-Duc can be detected in the stained glass in St. Fin Barre's, contributing to the overall Tractarian atmosphere of the building, as Lawrence remarks.⁶⁴ This background information may assist in our analysis of the iconography in the windows, enabling us to be alert to the presence of iconographic touches which may not conform to a strictly Protestant interpretation of biblical narrative.

The entire iconographic content of the building was planned and executed by Burges, and his vision was turned into reality by a team of artists and craftsmen over whom he exercised complete control. His knowledge of iconography was exceptional, and widely acknowledged, as Richard Poplewell Pullan wrote, "he was the best iconographer of his day, and so fond of imagery that his complete works are embodied poems".⁶⁵ His belief in the need for consistency of style is in evidence in the integration of both the stained glass and the sculpture with the architecture in the building. Lawrence points to the unconventional idea, insisted upon by Burges, of producing coloured cartoons as opposed to the general rule of producing cartoons in monochrome, and expresses appreciation for the fact that because of this insistence, the cathedral has the original cartoons in colour in its possession.⁶⁶ The importance of the availability of the cartoons for future reference when repairs to the windows would be required cannot be overestimated.

Burges was given complete control of the stained glass and complete freedom to choose his preferred artists and craftsmen, following a presentation before the building committee in

⁶³ J. Mordaunt Crook, 'William Burges and the cult of Early French' *Conserving the Dream: Treasures of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral*, 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶⁵ Richard Poplewell Pullan, *The Works of the Late William Burges, Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, London, September 1882. Quoted in David Lawrence *The Stained Glass of Saint Fin Barre's Cathedral* (2005)

⁶⁶ Lawrence, *The Cathedral of St. Fin Barre's at Cork*, 66. A recent exhibition of some of the cartoons took place in the Glucksman Gallery, University College, Cork. See *Searching for the New Jerusalem: The Iconography of William Burges* (Cork: Lewis Glucksman Gallery, University College, Cork: 2014). The importance of the availability of cartoons for stained glass was demonstrated in recent years when St. Mel's Cathedral, Longford, containing several Harry Clarke windows burnt to the ground on Christmas Eve 2009. Fortunately, due the availability of the cartoons the windows can be restored in the largest restoration project in Europe, which is ongoing, with a completion date expected in 2014. See <http://www.kandle.ie/restoration-st-mels-longford/> Accessed 13th September 2013.

1868, setting out his concept of an overall and coherent Christian iconographic programme. However, due to objections by several members of the Dean & Chapter on doctrinal grounds, the creation of the first window was delayed for four years. The objections were based on principles established at the Reformation that prohibited images, particularly images of Christ in the church. Thanks to skilful political manoeuvring on the part of Dean Robert Samuel Gregg, who was a great supporter of Burges, a compromise was arrived at, and in 1873, five windows, including *Our Lord as King Crucified* were commissioned. In the following years, many patrons came forward and by 1881, all but six of the seventy-four windows were in place. Lawrence provides details of the iconographic programme summarised by Maurice Carey as follows: -

Starting at ground level, the nave windows have a programme which moves from west to east, alternating between north aisle and south aisle windows. Carey describes it thus: ‘They depict various events from the Old Testament which foreshadow the happenings of the New Testament. Scenes such as *Abraham sacrificing Isaac* and the *Rebuilding of Jerusalem* according to Christian iconography pre-empt Christ’s perfect sacrifice on the cross and the hope of a new and heavenly Jerusalem.’⁶⁷

The transepts contain portrayals of the lives of the prophets, and around the ambulatory are depictions of the life of Christ, his birth, miracles, death, resurrection and ascension, ending with the image of Heaven visualised in the Revelation of St. John. At clerestory level theological and metaphysical questions are addressed, the west rose window portraying the Days of Creation, which according to Lawrence, was influenced by the Burne-Jones window designed for Burges at Waltham Abbey, Essex.⁶⁸ The nave clerestory portrays the *Signs of the Zodiac*, the north rose has the *Last Judgement*⁶⁹, the south rose the *Heavenly Hierarchy – Cherubim and Seraphim – Dominations, Virtues and Powers-Principalities, Archangels & Angels* – and the *Crucifixion* sequence in the clerestory above the sanctuary contains *Our Lord as King Crucified* as the centrepiece. The creation of the stained glass windows in St. Fin Barre’s followed a period of experimentation and innovation in stained glass production in England. As we have already noted, the years between 1850 and 1860 were characterised by a renewed interest in the craft of stained glass, pioneered by Pugin. The stained-glass windows of the cathedral represent the apex of the High Victorian style.

⁶⁷ Lawrence, *The Stained Glass Windows of St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral*, 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 16.

⁶⁹ The inclusion of the *Last Judgment* in view of the general lack of popularity of this imagery in Protestant iconography, would appear to be a further indicator of the Tractarian influence upon Burges’s work. The revival of medieval imagery among Burges’s contemporaries, particularly among the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and its link to the Oxford Movement is explored in Joanna Meacock, “Saintly Ecstasies: The Appropriation and Secularisation of Saintly Imagery in the paintings and poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti” (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001).

All of the windows, except for the last eight to be installed were created by William Gualbert Saunders and the glaziers of Saunders & Co. Saunders, according to Lawrence and Wilson was thirty years ahead of his time, “anticipating the artists of the Arts and Crafts movement in London and Dublin in the use of specialized forms of coloured glass and in perceiving excellence of materials as an essential part of his art”.⁷⁰ He also pioneered the technique of producing flesh coloured glass which was unprecedented and had the effect of imbuing the biblical characters with a semi-mystical appearance. Saunders became an expert in this technique, and as Lawrence remarks, the techniques initiated by him became one of the hallmarks of the artists of An Túr Gloine, particularly Michael Healy.⁷¹ It is possible therefore to note the continuity from the pioneers of the mid-nineteenth century to those of the early twentieth century, marking the most innovative period in the art of stained glass since the thirteenth century.

The following analysis of the windows of St. Fin Barre’s will follow the iconographical programme as set out by Burges, beginning with the west rose *Creation* window. It is possible that some of the windows, particularly the New Testament scenes will be similar in execution to the early windows of Loughrea, and may not differ greatly iconographically. Nevertheless we will be alert to any subtle differences which may point to a particularly Protestant interpretation of the bible. It is expected that the Old Testament scenes will provide ample evidence of a Protestant interpretation, but as it has already been remarked above, Burges’s work may surprise by not conforming explicitly to these expectations. What we can be certain of however is that all of the windows, with the exception of the Zodiac windows, have biblical themes, drawn from either the Old or New Testaments.

Before we begin our examination of the themes in the windows, it is worth noting that the minutes of a Chapter meeting of the 11th May 1869 record the approval of all the designs submitted by Burges for the windows, excluding “the central figure in the Western Rose window no. 1, and the treatment of the subject in plate no. 26”.⁷² It is difficult to discern what the objections to these two windows, the rose *Creation* window and the *Our Lord as Christ Crucified* window entailed. In spite of these objections, Lawrence observes that the original designs were implemented, thanks in main part to the intervention of Gregg.⁷³ These initial confrontations between Burges and the Committee led by Webster, the Chancellor, suggest that the imagery was objectionable on grounds of interpretation of

⁷⁰ Lawrence and Wilson, *The Cathedral of St. Fin Barre’s at Cork*, 93.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 95.

⁷² Lawrence and Wilson, 79.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 83.

Protestant doctrine, which Burges referred to as “the lowest depth of Puritanism”.⁷⁴ By December 1870, Webster’s objections had shifted from objections to all images to objections to images of Christ. Burges expressed his frustration in a letter in 1871 as follows: -“I am sorry to see Puritanism so rampant in Cork...I wish we could transport the building to England”.⁷⁵ The ultimate outcome of this controversy was that somehow, on the 23rd June, 1873, a third committee, the Select Vestry, finally gave approval for the first stained glass window to go in. While Webster resorted to legal proceedings, the final decision rested with the Select Vestry, who gave their approval. The details of these protracted controversies are amply provided by Lawrence and Wilson in chapter 6, but for the purposes of this thesis it is sufficient to note the conflict between Burges’s High Church iconography and the more conservative elements within the Church of Ireland, for whom imagery remained problematic.

As already noted, the iconography followed a distinct programme as set out by Burges. Beginning at ground level the nave windows move from west to east, alternating between north aisle and south aisle windows. It also follows closely the sequence of Types and Antitypes illustrated in the fifteenth century teaching bible, the *Biblia Pauperum*, as Lawrence and Wilson point out.⁷⁶ Colour is used to good effect, emphasising the symbolism by progressing from a light nave to a rich chancel. The symbolism continues with the sequence beginning at the west end, where the baptismal font is placed near the door, representing entry into the Church. Moving eastwards along the nave, passing under the rood, bearing the figure of the *Crucified Redeemer*, one eventually arrives at the chancel which represents the outer court of Heaven, where the choir stand, symbolizing the angels singing praises to Heaven. A few more steps lead to the sanctuary, the dark and mysterious atmosphere pointing to the encounter with God’s presence. According to Lawrence and Wilson, these ideas were proposed by Prebendary John Jebb of Limerick Cathedral in a lecture series in Leeds in 1841.⁷⁷ Jebb’s father was one of the founders of the catholic movement in the Church of Ireland, pointing once again to the influence of this movement on Burges’s work. This also accounts for the similarity between the Roman Catholic Church and Church of Ireland in this regard, although the absence of any windows representing the saints conforms strictly to reformed theology. In consideration of the controversies referred to earlier, it is extremely unlikely that the inclusion of any saints would have been countenanced (apart from the depiction of Mary, St. John and Mary

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 99.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 100-1.

Magdalene depicted in the context of the window depicting Our Lord as King Crucified).⁷⁸ However, the renewed interest in ecclesiology in the 19th century is very much in evidence in Burges's plan for the cathedral.

Iconography of the Windows

Rose Creation Window

Our study of the iconography of the windows begins with the rose *Creation* window, situated at the west nave. [Fig.1] This window is a portrayal of the Creation account in Genesis, showing Christ in glory in the centre, surrounded by the days of creation in the rose, together with Adam naming the animals, surrounded by the planets in the outer rose lights. We have already discussed the controversy regarding the figure of Christ in the centre, which was not approved of by the committee, but we have seen that Burges's original design was finally implemented. While the inclusion of Christ in glory at the centre rather than God the Father as Creator may seem incongruous initially, there is a biblical basis from the New Testament in the Prologue to John's gospel – 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made' (John 1:1-3), as well as 1 Cor. 8:6, Heb. 1:1-14, and Col. 1:15-20, where Christ is seen as the Mediator of Creation. We can assume that the portrayal of Christ in this window, although initially objected to, may have been preferable to the depiction of God the Father prohibited in the Old Testament. There is also a precedent for this iconography in two rosette windows in Chartres Cathedral, and as commentators agree that Burges relied heavily on late twelfth-and early thirteenth-century French sources for all aspects of his design for St. Fin Barre's, it is safe to assume that these rosette windows may have influenced the type of iconography used. Van der Meulen describes the two rosette windows located in the east side of the Northern transept, the first no. 138, in the bay next to the crossing, and its copy no. 144 in the next bay but one, adjacent to the North façade as portraying Christ enthroned depicted as the Logos of the Creation.⁷⁹ Leaving no cause for doubt as to who is represented on these rosettes he makes the following statement:

⁷⁸ Windows portraying saints were not necessarily excluded from Church of Ireland churches, as evidenced by the Harry Clark windows in Castletownsend, Co. Cork, representing saints such as St. Luke, St. Bridget, St. Fachtna, St. Bearcan, St. Louis IX, and Saint Martin of Tours, as well as St. Patrick and St. George, designed by Frank Mann, and James Powell & Sons respectively. All of these windows were put in place at the end of the 19th century, and the beginning of the 20th century however, indicating a more relaxed attitude to this type of iconography later.

⁷⁹ Jan van der Meulen, 'A Logos Creator at Chartres and its Copy' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 29 (1966) 83.

We are here not concerned with a momentary scene from the story of the creation, but with the monumental expression of the creation as such, the Christian conception of the Cosmos simply and absolutely, the Incarnate Word of God portrayed as Creator and Providence at the same time.⁸⁰

Van der Meulen also remarks that as up to the time of his study no systematic study of the pre-existent Logos of the Creation had taken place, significant insights could be gained from the stained glass of the cathedral of Chartres, and more specifically from its relationship to the philosophy of the local cathedral school under its twelfth-century chancellor Thierry, and his pupil Clarenbaldus, who were both authors of commentaries on the creation.⁸¹ This is an interesting statement for the purposes of this thesis for two reasons, the first reason is particular – it may help towards a better understanding of the *Creation* window in St. Fin Barre's. The second reason is more general, as it helps to highlight the importance of stained glass in assistance in gaining insight into the prevailing religious mind-set of a particular period in history. If the stained glass window at Chartres can be relied on to be an important indicator of the historical and ideological situation of the period, it must also be decisive in determining the mindset of Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland communities of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. With this in mind it is possible to infer that the iconography of the *Creation* window in St. Fin Barre's points to an Old Testament and Early Christian sensibility based on the prohibition of images of God as Creator, as well as the influence of thirteenth century French stained glass on Burges's designs for Cork. It also points to a characteristically Christocentric reading of the Old Testament from the Anglican perspective. It is interesting to note that similar problems surfaced in relation to iconography in the nineteenth century in Cork, as those which seemed to have arisen in the twelfth century in Chartres. Van der Meulen points out that the iconography at Chartres reflects an assertion of local doctrine at a period when local theology was being threatened,⁸² which is a reminder that little changes when issues of how far imagery can go in depicting divine realities come to the surface.

Doctrinal issues aside, the window in St. Fin Barre's appears to bear a physical resemblance to those described in Chartres which consists of eight lobed central rosettes, bordered by alternating large and small quatrefoils. The St. Fin Barre's *Creation* window also contains

⁸⁰ Ibid, 85.

⁸¹ Ibid. Van der Meulen points out that Adolf Katzenellenbogen had convincingly shown that the historical and ideological situation of the cathedral school of Chartres itself is decisive for many questions concerning the iconography of the cathedral. See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1959).

⁸² Ibid, 93.

the eight lobed central rosette of *Christ in Glory*, surrounded in turn by eight lobes representing the seven days of creation, and Adam naming the animals, all taken from Genesis 1 and 2. The outer medallions depict the sun, moon and planets, which are named, and personified, with female faces for the moon ('Luna'), Venus and male faces for Jupiter, Mercury etc. The emphasis on the planets and phases of the moon reflects scholastic astrology, according to which the free will of humanity was dependent on the divine pre-ordination of the universe, which, as Van der Meulen points out was 'an antique tradition which is evidenced in the sculptural zodiac cycles on French facades since the twelfth century.'⁸³ Burges's window does not contain the four animals of the tetramorph, which would suggest the dialectical typological relationship between Genesis 1 and the New Testament references to the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement, as in the window at Chartres. However, it does have the interesting feature of the compass in Christ's hand which has the obvious connotation of the Creator as Architect of the Universe, as well as possible links to masonic symbolism. The first six lobes surrounding the central rose depict the six days of creation as portrayed in the account in Genesis 1. The first day marks the creation of light, and the division of light from darkness (3-5), the second day marks the division of the waters from the firmament, and the appearance of dry land earth, and the sea (9-10), the third day depicts the creation of seed and trees of fruits of every kind, the fourth day the creation of the greater and lesser lights (14-19), the fifth day brought forth the creatures of air and sea (20-23), and on the sixth day animals were created. Finally, on the sixth day we are told that God created man in his own image; male and female he created them and enjoined them to 'Be fruitful and multiply, to replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth' (1:23). Interestingly in the creation window, the final two lobes depict the scene where Adam named the creatures, and the creation of the woman as depicted in Genesis 2 in reverse order to which they appear in the text (Gen.2:20-23). Alter draws attention to the "peculiar interruption" in the text, where we expect an immediate act of creation following the divine utterance introduced by the formula "And God said" (2:18). Pointing out that the reader must wait two verses for the promised creation of a helpmate, as the naming of the animals is undertaken by Adam, he suggests that there is irony implicit in this order. It demonstrates man's superiority to all other living creatures, because he can invent language, "but this very consciousness makes him aware of

⁸³ Ibid, 87. It is important to note that the Chartres school based its theology and iconography on strict scientific aims. Physicists and astronomers assumed that the entire universe consisted of four elements, fire, air, water and earth, as we will discuss below in relation to the Evie Hone *Creation* window in Loughrea.

his solitude in contrast to the rest of the zoological kingdom”.⁸⁴ This insight by Alter throws the order of the scenes in the *Creation* window in St. Fin Barre’s into sharp relief, and raises the question as to why the scenes are placed in different order to the sequence in the Genesis narrative.

In the seventh lobe Adam is shown asleep as a winged angel appears to pull the woman from his side (Gen. 2: 21-22). The final lobe shows Adam pointing at the animals in the process of naming them (Gen. 19-20). Genesis 1 and 2 are read here as one continuous narrative, not two separate creation stories, suggesting a pre-critical reading of the text.⁸⁵ It is worth noting the similarities between this window and the 13th century Chartres creation rose mentioned, in the light of the iconographic controversies surrounding them. The Chartres school had strict scientific aims which would have appeared primitive to the High Victorian mind, but equally, the science of the High Victorians would be considered basic to 21st century scientists. The iconography of the Creation based on Genesis will never cease to be a challenge for humanity, as it continues to remain perplexed before the great mystery of the origin of life and the universe. Throughout the millennia, the Book of Genesis remains with its mysteriously beautiful account of creation, containing within the narrative itself the great questions arising from the development of human knowledge in the face of divine mystery. As Cowen remarks ‘The spiritual truths of the Genesis account refuse to lie down. We can make allowances for the vocabulary, language and imagery, yet still a central message comes through. Fast-advancing science cannot dispel it.’⁸⁶

Nave Windows – Old Testament Events Foreshadowing the New Testament

The next window in the nave north aisle depicts the *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*. [Fig.2]. Interestingly, Burges’s original scale-drawing of 1869 was rejected, probably owing to the fact that it shows a naked Adam and Eve beside the tree, with Eve about to eat the apple, and a human-headed serpent gazing intently at her while Adam looks on. This final window was approved in 1880, and shows the couple clothed in elaborate green leaved costumes, (as opposed to the coats of skins which the Lord God made for them according to Gen. 3:21), being shamefacedly expelled from the garden by a very stern looking angel holding a fearsome looking sword. This is a reading of Genesis 3:23-24, where “The Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubim, and a

⁸⁴ See Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, (New York: Basic Books, 2011) 30-35.

⁸⁵ Burges’s main priority was to emulate and reproduce the type of iconography portrayed in the great medieval cathedrals. He would not have been influenced by contemporary biblical scholarship, according to Richard Wood. (Richard Wood. Interview by Myra Hayes, Telephone Interview, Limerick, March 21st, 2014)

⁸⁶ Cowen, *Six Days*, 23.

flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life”. The biblical passage refers specifically to the *man's* expulsion, and makes no mention of the woman, although presumably the reader is meant to understand that both were expelled. The writer however sees fit to describe the expulsion from Adam's perspective, which is one of many examples of the androcentric language used in the bible, presenting problems for modern readers, but is unlikely to have been an issue in 1880 when the window was created. As both Adam and Eve are included in this scene, it is safe to assume that the gender controversies that trouble modern scholars did not arise and the presence of Eve was assumed to be implied in the verses involved.

Crossing the nave to the south aisle, the window depicts the scene of *Adam and Eve Working* [Fig. 3]. This scene shows Eve on the viewer's left hand side holding a baby, and Adam on the right with an angel in the centre holding a spindle which he is giving to Eve, and a spade which he is giving to Adam, both instruments representing the life of toil and work that awaits them. The scene bears the inscription from Genesis 3:19 “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread”, consigning Adam to a life of hard labour. The words which follow indicate the terrible consequences of their disobedience - death – “till thou return to the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return”. Eve has already been told “I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee” (3:16). This window captures the moment of realisation by the couple that life from thenceforth will entail hard work, sorrow and suffering, and finally death. Most of the original viewers of this window would have retained a literal understanding of this narrative, in spite of the troubling writings of Darwin which may or may not have filtered through to the early congregations of St. Fin Barre's.⁸⁷ However, even for the modern viewer with an allegorical understanding of Genesis, it is difficult not to be moved by the evocation of a lost paradise inherent within the scene.

Once again moving across to the north aisle, the next window depicts the scene of *Cain and Abel sacrificing* based on the account in Genesis 4 [Fig.4]. The window depicts the two brothers, with Abel on his knees in prayer on front of an altar bearing a lamb, ‘the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof’ (4:4), and Cain standing behind, holding a club, with his offering ‘the fruit of the ground’ (4:3) seen upon an altar in the distance. The biblical inscription on the bottom of the window refers to Cain's murderous intentions on his

⁸⁷ According to Salters Sterling, who was interviewed by the writer on this point, while most of the congregation would have heard of Darwin's theory of evolution, the vast majority would have rejected it. (Salters Sterling, interview by Myra Hayes, Telephone Interview, Limerick, March 25, 2014) .

brother, represented by the club he is holding – “Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him” (4:8). The anger on Cain’s face is captured very effectively in this window giving full expression to verse 5 (b), “And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell”, and indicating a close reading of the text by the artist.

The following window on the same aisle seventh from east continues the theme, depicting the *Death of Abel* [Fig. 5], where Abel is seen lying on the ground with Cain departing from the scene, club in hand. The hand of God is seen in the distance pointing towards Cain, and the inscription reads from Genesis 4:9 “And the Lord said unto Cain “Where is Abel thy brother?”. Cain’s infamous reply “Am I my brother’s keeper?” still poses a rhetorical challenge to the reader, who is bound to answer in the affirmative. Christians have long viewed Abel, the innocent victim of jealousy and hatred as a type of Christ (this connection is alluded to in Hebrews 12:24), and it can be safely assumed that Burges would have seen Abel’s death as foreshadowing that of Christ. Interestingly, the murder weapon portrayed in the iconography of the murder of Abel has historically been portrayed as the jawbone of an ass, from at least the ninth century, in Irish and Anglo-Saxon art and literature.⁸⁸ The scene was regularly featured on the Irish High Crosses, but on Muiredach’s cross the murder weapon used was a cleaver. Whether or not Burges was aware of this iconography cannot be ascertained.

The next window is across the nave on the south aisle, and represents *Noah building the Ark* [Fig. 6]. Here we see Noah sawing through wood with a very modern looking saw, with one of his sons, presumably either Shem, Ham, or Japheth (Gen. 6:9), who is using a hammer to chop wood beside him. The inscription reads “Noah made him an ark of gopher wood, and took of every living thing” according to the account in Genesis 6. The window after this, also on the south aisle depicts *Noah offering Sacrifice* [Fig.7]. Noah is pictured with his sons and his son’s wives kneeling on front of an altar which burns a lamb for sacrifice, with the inscription underneath reading “And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings” from Genesis 8:20, recounting Noah’s thanksgiving offering to the Lord for his family’s deliverance from the flood. At this point it is worth drawing attention to the inscriptions placed on each window, with relevant quotations from the King James Bible. As well as providing useful biblical references for the viewer, it draws attention to the primacy of the word in the Anglican community. While the High church sensibility of the

⁸⁸ See A.A. Barb, “Cain’s Murder-Weapon and Samson’s Jawbone of an Ass,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 386ff.

builders of St. Fin Barre's allowed for imagery in the cathedral, it nevertheless conveys the message that the word is paramount.

Crossing the nave once again to the north aisle the iconographical sequence continues chronologically with the depiction of *Abraham and the three angels*, [Fig. 8] followed by the *Sacrifice of Isaac* [Fig.9]. The first portrays the narrative in Genesis 18 where Abraham sits at his tent door in the plains of Mamre in the heat of the day, when three men appeared before him (18:2). Abraham's hospitality is conveyed by the seating position of the three angels in this window, as Abraham serves them, holding in his hand a plate of food, which he offers to them. The inscription is from verse 8 – "Abraham stood by them under the tree and they did eat". This particular narrative prepares the way for the prediction of the birth of Isaac, when Sarah laughed at the possibility of a woman of her advanced years giving birth (v. 12). The narrative is mysterious from the point of view that the three men or angels portrayed in the window are referred to in the first person singular in some parts of the text (vv. 10, 14), and in the second person plural when Abraham addresses them in verse 5. Christian tradition has seen this narrative as a triune theophany foreshadowing the Blessed Trinity as would come to be understood from the New Testament, an idea which is naturally completely unacceptable to Jews and Unitarians. While this controversial interpretation of the narrative remains unresolved, it is sufficient for the purposes of this thesis to note that the title of the portrayal of the three *angels*, displaying elaborate wings and looking very similar in appearance, suggests some ambiguity on the identity of these men on the part of the artist. While a High Anglican interpretation of this text would certainly not preclude the idea of the Trinity underlying the narrative, it appears from the portrayal of these angels that it is not the artist's intention to imply a Trinitarian interpretation of the scene.

The next window, the portrayal of *Abraham Sacrificing Isaac* is a visual interpretation of Genesis 22, one of the most well-known and problematic narratives in the entire Hebrew Bible. The story of God 'testing' Abraham, or as the King James Bible relates in even more challenging language, 'tempting' (22:1) him, has been historically put forward as evidence of a deity incompatible with the image of the all-loving Creator revealed in the gospels. This window portrays Abraham with one hand outstretched reaching out to hold Isaac, who kneels hands bound at his feet. Abraham holds a knife in his right hand, and an angel is depicted with arm outstretched in the act of staying Abraham's hand. Once again the biblical inscription conveys the message as narrated in Genesis 22:10 – "And Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son". This image maintains its power to shock even contemporary viewers, for whom violent images in the media have become

pervasive. The effect it would have had on the Victorian viewer can only be imagined. The presence of the angel engaged in the act of stopping Abraham adds to the dramatic tension of the scene. The original viewers of this window, as people of the word, would have been very familiar with the outcome of this narrative. The angel speaks to Abraham saying “Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me” (22:13). Abraham then sees a ram caught in the bush by his horns, and offered it in place of his son. The ram is vividly portrayed in the window, with its horns caught in the green bush on the right hand side. Christian viewers would once again have seen Isaac as a type, or prefiguring of Christ’s sacrifice, and this story would have made more sense to them when seen through that lens.⁸⁹ The New Testament refers to the sacrifice of Isaac in several significant texts, particularly in Hebrews 11:17-19, on the discourse on faith, where Abraham’s faith is praised. Paul refers to it in Romans 4:20-22, again emphasising Abraham’s faith. For the Jewish people, the significance of this story lies in the blessing of Abraham by God for his obedience, and the covenant which ensued whereby God promised Abraham: “That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice” (22:17-18). The binding of Isaac (the *akedah*) is a metaphor for Israel bound to the Torah. As one of the most important texts for Jewish, Christian and Islamic believers it has been widely portrayed in art since the time of the catacombs.⁹⁰ It was incorporated into both Roman Catholic and Church of England liturgy, so for the congregation of St. Fin Barre’s the first lesson on Good Friday would have been the recital of Genesis 22, followed by the reading of chapter 18 of John’s gospel, reporting the beginning of St. John’s passion narrative. The co-relation between the reading of the biblical account of Genesis 22, John’s Passion narrative and the visual representation on the stained glass window must have lent a particularly visceral quality to the Good Friday liturgy for the congregation.

Crossing the nave to the south aisle once again, the viewer encounters the two windows from the Joseph cycle – the first entitled *Joseph Sold*, [Fig. 10] and the following entitled *Joseph presents his father to Pharaoh* [Fig.11]. The first window, taken from Genesis 37:28, illustrates the scene where Joseph’s brothers, having plotted to murder him but

⁸⁹ According to Ambrose *Isaac ergo Christi passuri est typus* (Ambrose, *De Abraham*, ch. 8). Many other Patristic writers including Irenaeus, Tertullian, Ephraim, and Isodore of Seville drew similar parallels.

⁹⁰ See Alison Moore Smith, “The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2nd series 26 (1922): 159ff.

having decided instead to throw him into the pit, took him from the pit to sell him to the Ishmaelites. The inscription on the window quotes from this verse “And they lifted Joseph up out of the pit and sold him to the Ishmeelites [sic] for twenty pieces of silver”. The window illustrates the exchange of money in a bag which is passed from the character on the viewer’s right hand side, presumably one of the Ishmaelites, to one of the brothers on the left. Joseph is portrayed as a young man, who is roughly held by his older brother, having been divested of the coat of many colours which had contributed to his brothers’ hatred (Gen. 37:3-4). While twentieth century commentators such as Gunkel, Gressman and von Rad have identified the Joseph narrative as a literary composition of the Persian period of the exile, with dubious historicity, Christian tradition again considered Joseph as a typological precursor to Christ. Patristic writers such as John Chrysostom and Reformers including Calvin saw parallels between the character of Joseph sold by his brothers, and Jesus who was betrayed by one of the twelve, and sold for thirty pieces of silver, as recounted in all four gospels (Matt. 26:14-16; Mark 14:10-11; Luke 22:3-6; John 13:21-30). Recent study by Lunn has pointed out that although “a measure of doubt about justification for interpreting the Joseph narrative in typographical manner has remained, it would appear, until the present time”, he nevertheless presents a strong case for the biblical grounds of intertextual interpretation of the Joseph narrative with Luke-Acts, and the parable of the tenants in the Synoptics.⁹¹ This window captures the moment when, urged by Reuben, the eldest brother, the brothers decided not to kill Joseph, Jacob’s favourite, but to sell him instead to the Ishmaelites, who presumably sold him on to the Medianites, who in turn sold him to Potiphar, an officer of the Egyptian Pharaoh (Gen. 37:36). Creating the context for the presence of the Israelites in Egypt, this story is essential in developing the circumstances surrounding the Exodus, which became the definitive narrative in the Hebrew bible.

The next window on the south aisle depicts Joseph presenting his father to Pharaoh, representing a considerable leap forward in the narrative. The inscription on the window is from Genesis 47:7, “And Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh”. Joseph’s ability to interpret dreams has allowed him to become one of the most powerful men in Egypt, second only to Pharaoh (Gen. 41:40). Following reunification with his brothers, Joseph had requested that his father Jacob come down to Egypt with his entire family and livestock (45:9), where he would live out his last days in comfort, under Joseph and Pharaoh’s protection (47:6). This shifts the focus of the narrative from Israel to Egypt, and sets the scene for the next chapter of the Pentateuch. This is the final window in the

⁹¹ Nicholas P. Lunn, “Allusions to the Joseph Narrative In the Synoptic Gospels and Acts: Foundations of a Biblical Type”, *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 55/1 (2012) 27-41.

Genesis series, ending as it does with all the protagonists in Egypt under Pharaoh's protection. The Joseph narrative provides a smooth transition, which creates a bridge between Genesis and Exodus and highlights the importance of Genesis as an integral part of the Pentateuch. Few, if any of the 19th century Church of Ireland viewers of this window would have questioned the historicity of the Joseph story. They would have accepted it as an historical account of the circumstances leading to the Israelites sojourn in Egypt, and as a precursor to the fundamental narrative of the Exodus.

Crossing the nave to the north aisle once again, the following two windows illustrate two defining narratives from Exodus and Numbers. As the towering presence in the Exodus story Moses is represented in both windows; the first illustrating *Moses and the burning bush* [Fig.12], and the second representing *Moses and the brazen serpent* [Fig.13]. It is difficult to overlook the Christological undercurrents in this choice of subject matter, and once again the typographical nature of the iconographical sequence is highlighted. The first window shows Moses as a bearded young man, shepherding sheep. He is standing barefooted gazing at the bush before him, which is portrayed with green foliage with red fire emanating from it. The inscription is from Exodus 3:3 "And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt". This is one of the most important Theophany's in the Old Testament, where God reveals the tetragrammaton to Moses in Gen. 3:14. When Moses asks what his reply will be when the Israelites enquire the name of the one to whom he had spoken, the answer is given as "I AM THAT I AM" which gives rise to the naming of YAHWEH for the first time in the Hebrew bible. This naming of the God of Israel is an essential step in the progression of their understanding of their God, and creates the scene for the Sinai covenant which ensues. In identifying himself as the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, God reveals his intention to fulfil the covenants that He made with each of them in Genesis 12, 15 and 32.

The next window on the north aisle illustrates the scene from Numbers 21:9 "And Moses made a serpent of brass and put it up on a pole". This sequence follows the complaints of the Israelites against God and Moses, following which God sends 'fiery serpents' to bite the people, causing many of them to die (Num. 21:6) and again has been interpreted by Christians in a Christological context. The serpent which is raised on the pole cures those who have been afflicted when they look upon it, just as Christ heals those who gaze upon him on the cross. The typographical context of this scene is not based on Patristic conjecture however, but on a direct reference from John 3:14 – "Just as Moses lifted up the

serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up”, which puts the allusion to Moses into the mouth of Jesus himself.

Interestingly, the serpent portrayed in this window bears more of a resemblance to a dragon, as it appears to have webbed wings and a reptilian frill surrounding its neck. Close examination also reveals that fire is emanating from its mouth.⁹² This is probably an homage to the art of the Middle Ages where depictions of serpents and dragons were interchangeable. Moses is portrayed with the ‘horns’ which appear in much of the representation from the twelfth century onwards. As O’Kane points out this is based on a mistranslation of the Hebrew word *qeren* for ‘shine’ in Exod. 34:29 by Jerome in the Latin Vulgate (*cornatus* in Latin).⁹³ While Jerome’s translation was made in the fourth century, according to Mellinkoff, “no artistic representation of the horns thus far found is earlier than the 11th century; a gap partially explained by an early established iconography for Moses without horns, which remained fairly constant through the Carolingian period”.⁹⁴ Interestingly, Moses was never portrayed with horns in Eastern art, which retained the Septuagint biblical text. (It is interesting that only the second of the Moses windows has the horns. The misread passage which gave Moses horns comes from the story of the giving of the law at Sinai, and although neither of the passages depicted are related to the Sinai theophany, they are included in the scene following it, but not in the burning bush scene which precedes it.) These two windows complete the portrayal of Moses’ leadership of the Israelites in the exodus from Egypt, and their years in the desert. For the Israelites, Moses was the prophet without equal (Dt. 34:10ff) through whom God liberated the people, with whom the covenant was ratified (Ex. 24:8), and to whom the Law was revealed (Ex. 24:3; cf. 34:27). From this point onwards, the Israelites have settled in the Promised Land, and the iconography begins to depict the period of the Monarchy, when consolidation of identity and power structures are put in place.

Crossing to the south aisle once again to two David windows – the fourth from east portrays *David with the head of Goliath* [Fig.14], and the third shows *David before the Ark of the Covenant* [Fig. 15]. These windows reflect the change in Israelite culture from a desert people to a kingdom ruled by David and his son Solomon in the tenth century. They capture

⁹² This detail can be seen very clearly in the cartoons displayed in the exhibition in the Glucksman Gallery, from November 2013 to March 2014. See catalogue to *Searching for the New Jerusalem*, 27.

⁹³ Martin O’Kane, “Biblical Art from Wales: From Text to Image” in *Biblical Art from Wales*, eds. M. O’Kane and J. Morgan-Guy (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), 54. See also G. Duchet-Suchaux, and M. Pastoureau, *The Bible and the Saints* (Flammarion Iconographic Guides, Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 48-49.

⁹⁴ Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*, (London: University of California Press, 1970) page 138.

the origins of David the young shepherd who earns his kingship through God's favour and his military success against the Philistines, represented here by Goliath, their champion and "a man of war from his youth" (1 Sam. 17:33). The first window captures the moment of David's return after defeating Goliath with five smooth stones in a shepherd's bag, and a sling (1 Sam. 17:40). Holding the head of Goliath in one hand, his sword in the other and his shepherd's bag girded around his waist, David is surrounded by women playing musical instruments capturing the essence of the inscription on the window, paraphrased from 1 Samuel 18:6 – "when David was returned, the women came out of Israel, singing and dancing". This is also the moment when Saul becomes jealous of David's success, and begins to fear that David will usurp his position, reflected in the ominous words in the narrative "And Saul eyed David from that day and forward" (1 Sam. 18:9). The remainder of 1 Samuel consequently recounts the deteriorating relationship between Saul and David, ending in Saul's death in chapter 31.

The next window portrays King David as Saul's successor, transporting the Ark of the Covenant to 'the city of David', a designation reflecting his new position as ruler of Israel. David is portrayed wearing a crown and holding a harp, a traditional iconographical motif reflecting his love of music, and which also finds substantial biblical support in Amos 6:5, where David is credited with the invention of musical instruments. He is seen leading four other men, presumably members of the Levitical clan of Kohath, who were specifically entrusted with transportation of the ark in Numbers 4:15. The inscription on the window is taken from 2 Samuel 6:15 – "David went and brought up the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord". This window highlights the significance of the Ark of the Covenant in the Hebrew Bible. It was the place where God met with his people, and revealed himself to Moses (Exod. 25:22; 30:6; Num. 17:4), and was so closely associated with the divine presence that God was termed the one "who dwells between the cherubim" (cf. 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:15; Ps 80:1; 99:1). The ark also held a crucial role in the sacrificial ritual of the covenant, as the major focus of the annual atonement ceremony where the mercy seat or 'atonement cover' of the ark featured in the elaborate ceremony described in Leviticus 16, where it received the blood of the sin offering.⁹⁵ David's transportation of the ark into Jerusalem, amid the joy of the people represents the high point of the history of the ark, when it found its repose, (Ps. 132) eventually to be installed in the temple by Solomon (1 Kgs 8). After the prophecy of Nathan in 2 Samuel 7, the covenant passes through David's

⁹⁵ For an interesting intertextual reading of the OT understanding of the ark, and chapters 19 and 20 of John's gospel see Nicholas P. Lunn, "Jesus, The Ark and the Day of Atonement: Intertextual Echoes in John 19:38-20:18" in *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society* 52/4 (December 2009) 731-46.

family, promoting the unity of the people, and from this point onwards Jerusalem and the temple inherit the characteristics of the ark. Von Rad points to the significance of the Davidic covenant as the second definitive intervention of Jahweh in Israel's history; the other being "the avowal made by the canonical saving history (that is, from Abraham to Joshua)...on these two saving data rested the whole of Israel's existence before Yahweh".⁹⁶

The next window on the north aisle portrays the *Judgement of King Solomon* [Fig. 16] from 1 Kings 3:16-28, where two women approach Solomon, both having given birth to sons, but one had died. One of the mothers claimed that the mother of the dead child had switched her living child for the dead child as they slept, the other mother denied it. Solomon was asked to make a judgement, and this scene shows the two women before the king, with one child dead on the ground, and a soldier holding the other living child in one hand, with a sword in the other. This is the dramatic moment where Solomon orders a sword to be brought, and the living child to be divided in two, so that half could be given to each woman. The inscription bears the words "And the king said "Bring me a sword and divide the living child in two" adapted from verses 24 and 25. The mother of the living child is portrayed on her knees pleading with the king not to kill the child, while the other woman stands impassively at the side, leaving no doubt as to the identity of the mother of the living child. The outcome of the narrative is given in Solomon's judgement which follows in verse 27 – "Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it; she is the mother thereof". The reader is told that all Israel heard of the judgement, and feared the king, because "they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgment" (v.28). The search for wisdom was common to all cultures in the Ancient Near East, as evidenced by the sapiential literature of Egypt, Mesopotamia and ancient Greece. It had a practical function, enabling prudent behaviour and success in life. Israel had had no contact with the wisdom of the Orient before settling in Canaan, and it is not until the time of the kings that it became open to the humanism of the times. Solomon was the first to embody this wisdom tradition: "And all the earth sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had put in his heart" (1 Kings 10:24). The wisdom that Solomon possessed was both personal and judicious, enabling good government. Differing from the sapiential tradition of the surrounding cultures, it was a gift from God which Solomon received through prayer, according to 1 Kings 3:6-14. As Von Rad points out, "It appears that the newly-arisen court in Jerusalem very soon entered

⁹⁶ Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 1., trans. D.M.G Stalker, London: SCM Press, 1975, 355.

into the general cultural competition and exchange of ideas, for wisdom was reckoned as a high cultural asset, whose cultivation and advance was especially enjoined upon kings”.⁹⁷

The accompanying window continues with the depiction of *King Solomon Building the Temple* [Fig. 17] bearing the inscription from 1 Kings 6:1 “then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem”. Solomon is portrayed in the centre of the window giving instructions to the figure on his left, while the figure on his right measures what appears to be a model of the temple with a compass. Detailed descriptions of the measurements of the temple are given in 1 Kings. During construction a special inner room the *Kodesh Hakodashim* (Holy of Holies) was prepared to house the ark of the covenant (1 Kings 6:19), and the Ark, containing the tablets of stone of the covenant was placed there following dedication (1 Kings 8:6-9). The temple became the centre of worship in Jerusalem, sharing and reflecting events in the nation’s history from the time of its construction to its eventual destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BCE. Many of the prophets, including Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel denounced the superficial character of certain temple worship (Is. 1:11-17; Jer. 6:20; Ezek. 8:7-18), and even predicted its destruction in punishment for the nation’s sins (Jer. 7:12-15, Ezek. 9-10). Following its destruction however, it remained a symbolic sign of the presence of Yahweh in the Israelite imagination, and remains to this day a symbolic representation of the heavenly abode and of creation and the Garden of Eden. According to Bloch-Smith “The temple itself represented the Garden of Eden, Yahweh’s residence and audience hall on earth and the cherubim transported Yahweh down into the garden, formed his throne and protected him”.⁹⁸ Conveying divine endorsement of Solomon’s kingship, its proximity to the royal palace communicated Yahweh’s support of the king to the assembled worshippers.

The final windows in the south aisle of the nave depict two scenes from Nehemiah; *Nehemiah petitions Artaxerxes* [Fig. 18] and *Nehemiah Rebuilds the Walls of Jerusalem* [Fig. 19]. The first window depicts the scene from Nehemiah 2:1-8, where Nehemiah, as cup-bearer to the Persian king, pleads with king Artaxerxes to allow him to return to Judah to rebuild it. Upon hearing that the inhabitants of Judah were in distress, and that Judah was in ruins Nehemiah does not merely ‘mourn and weep’ but also ‘prays and fasts’ before the God of heaven (Neh. 1:4b) According to Wright, this “manifests his personal piety, and

⁹⁷ Ibid, 429.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, “Who is the King of Glory: Solomon’s temple and its Symbolism” in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honour of Philip J. King*, eds. P.J. King, M.D. Coogan, J.C. Exum, and L.E. Stager (Louisville:Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 25.

affirms implicitly that only divine assistance could alter the desperate situation”.⁹⁹ The king is portrayed sitting on his throne with Nehemiah on his knees before him holding out his hands to receive a scroll. This scroll represents the letters that Nehemiah required to be allowed to pass through the provinces of the western satrapies¹⁰⁰ and an order that the materials be furnished for the construction projects. The inscription conveys the scriptural verse as follows: “If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors” (Neh. 2:7). The edict of Cyrus and the rebuilding of the temple seemed to set the people of Israel back on the road to recovery, but the walls of Jerusalem remained in ruins for a long time, and the energy of Nehemiah is needed to rebuild them. Under the drive of its restorers it becomes the “fortress of the Torah”, isolated as far as possible from foreign influence (cf. Neh. 13).

The next window portrays the building of the walls of the city according to the account in Nehemiah 4. Two figures are shown working on constructing the wall, while the figure of Nehemiah stands over them, appearing to be instructing them. The inscription is taken from Neh. 4:6 - “So we built the wall; and all the wall was joined together [unto the half thereof, for the people had a mind to work]”. We know from Nehemiah’s account that there was considerable resistance to the building of the wall from surrounding peoples, such as the Samaritans,¹⁰¹ the Ammonites and the Ashdodites (Neh. 4:2-8), but the Jews fortified by prayer and keeping watch day and night, continued with the work until it was completed. It is generally supposed that Nehemiah belonged to a family that had been deported during the Babylonian exile. He refers to Jerusalem as the “city of my father’s sepulchres” (2:3, 5) which may indicate that he was of noble birth. However, Wright suggests that as the Persian court were in the habit of securing the services of influential or aristocratic foreigners from their provinces, Nehemiah may have enjoyed the advantage of personally receiving an appointment from the court.¹⁰² This would help to explain how he appeared to enjoy the king’s favour in having his request granted so benevolently (2:6). His role in Jerusalem became one of Persian-appointed “governor” of Judah (Neh. 5:14-19), a lay leader beside the holy leadership of the priest. His achievement in re-building the walls of Jerusalem re-established the city as an independent political entity. The wall was finished in fifty two days, (Neh. 6:15) enclosing just the City of David and the Temple Mount, with a

⁹⁹ Jacob L. Wright, *Re-building Identity: The Nehemiah-Memoir and its Earliest Readers* (Berlin: Walter Gruyter, 2004) 22. Wright’s thesis on the inconsistencies between Neh. 1-3 and Ezra 4 is based on assumption that the Artaxerxes correspondence is not authentic, but composed specifically for the book of Ezra-Neh. See page 35.

¹⁰⁰ Areas controlled by the Saka rulers of western and central India at the time of the Persian Empire.

¹⁰¹ The origins of the tensions between Jews and Samaritans may be traced to the period of Nehemiah-Ezra and the building of the Second Temple. Ezra 4 refers to the surrounding peoples offering to help with the building, but the offer was declined.

¹⁰² Ibid. 54-5.

small fortress north of the Temple.¹⁰³ Later, possibly in a second term as governor, Nehemiah may have purged the Temple of foreign priests (see Nehemiah 12-13), in anticipation of major purges which would happen under Ezra.

Transept Windows – Lives of the Prophets who foretold the Messiah

The windows in the North and South transepts depict “the lives of the prophets who foretold the coming of the Messiah” according to Lawrence and Wilson.¹⁰⁴ Each of these windows contains four panels which depict four scenes based on the scriptural narratives of the prophets. The first of these windows depicts four scenes from the Book of Job as follows: *Job in Prosperity, Death of Job’s children, Job’s misery, and Job Sacrificing* [Fig. 20] read from the lower panel upwards. Job’s inclusion in this group is interesting in view of the fact that the Book of Job is not prophetic literature in the strict sense of the word, but is usually associated with the wisdom books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Sirach. Job is considered to be a prophet in Islam, being so designated in the Qu’ran, but it is not a common Christian designation for him. However, it is not easily categorized, and remains unique within biblical literature, which probably explains its position among these windows. Historically, the story of Job has been portrayed by artists since the time of the catacombs, while William Blake’s *Illustrations of the Book of Job* published in 1826 were considered to be Blake’s greatest masterpieces in engraving, and were also his greatest commercial and critical success. Job’s story contains a profound meditation on the nature of human suffering which has had a great impact on the western imagination, from the great artists to writers such as Milton and Dostoevsky. Terrien has shown how artists in the past engaged with the text, and were very careful readers, grasping “that Job is not only the lonely pious sufferer, but ‘universal’ and ‘existential man’”.¹⁰⁵ Terrien’s central thesis is that artists have often been more insightful interpreters of the book of Job than theologians and exegetes, stating that “artists did not merely illustrate. They studied the text and responded to their inner vision of the drama”.¹⁰⁶ In this way, he suggests that Jobian artists have shown greater sensitivity to historical changes in interpretation than professional religionists.¹⁰⁷ These statements will be borne in mind while examining the window designed by Burges.

¹⁰³ See Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography*, (London: Phoenix, 2011) 51.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence and Wilson, p. 176.

¹⁰⁵ See Izak Cornelius [review of the book Samuel Terrien “The Iconography of Job through the centuries: Artists as Biblical Interpreters” Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986] *Hebrew Studies* Vol. 39 (1998): 240.

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Terrien, *The Iconography of Job Through the Centuries: Artists as Biblical Interpreters*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996) (xxxii).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The lower panel in this window depicts Job immediately before the onset of his trials. He is shown seated, being approached by a messenger, who appears to be bearing news - Job is seen listening intently while the three figures beside him also appear to be straining to hear what is being said. This would appear to be the beginning of the narrative in Job 1:13-22, where the messenger relates the series of events which brought disaster on Job and his household. Having introduced Job as a man who was “perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil”, who prospered, and had seven sons and three daughters (1:1-2) the author describes the dialogue between God and the satan, who questioned whether Job would remain faithful if he were to lose everything. Having received permission to wreak havoc in Job’s life, the satan “went forth from the presence of the Lord” (1:12). This panel shows the messenger about to tell of the loss of his livestock, and his servants (1:14-16), the news of which sets in motion the spiralling series of disasters which will befall Job. The next panel shows the *Death of Job’s Children*, depicting the events portrayed by the second messenger, who announces “Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother’s house: And behold, there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men, and they are dead” (1:18-19). The panel shows five of his sons and one daughter seated at a table eating and drinking as beams from the wooden roof appear to be crashing down upon them. An arm appears to emerge from the roof, probably representing the presence of the satan behind this incident. The third panel upwards is entitled *Job’s misery*, and depicts a naked Job seated in what appears to be straw rather than the ashes described in the KJV, having been afflicted with boils “from the sole of his foot unto his crown” (2:7). His wife stands behind him urging him to “curse God, and die” (v.9) and his four friends (including Elihu the Buzite who does not appear in the biblical narrative until chapter 32), who came to “mourn with him and to comfort him” (2: 11). Job rebukes his wife, and refused to “sin with his lips” (v. 10). Chapters 3 to 31 consist of the series of dialogues and speeches between Job, his friends Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite who suggest that Job must have sinned in order to incite God’s punishment. Job protests his innocence, maintaining that his suffering is unjustified, curses the day he was born (3:3), but refuses to curse God, and seeks a reason for his suffering. Elihu speaks in chapters 32 to 37, condemning the approach of the three friends, and arguing for God’s justice stating “Far be it from God, that he should do wickedness; and from the Almighty, that he should commit iniquity” (34:10). Following Elihu’s speech, the Lord answers Job out of the whirlwind, and in evocative, poetic language describes his mysterious power in the forces of nature and creation, demands to know how Job can

question his wisdom in governing the world, and finally states “Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him? He that reproveth God let him answer it” (40:2).

The final panel depicts *Job sacrificing*, on behalf of his friends following his act of contrition before God, humbling himself by saying “Who is it that hideth counsel without knowledge? Therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not” (42:3). This panel shows Job on his knees in prayer, with the three friends, whom God had admonished for their lack of understanding. Following this sacrificial offering, the author tells us that the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before, including seven more sons and three more daughters, and lived to see four generations of his family (42:10-17). The window captures the dramatic scenes in the narrative, limited as it is in its capacity to portray the dialogue, but there is little doubt that the original worshipping community of St. Fin Barre’s would have been very familiar with the narrative. The scenes portrayed act as a memory trigger to the text, which has been described by Hartley as follows:

The author, a literary genius, created a masterpiece that is *sui generis*. The book both recounts the story of Job’s trial and triumph and debates the issue of human suffering through the medium of speeches. That is, the book is both an epic and a wisdom disputation. In order to probe deeply into the issue of the suffering righteous and its attendant issue of theodicy, the author has drawn on numerous genres in the composition of the speeches.¹⁰⁸

The detailed argumentation in the speeches allows readers to identify with Job, enabling them to wrestle with the eternal questions posed by the author. The questions raised in the Book of Job remain challenging for each generation of readers,¹⁰⁹ later exercising the minds of thinkers such as Carl Jung, whose 1952 work *Answer to Job* addressed the moral, mythological and psychological implications of the narrative. While visual representations have produced numerous creative interpretations of the text, as selected by Terrien,¹¹⁰ this particular interpretation follows a traditional reading of the story of the Edomite sufferer, whose faith endured despite horrendous trial. In view of the fact that it is included in the group of windows depicting the lives of the prophets who foretold the coming of the

¹⁰⁸John E. Hartley, “The Book of Job” *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 38.

¹⁰⁹In 2002 *The Book of Job* was nominated by *The Guardian* newspaper as one of the top 100 books of all time, testimony to its enduring power. See <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/may/08/books.booksnews>. Accessed 8th October 2013.

¹¹⁰See Cornelius, p. 239.

Messiah, it can safely be assumed that it was interpreted in typographical terms, with Job understood as prefiguring Christ.¹¹¹

The four panels in the next window in the north transept depict the prophet Elijah as follows: *Elijah restores the widow's son, Elijah sacrificing, Elijah reproves Ahab, and Elijah ascending to heaven* [Fig. 21]. The lower panel depicts the story in 1 Kings 17:8-24, where Elijah, having hidden by the brook of Cherith, and been fed by ravens (1 Kings 17:5-7) received word from the Lord to go to Zarephath in Phoenecia to a widow who had been commanded to sustain him. Arriving there he found the widow who was also starving as a result of the drought, and awaiting death with her son. Elijah asks her to make her a cake and assures her that her food and oil will not run out until the drought ends (v.14). The widow obliges, and as a result of this we are told that she and her house “did eat many days” (v.15). When the widow's son becomes ill and dies however, she cries out to the prophet “What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? Art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son?” (1 Kings 17:18) Elijah takes the boy, lays him on his bed, and stretching himself on the child three times cried out to the Lord to heal the child, whereupon the narrative recounts that “the Lord heard the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived” (1 Kings 17:22). The panel in the window portrays the scene where Elijah takes the child down to his mother, saying “See, thy son liveth” (17:23), and the woman acknowledges that Elijah is a man of God “and the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth” (17:24). This acknowledgement of Elijah as a prophet by a Gentile woman demonstrates that for God, who had sent Elijah, the work of salvation is not limited to the people of the covenant.

The next panel upwards is a visual interpretation of the scene recounted in 1 Kings 18:17-40, where Elijah has urged Ahab to call all the people of Israel to Mount Carmel, including the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and the four hundred prophets of the groves “which eat at Jezebel's table” (18:19). Once the people have gathered Elijah challenges them to choose which God is to be the true God of Israel. Choosing two bullocks, to be placed separately on wood, with no fire underneath, he tells them to call on their God, while he will call on the name of the Lord, and the God that answers with fire, “let him be God” (18:24). This panel portrays God's response to Elijah's prayer – “Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it they fell on their faces

¹¹¹ For early medieval links between the illustration of *Job in sterquilinio* with the iconography of Christ in Distress see G. von der Osten, “Job and Christ,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 153-58.

and they said ‘The Lord, he is the God; the Lord he is the God’ (18:38-39). This important incident is crucial in the history of Israel’s relationship with Yahweh. Von Rad points out that Mount Carmel was an advanced post in Canaanite territory, which from time immemorial had been the domain of the cult of the Baal of Carmel.¹¹² For Elijah the co-existence of the two forms of worship was insupportable, therefore the entire story depends on the answer given to the prophet’s question. As von Rad points out, it was Yahweh who gave the answer, and in this way the narrator makes it clear that the only way by which Israel could be saved was by Yahweh bearing glorious witness to himself.¹¹³ Elijah called the people of Israel to true worship, and the narrative portrayed in this panel captures the drama of an incident which was essential to the development of Israel’s Yahwistic tradition.

The third panel portrays Elijah’s confrontation with Ahab as recorded in 1 Kings 21:17-29. Having been refused purchase of Naboth’s vineyard, Ahab, king of Samaria goes home brooding to his wife Jezebel who plots the death of Naboth by publicly accusing him of blasphemy. After Naboth is stoned to death on the false charges, Elijah receives word from the Lord to go to Ahab to deliver the message of God’s wrath and punishment on both himself and his wife. This panel portrays Ahab and Jezebel on the left looking alarmed at what Elijah is saying, on the viewer’s right. Their alarm is understandable, as Elijah threatens Ahab as follows – “Thus saith the Lord, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine” (21:19). Jezebel’s fate is even more terrifying – “And of Jezebel also spake the Lord, saying, The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel” (21:23). A vine is displayed between Elijah and the couple, a grim reminder of the reason for Naboth’s death. The king, shaken, decides to repent and “rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly” (21:27). At this evidence of repentance the Lord expressed forgiveness through Elijah, promising not to bring evil upon Ahab, but on his son! Jezebel’s fate was sealed however, as in 2 Kings 9:30-27 her grisly death is recounted exactly as Elijah had prophesied.

The final panel in the *Elijah* window portrays the mysterious disappearance of Elijah from the eyes of his friends recorded in 2 Kings 2:1-18. Having passed his cloak and his spirit on to Elisha his successor, following the prophecy of the Bethel prophets (2 Kings 2: 3), the panel shows Elijah in a chariot with wheels of fire, arms outstretched in prayer, with Elijah kneeling on the ground beside him, holding his cloak. This follows the account in 1 Kings 2:11, which states “And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there

¹¹² Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* Volume Two (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1975) 17.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven". This marks the end of Elijah's prophetic office, but Elijah became an eschatological figure to Israel and the New Testament writers considered John the Baptist to be the fulfilment of this expectation. The conversation with Jesus in the Transfiguration account (Mt. 17:1-8) with Elijah representing the prophets, and Moses representing the law confirms his significance to both Jewish and Christian believers.

The next window in the north transept depicts a sequence from the book of Jonah representing *Jonah embarking, Jonah thrown to the whale, Jonah preaching to the Ninevites, and Jonah and the story of the gourd* [Fig. 22]. The lower panel shows Jonah embarking on the ship to Tarshish which is his means of escape from Yahweh's call to go to Ninevah to prophesy against it (Jonah 1:2) as Tarshish is in the opposite direction to Ninevah. Jonah is depicted with a knapsack on his shoulder stepping onto the ship which is being manned by two sailors. The next panel read upwards shows Jonah being hurled into the sea by one of the sailors following a violent storm. Having appealed to their own God out of fear, they approached Jonah who was sleeping below deck, to ask him to call on his God to save them. They then cast lots to see who it was that brought this calamity upon them, and the lot fell on Jonah. When questioned by the men he replies honestly "I am an Hebrew; and I fear the LORD, the God of heaven which hath made the sea and the dry land" (1:9). The term *Ivri* [Hebrew] is often used to distinguish between Israelites and non-Israelites, and Jonah's dissimilarity to the pagan sailors is emphasised in chapter 1. The fear that engulfs the sailors prompts them to ask Jonah what is to be done, and it is Jonah himself who advises them to throw him in the sea, as he feels responsible for their predicament. The narrative reads "So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea; and the sea ceased from her raging" (1:15). The implication is that it was indeed Jonah's disobedience that caused the storm to rage, and it is interesting that as a result of the calm seas, the pagan men feared the Lord, and offered sacrifice to him, and made vows (1: 16) suggesting that they were open to accepting the God of Israel over their own gods.

The next panel *Jonah preaching to the Ninevites* is an interesting choice, as it passes over the most dramatic part of the story, where Jonah in the belly of the fish finally humbles himself before God, and prays for deliverance. He does not seem to repent however, but appears to be more interested in being saved. The psalm of thanksgiving at his deliverance in 2:3-10 is a later addition, according to Von Rad.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, when he is released from the fish's mouth, the Lord calls him a second time to go to Ninevah, and this time he

¹¹⁴ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 289.

obeys the command. Ninevah, the capital of the neo-Assyrian empire was one of the oldest and largest cities in antiquity, and the narrative underlines this by stating that “Ninevah was an exceeding great city of three days journey” (3:3). This panel depicts Jonah in the centre, with three figures at each side of him listening intently to his warnings which were stark and to the point – “Yet forty days and Ninevah shall be overthrown” (3:4). The effectiveness of Jonah’s warnings is evident by the fact that the people of Ninevah believed him, declared a fast and put on sackcloth “from the greatest of them even to the least of them” (3:5). The king encourages the people with his expressed hope that God may turn away from his anger and spare them if they repent (3:9). Angel suggests that the people of Ninevah “effected one of the greatest repentance movements in biblical history” which amazes the reader, but did not impress Jonah.¹¹⁵ When God indeed spared the Ninevites Jonah’s reaction is one of displeasure and anger (4:1). The fourth panel *Jonah and the story of the gourd* is a depiction of the narrative in chapter 4, where Jonah complains to God, and asks him to take his life from him, as he says “it is better for me to die than to live” (4:3). He leaves the city, and sits outside, waiting to see the fate of the city – one suspects he hopes it will be destroyed. The mysterious story of the ‘gourd’ that God placed over Jonah’s head to shelter him is captured in this panel, with Jonah on the left sitting dejected with his face in his hands. The city is shown in the distance, and a green plant resembling a vine is shown with a worm climbing upwards, which leads to the withering of the plant (4:7). The mysterious plant translated as ‘gourd’ in the KJV, and represented iconographically from the 3rd to the 16th century as a vine-like plant officially referred to as *Lagenaria siceraria* is actually a mistranslation of the Hebrew word *qiqayon* (castor) to the Greek word *kolokynti* and then to the Latin word *cucurbita*.¹¹⁶ Janick and Paris’s account of the controversies that are historically associated with this mistranslation, particularly the heated exchanges between St. Jerome and St. Augustine, point to the inherent difficulties in translating the bible which were evident from the beginning.¹¹⁷ They have shown that the original *qiqayon* plant, which is a castor oil plant was a very fast-growing plant which would have provided ample shade. The Greek translation *kolokynti* in the Septugint refers to a prostrate, relatively small vine which is neither adapted to climbing, “nor could it be thought of as a good provider of

¹¹⁵ Angel Hayyim, “I Am A Hebrew!” Jonah’s Conflict with God’s mercy towards even the most worthy of pagans” *Jewish Bible Quarterly* Vol. 34, No. 1 (2006) 7.

¹¹⁶ See Jules Janick and Harry S. Paris, “Jonah and the ‘Gourd’ at Ninevah: Consequences of a classic Mistranslation” *Cucurbitaceae* 2006 <http://www.hort.purdue.edu/newcrop/jonah.pdf> Janick is Professor in the Dept. of horticulture and landscape architecture at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, USA, Paris is a researcher with the Agricultural Research Organisation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development in the State of Israel.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. Jerome translated the word as *hedera* (ivy) in the Vulgate, much to Augustine’s consternation.

shade”.¹¹⁸ For the purposes of the narrative however, the plant represents God’s compassion and providence for even his disobedient servants. The hand of God descends from the heavens in the window panel indicating his protection, and the biblical narrative states that “Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd” (4:6). However, when the plant withers because of the worm, Jonah resorts to sulking and once again wishes to die (4:8). God then gently admonishes Jonah for his lack of compassion, pointing out that as he had had pity on the gourd, for which he had not laboured, “And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six square thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?” (4:11).

The story of Jonah skilfully illustrates the darker side of group identity, where the group interests take precedence over the interests of outsiders. Jonah’s self-identification as a Hebrew and his resentment that God’s mercy and grace should be extended to both the sailors, and the Ninevites reflects a tendency among all groups, religious or otherwise to prioritise their own group. It draws attention to how the Israelites struggled to accept that their God was not theirs alone, but was the God of all people. The Jonah story has particular relevance for this thesis, and the iconography of this window is a reminder of how God’s compassion and providence is not confined to any particular group, and transcends all human attempts at categorising identities. However, as Von Rad points out:-

It is wrong to suggest that the Book’s universalism wished to see covenant and election finally severed from their restriction to Israel; it addresses those who know covenant and community; and it is these men whom it warns against the temptation of using their peculiar position in God’s sight to raise claims which compromise Jahweh’s freedom in his plans for other nations.¹¹⁹

Interestingly, the Book of Jonah is read in its entirety by Jews in the afternoon prayer on the Day of Atonement, reminding them that no-one is beyond the reach of God’s mercy and compassion. For the congregation worshipping in this cathedral the Jonah narrative has particular relevance because of Jesus’ reference to the story in Luke 11:29-32, when he states that “For as Jonas was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the son of man be to this generation”, (11:30) and condemning his own generation he warns “The men of Nineve shall rise up with the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it : for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and behold a greater than Jonas is here” (11:32).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 351.

¹¹⁹ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. II*, 292.

The next series of windows in the north transept consists of four scenes from the book of Zechariah as follows: *Zechariah's vision of horsemen*, *Zechariah measures Jerusalem*, *Zechariah the crucified prophet*, and *Zechariah and the fountain in New Jerusalem* [Fig. 23]. The lower panel is adapted from the first of Zechariah's eight visions in 1:7-21, showing Zechariah on the left standing with the 'angel of the Lord' (1:12), while on the right hand side "a man riding upon a red horse, and he stood among the myrtle trees that were in the bottom" (1:8). All the visions recorded by Zechariah occurred in the night, and it is probable that they occurred in a quiet valley outside of Jerusalem. The presence of the angel appears to be to interpret the visions, as Zechariah questions their meaning (1:9). In this vision the angel informs Zechariah that the horsemen were the scouts of God, sent to patrol the earth. The leader of the scouts informs the angel that they had patrolled the earth "and behold, all the earth sitteth still, and is at rest" (1:11). There follows a prayer addressed to God by the angel, acting as mediator, who asks how long God would hold back his mercy from the city of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities. The time of God's wrath is given as "three score and ten years" (1:12). God's reply that he had not abandoned his people, and that he would return to Jerusalem, the temple would be rebuilt, and the city restored, were words of comfort and consolation. This first vision of Zechariah introduces some of the themes of Zechariah's ministry.

The next panel reading upwards denotes Zechariah measuring Jerusalem, adapted from chapter 2 where Zechariah's third vision concerns a man with a measuring line in his hand, who responds to Zechariah's question "Whither goest thou?" as follows: - "And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof" (2:2). Zachariah stands on the left, before the angel with the measuring line, with the city of Jerusalem in the background. Two angels step into the vision narrative, one of them having the role of interpreter, and the other a new figure in the visionary sequence. The message conveyed suggests that the city would have a vast population and the Lord will provide protection - "For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her" (2:5). The description of the vision is followed by a prophetic oracle in verses 6-13 of the narrative. The suggestion seems to be that as a result of the return of many exiled Jews and the growth of people coming from the Gentile nations (v.11), the city would become a haven for all the people of God. In the generations following Zechariah's prophecies, many Jews would return to Jerusalem from the surrounding lands to which they had been exiled. However, this prophecy resonates with every era, for the anticipation of Jerusalem as the city of all the people of God would have

had enormous resonance for the worshippers of St. Fin Barre's, who would have seen the prophecy in a Christian context. It is worth remembering that Burges and his team of craftsmen were Englishmen, and would have been mostly concerned with English religious and political affairs. In that context, the visit of Albert Edward, the twenty-year-old Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII) to Jerusalem in 1862, seven years before the design of this window must surely have impacted on the imagination of the craftsmen involved. Simon Sebag Montefiore recounts the prince riding into Jerusalem, escorted by a hundred Ottoman cavalymen, and remarks that the visit made an indelible impression both in Jerusalem and back home in England.¹²⁰ He describes the incident as follows: "The prince was guided around the sites by the Dean of Westminster, Arthur Stanley, whose immensely influential book of biblical history and archaeological speculation convinced a generation of British readers that Jerusalem was 'a land more dear to us from our childhood even than England'.¹²¹ The idea that Jerusalem should be reclaimed by English Christians took root to such an extent that the Archbishop of York, William Thompson declared "This country of Palestine belongs to you and me. It was given to the Father of Israel. It's the land whence comes news of our redemption. It's the land where we look with as true a patriotism as we do this dear old England".¹²² According to Montefiore, the Prince of Wales' visit encouraged an array of archaeologists to visit Palestine in the following years, leading to many important archaeological discoveries.¹²³ Viewing the window within this historical context, it is possible to see how the prophecies of Zachariah portrayed in these panels would have reflected the contemporary fascination with Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

The third panel upwards, entitled *Zechariah the Crucified Prophet* portrays a figure in the centre, being manhandled by two figures, with one figure looking on. It is difficult to know what exactly is being represented here. Is it a Christian interpretation of the prophecy in Zech. 9:9, which has identified the coming king with Christ? Or is it taken from 2 Chronicles 24:17-22, referred to by Jesus in Luke 11:47-54 and Matthew 23:35, which described how Zechariah, the son of Jehoida, the chief priest during the reign of King Joash of Judah (837-800 BC) was killed in the temple when he tried to call the nation back to true worship? As the prophet Zechariah's ministry is said to begin in the eighth month in the second year of Darius (1:1), approximately November 520 B.C., could it be that the

¹²⁰Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 353.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 354.

¹²² *Ibid*, 355.

¹²³Montefiore points out that the Americans followed the British in their interest in Palestine, and that it was American Christians who really created modern archaeology. The French and Germans followed suit, with one German archaeologist referring to it as 'the peaceful crusade'. See Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 354.

designers of the window mixed up the two Zechariahs? As the question of the identity of the Zechariah referred to by Jesus in the gospels has exercised the minds of biblical scholars from Origen to the present day, it is unlikely to be resolved here. It must therefore be assumed that the same problem perplexed the creators of this window, and they decided to portray the Zechariah referred to in the gospels and Zechariah the prophet as one and the same person. McAfee Moss points out that “Outside Matthew 23 there is other evidence of a tendency to fuse the identity of the canonical prophet with the martyred priest of 2 Chronicles 24:20-22” citing the Targum to Lamentation 2:20c.¹²⁴ It appears however that this problem may never be satisfactorily resolved. Perhaps it is Zechariah 12:10 which is in view here? “They will look on me, whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son.” John’s gospel applies this text to the piercing of Christ’s side after his death (19:37). As these windows depict the lives of the prophets who foretold the coming of the Messiah, this scene should probably be viewed in this context.

The top panel entitled *Zechariah and the fountain of New Jerusalem* depicts the prophet on the right, with an angel on the left, and the fountain of forgiveness in the centre. The scene is taken from chapter 13 of Zechariah – “In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness” (13:1). Thus the book of Zechariah draws to a conclusion with a message of hope. The image of the fountain which perpetually flows and washes away the sins of the people, whose source is God himself is a powerful one, and represents the presence of a cleansing force established in the kingdom. The cleansing power of the fountain is needed in order to remove the stain from the people of the city, as described in chapter 12, where there is a mysterious reference to mourning for one “whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son” (12:10). Verse 10 is of course quoted in John’s passion narrative in the immediate aftermath of the death of Jesus (John 19:37). From the Christian perspective the ancient apocalyptic vision of Zechariah finds fulfilment in the crucifixion of Christ, which precedes the coming of the Kingdom of God. The promise of living water carried many connotations for the hearers of Zechariah’s message, representing purity, life, blessings, and a new beginning. The Book of Zechariah is one of the most obscure and difficult prophetic books to interpret in the Hebrew bible. Yet, of more than 70

¹²⁴ Charlene McAfee Moss, *The Zechariah Tradition and the Gospel of Matthew* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008) 117. McAfee Moss states that “the widespread confusion of the Zechariahs in writings of early Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism appears to have been almost boundless”, and finally concludes that “when the variables are weighed it seems preferable to propose that the First Evangelist merged the identities of the martyred Zechariah figure (2 Chr 24) and the canonical prophet (Zech. 1). See also Charlene McAfee Moss, “Zechariah and the Gospel of Matthew: the use of a biblical tradition”. (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2002), http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4220/1/4220_1739.pdf page 145 Accessed 17th October 2013.

quotations and allusions from Zechariah in the New Testament, approximately one third appear in the gospels, and most of the rest are found in the Book of Revelation. The New Testament writers were therefore able to relate much of the visionary elements of Zachariah's thought to their own time, and to see in the obscure and difficult language a prefiguring of Christ's rejection, passion and death. This window is therefore appropriately placed with the windows of the other prophets who foretold the coming of the Messiah, and would also have been understood by the congregation in this way.

The next window in the south transept consists of four scenes from the Book of Daniel as follows: - *Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, Daniel in the Lion's Den, Daniel interprets the writing on the wall, and Daniel's vision of the four beasts* [Fig.24]. The book of Daniel is included with the prophets in Christian bibles, but it is regarded as one of the writings (*ketuvim*) in the Jewish bible. Because of its apocalyptic nature it rightfully belongs with the other apocalyptic literature in the bible, but this window was included with the prophets, as the book of Daniel would have been interpreted as prophecy in the 19th century. Childs points out a radically different approach to the book than had existed up to the nineteenth century. Scholars such as Bertholdt and von Lengerke argued against the traditional sixth century dating of the book, and proposed a Maccabean age composition, as resistance to the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He states that "the prophecies of Daniel were *vaticinia ex eventu*, prophecies-after-the-event, and were used as a device by which to ensure authority for an apocalyptic message".¹²⁵ This history of the reception of the book of Daniel is interesting from the point of view that it became "the major battle line of the church's defence against which the assault of modern criticism was being hurled".¹²⁶ Scholars of considerable learning in Germany and England defended the traditional view, and significantly in England the main champion of the older Orthodox view was Pusey, whose lectures on Daniel, according to Childs "contained both impressive erudition and savage apologetic. Pusey was willing to rest the validity of the whole Christian faith upon the sixth-century dating of Daniel...".¹²⁷ Because of the acknowledged influence of the Oxford Movement on the architects of St. Fin Barre's, it may be assumed that the interpretation of Daniel in this window is the traditional one. However, it is important to point out that according to Childs, by the end of the nineteenth century a consensus had formed which accepted the Maccabean dating of the book unequivocally, and "the final

¹²⁵ Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 611.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

redactional stamp on the entire book was almost universally regarded as Hellenistic.”¹²⁸ In the analysis of the iconography of this nineteenth century window however, the traditional interpretation will be assumed.

The lower panel is adapted from chapter 2 of the book, where Nebuchadnezzar seeks an interpretation for the disturbing dream that none of his own interpreters are able to explain. Two figures, those of Daniel and Arioch stand before Nebuchadnezzar, who is recounting his dream. The image in the background conveys the dream sequence, capturing the biblical text which states “Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him ‘I have found a man of the captives of Judah that will make known unto the king the interpretation’” (Dan. 2:25). When the king questions whether Daniel can in fact interpret the dream, Daniel responds that although none of the wise men, the astrologers, the magicians or the soothsayers of the kingdom can interpret the dream “there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days”, (2:28). Daniel then proceeds to interpret the dream which consists of an enormous idol made of four metals with feet of mixed iron and clay (2:31-33). This idol is then completely destroyed by a rock which turns into a huge mountain filling the entire earth (2:34,35). The idol is interpreted by Daniel as representing a series of successive kingdoms beginning with Nebuchadnezzar, which will finally be crushed by God’s kingdom, which will endure forever (2:44). Daniel assures the king that “the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure” (2:45), whereupon Nebuchadnezzar falls on his face, and admits that Daniel’s God is a Lord of Lords, and a revealer of secrets (2:47). Chapter 2 ends with Daniel given a position of power in the kingdom, with his friends Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who were given important roles in the affairs of Babylon (2:49).

The next panel portrays the familiar story of Daniel in the lion’s den, which recounts how Daniel’s elevation to a position of influence in Darius’ administration elicits the jealousy of other officials. These officials, knowing Daniel’s devotion to his God, conspire to have the king issue a decree forbidding worship of any other God for a period of 30 days (6:7-9), on pain of being thrown to the lions. As Daniel continues to pray to God three times a day, he is accused and cast into the den of lions, despite Darius’s reservations (6:14-16). The panel depicts Daniel sitting among the lions, who lie at passively at his feet, with the king looking anxiously through the barred window, having risen early to see whether Daniel had been saved by God. The text recounts Daniel’s words to the king as follows: “My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lion’s mouths, that they have not hurt me” (v.22). The king’s

¹²⁸ Ibid.

gladness at Daniel's deliverance is expressed by throwing his accusers and their families to the lions, and issuing a decree that all people of the kingdom fear the God of Daniel, who is "the living God, and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end". (6:26). Chapter 6 ends with Daniel placed in a prosperous position during the reign of Darius and Cyrus.

The next panel portraying Belshazzar's feast is taken from chapter 5 of the book, and portrays Belshazzar in the centre, surrounded by his lords, with the golden vessels from the temple in front of the table as depicted in verse 3 as follows: "Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them". Belshazzar holds a goblet of wine in his hand and all the figures are looking at the hand writing on the wall behind them as conveyed in the text – "In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote" (5:5). The letters on the wall are barely discernible, but we know from later in the text that the words MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN are interpreted by Daniel to mean that God has numbered the kingdom of Belshazzar, and finished it, and that he has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Finally, his kingdom would be divided between the Medes and the Persians (5:25-28). "The writing symbolically represents and guarantees the judgement it renders" according to Polaski,¹²⁹ and Daniel's interpretation of the writing on the wall leads to further advancement as "the third ruler in the kingdom" when Darius took over the kingdom.¹³⁰ Chapters 5-6 introduce the second part of the book (chapters 7-12), which narrate a series of apocalyptic visions, and Polaski has suggested that Daniel's reading of the cryptic message directly precedes the reader's encounter with him as an apocalyptic seer and visionary.¹³¹ Consequently, the next panel upwards represents Daniel's vision of the four beasts from chapter 7, which, according to Von Rad is adapted from older material and made "though not without some difficulty – to refer to the persecution of Israel for her faith by Antiochus IV".¹³² The panel shows Daniel in a trance-like state on the viewer's right, holding a book, with the four beasts represented in a large coloured circle of blue glass. The top figure is

¹²⁹ Donald C. Polaski, "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Parsin: Writing and Resistance in Daniel 5 and 6" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 123, No. 4 (Winter, 2004), 649-699

¹³⁰ The Nabonidus calendar unearthed in 1854 confirms the historical existence of Belshazzar, referring to him as a son of Nabonidus. See http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/me/c/cylinder_of_nabonidus.aspx Accessed 24th October, 2013.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets*, 278.

the lion with eagles wings and a man's heart, in accordance with Daniel 7:4; the second beast is the bear, which according to the text "had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it" (7:5); the third beast is the leopard like creature with wings and four heads (7:6), and the fourth beast with ten horns "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth" gives free reign to the artist's imagination. Daniel considered the horns, and noticed another little horn among them "before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things" (7:8). The text continues with the description of the great power behind the vision, where the throne room of Yahweh is made visible, and the Ancient of Days, with garments as white as snow and hair like pure wool is encountered. A courtroom of judgement is held, and the final transference of power over the world is made to the 'one like the Son of Man' who comes with the clouds of heaven (7:13). In its original historical setting the book of Daniel functioned as an indictment on the world powers that had existed up to that point, with most historical critical scholars making a convincing case that the visions of chapters 7-12 were written about the year 165BC, two years before the death of Antiochus, at a moment of intense persecution. Childs makes the following observation in regard to the didactic purpose underlying the Book of Daniel:-

The Maccabean author described the last great convulsion of the nations before the end of the age in the form of Daniel's visions. Moreover, he focused on the final indignation of the fourth kingdom and described its development leading up to its destruction by tracing the detailed history of the Persian and Greek eras step by step...The visions called the community of faith to obedience and challenged it to hold on because the end of time which Daniel foresaw would shortly come. Because it was written in the form of a *vaticinium ex eventu*, the effect of this message would have been electrifying.¹³³

As already established above, the history of the reception of the book of Daniel suggests that the original congregation viewing this window would more than likely have held to the traditional view of a sixth-century dating of the book, and as a consequence would have viewed the book as part of the prophetic literature of the bible. For this reason, Daniel is included in these windows with the Major Prophets such as Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel.

The Jeremiah window which follows in the south transept portrays the four following scenes: - *Jeremiah preaches to the Jews, Jeremiah talks to the potter, Jeremiah is imprisoned, and Jeremiah's visions* [Fig.25]. Jeremiah is the prophet that most is known about amongst all the prophets of Israel. His prophetic ministry was fulfilled between 627-

¹³³Childs, 615.

580 BC in one of the most turbulent periods in its history. A young, timid, reluctant prophet, his mission to encourage Judah to surrender to the Babylonians in order to avoid a worse fate, led to him being condemned as a traitor by his people. Destined to be a prophet even before his birth, his calling did not come in the temple, as it had with Isaiah, but came in the form of a conversation between Yahweh and the prophet – “Then the word of the Lord came unto me, saying “Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations...for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak” (Jer. 1:4-7). For approximately twenty-three years Jeremiah preached to the people orally, and his early preaching may be summed up as a warning that disaster is coming to Israel from the north, because they have forsaken Yahweh and given themselves up to the worship of Baal. In the year 605, because of a specific historical situation, Jeremiah committed his message to writing. The first panel in this window portrays Jeremiah preaching his message to the Jews during the early stage of his prophetic ministry. He is portrayed on the left with hands raised, pronouncing the message which had been delivered to him by Yahweh – “And the Lord said unto me “Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth” (1:9). Four figures, two seated and two standing behind, are portrayed listening intently to what Jeremiah is saying. The expressions on the faces of the listeners suggest that what is being said is troubling. Jeremiah suffered enormously for his delivery of a message that no one wanted to hear.

The next panel portrays Jeremiah talking to the potter, based on chapter 18. The potter sits at the kiln while Jeremiah stands watching him, working on the vessel of clay which had been “marred in the hand of the potter” (18:4) and creating a new vessel “as it seemed good to the potter to make it” (18:4). The potter is surrounded by vessels which have already been created, as he works on perfecting the new vessel in his hands. The significance of the potter in the text appears to be to instil some hope in the midst of Jeremiah’s prophecies of catastrophe. Von Rad suggests that “Yahweh’s words as the prophet watched the potter knead the spoiled vessels together in order to remould new ones from the lump, ‘can I not do with you as this potter has done?’ are really only a question and they leave the door still open for the call to repentance (Jer. 18:1ff)”.¹³⁴

The next panel portrays the results of the resistance to Jeremiah’s message as conveyed in the text through the narrative of Baruch (Jer. 37-45). Jeremiah has been physically prevented from publicly proclaiming his message in the temple, so Baruch, Jeremiah’s loyal

¹³⁴ Von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets*, 168.

scribe reads it in his place (36:32). The scene portrayed in this panel conveys the arrest of Jeremiah by the princes in the land of Benjamin, who were unnerved by the message – “Wherefore the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made that the prison. When Jeremiah was entered into the dungeon, and into the cabins, and Jeremiah had remained there many days” (37:15-16). The figure of Jeremiah is shown in the centre, surrounded by the armed hostile figures of his captors. Von Rad, who describes how Baruch begins with Jeremiah’s imprisonment and then dispassionately records the subsequent events, tracing the prophet’s conversations and ending with his exile in Egypt, states that “The man who so exactly describes the stations of Jeremiah’s cross was obviously most closely associated with the events, then can therefore be no doubt that his description is trustworthy”.¹³⁵ Jeremiah’s prophecy that the capture of Judah by the Babylonians was inevitable (Jer. 37:8) was the reason for his many sufferings, as the nationalists of Jerusalem would not tolerate this catastrophic prediction.

The final panel in the Jeremiah window portrays Jeremiah’s visions from chapter 1. Jeremiah is portrayed kneeling while a hand (presumably the hand of the Lord) emerges from between three encircled images of the rod of the almond tree (1:11), the seething pot (1:13), and what appears to be the destruction of Jerusalem as predicted in verses 14 to 19. The almond tree (*shaqed*) is the first to blossom in Israel in late January, and the passage makes use of a wordplay with another Hebrew word using the same letters *šqd*, with *shoqed* meaning ‘to watch, wake’. The almond tree therefore can be seen to symbolise Yahweh’s watchfulness over the fulfilment of the divine word in this ambiguous but hopeful image. It also suggests the imminent nature of the predicted events. The vision of the seething pot is more ominous however, as “the face thereof is toward the north” (1:13), representing the threat of the kingdom of the Chaldeans whose attack would come from north of Judea. The boiling pot represents war and desolation, and the next panel portrays the outcome of this prophecy, showing the city of Jerusalem in flames with buildings toppling as a result of the invasion of the great power from the north – “For lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith the Lord; and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah” (1:15). It is easy to see why Jeremiah’s message urging Israel to surrender to the Babylonians was violently resisted. It is equally easy to consider Jeremiah’s attempts to warn his people as spectacularly unsuccessful, for after

¹³⁵ Ibid, 176.

twenty three years of prophetic activity, he could look back on nothing but abject failure. His fate is unknown, but it is thought that he was probably assassinated. He is undoubtedly one of the saddest characters in Hebrew history, whose great burden was to foretell catastrophe and weep as he watched his prophecies being fulfilled. This window attempts to capture the essence of Jeremiah's relentless battle against apostasy and pride. Jeremiah's prophecies have been compared to a stained glass collage by Michael S. Sherwin OP in a dramatic reconstruction of Jeremiah's story presented at the University of Fribourg in 2009. The following statement is evidence of the strong historical link between the biblical text, and its visual representation in stained glass: -

Each of Jeremiah's prophecies is like a piece of colored [sic] glass. In their current locations within the Book of Jeremiah, they form an impressionistic and multicolored collage. Yet, when we arrange these colored pieces according to the narrative of Jeremiah's life, they become something akin to a portrait of the prophet in stained glass, a portrait that lets the light of God's love shine through...this sorrow-filled son of Judah'¹³⁶

The lower panel from the *Isaiah* window in the south transept depicts the narrative from chapter 7, where Isaiah comforts Ahaz, encouraging him to trust God and not appeal to the Assyrians for help in the war with the kings of Israel and Syria following his failure to conquer Jerusalem [Fig. 26]. Including one of the most familiar verses from the Book of Isaiah - "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel" (Isa.7:14), this narrative has traditionally been interpreted by Christians as a prophecy of Christ's incarnation, with the traditional view of the church being that the *'almāh* referred to is the Virgin Mary. Matthew's gospel interpreted this verse as a direct prediction of the birth of Jesus (Matt. 1:22f). The panel shows Ahaz on the right, with his face in his hands in distress, while Isaiah stands on the left with his hands outstretched offering him the words of comfort that had been given to him by the Lord. The message is one of assurance that Ahaz need not be afraid of the invading armies of Syria and Israel, as it will not be successful (7:47). Indeed, within sixty five years both Syria and Israel will have been defeated and their kingdoms destroyed (7:8). A young beardless man stands behind Isaiah, holding a wooden stick – this is obviously Shearjashub (meaning 'a remnant shall return') (Isa. 7:3), Isaiah's son who had accompanied him on the mission. Behind Ahaz's throne is a golden pillar on which stands a dejected looking lion – a

¹³⁶ Michael S. Sherwin O.P. "Jeremiah: The People of God's Prophet of Conversion – A Reader's Theatre Presentation" in *Theologie morale fondamentale, Université de Fribourg*. (Dimanche 5 Avril, 2009) <http://www.unifr.ch/tmf/Jeremiah-The-People-of-God-s> Accessed 29th October, 2013.

reference to the lion of Judah, who has been defeated and humiliated by Syria, Ephraim and the son of Remaliah who had ‘taken evil counsel against thee’ (7:5).

The next panel represents the marriage of Isaiah to ‘the prophetess’ mentioned in chapter 8 verse 3. Isaiah is shown holding the hand of the prophetess, who remains unnamed. Very little is known about this woman – she may be called “The prophetess” either because, like Deborah (Judges 4:4), she also could prophesy, or more likely, because she was married to Isaiah. The text does not specifically mention marriage however, it merely states “And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare a son. Then said the Lord to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz” (meaning “spoil quickly, plunder speedily”) (8:3).¹³⁷ Because the Lord had told him what to do, and because he took two witnesses with him, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (8:2), both of whom are depicted in this window, it is generally accepted that a marriage took place, even though the reason his wife is referred to as ‘the prophetess’, rather than his wife is a source of debate. As there is no evidence that she delivered prophetic oracles, it has been suggested that because she bore children with prophetic names, she was involved in the communication of God’s message. Through the birth and naming of this child, the Lord gives a timeframe for the invasion of Assyria that will lead to the defeat of Syria and Israel (8:3).

The next panel upwards depicts Isaiah showing the sundial to king Hezekiah, portraying the scene from chapter 38 of the text where Isaiah is sent to inform Hezekiah of his impending death, as a result of his sickness. Isaiah’s words – “Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live” (38:1), literally put the fear of God into Hezekiah, who turns towards the wall praying and weeping (38:2-3). His prayers are heard, and Isaiah is once again commissioned by God to go to Hezekiah and tell him “I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years. And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will defend this city” (38:5-6). God therefore not only extends Hezekiah’s life, but he also offers assurance of delivery from the Assyrian threat. The panel shows Hezekiah reclined on his bed, with Isaiah approaching him, and pointing to a sundial which is positioned behind the bed. This refers to the sign that the Lord gives Hezekiah, indicating that what has been spoken by Isaiah will come to pass – “And this shall be a sign unto thee from the Lord, that the Lord will do this thing that he hath spoken; Behold I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun dial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward.” (38:7-8). The text then records that “the sun

¹³⁷ For a discussion on the symbolic and prophetic nature of the names of Isaiah’s sons see J.J. M Roberts, “Isaiah and His Children” *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, eds. S. Iwry, A Kort, S. Morschauer (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1985) 198-203.

returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down”. It is interesting to note that the text specifies that the *sun* itself rather than the sundial goes back ten degrees, indicating that the shadow on the dial went back ten steps, a miracle of nature itself. The story of the strange behaviour of the sundial of Ahaz, which was probably of Egyptian or Babylonian design, is also recorded in 2 Kings 20:8-12 and is possibly the earliest recorded account of a sundial in history. According to van Dorp the miracle of the retreating shadow on the sundial of Ahaz has historically been interpreted as the effect of an eclipse, a refraction of light, a sun dog (Gk. *Παρήλιον*)_or an earthquake.¹³⁸ It is interesting to speculate whether the ‘wonder that was done in the land’ which the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon came to enquire about in 2 Chronicles 32:31 could be related to this incident. According to van Dorp “Retrogradation of shadow on the sundial of Ahaz [however] can be described in accordance with the laws of nature we are familiar with” and is a natural phenomenon that occurs under certain circumstances everywhere in the world.¹³⁹ To Hezekiah and the people of Jerusalem in the second half of the eighth century BCE, however, it was a sign of God’s promise and protection. There is little doubt that the congregation of St. Fin Barre’s in the late 19th century also interpreted this text from a pre-critical and supernatural perspective.

The last panel in this window depicts *Isaiah touched by a live coal*, which is taken from chapter 6 verses 6 and 7. The text tells us that the timing of this vision was the year king Uzziah died. The death of Uzziah in about 750 BC marked a crisis in the leadership of the people of Judah. The accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the throne of Assyria in 745 BC instigated a reign which propelled Assyria to the ranks of an invincible superpower which threatened the independence of all the nations in the Ancient Near East. It is no coincidence that God chose this moment in the nation’s history to encourage Isaiah and to demonstrate that he (Yahweh) was in control despite the appearance of outward events. Isaiah’s vision is of the glory of Yahweh upon his throne, above which stood the Seraphim each one having six wings, “with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly” (6:2). The glory of the Lord was pronounced by the Seraphim with the cry “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory” (v.3), causing the posts of the door to move and smoke filled the house.¹⁴⁰ Overwhelmed by the glorious

¹³⁸ Jaap Van Dorp, “The Prayer of Isaiah and the Sundial of Ahaz (2 Kgs. 20:11)” *Psalms and Prayers: Papers read at the joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentische Werkgezelschape in Nederland en België, Apeldoorn, August 2006* eds. B. Becking and E. Peels (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007), 253.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 265.

¹⁴⁰ Hugh of St. Victor interprets Isaiah’s vision as an initiation into the mystery of God which is experienced most especially in a divine worship that is guided by gratitude for creation. See Grover A. Zinn Jr., “Hugh of

vision, Isaiah cries “Woe is me! For I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts” (v.5). The moment captured in this panel is the point where one of the Seraphim flew to Isaiah, holding a hot coal which he had taken from the altar with a tongs. Isaiah is shown on his knees, facing the seraph who holds out the hot coal to place it on Isaiah’s tongue, when, according to the text the angel declared “Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged” (6:7). Isaiah then hears the voice of the Lord inquiring “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” Isaiah replies that he will go, and asks the Lord to send him. (6:8). The portrayal of the seraph in the panel is impressive, with the colours of the six wings in blues, greens and reds lending a dynamic power to the image.

This visionary encounter marks the beginning of Isaiah’s mission to bring the people of Judah back to God, but as von Rad points out “

Yet God erected a terrible barrier against Isaiah and his preaching: he hardened Israel’s heart. Isaiah was told as early as the time of his call that it was his task to make the heart of this people ‘fat’, and their ears dull, and to ‘plaster over’ their eyes, that they ‘might hear with their own ears and yet understand nothing, and see with their own eyes and yet perceive nothing’ (Is. 6:9f).¹⁴¹

Like all the prophets Isaiah faced hostility, rejection and hardness of heart, which led to him engaging in fierce verbal attacks on his own people. According to Sawyer an ancient Jewish midrash suggested that the reason why one of the seraphim burned his lips with a coal from the altar was to punish him for the cruel words uttered against them.¹⁴² However, Isaiah’s harsh indictment of the behaviour of his people arose from a deep commitment to his mission to turn them back to their God in a spirit of repentance and to bring God’s protection back to them. Von Rad points out that the preaching of Isaiah represents the theological high point of the whole Old Testament, and “not one of the other prophets approaches Isaiah in intellectual vigour, or, more particularly, in the magnificent sweep of his ideas”.¹⁴³ He was central in the history of the people of Israel, serving his people as a prophet at a time roughly halfway between the days of Moses and Christ. Many of his words were perceived by Christians as directly anticipating Christ, who quoted directly from the prophet on many occasions, most notably in Luke 4:17-19, where he declares that Isaiah’s prophecy is fulfilled by him. Barker adds that most of the Old Testament

St. Victor, Isaiah’s Vision, and *De arca noe*” in *The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood. (Blackwell, 1952), 99-116.

¹⁴¹ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Vol. II*, 151.

¹⁴² John F. A. Sawyer, “Isaiah” *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*, eds. M. Lieb, E. Mason, and J. Roberts, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 53.

¹⁴³ Von Rad, Vol. II, 147.

quotations and allusions in the New Testament, and over half of the quotations attributed to Jesus himself are from Isaiah, indicating that Jesus identified closely with the prophet.¹⁴⁴

The Ezekiel window in this south transept series depicts four scenes from the prophet's life as follows: *Ezekiel writes on a tile*, *Ezekiel Preaching to the Jews*, *Ezekiel and the elders*, and *Ezekiel's vision of eagles* [Fig.27]. While Ezekiel and Jeremiah were more or less contemporaries, it is worth establishing that Ezekiel arrived in Babylon with the first deportation in 598, that he was called there to be a prophet in 593, and that his mission lasted until about 571. His great interest in the happenings in Jerusalem, to the point that he at times seems to be living there rather than Babylon is testament to his position as an exile maintaining links with and longing for his homeland. His writings are replete with allegories, visions and action parables, which lend themselves easily to visual representation.

The first panel *Ezekiel writes on a tile* reflects the fact that Ezekiel needed to write down his message, because of his position as an exiled prophet. This panel shows Ezekiel, seated under a tree bearing vividly coloured fruit, writing on a large tile. The city of Jerusalem seems to loom in the background, and 'Jerusalem' is inscribed in gold lettering overhead the figure of the prophet. The text describes the words spoken to Ezekiel as a command, addressing him as 'son of man', and instructing him to "Take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem: And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about" (Ezek. 4:1,2). The clay tablet was the common writing material in Mesopotamia, so in this symbolic action, Ezekiel was commanded to sketch a diagram of Jerusalem on a tile or a brick, making use of the Babylonian writing material available to him as an exile. The panel portrays the sketch of the city visible in the background on the tile in Ezekiel's hands. His instruction to lay siege to the city suggests that the plan of the siege is drawn on the tile. By the use of this symbolic action, Ezekiel joins Jeremiah in affirming the destruction of Jerusalem against the expectations of his listeners. The tile diagram was therefore intended as a sign for the house of Israel.

The next panel depicts *Ezekiel preaching to the Jews*. This image can be more specifically named as it clearly represents the death of his wife. The image appears to be taken from chapter 24:16, following the death of his wife, as it shows Ezekiel speaking to several figures that stand over the body of a dead woman. It refers to the fact that following his

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Barker, "Isaiah" *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* eds. J.D.G. Dunn, J.W. Rogerson, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 490.

wife's death, the woman referred to as 'the desire of thine eyes' (24:16), Ezekiel was commanded not to grieve, but to continue preaching. According to the text the prophet was to "Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men" (24:17). Ezekiel obeys this difficult commandment, speaking to the people the morning after the death of his beloved wife. This incident highlights the total commitment to their calling which was demanded of the prophets. The Jews understood that there must have been some underlying meaning to this very strange behaviour by Ezekiel, and they question him about the meaning of his actions (24:18). Ezekiel explains that he had just lost the desire of his eyes, the one who was most precious to him, and in a similar way, they were about to lose what was most precious to them, namely the temple, and they will do as he has done (v.22). Ezekiel is explaining that when they hear of the destruction of their precious temple, they will be unable to observe the conventional mourning customs because of their great shock. Once again the Lord had appointed Ezekiel as a sign to the exiles. As the prophet had refrained from mourning his beloved wife, the exiles will do the same when the events prophesied come to pass. As a result of Ezekiel's actions, when the news of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple reached their ears, they would know that the event had been decreed by the Lord. This comparison between the grief of Ezekiel at the death of his wife, and the grief of the exiles at the destruction of the temple is a vivid illustration of the love that the Jews had for their temple, and their utter shock and dismay when Ezekiel's prophecy was fulfilled.

The upper panel in this window depicts *Ezekiel's vision of eagles*, visually representing the Eagle parable from chapter 17. The panel depicts Ezekiel sitting on the left hand side, gazing upwards at two eagles enclosed against a blue background containing images of verdant leaves, presumably representing the cedar tree referred to in verse 3. One of the eagles is holding a branch in its mouth, also according to the text. The text reads as follows: "And the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, put forth a riddle, and speak a parable unto the house of Israel..." (Ezek. 17:1,2). A riddle (*hîdâ*) is a dark utterance which must be interpreted, while a parable or allegory (*māšāl*) is a spiritual truth conveyed in a material form, but in this narrative the two words are practically synonymous. In this case, the Lord provides the riddle, and it is incumbent upon king Zedakiah to solve it, for the independence of his kingdom depends upon it. The first great eagle described in the text "with great wings, longwinged, full of feathers, which had divers colours" (17:3) which came to Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar, is representative of

Nebuchadnezzar, a great king who swooped down upon his prey and crushed them. The various colours described in the text may represent the many nations that were subject to him. The reference to Lebanon and the cedar branch represent the land of Israel, and Judah in particular, and Jerusalem respectively. The top of the cedar represents the nobility of the city who would be transported to Babylon following the invasion of the Babylonian king in 597 BC. The text refers to the top of the young twigs, probably representing the young king Jehoiachin which is carried to “a land of traffick; he set it in a city of merchants” (v. 4), which is obviously Babylon. The implantation of the seed of the land “in a fruitful field...by great waters” (v.5) refers to the appointment of Zedekiah to the throne by Nebuchadnezzar. The seed is spread and became a vine of low stature (v.6), referring to the limited power enjoyed by Zedekiah as a vassal king. The second great eagle portrayed in the panel, and described in the text as having great wings and many feathers (v.7) refers to the Egyptian Pharaoh Hophra to whom the vine is said to have “bend her roots toward him and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation” (v.7). This can be understood to refer to Zedekiah’s request for military aid from Pharaoh against Nebuchadnezzar, resulting ultimately in the complete destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and Zedekiah’s deportation to Babylon. Because Zedekiah had sworn an oath of loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar in Yahweh’s name, and because he had broken the oath by enlisting the help of the Egyptians in rebelling against the Babylonians, the three rhetorical questions in verse 15 point to the futility of this course. Verse 16 starkly sets out the fate of Zedekiah and Jerusalem as follows: “As I live, saith the Lord, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despised, and whose covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die”. Zedekiah and Jerusalem fell within two years of his plea for help to the Egyptians, and when the events prophesied by Ezekiel took place, his listeners would know that “I the Lord have spoken it (v. 21).¹⁴⁵

Chapter 17 ends in a note of hope however, with the original parable being redefined and expanded. Although the Davidic covenant will not be maintained by either Zedekiah or Jehoiachin, it will nevertheless continue. In the original riddle, the great eagle represented Nebuchadnezzar, but in its reuse in verses 22-24, it is Yahweh himself who will “take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant it upon an high mountain and eminent” (v.22). This cedar will bear good fruit, and the birds of the air will shelter under it. The final verse of chapter

¹⁴⁵ For interesting background information to the other biblical sources recounting the fate of Zedekiah see Simon Bakon, “Zedekiah: Last King of Judah” *Jewish Bible Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2008) 93-101.

17 looks forward to a future where the high tree will be brought down and the lowly tree will be exalted, when Yahweh will re-establish the Davidic king by his own gracious action, whenever he sees fit (v.24). Christians have always understood this prophecy to have been fulfilled with the incarnation, and this final verse is cross referenced in the King James Bible with Luke 1:52, taken from the Magnificat – “He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree”. Both the creators and the viewers of this window would have understood the text in this way, as they would have understood all of the windows in the transept which illustrate the lives of the prophets who foretold the coming of a Messiah. Ezekiel has traditionally been regarded as one of the most difficult prophets to interpret as some of the imagery appears cryptic and bizarre, but Von Rad points out that:-

What is really remarkable and intriguing, however, is that Ezekiel finds a place for rational reflection beside the visionary and inspired elements in his work. No other prophet feels so great a need to think out problems so thoroughly and to explain them with such complete consistency. In other words, Ezekiel is not only a prophet, but a theologian as well. And this double office was essential for him, because he confronted a presumptuous and indeed rebellious generation for which a prophet’s preaching was not enough; he had to debate and argue with it.¹⁴⁶

All of the prophets portrayed in these windows faced the unenviable task of attempting to bring the people of Israel back to the covenant with their God, mostly at times of great historical and political crises. They inevitably faced obduracy, hostility, and even death threats. However, even in the act of proclaiming judgement against Israel, through powerful imagery and inspired words, they also conveyed a message of salvation and comfort which has held a powerful resonance throughout the millennia. Von Rad points out that the history of the study of the prophets is not a long one, and that prophecy as an independent religious phenomenon was not discovered until the nineteenth century, when this whole new area of biblical studies was brought to light.¹⁴⁷ The influence of the new emphasis on prophecy as separate from the ‘Law’ extended far beyond the limits of specialist scholarship, as from the time of Luther to the middle of the nineteenth century the view that the prophets were interpreters of the law of Moses was maintained in Protestantism. As Von Rad states “All at once the prophets emerged from the shadows which had obscured their real significance”.¹⁴⁸ In the imagery of the windows in St. Fin Barre’s, which portray events in the lives of the prophets in such vivid detail, we see the beginnings of this new understanding of the prophetic office, and an emerging awareness of the enormous significance of the prophets in

¹⁴⁶ Von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets*, 192.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 13.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

salvation history can be detected in the attention to detail that has been examined in these windows.

The detailed examination carried out above of the windows in the nave and the North and South Transepts completes the illustration of scenes from the Old Testament. Apart from six windows depicting kings and saints, two in the north transept clerestory depicting King Josiah and King Hezekiah, and in the south transept clerestory four windows depicting Obadiah and Amos, and Isaac and Abraham, the remainder of the windows apart from the Zodiac windows in the nave clerestory depict scenes from the New Testament. As the remainder of these Old Testament windows are inaccessible to the viewer, it is sufficient to mention them before attending to the windows in the ambulatory depicting the life of Christ, and the apocalyptic visions taken from the Book of Revelation. The choir clerestory windows depict individual characters who held various roles in the crucifixion drama, as well as the depiction of Our Lord as King crucified.

Ambulatory Windows – The Life of Christ/Apocalyptic Visions.

The first window in this series depicts three scenes which precede the birth of Christ in Luke's Infancy Narrative. They portray *Zacharias's vision*, *Circumcision of St. John the Baptist*, and *St. John the Baptist Preaching* [Fig.28]. The lower panel depicts Zechariah on the right in the temple holding a golden censer in his hands, which complies with the Lukan text – "According to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord" (Luke 1:9). The angel stands on the left with hand raised in the act of making the announcement of the imminent birth of a son to Zacharias and Elizabeth, his wife – "But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John" (1:13).

The middle panel depicts the scene of the circumcision of John with Zacharias seated on the right writing on a tablet, in accordance with Luke's text when the baby was about to be named after his father (1:59). The gospel narrative tells us that "He asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And they marvelled all" (1:63).

The upper panel portrays John the Baptist preaching, following the Lukan narrative from chapter 3, where John is described as coming into the wilderness as follows: - "And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins" (3:3). All four gospels quote Isaiah 40:3 to identify John as 'the voice crying in the wilderness "Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make his paths straight" (Mark 1:3; Matt. 3:3;

Luke 3:4; John 1:23). John is depicted in the centre of the panel, surrounded by three other figures, including various types such as a soldier and what appears to be a tax collector carrying a purse around his waist, confirming that this scene is taken from Luke's account, which describes the scene as follows: - "Then came also publicans to be baptized, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you. And the soldiers likewise demanded of him saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages" (Luke 3:12-14). This material contains a strong ethical element, which is unique to Luke, and its representation in the window suggests that the creators of the window wished to emphasise this ethical dimension to its congregation. The emphasis on repentance and social concern is a major theme of Luke's gospel, and this panel successfully draws attention to this element of John the Baptist's message. It is also an indication of how visual representation of the biblical narrative can emphasise the unique elements of narratives which are common to each of the evangelists.

The next window in the north of the ambulatory continues with the narrative of John the Baptist, portraying the following three scenes: - *St. John the Baptist Baptising*, *St. John the Baptist Reproves Herod*, and *St. John the Baptist beheaded* [Fig. 29]. The lower panel depicts John on the left, pouring water on the head of a man who bows in supplication, while another man waits behind. Neither of these figures represents Jesus, as they are not depicted with halos, a common iconographical device in imagery of the Baptism of the Lord. This scene is common to all the gospel accounts (Matt. 3:1-12; Mark 1:2-8; Luke 3:1-18; John 1:19-28) and this panel does not contain any unique element which would identify it as coming from any particular gospel.

The middle panel which portrays John the Baptist reproving Herod is taken from three gospel accounts (Matt. 14:4; Mark. 6:18; Luke 3:19-20). John's gospel mentions John's imprisonment in 3:24, but does not give an account of his death at the hands of Herod. This panel depicts John the Baptist on the right wearing a cloak and holding a staff raising his hand in disapproval at Herod and Herodias, the wife of Herod's brother, Philip, whom Herod had married. This scene depicts John's censure of the couple for having defied the law in this regard (Mark 6:18). According to Mark's gospel, it was Herodias who wanted John killed, while Herod resisted as he regarded John as "a righteous and holy man" and he liked to listen to him even though he found him puzzling (Mark 6:20). Matthew's gospel however records that Herod also wanted to kill him, but feared the crowds "because they

counted him as a prophet” (Matt. 14:5). This panel sets the scene for the upper panel depicting the beheading of John the Baptist.

The upper panel shows how Herod and Herodias found their opportunity to have John put to death on Herod’s birthday, when the daughter of Herodias danced for Herod, who was so pleased that he promised to give her anything she requested (Mark 6:22; Matt. 14:7). Mark’s account continues with the idea that John’s death was premeditated by Herodias by the use of the words “And when a convenient day was come, that Herod on his birthday made a supper to his Lords” (Mark 6:21). The panel shows John kneeling in prayer at the feet of the executioner, who holds a sword in his hand, with Herodias and her daughter looking on. The daughter, traditionally referred to as Salome, is shown holding a golden plate, reflecting the biblical text where she made her request to Herod – “And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou give me by and by in a charger the head of John the Baptist” (Mark 6:24 cf. Matt. 14:8). The presence of the two women in the scene can be attributed to artistic licence, as both Mark and Matthew recount that Herod sent an executioner to the prison to carry out the execution, and that his head was brought to the girl, who in turn brought it to her mother (Mark 6:28; Matt. 14:11). It is highly unlikely that the two women would have witnessed the execution first hand in the prison cell. The gospel accounts tell us that his disciples came and buried the body (Mark 6:29; Matt. 14:12), and went to tell Jesus. When informed of the death of John, Jesus departed by ship to a quiet place, no doubt to mourn the death of this fearless prophet of the new Messianic age.

The death of John the Baptist is also recorded by Josephus who recounts that Herod had him executed because he was drawing crowds who were greatly influenced by his preaching. Josephus’s account describes John being taken to the fortress of Machaerus in Perea, part of Herod’s territories across the Jordan where he had him beheaded. As Revd. Dr. EDH Carmichael pointed out in a paper given on the feast of John the Baptist in St. John’s College, Oxford in 2011 “This account of John’s death is not incompatible with the perhaps folk-lore, but possibly historical, account of the birthday party in Mark and Matthew”.¹⁴⁹

The next window in the north of the ambulatory depicts three scenes from Luke’s Infancy Narrative, the *Annunciation*, *Visitation* and *Nativity* [Fig. 30]. Because these scenes are a particular feature of Roman Catholic iconography, and because we will be undertaking a detailed examination of this iconography in the next chapter, it will only be necessary to

¹⁴⁹ Carmichael, Revd. Dr. EDH, “St. John the Baptist: Theology and History in the NT and Josephus” In *St. John the Baptist and his Cults*. Oxford: 2011.

give a brief analysis of the imagery in the next three windows. In the process, we will note any discernible variation in interpretation, if such variation exists. As this type of iconography usually conforms to a particular pattern which has been extant since the Middle Ages, it is unlikely that any considerable differences will be evident. Nevertheless, we will be alert to this possibility.

The lower panel depicts the Annunciation in a conventional style, with Mary seated on the right hand side, and the angel approaching from the left with hand raised in the act of making the announcement “And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus” (Luke 1:31). Mary holds a spindle in her hand, while the dove as symbol of the Holy Spirit is shown in the foreground. The standard iconographical feature of a lily, symbolising purity, is shown in the centre. The middle panel depicts Mary visiting her kinswoman Elizabeth, having been told by the angel that “she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren” (1:36). A male figure with a halo stands behind Mary, indicating that this is Joseph rather than Zacharias, as also evidenced by his relative youth. There is no mention of the presence of either Zacharias or Joseph in the Lukan text, however, so we can assume a certain amount of artistic licence here also. The nativity scene in the upper panel differs somewhat from standard Roman Catholic portrayals in that Mary is depicted reclining on a wooden bench [Fig. 31], rather than kneeling beside the Christ child in the manger. In this scene it is Joseph who kneels on the left beside the infant, and although there is no biblical imperative to portray Mary in any particular position in Luke’s narrative, it does strike an unusual note for those familiar with the Roman Catholic imagery of the Nativity. The depiction of Mary reclining was the norm in Byzantine art however, and it was Franciscan influence as well as the influence of the visions of St. Bridget of Sweden in the fourteenth century, that initiated the image of Mary kneeling in adoration in front of the Christ child.¹⁵⁰ This return to the early imagery in the panel in St. Fin Barre’s possibly reflects identification with pre-Reformation Christian iconography. Three angels appear overhead the holy family, and the ox and the ass are included according to tradition, in spite of the fact that they are not mentioned in the Infancy narrative. The Old Testament references that were used to support their inclusion are taken from Isaiah 1:3 – “The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider”.

¹⁵⁰ See early 16th century stained glass representation of Mary & Joseph adoring the Christ Child in <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86102/mary-and-joseph-adoring-the-panel-hirschvogel-veit-the/> Accessed 12/2/12.

The next window continues the theme of the Lukan Infancy narrative, and depicts the *Shepherds and the angel, Shepherds worshipping and the Adoration of the Magi* [Fig.32]. The lower panel portrays two shepherds gazing upwards at an angel who is making the announcement recorded in Luke – “And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord” (2:11). The middle panel shows the shepherds worshipping on their knees before the Christ child who sits on Mary’s lap, raising his hand in blessing. Joseph stands behind watching protectively. Luke describes how the shepherds, having seen the Christ child “made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child. And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds” (2:17,18). The upper panel depicts the Adoration of the Magi, which is recounted in Matthew’s gospel. This is a standard representation of this scene, showing Mary holding the Christ child, with Joseph in the background, the three Magi depicted as kings wearing crowns, and holding the gifts according to Matthew’s description – “And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold and frankincense and myrrh” (Matt. 2:11).

The images from Luke and Matthew’s Infancy Narratives are such a familiar part of Christian heritage, and follow such a traditional iconographical pattern that very little difference can be detected between the images portrayed in different Christian traditions. Apart from the image of Mary reclining in the nativity scene in these windows, which would be very rare in Roman Catholic imagery, there is nothing to distinguish these windows from similar windows in a Roman Catholic church. The next chapter will investigate this imagery in a Roman Catholic context in Loughrea Cathedral.

The next window in this series depicts two scenes from Matthew’s gospel: *Flight in Egypt*, and *Massacre of the innocents*, and one scene from Luke – *Christ disputing with the doctors* [Fig.33]. The lower panel depicts Mary, Joseph and the child Jesus departing for Egypt following the warning given to Joseph in a dream about Herod’s murderous intentions - “Behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him” (Matt. 2:13). This image typically shows Mary and Jesus seated on the donkey, which is led by Joseph holding a staff. The middle panel portrays one of the most disturbing scenes from the bible, that of the Massacre

of the Innocents. Matthew's gospel recounts Herod's anger on hearing that the wise men had fooled him – "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men" (Matt. 2:16). This panel shows one soldier viciously holding up a baby in one hand, with a sword in the other facing a kneeling mother, who appears to be pleading for the life of her child. Another baby lies on the ground, presumably having been killed by a soldier standing over it, while a weeping woman is visible in the background. Matthew's gospel refers to the words of Jeremiah in verse 17 and 18 – "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not". This scene has a long history of representation in art, and the historicity of the event has long been argued amongst biblical scholars. The various arguments in favour or against the historicity of the event need not concern us, it is sufficient to remark that the brutality exhibited by Herod in this biblical narrative is not inconsistent with extra biblical accounts of Herod's ruthless cruelty. According to Josephus, Herod "never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies".¹⁵¹ Sebag Montefiore's recent work on the history of Jerusalem states that "He grew up using death as a political tool: paranoid, over-sensitive, almost hysterical, this tough teenager, a 'man of great barbarity' as well as sensitivity, played to survive and dominate at all costs".¹⁵² While modern historians may question the historicity of this incident from Matthew's gospel, it is unlikely that any member of the late 19th century congregation of St. Fin Barre's would have questioned this incident.

The upper panel in this window is taken from the account of Christ disputing with the doctors in chapter 2 of Luke's gospel. Having noticed that they left Jesus behind them in Jerusalem, his parents returned, and according to the Lukan narrative "And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions" (Luke 2:46). The panel depicts Jesus in the centre, with two of the doctors on his right, one standing beside him, and the other seated with a scroll in his hand. The scroll of the Torah is strategically placed on the ground before him. Mary and Joseph are depicted on the left, looking on in wonderment – Luke's account says that "when they saw him they were amazed" (2:48). Mary questions him as to why he

¹⁵¹Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 15 <http://www.biblestudytools.com/history/flavius-josephus/antiquities-jews/book-15/chapter-1.html> p.1. Accessed 6th November, 2013.

¹⁵² Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 74.

has caused them such anxiety, and Jesus' response "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business" (2:49) is not understood by Mary and Joseph, but Luke tells us for the second time in his gospel that Mary kept all these saying in her heart (2:51). The title of this panel is interesting, as it points to a not dissimilar interpretation of this scene to depictions normally associated with Roman Catholic churches, where the scene is generally referred to as "The finding in the Temple", reflecting the significance of the scene as one of the joyful mysteries of the rosary. Both titles reflect a slight difference in emphasis – the Church of Ireland emphasises Jesus' central role in the scene, while the Roman Catholic emphasis is placed more on the perspective of Mary.

This window completes the depiction of the Infancy Narratives, and it is worth noting at this point that, apart from the Nativity scene, the occurrence of these scenes is substantially greater in Roman Catholic churches than in Church of Ireland churches. In a study done on the percentage of different themes occurring in both traditions by Rogers,¹⁵³ it is notable that the Annunciation, Visitation, Flight into Egypt and Presentation scenes appear in far fewer Church of Ireland churches. However, this disparity is not as obvious in the case of the boy Jesus in the temple. The occurrence of these scenes in the Joyful mysteries of the rosary goes some way to explaining their popularity in Roman Catholic churches, and their strong Marian emphasis probably explains why they are less popular in Church of Ireland churches. St. Fin Barre's appears to be the exception to this general tendency, which possibly reflects the Tractarian influence which guided the building of the cathedral. The fact that the windows follow a logical iconographic sequence which covers the entire Old and New Testaments is also significant.

The following series of windows detail the life of Christ from his baptism to the Ascension, beginning with the fifth window from east in the north of the ambulatory which depicts the *Baptism of Christ*, the *Calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew*, and *Wedding feast at Cana* [Fig.34]. The baptism scene in the lower panel is a conventional treatment of the theme, with Jesus in the centre, standing in the Jordan stripped to the waist, as John the Baptist pours water over his head. Two angels appear on the left, one of whom appears to be holding Jesus' cloak, and the dove representing the Holy Spirit appears overhead. All four gospels record the baptism of Jesus, although John's gospel refers to it only indirectly (Mark 1:9-11; Matt. 3:13-17; Luke 3:21-23; John 1:29-33). Mark and Luke record a voice from heaven addressing Jesus by saying "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased"

¹⁵³ See Jessie Rogers, "Biblical Themes in Stained Glass" Presentation *Sárthaispeántas Taighde 2011*, Mary Immaculate College, (30th August, 2011).

(Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22) while Matthew has the voice address the crowd saying “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased” (Matt. 3:17). After the baptism the Synoptic gospels recount the temptation of Jesus, when he withdrew to the Judean desert to fast for forty days and nights. Following his sojourn in the desert, Jesus returned to Galilee where he called his first disciples, Peter and Andrew, depicted in the middle panel of this window. Peter is portrayed sitting in their boat, and Andrew is portrayed casting a net into the sea as detailed in the accounts given in Mark 1:16-18, and Matthew 4:18-20. Jesus is on the left with his hand raised in a gesture of calling, reflecting the text – “And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men” (Mark 1:17; cf. Matt. 4:19) The upper panel is taken from the narrative of the Wedding at Cana, which is unique to John’s gospel. It portrays Jesus in the centre of the table with Mary on his right hand side, and the bride and groom, wearing floral headpieces on his left. The governor of the feast is positioned at the front of the table, as the servant kneels before him holding a waterpot of stone, in accordance with the text, where six waterpots are filled to the brim with water upon the command of Jesus (John 2:7). The miracle performed, whereby the water is turned to wine is described in John’s gospel as the “beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested for this glory; and his disciples believed on him” (2:11).

The next window, fourth from east, north ambulatory portrays two scenes; the first depicts *Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well*, taken from John’s gospel, the second the *Transfiguration*, taken from the Synoptic gospels [Fig. 35]. The lower panel depicts Christ seated at the well, with the Samaritan woman standing to the left, holding a vessel for drawing water. Two of the disciples stand at the right hand side, therefore it can be assumed that this scene is taken from the end of the gospel narrative. At the beginning of the encounter the text recounts “For his disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat” (John 4:8). The disciples therefore were not there to witness the conversation between the woman and Jesus, which began with Jesus’ request that the woman give him water to drink (v.7). The fact that Jesus begins this conversation with a woman, let alone a Samaritan is highly unorthodox in the context of Jewish society of the time, and this is emphasised by the gospel writer on the disciples’ return – “And upon this came his disciples, and marvelled that he talked with the woman: yet no man said, What seekest thou? Or “Why talkest thou with her?” What the disciples had missed was one of the most interesting encounters between Jesus and a woman recorded in the gospels, where Jesus, hinting at his identity, speaks of the living water that he alone could give which would spring up into everlasting life (4:10). The dialogue which follows, where Jesus tells the woman about her past and

present relationships leads her to make the assumption that he is a prophet (4:16-19), whereupon, following a discussion on where worship should take place, Jesus states “But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth” (4:23-24). In portraying the disciples’ surprise on their return, this scene highlights their lack of understanding that the Samaritan woman’s testimony would become instrumental in bringing her village to faith in Jesus as recounted at in verse 39 – “And many of the Samaritans of that city believed on him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He told me all that ever I did”. Brown’s comment on this entire encounter is apposite:

Misunderstanding (v.11), irony (v.12), the quick changing of an embarrassing subject (v. 19), the front and back stage (v.29), the Greek Chorus effect of the villagers (vv. 34-42) – all these dramatic touches have been skilfully applied to make this one of the most vivid scenes in the gospel, and to give the magnificent doctrine of living water a perfect setting.¹⁵⁴

The upper panel portrays Peter James and John looking upwards, towards Jesus who is flanked by Moses on the left, holding the tablets of the covenant, and Elijah on the right holding a book, which presumably is the Nevi’im, the book of Prophets. All the synoptic gospels record this event, with each of them agreeing that Peter, James and John were the witnesses to (Matt. 17:1-9; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36). The Transfiguration is also referred to in 2 Peter 1:16-18, where the writer states “For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount”. Apart from the presence of Moses and Elijah, which identify this image as the Transfiguration, it would be difficult to distinguish it from any other portrait of Christ. Matthew’s gospel records that Jesus “was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light” (17:2). However, in this portrayal Christ is wearing a standard white and red garment, and his face does not appear any brighter than the other characters in the panel. The appearance of shafts of blue light behind the figures of Jesus, Moses and Elijah indicates that the creator of the window used this method to convey the “glory” referred to in the text. Together with the Resurrection and the Ascension, the Transfiguration, because of its transcendent nature, poses serious challenges for the artist. The Transfiguration narrative in the synoptics points

¹⁵⁴ Raymond E. Brown, “The Gospel According to John I-XII”, in *Anchor Bible Series*, Vol. 29 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 176.

unambiguously to the divine identity of Jesus, and indicates to the apostles and to the reader that Jesus transcends the witness of Moses and Elijah, because of his filial relationship with God.

The next window in the ambulatory, third from east portrays *The raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, and Christ teaching in the temple* [Fig. 36]. The lower panel shows Mary kneeling at the feet of Jesus, with Martha standing behind according to the account in John 11:32. This is the scene where Mary goes to meet Jesus, and declares that had he been there earlier, her brother Lazarus would not have died. Jesus, seeing Mary weeping for her brother was troubled, and asked to see Lazarus. John 11:58 contains the shortest, but one of the most profound sentences in the King James Bible, “Jesus wept”. The tears shed for his friends lead to the most important miracle recorded – the raising of Lazarus from the dead after four days (11:39). Lazarus is shown in the background, bound in burial clothes, while one other figure stands beside Jesus – probably Thomas who declared his intention to accompany Jesus to Bethany “that we may die with him” (11:16).

The middle panel, the Entry into Jerusalem shows Jesus riding on a donkey, according to Zechariah 9:9, which is quoted in Matthew and John’s account, surrounded by figures holding palms as recounted in all the canonical gospels (Mark 11:1-11; Matt. 21:1-11; Luke 19:28-44; John 12:12-19). The event takes place in the days before the Last Supper, marking the beginning of the Lord’s passion. The upper panel portraying Christ teaching in the temple follows the entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple in the Synoptics. It shows Christ seated in the centre, surrounded by the chief priests, the scribes and the elders as described in Luke 20:1-2 who question his authority. The three figures portrayed are representatives of each of these groups. Jesus replies with a question, asking them whether the baptism performed by John came from heaven or from men (Luke 20:4). When they reply that they do not know, Jesus declares “Neither will I tell you by what authority I do these things” (Luke 20:8), whereupon he recounts the parable of the vineyard and the wicked husbandmen to the people, leaving little doubt in the minds of his listeners to whom he was referring (Luke 20: 9-19).

The next series of windows portray the Passion of Christ, beginning with the Last Supper and ending with the Ascension. As most of these scenes are also portrayed in the Passion window in Loughrea, and in the *St. John* window in the Honan chapel, it will be necessary only to look out for any particularly Protestant interpretations, in order to avoid repetition. The first window, second from east in the north ambulatory depicts the *Last Supper, Christ*

in *Gethsemane* and *Betrayal* [Fig.37]. The lower panel depicting the Last Supper, shows Christ at the table, surrounded by four apostles, one of whom is Judas, as he holds a purse. The scene is included in all four gospels (Mark 14:17-6; Matt. 26:20; Luke 22:14-39; John 13:1-17:26) and is referred to in 1 Cor. 11:23-26. There is little to distinguish this portrayal from any other portrayals, which generally conform to a particular iconographic pattern. The synoptic gospels emphasise the institution of the Eucharist, which appears to be represented in this panel, while John places emphasis on the washing of the disciples' feet (John 13:4-10). The middle panel portraying Christ in Gethsemane is portrayed in standard iconographical form, showing Christ kneeling in prayer, with the apostles asleep behind him. All the gospels record this incident, which will be examined further in the next chapter, when dealing with the windows in Loughrea. The upper panel of this window portraying the betrayal of Judas shows Jesus in the centre being arrested by a soldier holding a spear on the left. Judas appears to the right, again identifiable by the purse at his waist, referring to John's gospel, where Judas is portrayed as carrying the money bag (John 12:6). None of these panels display a particularly Protestant interpretation, and could just as easily appear in a Roman Catholic church. Because the Passion of Christ is such an important feature of every Christian church, there has long been a tradition of portrayal, as is the case with the Infancy Narratives.

The window in the ambulatory east portrays three further scenes from the Passion, two of which will also appear in the Passion window in Loughrea. The three scenes portrayed are *Christ before the High priest*, *Christ before Pilate*, and *Deposition* [Fig.38]. The inclusion in the lower panel showing Christ before the high priest as recorded in all the gospels (Mark 14:53-65; Matt. 26:57-66; Luke 22:54; John 18:13-28) is interesting, as this is not generally included in Roman Catholic churches, which tend to concentrate on Jesus before Pilate. Here Jesus is portrayed before Caiphas, who, according to John's gospel, was high priest that year (John 18:13).¹⁵⁵ John's gospel has Jesus brought to Annas, the father-in-law of Caiphas initially, and John also records that Caiphas prophesied the salvific nature of the death of Jesus, when he stated that it was expedient that one man should die for the nation (cf. John 11:49-52). All four gospels interweave the narrative of Peter's denial within the appearance before the high priest. In all the gospels the high priest questions Jesus as to his identity, (Matt. 26:63; Mark 14:61; Luke 22:67; John 18:19), and accuses him of blasphemy, whereupon he is sent to Pilate. The middle panel portrays this encounter with Pilate, an encounter which is again recounted in all the gospels, even though they differ slightly in

¹⁵⁵ Caiphas is also named by Matthew (26:57) but is referred to as "the High Priest" in Mark and Luke.

dialogue, with John's gospel providing the longest and most detailed account (John 18:29-19:22). Jesus says very little in the synoptic gospels, but John's account of the conversation between Jesus and Pilate includes Pilate's infamous question "What is truth?" (18:38). However, Pilate gives in to pressure from the crowd and condemns Jesus, despite admitting that he found no fault with him (18:38).

The most notable aspect of this window is that it goes straight from the appearance before Pilate to the deposition, without including a crucifixion scene. Woods addresses this situation as follows:

Depictions of the crucifixion are frowned upon, though not forbidden in the Anglican communion, which is represented in Ireland by the Church of Ireland, the empty cross of the Resurrection being preferred. Burges came as close to providing a crucifixion scene as he could, but in choosing the deposition, he gave us a moment of even greater despair, when life had been extinguished and hope had gone.¹⁵⁶

The Crucifixion is depicted in a series of windows in the choir clerestory which was originally designed to include a window depicting *Our Lord as King crucified* [Fig.50], and several windows portraying the main characters involved in the Passion narrative, namely Joseph of Arimathea, Stephaton (the name traditionally given to the soldier, unnamed in the Gospels, who offers Jesus the vinegar-soaked sponge), Mary Magdalene at the tomb [Fig. 53], the Blessed Virgin Mary [Fig.51], St. John [Fig.52], Maria Salome [Fig.54], Longinus the centurion, and Nicodemus. Four of these have yet to be executed. The *Crucifixion* sequence in the clerestory of the chancel was to have been the visual climax of the building. Burges envisaged nine monumental figures, Our Lord and those present at the Crucifixion. He designed them and personally drew the watercolours, entrusting the cartooning to Frederick Weekes, the more robust of the two cartoonists he employed. According to Lawrence and Wilson:-

In terms of Christian theology, the sequence was to symbolize the central message of the Gospels – Christ's triumph over death – the victory of the Cross. In the centre there was to be what Pyle called 'the majestic awful figure of *Christ as King Crucified*, wearing the jewelled robes of a Byzantine Emperor. The inscription would read: IHS NAZAREUS REX JUDEREUM'¹⁵⁷.

Unfortunately, Burges's plan would never materialise. According to Lawrence and Wilson, "it was attacked on all fronts – the earliest volley being fired in 1869 and the most recent one-hundred-and-thirty years later...the design for Our Lord was rejected from the

¹⁵⁶ Richard Woods, *Searching for the New Jerusalem, The Iconography of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral*, (Lewis Glucksman Gallery, University College Cork: 22 November 2013 - 23 March 2014) 12.

¹⁵⁷ Lawrence and Wilson, *The Cathedral of St. Fin Barre at Cork*, 108.

outset”.¹⁵⁸ Although objections raised on doctrinal grounds were overcome, and Burges’s watered-down alternative design for *Our Lord*, as well as cartoons for *Mary* and *St. John* were executed by Weekes, the inability to source first-rate glass resulted in the windows losing their intensity and impact. When eventually two patrons approached to complete the windows, the loss of Saunders, who executed the best windows in the cathedral is obvious from their uninspired appearance. The last four windows were never executed. According to Lawrence and Wilson, not one patron came forward during the entire twentieth century.¹⁵⁹ It is difficult not to conclude that this lack of enthusiasm for the execution of the *Crucifixion* windows derived from discomfort on behalf of the Protestant congregation at displaying imagery pointing to the death of Christ. Whatever the cause, it is interesting to note that the *Mary* window was finally executed, together with the *St. John* window. It is conceivable to conclude however, that Burges’s plan for the *Crucifixion* sequence in the chancel clerestory was a step too far for the Protestant community worshipping in St. Fin Barre’s. The examination of the *Passion* window in Loughrea in the next chapter will highlight the different theological perspectives of the doctrine of atonement in evidence in the portrayal of the Passion of Christ.¹⁶⁰

The next window, second from east in the south ambulatory portrays the *Burial*, and *Resurrection* of Jesus [Fig. 39]. The burial scene in the lower panel depicts the body of Jesus being lifted towards the tomb, carried in a white linen shroud. There are six figures included in the scene, three female, and three male. It can safely be assumed that the three women are the three Marys, and the three men are John, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea as recounted in the four gospels with slight differences in detail (Mark 15:42-47; Matt. 15:57-61; Luke 23:50-56; John 19:38-42). The resurrection scene which follows in the upper panel depicts three soldiers guarding the empty tomb, two are asleep, and one is looking upwards to where the resurrected Christ is depicted, holding the banner of the triumphal cross (bearing a striking resemblance to the English flag), with an angel kneeling at each side. This conforms to standard iconography, which, in the absence of any biblical description of the actual resurrection, is open to the artist’s interpretation. The importance of the resurrection is demonstrated by the fact that two panels are devoted to its portrayal in this window.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 109.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p.110.

¹⁶⁰ Different interpretations of the Atonement account in some way for Protestant reluctance to portray the Crucifixion visually. It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine these differences in depth. For a recent examination of Protestant interpretation, see Derek Tidball, David Hilborn, & Justin Thacker, eds, *The Atonement Debate: Papers from the London Symposium on the Theology of Atonement*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009).

The window third from east in the ambulatory south depicts three scenes from the post-resurrection narratives [Fig. 40]. The lower panel depicts the *Angel and women at the tomb*, showing the three women approaching the angel who sits on the tomb to the viewer's left. The woman to the forefront holds a jar, which presumably holds spices, according to the account in Mark 16:1-8. Mark's account mentions three women, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, all of whom go to the tomb and encounter the "young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted" (16:5). They are told not to be afraid, that Jesus has risen, and to go and tell his disciples "that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you" (v.7). The middle and upper panels depict scenes from the narrative unique to Luke's gospel of the *Road to Emmaus* where Jesus meets the two disciples on the road (Luke 24:15), and *Supper at Emmaus*, where, having prevailed upon Jesus to stay with them, "And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight" (v. 30, 31). *The Supper at Emmaus* has a long history of representation in Christian art, most notably by Caravaggio, Velazquez and Vermeer among other great artists. The next window, fourth from east in the south ambulatory depicts the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, taken from John's gospel (20:26-29), and the *Ascension*, which is recounted in the synoptics and the Acts of the Apostles (Mark. 16:19; Luke 24:50-53; Acts 1:9-11). The lower panel shows Jesus in the centre, surrounded by three disciples, one of whom is obviously Thomas, as he is shown placing his finger in Jesus' side (20:27). The scar on Jesus' side is just visible to the viewer. The *Ascension* [Figs. 41 & 42] window in the upper panel portrays the apostles gazing upwards, where Jesus appears, holding the Triumphal Cross banner, surrounded by a mandorla, separating him from the earthbound disciples. The difficulty of portraying this scene will be discussed later, when examining Michael Healy's impressive portrayal in Loughrea Cathedral.¹⁶¹

Fifth from east in the ambulatory south the window portrays three scenes from the Acts of the Apostles. The lower panel portrays *Pentecost*, the middle shows the *Stoning of Stephen*, and the upper panel depicts the *Conversion of Saint Paul* [Fig.43]. These scenes would have had considerable significance for a Church of Ireland congregation, and it will be interesting to investigate how they are portrayed. The Pentecost panel portrays the disciples, all bearded, but for one, representing John, seated with hands joined in prayer. Shafts of coloured light appear in the background, emanating from the figure of a dove, representing

¹⁶¹ See pages 170-72 below.

the Holy Spirit, above the heads of the disciples. The scene is notable for not including Mary among the disciples, and is taken from Acts 2:1-4. Whether Mary was present or not is open to question – she is not specifically mentioned in this scene, as verse one recounts the following: “And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place” (Acts 2:1). However in 1:13, in the upper room, all of the disciples are mentioned by name, with Mary, the mother of Jesus referred to in verse 14, together with ‘the women’ and his brothers. It is open to interpretation therefore whether Mary was present or not, and the creators of this window have decided not to include her.

The middle panel depicting the stoning of Stephen is taken from chapter 7 of the Acts of the Apostles. Stephen is depicted kneeling, in accordance with verse 60 of the text: “And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep”. As the proto-martyr, Stephen’s death mirrors the death of Jesus, who also called for forgiveness for his executioners in Luke’s gospel (Luke 23:34).¹⁶² Two figures holding stones are depicted in the act of stoning Stephen (Acts 7:58) while Saul is shown in the distance, holding the clothes of the executioners as well as a sword, a standard iconographical symbol of Paul’s early persecution of the church. The upper panel depicting the Conversion of Saul, taken from Acts 9: 3-7 shows Saul having fallen to the ground, whereupon he heard a voice saying “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?” (Acts 9:4). Two soldiers are included in the scene, with one holding a horse (which is not mentioned in the text, but assumed by most artists when portraying this scene), and the other looking upwards where a hand appears from the heavens. A third figure is shown helping Paul to get up. The text reads “And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man” (v. 7). The panel dramatically depicts the moment of Saul’s conversion, which was the beginning of his ministry in the service of the Lord. This decisive moment has had enormous significance in the history of Christianity as Saul, who became known as Paul, developed a theology which was extremely influential, particularly in relation to the Reformed churches. Probably because of this, scenes from the Acts of the Apostles appear marginally more frequently in Church of Ireland churches than in Roman Catholic churches.

The next four windows all depict scenes from the Book of Revelation, with each window displaying three scenes. The first window, sixth from east in the ambulatory depicts *St.*

¹⁶² This is in keeping with the theme of forgiveness which runs through Luke-Acts. As Luke Timothy Johnson has pointed out “The main Christological perspective in Luke is that Jesus is the one who brings *shalom*, that is, peace, healing, reconciliation, forgiveness and wholeness”. See Luke Timothy Johnson, “Luke” *Sacra Pagina* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991) 9.

John the Divine at Patmos, Angels with trumpets, and Twelve elders [Fig.44]. The first scene shows an elderly John, seated with a book on his lap and a pen in his hand. This is a very literal interpretation of Revelation 1:1-3, showing the angel approaching John from the right, holding a trumpet, shielding the seated evangelist with its wing. Although modern biblical criticism questions the authorship of the Book of Revelation, the appearance of a golden eagle at the side of the chair suggests that in this depiction, John the Evangelist and John the Revelator are considered to be one and the same person. The author identifies himself as John, and states that he was on Patmos when he received the first vision (Rev. 1:9).

The middle panel shows seven angels with trumpets, illustrating the text which states “And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets” (Rev. 8:1-2). The use of trumpets in the bible generally signifies an announcement or a revelation, as Cronin points out.¹⁶³ The long horns depicted here resemble the trumpets traditionally used in rituals by the Israelites.

The upper panel depicting the twelve elders is taken from chapter 4, where the author recounts a vision of one sitting on a heavenly throne, experienced while he was “in the spirit” (v.2). Stating that “And round about the throne were four and twenty seats; and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold” (4:4). The portrayal of twelve elders in this panel suggests the difficulty of portraying vast numbers of figures in stained glass, and it can be assumed that the artist was content to show half the number referred to in the text, and to show the other half in the upper panel of the third window in this sequence. Interestingly, they do not appear in white, but multi-coloured robes.¹⁶⁴ All have their crowns in their hands, rather than on their heads, presumably out of respect for the one on the throne, to whom they bow down.

The window seventh from the east in the ambulatory continues with scenes from Revelation, depicting *Seven candlesticks of the seven churches, Emblems of the Evangelists, and Our Lord enthroned* [Fig.45]. The literature on the stained glass in the cathedral points out that this window was intended as a memorial to Burges’s father, but Burges actually died first, and the window was inscribed soon after his death with his own name. It was erected by

¹⁶³ Eileen Cronin, *A Guide to the Stained Glass Windows of Saint Fin Barre’s Cathedral, Cork*, (Cork: St. Fin Barre’s Cathedral, 2013).

¹⁶⁴ The coloured robes may be attributable to Burges’ use of coloured robes to emphasise the importance of the New Testament scenes. As Woods points out the scenes showing characters from the Old Testament are robed in white and are seen against a red or blue background. See Woods, *Searching for the New Jerusalem*, 12.

Alfred Burges in memory of his son.¹⁶⁵ The lower panel shows seven candlesticks referring to the seven golden candlesticks representing the seven churches mentioned in 1:20. It also refers to the “seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God” in chapter 4 verse 5. The candlesticks are individually coloured against a vivid blue background, and present a significant impact to the viewer. The next panel depicts the emblems of the Evangelists as presented in Revelation 4:7 – “And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle”. The four beasts are presented as winged creatures in this panel, and the eagle and the man are holding the pages of a book containing the Alpha and Omega signs. The creatures described by John have traditionally been seen to represent the four Evangelists, and refer back to the description of the four living creatures described in Ezekiel 1:10. Although neither source links the creatures to the Evangelists, they have come to be understood as representing them as follows: Matthew is represented by the winged man or angel, Mark is represented by the winged lion, Luke as the ox, and John as the eagle. A great deal of symbolic reference has been added to these emblems over the centuries, and it has been suggested that each creature is represented in its highest form, for example the man is the highest form of creation, while the lion is seen as the king of the wild beasts, the eagle is king of the birds, and the ox is king of domestic animals. This symbolism is particularly evident in early medieval manuscripts, and in the portals of many gothic cathedrals, and it is generally portrayed accompanying the imagery of Our Lord enthroned in majesty, as it is in this window.

The image of Our Lord enthroned depicts the Lord seated on a throne surrounded by a rainbow which reflects the description in Rev. 4:3 where the rainbow is said to be “in sight like unto an emerald”. He holds a golden orb in his left hand, while in his right hand he holds seven stars, representing “the angels of the seven churches” (Rev. 1:20). The sword emanating from his mouth refers to Revelation 19:15 – “And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God”. The sword has connotations of the Word of God, which is described in Hebrews 4:12 as being “sharper than any two edged sword” which pierces “even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart”.

The next window, eighth from east in the ambulatory continues with the depiction of *Two beasts, Angel with a thurible*, and twelve elders [Fig.46]. As the visions in Revelation

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 78.

become more elaborate and complex, the challenge for the artist increases, as evidenced in these windows. The two beasts depicted in the lower panel of this window are representations of the beasts referred to in chapter 13. The first beast is described as having seven heads and ten horns, upon which ten crowns are placed (13:1). The beast is described as looking like a leopard, with the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion (13:2). The second beast is described as having “two horns like a lamb” and speaking like a dragon (13:11). This depiction comes very close to a visual approximation of an image which must have been difficult to represent, and indicates a close reading of the text. Three figures wearing crowns are shown bent in supplication before the first beast, reflecting verse 12 where all the inhabitants of the earth are said to have worshipped it. The history of the reception of the book of Revelation indicates the difficulty in interpreting this challenging and difficult text. The visionary imagery portrayed however allows great scope for the artistic imagination, and artists such as William Blake have risen admirably to the challenge.¹⁶⁶

The middle panel in this window portraying the Angel with thurible is taken from Revelation 8:3-5. An angel with beautifully coloured wings holds a large incense burner or thurible on front of the golden altar “and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne” (8:3). The prayers of the saints rose before God with the smoke of the incense, underlining the importance of prayer in the life of the church. The dramatic imagery continues in the next verse which states “And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake” (8:5). The upper panel on this window shows the remaining twelve of the twenty four elders mentioned in Revelation 4:4, who are also kneeling in worship, with their crowns removed.

The last window in the south west-most section of the ambulatory depicts *St. John and an angel measuring the New Jerusalem*, the *Angel at the gate of the New Jerusalem*, and *The Lamb* [Fig.47]. The lower panel depicting St. John and the angel shows the angel on the right holding a golden measuring reed “to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof” (Rev. 21:15), while St. John follows behind. The measurements, which suggest an enormous city, highlight the concept of God as the great architect, who measures out his work, a concept which has been part of Christian thought since the Middle Ages, as well as having connections to freemasonry. The colourful background illustrates the beauty

¹⁶⁶ For further treatment of the history of interpretation see Christopher Rowland, *Apocalypse and Violence: The Evidence from the Reception History of the Book of Revelation* YCIAS, Vol. VI, <http://opus.macmillan.yale.edu/workpaper/pdfs/MESV6-1.pdf> Accessed 11th November 2013.

of the city, which is described in the text as having walls the colour of jasper, and the city itself is described as being of pure gold (21:18). The walls are garnished with precious stones (21:10), the colours of which are reflected in the window.

The Angel at the gate of the New Jerusalem in the middle panel indicates the presence of twelve angels at the twelve pearl gates referred to in verse 12 and 21 of Revelation. The gates in this image are golden, however. The upper panel portrays the Lamb, the symbol of Christ himself as the Lamb without blemish referred to in Exodus 12:5,¹⁶⁷ who was sacrificed for humanity. The Lamb is depicted with the seven horns as illustrated in the text (Rev. 5:6). The two angels seated in front of the Lamb are holding golden censers, diffusing incense. The text refers to the worship of the Lamb, recounted by the narrator as follows: “And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, “Blessing and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever” (Rev. 5:13). The vision of the Lamb is the climactic point of the book of Revelation, as expressed by Rowland in the following terms,

The climax of the vision is the merging of heaven and earth when the new Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and the divine presence is with people. In this process, the key is the vision of the slaughtered Lamb, whose vindication provokes a violent crisis in the cosmos.¹⁶⁸

The vision of the Paschal lamb completes the sequence of windows taken from the New Testament in the ambulatory. Beginning with the Infancy Narratives of Matthew and Luke, and proceeding to the vision of the Paschal Lamb in Revelation this series of windows surrounds the most sacred area in the building, the sanctuary, and their importance to the overall scheme is emphasised by an enrichment of colour. The figures appear robed in rich colour against a blue background, traditionally symbolising heaven. The notable lack of any depiction of the crucifixion in this scheme is evidence of the doctrinal objections that had been raised at the time of the decoration, and which continued to be an issue for some period of time afterwards. Richard Woods draws attention to the iconography in the ambulatory in

¹⁶⁷Leon-Dufour points out that this identification of Christ with the true paschal lamb goes back to the very origins of Christianity. Referring to 1 Cor. 5:7 where Paul exhorts the faithful of Corinth to live as if on unleavened bread “in purity and truth” because “our Pasch, Christ, has been immolated”, he states that Paul is referring to the liturgical traditions of the Christian Pasch, which took place before 55-57 A.D., the date of composition of the letter. See Xavier Leon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1997), 300. Interestingly, a synod in Constantinople in 692 forbade the use of the lamb as a symbol for Christ, but it was ignored in the West, and not much regarded in the East. See Peter Murray and Linda Murray, *A Dictionary of Christian Art*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 6.

¹⁶⁸ Christopher Rowland, *Apocalypse and Violence*, 1.

the Introduction to Eileen Cronin's recent publication examining the stained glass in the cathedral. Woods states the following: -

One panel only of these windows can be seen in its entirety as we approach the communion rails to receive communion. Strangely it shows Christ's body being taken from the Cross, that moment of apparent defeat and hopelessness. However, above it, at clerestory level, the central window shows the risen Christ, robed as a royal figure triumphant over death. Above again, on the ceiling is a depiction of Christ enthroned in Glory, added by Professor Tristram, when he executed Burges design for the ceiling during the 1930s. Burges wanted this figure to appear on the gable of the west front but doctrinal objections prevented him. Here it knits together the glass and painting scheme, giving us Christ seated on the right hand of his always invisible Father, gazing at their creation in the west window, with the works of the Holy Spirit depicted in each of the glass panels throughout the Cathedral.¹⁶⁹

The inability of the patrons to source superior glass in the 1930s has been noted above, and there is little doubt that this may be considered to have detracted somewhat from the intended impact. Whether or not this scheme is completely successful is open to debate, but there is no doubting Burges's grand vision, which created the overall unity of iconographic content within the Cathedral.

The final windows to be examined here in detail are the two rose windows in the transept. Both of these windows have eschatological themes, with the north transept rose depicting the Last Judgement [Fig. 48], and the south transept depicting the Heavenly Hierarchy [Fig.49]. The presence of the *Last Judgment* window will invite a comparison with the iconography displayed in Michael Healy's *Last Judgment* window in Loughrea Cathedral in the next chapter.

Last Judgment iconography is generally based on the Olivet discourse found in the synoptic gospels (Mark 13, Matthew 24, and Luke 21), where Jesus uses apocalyptic language to describe the end times. Elements from the Book of Revelation are generally included also. The Olivet discourse is the last of the Five Discourses of Matthew which occurs just before the Passion Narrative in Matthew's gospel. The earlier discourses are generally interpreted as relating to the prediction of the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 AD (Matt. 24), while the latter section, in particular Matthew 25:31-46 refers to the Last Judgment which will follow the *parousia* or the second coming of Christ. The setting on the Mount of Olives is an echo of the passage in Zechariah which refers to the final battle between the Jewish Messiah and his opponents (Zech. 14:4). In this window, Christ is depicted in the centre of the rose, against a blue background with a rainbow in the background, as described

¹⁶⁹Richard Woods, "Introduction", Eileen Cronin, *A Guide to the Stained Glass Windows of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork*, 8.

in Revelation 4:2-3. He is depicted holding up his right hand in a gesture of blessing. The two upper lobes of the rose each depict two angels holding instruments of the passion such as a cross, a crown of thorns, and a spear, while the outer upper lobes depict individual angels blowing trumpets, reflecting Revelation 8:1-2. At Christ's lower right hand side the just are depicted, some of whom appear to be Old Testament figures, such as David, who wears a crown. The lower scene appears to show them emerging from their graves, while the upper scene shows them being welcomed by an angel, presumably to their place in heaven. The lower scene to Christ's left indicate the emergence of five figures from their graves looking agitated and sorrowful, while the upper scene shows them with hands tied, being pulled by a rope, presumably down to hell.

This imagery is loosely based on Matthew's account of the separation of the sheep from the goats (Matt. 25: 31-46), but it is obviously not a literal interpretation of the text, which suggests that the judgment is based on the behaviour of those being judged towards their neighbour while they were alive. Because traditional depictions of the *Last Judgment* based on the idea that individuals were welcomed into the kingdom, or delivered over to eternal punishment according to the love or indifference shown to one another conflicted with the Protestant principle of *sola fide*, other ways had to be found to portray this image. Also, as Uppenkamp points out in relation to the post-Reformation depiction of the "Last Judgment" by Vredeman de Vries in Gdansk:

The pre-Reformation version of the Last Judgement as Memling painted it, showing the Archangel Michael, the Virgin Mary, St. John and a group of Saints appealing for Christ's mercy, would have been unacceptable to the Calvinist council of Gdansk. This led Vredeman to develop a new iconography. He replaced all the parts of the painting that required reinterpretation with new inventions reflecting Calvinist doctrine. In doing so, he created a painting that is completely in line with medieval tradition in terms of the its formal aspects, but is new and absolutely unique with regard to its iconography.¹⁷⁰

While the congregation of St. Fin Barre's may not have been as strict on this issue as the Calvinist council of Gdansk, it would nonetheless have been unacceptable to depict the Virgin Mary, or any of the saints in this image, as Uppenkamp points out "Reformed theology had repudiated the cult of the saints".¹⁷¹ The imagery of the Last Judgment can therefore be seen as one of the areas where Protestant theology can be seen to differ from Roman Catholic theology, a difference which is seen reflected in the interpretation by the

¹⁷⁰ Barbara Uppenkamp, "Vredeman de Vries' "Last Judgement" in Gdansk: A Calvinist Reinterpretation of a Catholic Iconography" *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* eds. T. Hamling and R. L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 171.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

stained glass artists employed by the patrons. The examination of the Last Judgment window in Loughrea in the next chapter, will, as already mentioned, throw these differing interpretations into sharper relief.

The *Heavenly Hierarchies* south transept rose window portrays Christ in the centre of a red mandorla, holding a golden orb in his left hand, with a rainbow visible in the background. The blue border surrounding the mandorla contains four stars, indicating Christ's command of the heavenly sphere. The surrounding lobes depict the heavenly powers, such as angels, archangels, and cherubim. Some of the angels are holding swords, or golden orbs, or both. Close inspection reveals that all of the golden orbs are marked with a large "X", which is slightly disconcerting in view of the fact that the patrons of the window are shown on the Gloine database as the Munster Freemasons. The uninitiated can only guess at the symbolism inherent here. Between each lobe, a variety of building tools are shown, for example, triangles, square, level, etc. – further evidence of the masonic subtext to this window.

This completes the analysis of the stained glass windows in St. Fin Barre's. The zodiac windows in the clerestory, together with the windows depicting figures from the Old and New Testaments such as the Kings Josiah and Hezekiah, and the martyrs Stephen and James complete the overall decorative scheme. The signs of the zodiac were portrayed in medieval cathedrals, illustrating the chronological order of the calendar year. Their inclusion in the iconographic scheme of St. Fin Barre's owes much to Burges's acknowledged love of Early French cathedral architecture. The amount of biblical detail in evidence in the windows is astounding, comparable only to Gothic cathedrals in their scope. It seems undeniable however that the real strength of Burges's design lies in his portrayal of Old Testament scenes in windows that convey a breath-taking range of subject matter. Burges and his team of artists and craftsmen were Englishmen, and their work reflects a High Victorian English sensibility which appeared to have been well adapted to the requirements of the Church of Ireland community in Cork at this period. In many ways, this was a difficult period for Ireland, and the Protestant community were not immune to the social and political problems which beset the country. Maurice Carey points out that the inscription on the back of the bishop's throne, erected in memory of Bishop John Gregg, refers to 'troublous times', with the words 'Famine' and 'Fenian' appearing regularly.¹⁷² It has already been pointed out that 1870 was the year in which the Church of Ireland was disestablished, "a time which many thought marked the end of the church" as Carey acknowledges. The undertaking of the

¹⁷² Maurice Carey, *St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork*, 7.

building of this cathedral at the time can be seen as an assertion of Protestant identity in uncertain times, and no doubt contributed to a renewed sense of purpose within the community it served. In many ways the building challenged the prevailing mindset, for as Michael Burrows, the former dean pointed out in the Introduction to the Exhibition in 2005:

As one looks back at St. Fin Barre's from the perspective of 135 years of Disestablishment, and in an Ireland that seems light years removed from the world of 1870, one begins to see how, in its very conception, Burges' work set a theological agenda for the Church of Ireland that it has taken all these years to explore... In 1870 the celebration of the Eucharist was scarcely at the heart of the worship of the Irish Church – apart from at the great festivals receiving Holy Communion was the activity of the pious few and for most people the weekly liturgy was non-sacramental. Yet Burges created a sanctuary depicting all sorts and conditions of humanity being gathered up in a great net into the Kingdom, the ultimate encounter with Christ at the Heavenly Feast. The late nineteenth century Church of Ireland saw itself primarily as a congregation of the faithful who listened soberly to the preached word - Burges confronted worshippers with a very different ecclesiology which yet was as biblical as it was catholic.¹⁷³

The above statement is worth quoting at length, as it is an indicator of how religious identity is not necessarily a static concept, but is capable of evolving and developing with time, and far from being monolithic anachronistic structures, ecclesial buildings at their best can act as catalysts for development and growth. Gadamer draws attention to the fact that the interpretation of a work of art is never completely exhausted. Pointing out that past and present are brought together in a work of art, he makes the following statement:

The reality of the work of art and its expressive power cannot be restricted to its original historical horizon, in which the beholder was actually the contemporary of the creator. It seems instead to belong to the experience of art that the work of art always has its own present. Only in a limited way does it retain its historical origin within itself.¹⁷⁴

Church architecture can also reflect the development of the religious community they serve, as will become more evident in the next chapter, which examines the iconography of the windows in Loughrea from the completion of the building in 1903 to 1912, when decoration of the building came to a halt for some years due to political upheaval in Ireland and abroad.

As the first cathedral to be built in the British Isles since St. Paul's of London in the 17th century, St. Fin Barre's can be seen as an archetypal model of a Church of Ireland building of this period. In examining the windows we set out to discover how Irish Protestants of this period expressed their strong biblical orientation through the medium of stained glass.

¹⁷³ Michael Burrows, "Introduction: Art, Worship and Doctrine" *Conserving the Dream: Treasures of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral*, 5.

¹⁷⁴ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, translated by David E. Linge (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1976) 95.

We looked at how the traditional Reformed aversion to imagery is addressed, and how Protestant reverence for Old Testament narrative was portrayed. The following statement by Patrick Pye, a contemporary stained glass artist may not strictly apply to St. Fin Barre's, but it does capture the essence of how the Protestant attitude to imagery is generally perceived:

There are very few Protestant artists who are distinguished by their Protestantism, whereas there are many artists who are distinguished by their Catholic faith...I would eventually have the feeling the Catholic faith is deeply dependent on the aesthetic, on the aesthetic of its rituals, and the Protestant faith is dependent on the word. The word is sacrosanct in Protestantism. And Protestantism has that old-time, Old Testament atmosphere in which images are seen to be superficial things and should not be indulged in. Whereas, Catholicism has lived with images and used images and cast them out and rethought them.¹⁷⁵

To a great extent, William Burges and his team succeeded in creating imagery that was acceptable to the Protestant community in Cork. The iconography chosen, while respecting the strict biblical interpretation demanded by the Church of Ireland community in Cork, also succeeded in portraying the Old and New Testament narratives in an imaginative and creative way. While the early controversies inevitably led to some compromise being reached as to what imagery was permissible, overall it must be concluded that Burges and his team managed to overcome many of the initial obstacles.

Richard Woods points out three main aims of Burges and his team in the construction of the cathedral. The first of these aims was to emulate and reproduce as far as possible the great medieval cathedrals he so admired, the second was to make prominent the contribution of the freemasons to the building of the cathedral, and the third was to distinguish it from a Roman Catholic church or cathedral, despite their sympathy towards the Oxford Movement.¹⁷⁶ The third aim is of most interest to this thesis, as the examination of this building allows a comparison with the Roman Catholic buildings which follow, helping to underscore the areas of similarity and difference in the choice and interpretation of iconography. Keeping this in mind, the next chapter will examine the iconography of Loughrea cathedral from the time of its construction in 1903 to the disruption in the iconographical scheme brought about by social and political unrest in Ireland.

¹⁷⁵Briel & Murray, *A Conversation with Patrick Pye*, 100.

¹⁷⁶ Richard Woods, Interviewed by Myra Hayes, 21st March, 2014, Telephone Interview.

CHAPTER 3 – LOUGHREA CATHEDRAL (1903-1912)

Before examining the windows in Loughrea Cathedral, we will consider the life and work of Michael Healy, one of the most important stained glass artists to emerge from An Túr Gloine. Healy's stained glass work for the company from the time he joined them in 1903 to his death in 1941 was of exceptional quality, and reached its highpoint with the work he created for Loughrea Cathedral over a considerable period of time. In spite of the quality of his large body of stained glass work however, Healy does not have the high profile of Harry Clarke, and is considerably less well-known to modern viewers. This may be attributable to Healy's naturally reserved persona which is reflected in the fact that very few people were close enough to him to supply information on his life. We do however have at our disposal the thesis of Dr. David Caron whose work on Healy is of considerable interest to this section of our thesis. The various reviews of Healy's work by Thomas McGreevy, who knew Healy personally and took great interest in his work, and C.P. Curran, who was a friend of both Healy and Clarke will be invaluable in our evaluation of his contribution to the corpus of Irish stained glass work of the period with which we are concerned.

We will begin this evaluation with a brief outline of Healy's life and background, will continue by surveying some examples of his work, and finally we will examine in detail his outstanding work in Loughrea Cathedral, which contains the largest collection of Healy's stained glass in the country. Loughrea Cathedral is remarkable also in that it was the first major project undertaken by Edward Martyn and the newly formed stained glass company, and reflects the religious and aesthetic ideals of the founders in the building and decoration. Loughrea Cathedral can be considered to be the highpoint of Healy's artistic achievement in the creation of stained glass. In this examination of Healy's work, keeping in mind the portrayal and interpretation of biblical narratives, we will question how far these portrayals reflect a distinctly biblical interpretation or how much they are a reflection of a broader

liturgical context. In this way, we hope to be able to draw some relevant conclusions which will enable understanding of how the stained glass produced in this period reflected and formed emergent Catholic identity.

Michael Healy was born on 14th November, 1873 in a Dublin tenement, and was baptised in St. Nicholas of Myra church in Francis Street in the inner city. In 1892, at the age of eighteen, he registered with the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art and began to consider a religious vocation. He entered the Dominican novitiate in Tallaght as a postulant lay brother, but left abruptly after two years in what Caron has described as ‘stormy circumstances’.¹⁷⁷ This interrupted period of religious formation will be of some relevance when we begin to examine Healy’s work. Following this departure he signed up for evening classes at the Metropolitan School of Art for three years, while he worked in full time employment during the day. The Metropolitan School of Art was located in Kildare Street, behind the National Library, and had six instructors and a small number of part-time staff, and visiting lecturers. He formed friendships with three of his fellow students, Francis O’Donoghue, Michael Shortall, and Edward Byrne, who noticed his remarkable drawing ability. Healy was an exception among the students and staff as they were all from middle class backgrounds, but he formed a bond with William Orpen, who described him as ‘an out and out Irish man’. It appears that Orpen and Healy shared an anti-British sentiment, which may have found sympathy among some of the other members of the school, but which did not reflect the overall atmosphere which was described by one of the students at the time, Kathleen Fox as ‘very much run by the Viceregal Lodge...all the officials were pro-English and everything was very anti-Irish in every way, and a very Protestant atmosphere’.¹⁷⁸ However, she does recall that following the uprising in 1916, although the official reaction from the college was one of extreme disapproval, a sentiment shared by most of the students, there was an undercurrent of support. This was due to the fact that Willy Pearse, and Grace Gifford, the fiancée of Joseph Mary Plunkett who married him on the eve of his execution, were both students at the school. Fox describes the situation as follows –

In the summer term 1916 (ie, just after the Rising of Easter week), there was an adverse reaction amongst most students...the military side and what was going on was not public property in the School. Only if you got into private conversation with

¹⁷⁷ Thomas David Caron, “An Túr Gloine and Michael Healy (1873-1941) Volume 1”, 170. (Unpublished Thesis, University of Dublin, Trinity College, January 1991). Caron suggests that there were clashes between Healy and his superiors regarding his desire to pursue his artistic inclinations in the spirit of Fra Angelico.

¹⁷⁸ John Turpin, ‘The Metropolitan School of Art 1900-1923’ Part 1, *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (March, 1984): 65.

people like Willy Pearse did you hear one or two things. Padraig Pearse was there: he used to come in at night.¹⁷⁹

It is interesting to speculate on Healy's reaction to news of the rebellion. Judging from accounts of his anti-British sentiment it is likely that he would have been sympathetic to the cause of freedom from British rule, but it is difficult to assess his views on violent overthrow of the regime. Historians have noted that most Dubliners were horrified at the violence and disruption caused by the uprising, and it was not until the execution of the leaders by the British authorities that a general mood of sympathy swept the city. Caron points out that according to his diary by the time of the rising, Healy was working on the windows for Clongowes Wood College and was annoyed when the gas was turned off as he could not fire the kilns to colour the glass. This suggests that the artist in Healy took precedence over any republican sentiments he may have harboured. We do know from McGreevy's account of his friendly relationship with him that 'Healy was [also] friendly, I think, because during the revolutionary years our political sympathies lay in the same direction. He was a very reticent man, but a child of the people, he was passionately interested in the country's destinies, in its past, its future, and its present'.¹⁸⁰ This testimony of McGreevy's suggests that Healy was a fervent nationalist, which would have harmonised with the sensibilities of the three main patrons of the architecture of Loughrea – Edward Martyn, Bishop Healy and Fr. O'Donovan.

At the School of Art, Healy passed the necessary examinations, and was successful at a national competition with a drawing of Michael Angelo's David, following which he decided to go to London in search of employment as an illustrator. He was offered a position as an illustrator by an editor if he would remain in London for a further week, but his money ran out and he spent his last night on the streets of London, "partly as a necessary economy, partly to see the wretched night life on the Embankment".¹⁸¹ On his return to Dublin he joined the school of the R.H.A, where he received first prize for drawing from life. In 1898, the *Irish Rosary* advertised for an illustrator, and Healy called on the editor, Fr. Glendon, O.P with some drawings. This interview was the beginning of a life-long friendship between Healy and Fr. Glendon, who was to have a profound influence on Healy's career. According to Fr. Henry Flanagan, who was interviewed by Caron "Fr.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Op. cit., 500.

¹⁸¹ C. P. Curran, "Michael Healy: Stained Glass Worker 1873-1941)", *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 31, No. 121 (Mar., 1942), 66.

Glendon was a remarkable man, although a complete individualist, and light years ahead of his own time”.¹⁸² Healy was given the commission by Fr. Glendon resulting in the issues of the *Irish Rosary* of September 1898 to the end of 1899 containing fifty-nine of his drawings. He also did drawings of Dominican Saints for the series, and according to Curran “these drawings show a sense of character and technical competence remarkable in a new-comer to art.”¹⁸³

Fr. Glendon then encouraged Healy to go to Florence, and introduced him to the Florentine painter, de Bacci-Venuti. The enterprise would be financed by further commissions by Healy. The drawings which resulted from his eighteen month stay in Italy were to be seen in the *Irish Rosary* for 1901 and 1903. Healy arrived in Florence in the Autumn of 1899, and it appears from records of his stay that he lodged in the Via Senese, studied in the life-school of the R. Istituto di Belle Arte and had facilities for studying and copying in the galleries. He spent time with Bacci-Venuti at his villa at Arezzo, where, according to Curran “as in Florence there is some of the best of the small quantity of good stained glass in Italy”.¹⁸⁴ There is also a fine collection of Piero della Francesca in Arezzo, and among Healy’s souvenirs can be found a reproduction of Piero’s Queen of Sheba from the church of S. Francesco. Curran points to the traces of the Florentine experience to be found in Healy’s work, which seemed to have helped to develop his particular qualities as an artist – “In his strong composition, clear outline and vigorous characterisation one recognises a permanent result of his study. The nobility and gravity of its art answered his own earnestness, and the realism that could exist side by side with the spirituality of the early renaissance chimed with his sense of reality”.¹⁸⁵ Healy would never return to Italy, or indeed to any other part of the continent but Italy remained in his consciousness, as he formed a habit of reading Dante’s *Inferno* in Italian in the mornings before going to work.

In May 1901 Healy returned to Ireland where the new century was beginning to reflect the growing national consciousness in the political and literary arenas, and more importantly, where Healy was concerned, it was spreading to the other arts. Impatience with the quality of church art in particular found a voice in Edward Martyn, and a Roman Catholic convert named Robert Elliott, who was also a novelist and poet, as well as being a painter, etcher and lithographer. Publications such as the *Irish Rosary* under the editorship of Fr. Glendon, and *The Leader* under D.P. Moran drew attention to the fact that Irish churches represented

¹⁸² See Thomas David Caron, *Michael Healy and An Túr Gloine Stained Glass Studio*, (1991), p. 188.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

a permanent and constant demand for works of art. We have already discussed how this prevailing atmosphere resulted in the formation of *An Túr Gloine* by Martyn and Sarah Purser with the co-operation of T.P. Gill's department in the School of Art and A. E. Child as Instructor. Although Healy had taken a position as art teacher in the Dominican College at Newbridge on his return from Florence, his temperament was not suited to the teaching of young boys and he resigned the position. The college fostered the Irish language, and was according to Caron "imbued with Irish spirit. The rosary was recited in Irish in the college chapel daily".¹⁸⁶ Curran suggests that he lived a few difficult days before accepting Sarah Purser's invitation to join *An Túr Gloine* on the recommendation of the sculptor John Hughes who stated that "He draws a strong line". He began studying under Child, and very soon exhibited a considerable talent for the medium, as Curran states: "it is fair to say that in him was emerging the finest stained glass artist that had appeared in these islands since the middle ages."¹⁸⁷ Comparing the work of Clarke and Healy, Curran makes the following observation:-

Harry Clarke's windows shine with an incomparable jewelled splendour. An artist of great virtuosity he created a world of his own, through which passed strange figures, insubstantial and disquieting, figures whose frailty bear with difficulty the almost insupportable burden of their glittering ornament. Healy's windows are less exotic, more comprehensively human. They glow with a more mellow splendour, their depth of colour balanced by their equal depth of feeling. They reflect out of his own character the adult sense of religion, the same sense and sensibility that Bellini in such high degree possessed in painting.¹⁸⁸

This observation suggests that Clarke and Healy responded to their church commissions in entirely different ways. Clarke's ambiguous attitude towards Catholicism inspired an ethereal, transcendent depiction of the biblical characters and saints he portrayed, whereas Healy's more robust faith produced characters of flesh and blood, with remarkably humanlike expression. It is tempting to suggest that Healy's experience of life as an ordinary Dublin workingman, as well as his keen observation of the people and characters of the city around him, contributed to his ability to portray his character's expressions in this realistically human way. According to Peter Connolly who was a glazier at *An Túr Gloine* from 1916 to the 1950's Healy used to sit in St. Stephen's Green during lunchtime sketching

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 192. According to Healy's nephews, he was a fluent Irish speaker.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 71. As a contemporary of Healy and Clarke, Constantine (C.P) Curran was well placed to evaluate the work of both. A fellow student of Joyce's in University College, Dublin, he was immortalised by Joyce in *Dubliners*, and Ellman suggests that he was the model for the character of Gabriel Conroy in *The Dead*. Joyce corresponded with him throughout his life, and his name appears regularly in the literary and artistic circles of the period. His interest in stained glass is evident by the published articles appearing in *Studies* on Healy and Evie Hone. See Richard Ellman, *James Joyce*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 247.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 74-5.

the passing characters, and often used them as models for his windows.¹⁸⁹ The strange combination of the physical and metaphysical which he constantly tried to perfect is evidence of his powers of observation and suggests that Healy's artistic gift was accentuated by his deep understanding of the human condition. This aspect of his work will be of particular interest when we begin to examine Healy's windows in detail.

Shortly after the establishment of *An Túr Gloine*, Martyn persuaded Archbishop Healy to allow the fledgling firm to 'experimentalise' in Loughrea Cathedral. As already mentioned, Loughrea contains the largest selection of Healy stained glass in the country, and it also holds work from every period of his career from 1903 to 1942. Beginning in 1903 with an angel painted for the Annunciation window adapted by A.E. Child from a design by Christopher Whall, in the same year Healy also began the St. Simeon window in the baptistery, and over several years from then until 1940 he executed nine windows for this church. Because of this, and because Loughrea Cathedral was viewed by all involved in the building and decoration "as a prototype or flagship for church decoration in the new century", we will examine the stained glass in the cathedral in considerable detail.¹⁹⁰ We will take account of the type of iconography it displays, examining whether its sources can be traced to the biblical narrative directly, or if there are other factors, such as the liturgical context to be taken into account. Dr. Thomas David Carron has carried out a comprehensive and detailed analysis of Healy's work from an art-historical perspective, and this will be of considerable interest to our study. However, our main area of interest for the purpose of this thesis lies in the consideration of the type of iconography chosen, the reasons why this particular type was chosen, and how it reflects a particular hermeneutical position. As we have already established, Healy was both a committed Roman Catholic, and a fervent nationalist. These factors may assist us in assessing how a Roman Catholic identity could be, and was asserted in the stained glass work produced in the early 20th century.

Loughrea Cathedral

As we have already established, Loughrea Cathedral was the first cathedral which was decorated under the influence of the new ideal of Irish artists decorating Irish churches. Michael Healy was one of the first artists to be involved in the decoration, along with A.E. Child and the other artists of *An Túr Gloine*. We have already referred to Edward Martyn and Sarah Purser as two of the main instigators behind the establishment of the indigenous stained glass studio. Several factors provided the backdrop to the building and decoration,

¹⁸⁹ See Thomas David Carron, *Michael Healy and An Túr Gloine Stained Glass Studio* 232.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

not least of which is the enthusiastic involvement of individuals dedicated to ensuring that the work was of high quality and craftsmanship. In Loughrea, besides Edward Martyn and Purser, the role of the bishop of Clonfert, Dr. John Healy and Fr. Jeremiah O'Donovan, the curate cannot be underestimated. Indeed, both Bishop Healy and Fr. O'Donovan in particular were very much advanced in their belief in the importance of commissioning Irish crafts workers in the decoration. Healy had written a book on Irish Romanesque Architecture and Round Towers, and O'Donovan's interest in the Irish language, culture and the importance of Irish national identity informed his attitude to the many causes he embraced.¹⁹¹ He addressed the annual gathering of Catholic clergy in Maynooth, and would regularly chide them for buying 'foreign' art for Irish churches and cathedrals.¹⁹² Finally, mention must also be made of T.P. Gill, who, as secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, was responsible for introducing craft classes to the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. All of these people contributed significantly to design of the church which was to become a treasure house of the Celtic Revival, in stained glass, sculpture, woodcarving, metalwork and textiles. Because of a delay in starting the building of the Cathedral until the final years of the 19th century, by the time the building was completed in 1902, the ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, which had begun with Ruskin, the Pre-Raphaelites and William Morris had taken hold among the artistic community involved in the newly formed stained glass company. This delay was to prove fortuitous in providing a major contribution to the ecclesiastical buildings of Ireland.

Having considered the background to the building of the cathedral, we will now examine the stained glass windows in detail, beginning with the first three windows executed by A. E. Child, which were adapted by Child from an original design by Christopher Whall. Each of these windows was erected in 1903, and they are all two-light windows depicting the Annunciation, the Agony in the Garden, and the Resurrection.

Apse Windows

The *Annunciation* [Fig.55] window was adapted by Child from an original design by Christopher Whall, and was painted by Child, Healy and Catherine O'Brien. It is not possible to discern particular artists from the window itself, as they were all imitating Child, who was working in a similar style to his mentor, Whall. According to Caron, this was Healy's first foray into stained glass work, and he painted an angel for this window in the apse of the cathedral. As there are six angels depicted in the window aside from the angel

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹² Ibid., 37.

Gabriel, and they are all similar, it is impossible to know which one Healy painted, however we do know that the window was an adaptation of an earlier window executed by Whall for the north nave of All Saints Church, Dogmersfield, Hampshire in 1898.¹⁹³ The iconographical content of the window reflects the standard type of iconography used in Annunciation scenes based on the narrative in Luke's gospel. Luke's account of the angel Gabriel's appearance to Mary is unique to this gospel, and is part of the Infancy Narrative which covers the announcement of the birth of John the Baptist, to the finding of the twelve year old Jesus among the scholars in the temple (Luke 1:5-2:52). In this window, Mary is portrayed kneeling at a desk containing a copy of the scriptures, which has been a standard iconographical convention since the Middle Ages. Mary appears to be averting her gaze rather than directly facing the angel as in renowned portrayals such as those of Fra Angelico. The words from Luke's gospel are inscribed in Latin overhead the two figures. Over Gabriel's head are the words "Ave Maria, Gratia Plena", which is not a direct quotation from the author of Luke, who does not mention Mary's name, and is given in the KJV as "Hail, thou that art highly favoured" (Luke 1:28). This inscription is of course taken directly from the 'Hail Mary' prayer which is recited repeatedly in the rosary, and which would have been familiar to the Roman Catholic congregation, the Annunciation being the first of the joyful mysteries. Mary's *fiat*, her response to the angel is taken directly from Luke however, "Ecce Ancilla Domini" – "Behold the handmaid of the Lord" (Luke 1:38). Her look of resignation and submission to the will of God is captured skilfully, if conventionally in this portrayal. (Fig. 1) The Annunciation is one of the most familiar images in Catholic iconography, and has been the source of countless artistic representations since the Middle Ages. Indeed, the earliest depictions go back to the very early stages of Christianity, as the Priscilla catacomb contains the oldest known fresco dating to the 4th century. While Luke's gospel provides the biblical source for the narrative, its familiarity to Roman Catholics derives chiefly from the Marian devotions of the church, such as the thrice daily recitation of the Angelus, and the Rosary. Interestingly, when the fledgling national broadcasting corporation, Radio Telefís Éireann began television broadcasting in 1961, the Angelus was broadcast daily, and images of the Annunciation from the history of art were shown. Although the broadcast of the Angelus has been called into question at various times, a number of faith communities outside Catholicism, notably the Church of Ireland, have called for its continuation. This suggests that the image of the Annunciation resonates deeply with the Irish people, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, and is an example of how the boundaries of identity may shift at times, and may be more fluid than they appear to

¹⁹³ See Caron, *An Túr Gloine and Michael Healy*, Vol. 2, 2.

be on the surface. The rose window in the tracery, which, according to Caron, is not to be found in the Dogmersfield window, portrays an angel carrying a lamb, and surrounded by a crown of thorns (Fig. 2). This unusual image points to Christ as the “lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world” (John 1:29). This quotation from John’s gospel is invoked in the Mass before reception of the Eucharist. There is an interesting aspect to the inclusion of the image of the lamb in this window, which is relevant to the question of how much research and biblical knowledge is displayed in the windows. St. Ephraim the Syrian, a 4th century Eastern church father, in his exegesis of the Annunciation narrative in Luke calculated that the date of the conception of Jesus fell on 10 Nisan on the Hebrew calendar, which is the day on which the Passover lamb was selected according to Exodus 12 – “For in April when the lambs bleat in the field, into the womb He, the Passover Lamb entered”.¹⁹⁴ Sebastian Brock, while accepting that his dating system is historically unsound, nevertheless finds some support for Ephraim’s association of Passover and Annunciation in the Jewish Aramaic background of *Aggen*.¹⁹⁵ It is impossible for us to know for certain if Whall or Child were familiar with Ephraim’s work, but we do know that Selected Works of Saint Ephraim were translated in 1847 by John Brande Morris and Edward Pusey, leading figures in the Oxford Movement.¹⁹⁶ It is not unreasonable to assume that either Whall or Child had access to this translation when researching the iconography of the Annunciation window. If this is the case, this would indicate a very high level of engagement with the biblical text. It also raises questions as to the extent of the influence of the Oxford Movement in both Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland church building from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The link between the Oxford Movement and the Arts and Crafts Movement goes back to the founders of the latter movement, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, who both attended Oxford at the height of the Oxford Movement’s influence. Both men originally intended to take Holy Orders within the Anglo-Catholic community. Christopher Whall and A.E. Child were both converts to Roman Catholicism, and as the Oxford Movement was responsible for many conversions to Catholicism in England it is possible that Whall and Child were influenced in this decision through exposure to the works of the

¹⁹⁴ Kathleen E. McVey, trans., “Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns”, in *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 92.

¹⁹⁵ Sebastian Brock, “Passover, Annunciation and Epiclesis: Some Remarks on the term *Aggen* in the Syriac versions of Lk. 1:35” *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. 24, Fasc. 3 (Jul., 1982): 222-233.

¹⁹⁶ John Brande Morris and Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Selected Works of Saint Ephrem the Syrian*, Oxford, 1847. Cf. Geoffrey Rowell, ‘Making the Church of England Poetical: Ephraim and the Oxford Movement’ in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2:1, January, 1999. Rowell demonstrates the links between the Oxford Movement and the Syriac tradition, and Ephraim in particular, pointing out that both Pusey and Brande Morris were Syriac scholars of distinction.

Oxford Movement.¹⁹⁷ McGreevy mentions the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites work on Childe, and both Morris and Burne-Jones were associates of the Pre-Raphaelites. The influence of the Oxford Movement has also been of particular interest in our investigation of the iconography of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork which was built in the late 19th century.

The art critic Robert Elliott who saw the unfinished annunciation window commented as follows:-

I saw a design full of interest; and I saw some glass that would make the heart beat with delight in response to the chromatic impulse transmitted. And I saw an intelligent, appreciative artist and worker, who knew how to make the most of their leads and there is very little doubt that the window at Loughrea will be the richest bit of refulgent, harmonious colour in modern Ireland. I shall certainly make a point of seeing it when finished and fixed in place.¹⁹⁸

The window in the Central Apse, the Agony in the Garden [Fig. 56] is also adapted from a previous window executed by Whall in 1902 as part of the south transept window in Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁹⁹ The narrative of Christ's deep distress in the garden on the Mount of Olives is common to all the synoptic gospels, although the details vary (Matt. 26:36-57), (Mark 14: 26-53), (Luke 22:39-54). While John records Jesus going to the garden, he presents Jesus as less anguished and more in control (John 18:1-12). Child's portrayal is 'conventionally devotional' as described by McGreevy, with the first light showing Christ's anguish as he bows his head in prayer to his Father, as recorded in Matthew 26:39 – "And he went a little further, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt'". Mark and Luke record a similar prayer to the Father to remove the cup but Luke is the only one to make reference to an angel appearing from heaven to strengthen him (Luke 22:43), and to his sweat appearing as "great drops of blood falling down to the ground" (Luke 22:44). Child's portrayal would appear to be based mainly on Luke's account as he includes two angels in the second light, both of whom are holding up a chalice, which symbolises the cup which Jesus must accept in order to do the Father's will. There is a sundial on the rock on which his head is laid, perhaps referring to his hour which has finally come, and thorny briars cover the lower part of the two lights, in anticipation of the crown of thorns. According to Caron, Child added the detail of a pelican shown in relief at the side of the

¹⁹⁷ Whall was an avid reader and recommended to his students that they read the great works of literature in order to engage their imaginations, particularly in the use of symbolism and allegory. See C.W. Whall, *Stained glass Work*, New York, (1905). D. Appleton & Co. 258-259.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Elliott, *Art and Ireland*, (Dublin, 1906)

<http://archive.org/dhttp://archive.org/details/cu31924020578559etails/cu319240205785596>), 212-213.

¹⁹⁹ See Caron, Vol.2, 23.

sundial.²⁰⁰ This refers to the legend of the pelican who nourished its young with its own blood, and has been seen as a symbol of Christ since the middle ages. Dante referred to Christ as ‘our Pelican’ in *In Paradiso*, and Shakespeare made allusion to this in *Hamlet* when Laertes refers to his father’s friends:

To his good friend thus wide I’ll ope my arms and,
like the kind life-rendering pelican, repast them with my blood.

(Act IV, Scene V).

While McGreevy’s assessment of these windows is that they are conventionally portrayed, he nonetheless admits that they achieve a vital quality due to the following fact :

They are realised in terms of the true stained glass medium. They have life to a degree which must have been startling to the churchgoers of forty years ago when the figures in what passed for stained glass had no more life than if they were mere coloured paper representations pasted on the other side of the glass. In the Loughrea windows the light is transmuted in its passage through every atom of the glass. The effect achieved is reflected in the changing light outside the windows, and it is ‘as though the figures breathed, the trees stirred, the stones glistened’.²⁰¹

The impact on the viewer is of a powerful sense of the emotional turmoil portrayed in the image of Christ as a vulnerable man battling against his natural human instinct for survival in order to do the will of his Father. Although this window does not break any new ground in innovation, it does have a profound effect because of the poignant subject matter, reflecting the powerful gospel narratives from which the image is drawn. Some of the greatest artists in the history of Western art have portrayed this scene, doubtless drawn to the powerful dramatic potential and profound poignancy inherent in the narrative. Having examined some of these great paintings Drury remarked “Gethsemene links the last Supper and the Crucifixion in a solitary and agonised crisis resolved by Jesus’ lonely assent”.²⁰² This portrayal by Child, while conventional in execution nonetheless manages to convey some of the profound anguish vividly described in the gospel narratives.

The third window in the apse is a portrayal of the Resurrection [Fig.57], and adds continuity to the overall iconographic content of the apse itself. Once again this window was designed by Whall, and there is a similarity between this window in Loughrea, and St. Ethelbert’s, Herringswell, Suffolk (1902).²⁰³ Again, there is little innovation in the portrayal of the

²⁰⁰Caron, Vol. 2, 3.

²⁰¹ Thomas MacGreevy, “St. Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea,” *The Capuchin Annual*, Dublin, 1946-1947, 353-373.

²⁰²John Drury, *Painting the Word*, (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1999), 93.

²⁰³Caron, Vol. 2, 3.

Risen Christ, but it is notable for its reverential tone. Unusually, it is also notable that the figure of the risen Christ is still wearing the crown of thorns, which can be seen as the unifying motif throughout the three windows. The first light contains the figure of the Risen Christ, dressed in red, symbolising his recent passion, and holding the triumphal cross (*crux longa*) with a banner signifying his conquest over death and hell. Two angels bow in supplication before him in the second light, and the Roman soldiers lie sleeping with their spears in the two lower panels. There is a gold cross suspended over Christ's head, and a gold crown is represented in the top panel of the second light, over the figures of the angels, signifying the victory of the cross, and the Kingship of the Resurrected Christ. None of this imagery has any direct basis on scripture, as there is no direct account of the resurrection in the gospel narratives. All four gospels refer to eyewitness accounts of the risen Christ after the discovery of the empty tomb, but none of them give an account of the resurrection itself, as there were no eyewitnesses to this monumental event. The Resurrection is the most difficult Christian theme to represent visually and historically has been approached with a good degree of reticence in art. For over a thousand years, it was not represented directly, but symbolically, by the use of the Chi Rho sign surrounded by a wreath, signifying victory over death. There are no depictions of the resurrection in the catacombs – the early Christians chose to express the image through the depiction of the raising of Lazarus, the image of Christ as the Resurrection and the life (John 11), and the story of Jonah. During the medieval period the Resurrection began to be portrayed in mystery plays and poetry, and it was during the Gothic period that direct images of the Resurrection began to appear. From the time of the Renaissance, many famous artists have depicted the Resurrection with Piero della Francesca and El Greco producing powerful portrayals of the moment of Christ's glorious triumph over death. These portrayals however, despite their undoubted power, must always be the result of the artist's imagination, as is the case of this portrayal by Child, and are open to interpretation in the absence of any biblical narrative describing the actual event.²⁰⁴

One of the most notable aspects of these three windows by Child is the common motif of the thorns shared by each of the windows. The Annunciation window contains the rose window with the angel and the lamb surrounded by thorns, the Agony window shows the thorns beneath the figure of Christ, and the image of Christ in the Resurrection window still bears the crown of thorns on his head. This would seem to indicate the artist's perception of the

²⁰⁴ For an interesting account of the history of the representation of the Resurrection in Christian art see The Right Rev. Lord Harries, *Christian Themes In Art: The Resurrection In Art*, www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events. Accessed 25/9/12.

theological idea of Christ having been born to die for the salvation of mankind, and reflects the early church's teaching in this regard. Once again the writings of Ephrem illuminate this idea, as evidenced in Hymn 4. "Nisan, when Easter was celebrated is sometimes used more loosely by Ephrem to mean the season of Spring. Here Christ's death and resurrection are seen as conception and (re) birth. By an interesting play of paradox Ephrem makes the nativity and Easter interchangeable: the birth is a resurrection, the resurrection a birth".²⁰⁵

All three of these windows were put in place by the end of 1903, barely a year since the opening of the studio in January of that year. The speed with which they were executed probably accounts for the fact that they were based on previous windows executed by Whall for various English churches, and for the many Pre-Raphaelite-style features contained within them. However, this does not detract from the fact that as Egan points out "because they mark the beginning of the Irish stained glass revival and because they were executed by a master of the craft, they are of very high quality and of first importance in the history of the movement".²⁰⁶

Baptistry Windows

Following completion of the three windows in the apse, a further three windows for the baptistry were commissioned and completed by early 1904. They were not put in place until 1906 however, as they were first sent to St. Louis for the Irish section of the World's Fair. One of these windows, *St. Simeon* [Fig.58] was the first complete window executed by Healy. This window, while it shows little evidence of Healy's unique later style, and is very much reminiscent of the rather rigid style of the artists that predated An Túr Gloine, is nonetheless interesting from the point of view of subject matter. Luke's gospel provides us with the narrative framework for the image of Simeon who is portrayed in this window as a dignified elderly man holding the infant Christ child in his arms and gazing upwards with a look of devotion and praise towards God. The viewer may assume that this is the moment when Simeon, overjoyed at having lived to see the moment of Christ's presentation at the temple in Jerusalem, took the child in his arms and spoke the words that have come to be referred to as the *Nunc Dimittus*. This prayer, so called from the first words in the Latin Vulgate "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace" (Luke 2:29) is a hymn of praise to God in thanksgiving for allowing him to have seen "thy salvation which thou has prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel" (Luke 30-32). According to the author of Luke, it was revealed to Simeon by

²⁰⁵ McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns*, 92.

²⁰⁶ Patrick K. Egan, "St. Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea", *Irish Heritage Series*: 56, (Dublin: 1986).

the Holy Spirit that he would not die “before he had seen the Lord’s Christ”, and, inspired by the Spirit, he came to the temple and recognised Christ when he was brought in by his parents. Simeon’s prayer or canticle is the last of three great canticles in the New Testament, the other two being the Magnificat, Mary’s prayer following her visitation to Elizabeth (Luke 1:46:55), and the Benedictus, Zachariah’s prayer on the birth of John the Baptist (Luke 1:68-79). It is rich in Old Testament references, such as verse 30, “for mine eyes have seen thy salvation” which alludes to Isaiah 52:10 – “all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God”. Verse 31 “which thou has prepared in the presence of all peoples” accords with Psalm 98 verse 2, and verse 32, “A light for the revelation to the Gentiles, and for glory to thy people Israel” recalls Isaiah 42.6. It is appropriate that Simeon should bring to mind the prophecies of Isaiah, as his character acts as a bridge between the Old and New Testaments, and in a sense can be seen as ushering in the new era of Christ’s intervention in the drama of humanity. The drama of Luke’s narrative is captured eloquently in the image, but there is one slight anomaly in the portrayal. At the lower left hand corner of the window is a seated child, who is portrayed with a halo. This can only be the young John the Baptist, who does not appear in the actual presentation narrative. This is obviously artistic licence on the part of Healy, and is possibly included in order to provide a link with the other window in the baptistery, which is Child’s portrayal of the Baptism of the Lord. Caron suggests that this indicates Healy’s debt to Italian Renaissance painting by artists such as Leonardo and Raphael, whose original works would have been seen by him during his time in Italy.²⁰⁷ Caron also remarks on the presence of a “gothic architectural canopy” on the top of the window which is “synonymous with appalling mass-produced Mayer of Munich stained glass which flooded Ireland during the late 19th century, and which An Túr Gloine was largely established to combat”.²⁰⁸ It is also possible that this was an attempt to portray the Jerusalem temple in the background. In any case, in a sense this window also acts as a bridge between the earlier style of stained glass work exemplified by Child and others of that era, and the new style emerging among the artists of An Túr Gloine.

The Child window *The Baptism of the Lord* [Fig. 59] is a two light window featuring two winged angels in the first light who appear to be holding a red robe, which presumably belongs to Christ. The presence of the angels has no basis in scripture although the St. Fin Barre’s baptism window also includes the angels. The baptism is recorded in each of the synoptic gospels (Mark 1:9-11, Matt. 3:13-17, Luke 3:21-22). John the Baptist is dressed in accordance with Matthew’s description “Now John wore a garment of camel’s hair, and a

²⁰⁷ op. cit. 7.

²⁰⁸ op. cit. 7.

leather girdle around his waist; and his food was locusts and wild honey” (Matt. 3:4). He is portrayed in the act of pouring water from the river over the head of Jesus. Both men have halos over their heads, but on close observation it is startling to observe that Jesus is wearing the crown of thorns which is etched into the halo. Once again, Child brings the motif of the crown of thorns into his portrayal of Jesus, at a point in the gospel narrative when the passion of Christ has not yet taken place. It is undoubtedly an unusual feature which is not very common in representations of Christ outside of the passion narrative itself. The Crowning of Thorns is of course the third sorrowful mystery of the rosary, and it is perhaps from this perspective that the inclusion of this motif in all of Child’s windows portraying Christ can be traced. It is difficult to speculate on the exact reason, but once again Ephrem provides some clue as to how a link was made between Christ’s kingship, and his crown of thorns in Hymn II – “With us give thanks to the king who triumphed and was crowned, with a crown of thorns he wore for man, a mighty diadem at his right hand”.²⁰⁹ Although the crown of thorns has been used in Christian art as a symbol of the curse that Christ took upon himself for the sins of mankind based on the motif of thorns in Genesis 3:17-18, this does not satisfactorily explain why this window representing the Baptism of the Lord, which took place early in Christ’s ministry in all the gospels, includes the crown of thorns in the image. It is possible that the influence of Edward Martyn may be detected in this imagery. We know from Christopher Whall’s letters that he spent some time in Ireland in early 1903, staying with Martyn in his ancestral home in Tulira, Co. Galway, and working on the windows in Dublin, as well as instructing the artists at this early stage of their careers. Caron suggests that Whall came from England to help Child, who had not designed any figurative windows up to this point, and perhaps he found the prospect of executing three windows daunting – Child was 28 years old at this point.²¹⁰ We also know that Whall had a dramatic conversion experience in Italy, when he decided to devote his life to Roman Catholic art. As Martyn had an enormous input into the decorating of Loughrea, from both the financial and aesthetic viewpoint, it is inconceivable that he would not have had detailed discussions with Whall and Child on the iconography of the windows. It is at this point that it may be helpful to examine Martyn’s contribution to the decoration in Loughrea. Just as Sir John O’Connell would have a major influence on the type of iconography used in the Honan Chapel, we can assume that Martyn would have had a substantial input into the choice of iconography used in the cathedral. As well as Martyn’s input however, it is safe to assume that Bishop Healy and Fr. O’Donovan’s considerable interest and knowledge of

²⁰⁹ McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns*, 76.

²¹⁰ Caron, *An Túr Gloine*, 4.

religious art would have been taken into account. These two clerics were atypical of the type of patrons that normally commissioned religious art in Irish Catholic churches of the period. Healy and O'Donovan's openness to innovation is evidenced by their willingness to entrust the decoration of the Cathedral to the newly established stained glass company. All three men aspired towards creating a building that reflected a profound sense of Catholic identity. They were also all intensely nationalistic in outlook – Martyn had originally been a Unionist but by the late 1890's he had become a Nationalist, Bishop Healy, who was “fascinated by the vision of ancient Celtic Ireland” was Martyn's tenant and the two men were good friends, and O'Donovan's interest in Irish language, culture and identity has been documented.²¹¹ All of these factors suggest that the underlying ideals of the decoration of Loughrea encompassed a strong emphasis on Irish Catholic identity.

Interestingly, we know from Dudley Edward's seminal work on Patrick Pearse that Pearse counted Edward Martyn among his early acquaintances and he had a strong influence on the younger man.²¹² How this influence may have asserted itself in Pearse's particular brand of religious nationalism provides a fascinating subtext to this thesis. According to Dudley Edwards, Pearse had an “obsessive need to bedeck word and action with a profusion of religious images”.²¹³ The development of his ideas of blood sacrifice had strong messianic connotations and his declaration that “One man can free a people as one Man redeemed the world” suggests unambiguously that Pearse self-identified as a Christ-like figure who would suffer on behalf of his people.²¹⁴ However misguided this may appear to modern sensibilities there is little doubt that the fusion of Irish nationalism with Irish Catholicism was a potent mix in the early part of the 20th century. According to historian Ian McBride “the idea of a crucified nation is difficult to disconnect from the decisive shift towards the new nationalism that took place at the end of the 19th century. It is an idea too which is profoundly alien to Protestants, for reasons that lie ultimately in Reformed Theology”.²¹⁵ While we will develop this idea later when dealing with the idea of Catholic identity in more detail, it is interesting at this point to observe the identification with the suffering Christ that was made by Irish Catholic nationalists in the early 20th century, and to speculate on how much of this identification is reflected in the imagery of Christ portrayed in the windows in Loughrea. Does the motif of the crown of thorns in each of the images of Christ that we

²¹¹ Caron, *Michael Healy*, Vol. 1, 13.

²¹² Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Patrick Pearse, The Triumph of Failure*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006) 91.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²¹⁵ Ian McBride, ed., “Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland” in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 35.

have examined reflect, however subconsciously, the idea of a suffering nation? We shall return to this question later, but for the moment we will continue our analysis of the windows in the cathedral.

Side Altar Rose Windows

Healy's next commission for the Cathedral was in 1907, when he executed two rose windows over the side altars, one of the Virgin and Child with Sts. Patrick, Brendan, Brigid, Colman, Jarlath and Columcille [Fig. 60], and the other of the Holy family with six angels [Fig.61]. Each of these windows consists of a single light, surrounded by six smaller lights. The first window was exhibited at the studio at 24 Upper Pembroke Street in late January 1907, and Caron quotes a review in the *Irish Times* of the 25th January of that year, which comments on the portrayal of the Irish saints as "indicative of the pervasive interest among the clergy in the early Christian church in Ireland".²¹⁶ It is difficult to detect if this was meant as praise or criticism, but the style of the window resembles the St. Simeon window, and the saints featured were connected, as St. Colman was baptised by St. Brendan, and St. Jarlath founded a monastery school that St. Brendan attended. The central panel portrays Our Lady as Queen with a crown holding the Infant Jesus in her lap. The position of the saints surrounding the central light suggests that she is Queen of Ireland. The style owes a debt to Healy's experience in Italy, and according to Egan "the strong colour and good leading are exceptional for one of such short acquaintance with stained glass".²¹⁷ The other rose window portrays Mary as the human mother, engaged in needlework with the elderly Joseph and the Christ Child watching intently. McGreevy gives an interesting interpretation of this domestic scene, suggesting that there are mystical undertones in relation to the piece of cloth that Mary is sewing, and that it is a "tenderly loving reference to the seamless robe which in Christian lore is frequently regarded as symbolical of the Hypostatic Union".²¹⁸ While Caron suggests that McGreevy is using obtuse symbolism here, further investigation proves otherwise. It has long been part of medieval tradition to portray Mary sewing – Chartres Cathedral contains a stone sculpture of the Virgin sewing, and the image appears in several illuminated manuscripts.²¹⁹ While this may initially appear to be without any biblical basis, it is in fact a symbolic reference to the seamless garment referred to in John 19:23, as demonstrated by McMurray Gibson as follows:

²¹⁶ Caron, *An Túr Gloine and Michael Healy*, 28.

²¹⁷ Egan, *St. Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea* (Irish Heritage Series: 56).

²¹⁸ Thomas McGreevy, 'St. Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea 1897-1947' in *The Capuchin Annual*, Dublin 1946-1947, 353-373. <http://www.macgreevy.org/style?style=text&source=art.cpa.009.xml&action=show>

²¹⁹ Cf. *The Holy Family*, illumination from a Spanish Book of Hours, after 1461, Add. 18193, f.48v., The British Library, London.

There exists yet another medieval tradition in which the Virgin's weaving and sewing of garments definitely takes on a symbolic meaning. In several legendary lives of Mary and Christ (among them the *Vita Beatae Mariae Rhythmica* of the thirteenth century and the influential *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony who died in the year 1378) we hear of the mysterious 'tunica inconsutilis'. This is the tunic without seams for which the Roman soldiers at Calvary cast lots. In the words of the Gospel (John 19:23): "Erat autem tunica inconsutilis, desuper context per totum" – "Now the coat was without a seam, woven from the top throughout". The medieval legend tells that Mary herself made the seamless tunic for Jesus when he was a child...This legend of the seamless garment is illustrated in a panel of the Buxtehude altarpiece of about 1480 which originated in the workshop of Master Bertram. The Virgin is shown knitting a coat for the Christ child who sits at her feet, reading prophecies of his passion, while two angels appear bearing the arma Christi of cross, lance and crown of thorns."²²⁰

The symbolism depicted of the Virgin sewing the garment which was worn during Christ's passion suggests that the Virgin is both literally and figuratively the clother of the Messiah, and is essentially a metaphor for the incarnation. As pointed out by McMurray Gibson, theologians did in fact refer to the Incarnation as "a clothing in flesh". The imagery thus provides an intimate link between the three phases of Christ's life, his incarnation and nativity, his public life, and his passion.²²¹ Recent scholarship also suggests a link between the author of John's reference to the seamless tunic worn by Jesus and "the profound unity which his crucifixion as the true Jewish king and unique high priest preserves for all who believe in him".²²² Once again it appears that a seemingly unbiblical image has roots in a traditionally theological understanding of the biblical text.

The question of the extent of scholarship informing the iconography in the stained glass of Loughrea seems to be elucidated somewhat by what we have seen so far in our examination of these particular windows. As an unfortunate aside to our research into the content of the windows, it is worth observing that when Edward Martyn died, he bequeathed his papers to the Carmelite Order of St Teresa in Clarendon Street, Dublin, of which he was a Third Order Member. The community later mislaid the entire archive and it was never recovered. We can only speculate on how much access to his letters and papers would have contributed to our understanding of the research into the iconographical content of the windows on the

²²⁰ Gail McMurray Gibson, "The Thread of Life in the Hand of the Virgin" in *Equally in God's Image: Women in the Middle Ages*, eds. Julia Bolton Holloway, Constance S. Wright, and Joan Bechtold, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing 1990). 50. For further discussion on the Buxtehude Altarpiece and the symbolism inherent in these depictions of the Virgin see Mary Dzon, "Birgitta of Sweden and Christ's Clothing" in *The Christ Child in Medieval Culture: Alpha es et O!* eds. Mary Dzon and Theresa M. Kenney, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012) 134.

²²¹ Ibid, p.50. The use of imagery of clothing is also common in Syriac Christian literature, cf. McVey, *The Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian*, 84.

²²² See John Paul Heil, "Jesus as the unique High Priest in the Gospel of John", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 57, (1995): 741.

part of Martyn and the other individuals involved. We do know from Whall's letters that he stayed at Tulira while working on the windows in 1903, and we can assume that they would have discussed their plans for the cathedral in detail, possibly with Bishop Healy and Fr. O'Donovan present. According to Nolan, Martyn's library at Tulira was extensive, consisting of classical authors, the works of Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, the Greek Fathers, all the great English and French writers, as well as The Germans Winckelmann and Goethe...Plato, Schopenhauer...Classical Archaeology...portfolios with photographs of the great pictures and statuary in every gallery in Europe...coloured plates illustrating Byzantine Architecture.²²³ Nolan also refers to the fact that Martyn read and studied these books, as his own writings show evidence of much learning. Martyn's reading is relevant to this thesis from the point of view of how this informed the iconography of the windows, and it is interesting to learn that W. B. Yeats, who was a guest at Tulira in 1896, recorded in his memoirs following a confrontation with Martyn: "I was sorry, for I know I must have much in common with Martyn who spent hours after we had all gone to bed reading St. Chrysostom".²²⁴ As one of the Church Fathers of the Antiochian school St. John Chrysostom was renowned for biblical exegesis based on hermeneutical principles that steered a course midway between the allegorical excesses of the Alexandrian school and the literal interpretation of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Stressing the primacy of historical exegesis starting "not with an abstract Godhead but with the real historical Jesus, God and man, the Antiochians took seriously his humanity".²²⁵ Martyn's reading of St. John Chrysostom's incarnational interpretation of the Gospels can be seen to be reflected in the type of iconography chosen for the windows in Loughrea, and it is interesting to note that St. John Chrysostom referred to the seamless tunic as follows; "And the "woven from the top" (John 19:23) is not put without a purpose; but some say that a figurative assertion is declared by it, that the crucified was not simply man, but had also the Divinity from above".²²⁶ We see therefore that far from being an obtuse reference, McGreevy was correct in attributing this symbolism to Healy's portrayal of the Holy Family in the window, and that Martyn's scholarship had a substantial influence on the images portrayed on the windows.

²²³ J.C.M Nolan, "Edward Martyn and Guests at Tulira" *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, Vol. 10, (1994), 167-173.

²²⁴ Ibid, 168.

²²⁵ See "Biblical Exegesis", *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05692b.htm>. Accessed 10/01/2013.

²²⁶ Ibid, St. John Chrysostom, "Homily 85 on the Gospel of John", <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/240185.htm> Accessed January 1st 2013.

St. Anthony Window (1907) (East Aisle)

Chronologically the next window executed by Healy was the *St. Anthony* window in the left aisle which was produced in 1907 [Fig.62]. According to Egan the window was a gift from Edward Martyn, and is described as “entirely conventional and in accordance with the prevailing memory of a low sized man in a brown habit. It is a straightforward drawing, in no way stylised and somewhat humanistic”.²²⁷ St. Anthony of Padua is one of the most popular Roman Catholic saints, and is still prayed to today for the recovery of lost objects. The lower panel in this window portrays a young soldier kneeling at the feet of the saint in a position of repentance and sorrow – a reference to one of the many legends associated with the Franciscan saint who was renowned for his great oratory and ability to convert sinners. The name of the saint is inscribed in Irish, and there is a Latin inscription referring to a member of the Smyth family, who were Martyn’s mother’s family – “Ora pro anima Antoni Smyth, obit 27 Aprilis 1887”. No doubt Martyn dedicated the window to the deceased member of his family who happened to be the saint’s namesake. The top panel is inscribed with the Latin words “Signasti Domine Servum Tuum” – thou has marked O Lord thy servant – words taken from a hymn sung in Vespers to honour the Stigmata of St. Francis.

East Transept Windows

The East Transept windows depict the Crucifixion [Fig. 63], a three light window executed in 1908 by Sarah Purser and Beatrice Elvery, and the Nativity [Fig.64], also a three light window executed by Purser and Child in 1912. Each of these windows follow the biblical narrative in close detail, with the crucifixion portraying the crucified Lord in the central panel of the central light, with Mary the Lord’s mother, and the beloved disciple at the foot of the cross as portrayed in the Gospel of John (John 19:26). The panel beneath the crucifixion depicts the deposition, again portraying the Mother of the Lord, the beloved disciple and Mary Magdalene, together with Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus. The lower panel of the first light portrays the scene in the Garden of Gethsemene when Judas kissed Jesus in order to point him out to those who came to arrest him, as depicted in the synoptic Gospels (Matt. 26:49; Mark 14:45; Luke 22:47). John’s Gospel excludes this detail for his own theological reasons, but the scene in the upper panel of the first light is common to all Gospel accounts, that of Joseph of Arimathea approaching Pilate to request the body of Jesus in order to place it in the tomb (Matt. 27:58; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:50-53; John 19:38). The upper panel in the third light depicts the three women mentioned in Matthew’s gospel who stood afar off, the three Marys ‘Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee’s children’ (Matt. 27:55-56). The lower panel of the third light

²²⁷ Egan, *St. Brendan’s Cathedral*, (1986).

showing Jesus reaching out to a kneeling man appears to be out of context, but further examination reveals it to be a depiction of the *Anastasis* or the ‘harrowing of hell’ iconography normally associated with Byzantine art and somewhat unusual in Western iconography. The *Anastasis* is based on the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (or Acts of Pilate), and shows the resurrected Christ descending into Hades to free the Just from the bonds of Satan. The most common depictions show Christ in the centre, grasping the hand of the kneeling Adam in order to raise him up and take him and all the Just of the Old Testament out of hell. In a description of a Byzantine *Anastasis* icon in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Gouma-Peterson gives the following account of the development of this iconography:

Eve, who is not mentioned in the apocryphal text, is usually shown standing behind Adam. The other Just are divided into symmetrical groups flanking Christ, one behind Adam and Eve, and the other behind the Just kings, David and Solomon...During the 13th and 14th centuries, as the iconography of the scene became more elaborate, Abel, often holding the shepherd’s crook, was added and the groups of the Just were enlarged.²²⁸

The panel in the *Crucifixion* window in Loughrea clearly shows the kneeling man dressed in shepherd’s clothing and holding a shepherd’s crook – we can therefore assume that this is Abel being raised by Christ. Behind Abel are several other O.T characters, a bearded elderly man who could be identified as either Abraham or Moses, and behind him a younger man whose identity is difficult to discern. Crossan points to the presence of John the Baptist in the depiction of the *Anastasis* in the great Rotunda in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, depicted with the youthful Abel, each representing the first martyrs in the Old and New Testaments. It is possible that the older character in this panel also represents John the Baptist, conveying the idea of a communal, rather than an individual resurrection for Jesus, and providing evidence of further links with Eastern Christianity in Loughrea.²²⁹ In the background is a snake curled around what appears to be a tower, obviously a reference to Satan’s hold over humanity up to this point. While this iconography does not appear directly in the biblical narrative, there is some justification for its inclusion based on several biblical texts, the main texts being 1 Peter 3:19-20, and 1 Peter 4:6, where the author states that the Gospel was proclaimed even to the dead.²³⁰ As part of the Palaeologan Byzantine tradition (11-14th century) it appears in many icons of the period. The idea of Christ

²²⁸ Thalia Gouma-Peterson, “A Byzantine Anastasis Icon in the Walters Art Gallery.” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 42/43, (1984-1985): 48.

²²⁹ See John Dominic Crossan, “The Communal Resurrection of Jesus” in *Huffington Post Religion*, posted 4/11/11. I am grateful to Jessie Rogers for drawing my attention to this article.

²³⁰ See also Job 38:17, Ps. 68:18-22, Matt. 12:38-41, Acts 2:22-32, Rom. 10:7, and Eph. 4:7-10 for biblical texts which have been used to justify this iconography.

descending to free the Patriarchs from Hades also has roots in medieval mystery plays, and Dante refers to the idea in the *Inferno*. It is also referred to in the Apostles Creed –“He descended into hell”, in one of the more controversial clauses of the Creed which is not accepted by all Christian denominations.²³¹ Interestingly, St. John Chrysostom also made reference to this in his Paschal Homily which is read during the Eastern Orthodox *Pascha* – “He descended into Hades and took Hades captive”. Our discovery above that St. John Chrysostom was avidly read by Edward Martyn throws some light on the inclusion of this unusual iconography in the context of an Irish Roman Catholic cathedral. It is interesting to note also that the inclusion in the upper panel of this light of the three Marys at the tomb coincides with the *Anastasis* icon in the Walters Art Gallery, which according to Gouma-Peterson indicates a “symbolic complexity and pronounced interest in narrative”. Referring to Matt. 28:2, she draws attention to the narrative sequence of three events as follows:

Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, on the evening of the crucifixion, looking at the tomb in which Christ had been buried, two days later at dawn returning to look at the grave and being confronted by the angel, and as the angel speaks, Christ resurrecting the Just. The sequence is very effective and appropriate, but the result of making the *Anastasis* the culminating event in a sequential narrative is highly unusual.²³²

Once again we find Edward Martyn, Bishop Healy, Fr. O’Donovan and the artists of An Túr Gloine confounding our expectations in their choice of iconography for the cathedral windows. While on face value the windows appear to be beautifully executed, but conventional representations of Roman Catholic iconography, we find on further examination that there are elements of Syriac and Byzantine traditions included that would lead us to conclude that the level of scholarship and engagement with the biblical traditions from East and West was very comprehensive indeed.

Four years later, the Nativity window was completed by Child, to the design of Sarah Purser. This window also consists of three lights with the central panel of the central light containing the Nativity scene, traditionally portrayed with the Christ Child lying in a manger with Mary and Joseph watching over him, and the traditional addition of the ox and donkey looking on. The Infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke are the sources for the traditional Nativity scene, and although there is no mention of the animals in the gospel narratives their

²³¹ The controversy remains to the present day as evidenced in the writings of Hans Urs von Balthasar on the subject. See Hans Urs von Balthasar *Mysterium Paschale*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000). For a critique of von Balthasar on this subject see Alyssa Lyra Pitstick *Light in Darkness: Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Catholic Doctrine of Christ’s Descent in to Hell*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

²³² Op. cit. 56.

inclusion is based on two Old Testament references - Habakkuk 3:2 "In the midst of the two beasts wilt thou be known", and Isaiah 1:3 "The ox knows its owner, and an ass its master's manger".²³³ This scene is similar in the St. Fin Barre's depiction, apart from the position of Mary as discussed. Two little angels are portrayed at the bottom of the scene, each holding a musical instrument. The wooden beams in the shape of a cross behind the Holy family foreshadows the future destiny of this little child, a reminder that the shadow of violence and death looms behind the stable, and is characteristic of the theme of suffering in these windows.

This three light window can be read horizontally from top to bottom, as the artist appears to have chosen to show "the central Nativity scene surrounded by scenes of the divine childhood". According to Egan, this window is a companion to the Passion window, which shows the Crucifixion as the centre scene, surrounded by scenes from the Passion.²³⁴ We can see that the top left and right panels depict the annunciation scene, with the angel Gabriel appearing on the left panel, and Mary appearing on the right, with the angel's words from Luke's gospel inscribed overhead in Latin "Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum" (Luke 1:28) on the left panel, and Mary's *fiat* inscribed on the right panel - "Ecce ancilla domini, Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum" (Luke 1:38). Unusually, Mary appears in a standing position, and adopts a position of humble submission to the will of God as she bows her head and crosses her arms over her heart. This would reflect some early Eastern representations of the Annunciation, as described by Hornik and Parsons, who refer to the homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus on Mary's position at the Annunciation. They also refer to the attribution by Fra Roberto of five successive spiritual states to Mary: that of *conturbatio* or disquiet, *cogitatio*/reflection, *interragatio*/enquiry, *humiliatio*/submission, and *meritatio*/merit.²³⁵ On her left and right side are two lilies, a standard iconographical device denoting purity.

The central top panel depicts the angels announcing the birth of the Christ child to the shepherds with the inscription "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in Terra pax hominibus", a variation of Luke 2:14. To the left of the central panel the shepherds are portrayed approaching the stable above the inscription "Venite adoramus in Bethlehem", a reference to

²³³ Pope Benedict XVI pointed this out in his recent publication *Jesus of Nazareth: The Infancy Narratives* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012) causing considerable consternation in the popular press. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/the-pope/9691295/Nativity-donkeys-and-cattle-are-a-myth-says-Pope.html>

²³⁴ Egan, 1986.

²³⁵ Heidi J. Hornik and Mikeal C. Parsons, *Illuminating Luke: The Infancy Narrative in Italian Renaissance Painting* (Harrisburg PA: Continuum, 2003), 48.

Luke 2:15 where the shepherds declare their intention to go to Bethlehem “and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known to us”.²³⁶ The scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds was overlooked for centuries in the visual arts in favour of the Adoration of the Magi, as “shepherds in general were viewed with some ambiguity, especially in art”.²³⁷ By the first century C.E. shepherds were despised and often considered thieves in Jewish culture. According to Origen, Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa, the shepherds represented the Jews and the Magi stood for the Gentiles, which would go some way towards explaining their eclipse in Western Christian art by the Magi. However, as Hornik and Parsons point out:

The birth of the Messiah, according to Luke has the power to lift up the lowly, the despised and the violent (1.52). And these shepherds, whose vocation for the authorial audience at first conjures up an image of a despised and potentially violent group, by their actions – finding the child and ‘glorifying’ and praising God align themselves with the more positive portrait of the good shepherd, an image already evoked by the mention of the City of David, who was of course himself a shepherd before becoming king.²³⁸

The right central panel depicts the visit of the Magi bearing gifts, and is inscribed with the words from Matthew’s account in Latin “Vidimus stellam eius in oriente et venimus adorare eum” (Matt. 2:2). The three lower panels do not conform chronologically to the sequence of the gospel narrative with the Visitation depicted on the left panel, the flight into Egypt in the central panel, and the Presentation in the Temple on the right panel. Once again there is a fusion of the gospels of Matthew and Luke, with inscriptions from each gospel depicted. On the Visitation panel, the words “Magnificat anima mea Dominum” from Mary’s Magnificat in Luke 1:46 are inscribed. The Flight Into Egypt panel bears the inscription from Matthew 2:14 following the appearance of the angel to Joseph in a dream to advise him to take Mary and the child to Egypt in order to escape the murderous plans of Herod (Matt. 2:13). The lower right hand panel depicts Mary handing the child to Simeon, an obvious reference to Luke 2:25-35 when Simeon greets Mary with the child in the temple, and bears the inscription again in Latin, “Nunc Dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace” (Luke 2:29).

²³⁶ According to Freeman “For many centuries the shepherds were shown approaching the manger; in XIV century Italian art they kneel for the first time before the child”. The depiction on this window therefore reflects the early medieval depictions, as they appear to approach almost hesitatingly, and may indicate their humility as they approach the place where The Good Shepherd lies. See M.B. Freeman, “Shepherds In the Field”, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11 (1952-53), 108-15.

²³⁷ See Hornik and Parsons, 93.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 97.

This three light window executed by Purser and Child is a charmingly traditional depiction of the Infancy Narratives as they appear in Matthew and Luke's Gospels and which remain timelessly appealing even in our more sceptical age. The authors of Matthew and Luke paint a vivid narrative of longing and seeking as demonstrated by the journey of the Magi for the redemption offered by the birth of a new king in Matthew, or the seeking of the shepherds for the Christ child in Luke as well as the sacrifice and trust exemplified by the faith of Simeon, the just and devout man of Jerusalem awaiting the appearance of the Saviour of Israel in the temple. The author of Matthew's portrayal of Joseph's dilemma as he struggled to come to terms with the extraordinary events unfolding, and the portrayal in Luke of Mary's humble response to the overwhelming news announced by the angel Gabriel contain such profound narrative power that even contemporary biblical scholarship cannot diminish it. Purser and Child did not flinch from portraying the darker undertones of the presence of the power hungry Herod whose fear of being usurped by the new king led him to infanticide and forced the new family into migration. The Infancy Narrative speaks so profoundly to the human heart in every age that even the secular press of our time had a strong reaction to the demythologising of the presence of the appearance of the animals in the stable. As Pope Benedict XVI wisely observed in his recent publication on the Infancy Narratives "No-one will give up the oxen and the donkey in their Nativity scenes".²³⁹ While centuries of tradition have added details to the original narratives contained in the Gospels, reflected in iconographical treatment since the early Middle Ages, the essential narratives are profoundly significant in their treatment of the great mystery of the Incarnation, and continue to resonate with every generation and era.²⁴⁰

The Nativity window completed by Purser and Child in 1912 was the last window executed for the new cathedral until the 1920s. The intervention of World War I, followed by the War of Independence and the Civil War caused disruption to the decoration until Hubert McGoldrick completed a window depicting the Sacred Heart and St. Margaret Mary, which was erected near the Sacred Heart Altar in December 1925. It is interesting to note the proximity of these political disruptions to the earlier decoration of the cathedral, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the patrons and artists would be operating in a different social, political and religious context from 1925 onwards. The new Irish Free State was avowedly Roman Catholic although the new constitution upheld the right of religious freedom for all citizens. Political differences remained, but a new era had begun under the

²³⁹ Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth: The Infancy Narratives*, (2012), Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Rome.

²⁴⁰ For an interesting treatment of the role of tradition in the iconography of the Nativity see M.B. Freeman, "Shepherds In the Field" in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11, (1952-53), 108-15.

government of the Irish Free State and the religious leadership of the Roman Catholic Church which was acknowledged by the 1937 Constitution as having a 'special position' in the new state.²⁴¹ It is important to keep this in mind when examining the windows executed after this important change in Irish political and religious history, and it will be interesting to observe if this change is reflected in the iconography.

Because of the break in the sequence of the windows in Loughrea, between 1912 and 1925, the next chapter will proceed to the building and decoration of the Honan Chapel in Cork in 1916, a year of enormous political significance for Ireland.

²⁴¹ The 5th amendment to the Irish Constitution removed this special position in 1972.

CHAPTER 4 – THE HONAN CHAPEL, CORK.

One of the most important questions underlying this thesis is the one of how much the stained glass windows of 20th century Irish churches and cathedrals reflected the growing sense of national and religious identity which followed in the wake of Catholic emancipation in 1839. The Honan Chapel in Cork was designed and built specifically to celebrate:

the spirit and work of the age when Irishmen built churches and nobly adorned them under an impulse of native genius. It was desired to put before the eyes of the Catholic students of Munster a church designed and fashioned...as those which their forefathers had built for their priests and missionaries all over Ireland nearly a thousand years ago²⁴²

The Celtic Revival style exemplified in the Honan Chapel was not simply “a slavish reversion to ancient forms, however beautiful” as O’Connell remarked, but was an attempt to reflect the spiritual and aesthetic forces of national art presenting an interior which was traditionally Irish, yet which would appeal to contemporary society. Other countries throughout Europe were engaged in a similar quest at the turn of the 20th century to express through the media of art and architecture a sense of national identity and heritage, particularly in the case of countries that had been controlled by other powers. The stained glass windows created by Stanislaw Wyspianski in the Franciscan church in Krakow, for example, are a testament to the emerging nationalist spirit of the Polish people at this period in their history, following years of domination by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. A similar movement existed in Hungary at the time with artists such as Miksa Róth and Sándor Nagy seeking nationalist expression through the medium of stained glass,²⁴³ reflecting the aspirations of ‘old’ European nations emerging from under the control of their more powerful neighbours.

The windows of An Túr Gloine and Harry Clarke mark the real break with the 19th century style of glass design, reflecting a sensibility formed by the aesthetics of early 20th century

²⁴² J.J. Horgan, The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork, *Studies*, vol. 5, (1916): 612-14.

²⁴³ Cf. Katalin Gellèr, “Hungarian Stained Glass of the early 20th century,” *Journal of Stained Glass*, vol. XVIII, no. 2 (1986-7).

European art movements, such as Art Nouveau and early Art Deco as well as the Symbolist movement, but also the medieval cathedrals of Europe, such as Chartres in France and Canterbury in England. Clarke's windows are dazzling examples of a synthesis of artistic styles fused together by a rich imagination, a profound understanding of the symbolism and power of colour, and a technical virtuosity which elevated his work to a level unprecedented in Irish ecclesiastical art. It is to the work of Harry Clarke in the Honan Chapel that we will now turn our attention in our study of Irish stained glass in the 20th century. Questions which need to be addressed concern the extent to which Clarke's aesthetic was informed by an understanding of the biblical content of the scenes he so vividly portrayed in his windows. We will begin by giving an overview of Clarke's life and work, drawing mainly on the work of Nicola Gordon Bowe, one of the major contributors in this field. We will then undertake a detailed analysis of the Harry Clarke windows in one of his most celebrated works, the nine windows he created for the Honan Chapel in Cork University, drawing on the most recent work in this area by Teehan and Wincott Heckett (2004), and Costigan and Cullen (2010). We will attempt to discover the artistic and religious meaning conveyed in his work, in the hope that this will lead us towards a better understanding of the biblical narratives underpinning his work. This attempt will be facilitated by also examining in detail the window created by Clarke which contains the highest level of biblical detail from both the Old and New Testaments – the *Virgin in Glory* window in St. Joseph's Church, Terenure, Dublin.

Life and Work of Harry Clarke

Harry Clarke was born in Dublin on St. Patrick's Day, 17th March 1889 into an environment which was conducive to fostering his interest in stained glass. His father, Joshua Clarke, a Protestant who had converted to Catholicism to marry Clarke's mother, Brigid McGonigal, had set up a church decorating company in Dublin which expanded to include stained-glass manufacture in 1892. His father's business received commissions from ecclesiastical and business establishments from both Ireland and England and the young Harry Clarke grew up with a studio at the back of his house at 33 North Frederick Street.²⁴⁴ The Clarkes had four children, and Clarke's brother Walter would eventually become involved in his father's business with Harry. Brigid Clarke had poor health and suffered from chest complaints, a condition inherited by both sons.

²⁴⁴ Lucy Costigan & Michael Cullen, *Strangest Genius, The Stained Glass of Harry Clarke*, (Dublin: The History Press, 2010) 15.

Clarke attended school at Marlborough Model School, and later Belvedere College, the Jesuit school located close to his home in North Frederick Street. The effect of Clarke's education at Belvedere will be one of the areas worth exploring when we are attempting to analyse his aesthetic and religious perspective. Another former student of Belvedere College, James Joyce, who attended Belvedere a few years before Clarke, may be an important link in our attempt to investigate the hermeneutic employed by Clarke in the production of his stained-glass. Joyce gives a vivid description of the type of religious education he received from the Jesuits in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and it may be possible to construct a reasonably accurate picture of the influence of Clarke's Jesuit education on his work by consulting Joyce's description in this classic early 20th century *bildungsroman*. Clarke's mother died in August 1903 at the age of forty-three, when he was fourteen years old. As he had been particularly close to his mother, her death affected him deeply. He left school the following year, becoming apprenticed to an architect for a short period before joining his father's studio. He spent the next five years learning the art of stained glass from William Nagle, a Dublin craftsman working for Joshua Clarke. Around this time, he also began attending night classes at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art, where he was taught by A.E. Child, the Manager of An Túr Gloine. He was awarded a gold medal by the Board of Education National Competition at South Kensington, London for his window *The Consecration of St. Mel, Bishop of Longford, by St. Patrick* in 1911, and it is testament to his skill and craftsmanship that he was one of only two Irish students to receive gold medals in the competition which had over 13,000 submissions. He went on to win two more medals for his stained glass work at the National Competition.

Clarke met his wife, Margaret Crilly, who was an artist and teacher from Newry Co Down, at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. They married in October 1914 despite their difference in temperament, Clarke's sensitive imaginative temperament contrasting with Margaret's practical disposition.²⁴⁵ The couple moved into a flat at 33, North Frederick Street, and they eventually had three children. Clarke's friendship with Laurence Waldron, the Governor of the National Gallery of Ireland and the Governor of Belvedere College, as well as a stockbroker and Nationalist MP was to prove extremely useful in helping him to secure commissions for stained glass work as well as illustrations. He became a frequent visitor to Waldron's home, 'Marino', overlooking Killiney Bay, where he came into contact with some of the major players in Dublin's intellectual set. Doubtless, the connections forged in this milieu were instrumental in bringing Clarke's work to the attention of the

²⁴⁵ Costigan & Cullen, *Strangest Genius, the Stained Glass of Harry Clarke*, 16.

influential patrons of the arts who were to prove essential in his career as a stained-glass artist. It was Waldron who gave Clarke his first commission in 1913 to illustrate Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*, and it was also around this time that he began experimenting with stained-glass panels inspired by literary themes. His series of nine panels based on Synge's 'Queens' brought him to international attention, due to their intricacy of craftsmanship and richness of colour.

Following the completion of his studies at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in 1913, Clarke decided to go to London, where he sought to acquire a publisher for his book illustrations. He succeeded in securing a commission from George G. Harrap to illustrate Hans Christian Anderson's *Fairy Tales* which was published in 1916, following which he returned to Dublin. As a result of a scholarship he had been awarded by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction he travelled to France in January 1914 with the intention of visiting Chartres Cathedral. Gordon Bowe describes how important this visit was to his education in stained-glass production. Chartres was at this time under the guardianship of M. Etienne Houtet who allowed Clarke to climb up scaffolding to examine the glass closely. Houtet had an extensive knowledge of French medieval and Gothic architecture and he produced several important works on the subject as well as producing a series of innovative lumière plates of the windows which were the only available means at that time of recording the windows in colour. According to Gordon Bowe:

Harry was to learn much from this visit, principally the importance in stained glass of a rich depth in colour that Ruskin called 'the glow of controlled fire', the juxtaposition of one colour against another so that the eye of the onlooker would mix and harmonise them; and the importance of clear, sinuous brush strokes and 'matting' with clear highlights, which would give further depth to the glass and control the light playing through its surface. He also saw the use of decorative borders, often filled with rows of small painted beads or long rectangles to further break up the light, as part of the design of each panel, and the need for a clearly legible iconography and dramatically portrayed figures with powerful facial expressions.²⁴⁶

The famous *La Belle Verrière* window at Chartres was of particular interest, as it made Clarke aware of the medieval convention of varying the scale of the figures portrayed according to their importance, for, as Gordon Bowe points out he would later use the unusual seated position of the Madonna in that window as a basis for his *St. Albert* window (1915) in the Honan Chapel series, as well as figures of small attendant figures of angels in

²⁴⁶ Gordon Bowe, *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, 33.

several subsequent designs such as his window at Sturminster Newton (1920).²⁴⁷ However, one of the most important lessons learned by Clarke at Chartres was the enhancement of each piece of glass by the lead line which surrounded it, although an awareness of this important element had already been displayed in his *Judas* panel (1913) which had been produced before his visit to France. His study of reproductions of medieval glass and actual examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London would have contributed to his knowledge of this essential ingredient.

The severity of the French winter leading to his catching a severe chill, together with his dislike of the food and his inability to speak the language conspired to make him so unhappy in France that he decided to go to London after ten days, arriving at the home of his friend Karl Parsons. Parsons was five years older than Clarke, and the men remained close friends until Clarke's death. He was a very competent designer and a superb draughtsman and he instilled a strong belief in the integrity of artists and craftsmen in Clarke, and introduced him to other stained glass workers such as Edward Woore, and poets and musicians. Clarke was happy at Parson's home, and he took a room as a paying guest using the money from the Harrap commission. He remained in London for some time working on illustrations for Harraps, and visiting galleries. When he decided to return to Dublin for Easter, he paid visits to Bath, Salisbury, Lacock and Fairford where, according to Gordon Bowe "he was greatly impressed both technically and iconographically by the great fifteenth-century seven-light *Last Judgment* west window in the church of St. Mary".²⁴⁸ Upon reaching Dublin he discovered that his prize-winning stained glass panel, *The Baptism of St. Patrick* had been selected for an exhibition in the Louvre together with the stained glass of Douglas Strachan, Anning Bell, Wilhelmina Geddes, and Karl Parsons. He spent Easter week visiting Waldron and other friends, and reading contemporary magazines on decorative art, in particular German periodicals such as *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* and *Innen-Dekoration*. Gordon Bowe refers to his diaries, which indicate that he read voraciously throughout his life, and was a regular theatre, music and cinemagoer. He also had a fascination for ballet, and attended many performances of Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* during his times in London. Indeed, his *Annunciation* window in St. Joseph's church, Terenure, in Dublin reflects his interest in ballet by its depiction of the Angel Gabriel wearing a frilly

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.35. This window was probably particularly influential in his choice of iconography for the *Last Judgment* window that he would later execute for Newport church in Co. Mayo.

petticoat and ballet slippers.²⁴⁹ No doubt, his imagination was stimulated by his exposure to these various art forms, enabling his aesthetic sensibility to be enhanced and improved.

Clarke returned to London following his holiday in Dublin, resumed life lessons which he had been taking with Hugo's in Oxford Street, and continued working on illustrations for Harraps. In May he decided to make another trip to Paris where he met Glasgow artists, Jessie M. King (1878-1979) and her husband E.A. Taylor (1874-1952) who were responsible for the gathering of young artists and craftsmen and women in the Shealing Atelier of Fine Art. Taylor had worked in stained glass in Glasgow, Manchester and London, and he was also the Paris correspondent of *The Studio* which may account for publication of two of Clarke's illustrations in its Autumn 1914 number. This publication marked the beginning of a long association between Clarke and *The Studio*. During this visit to Paris, Clarke returned to Chartres, as well as visiting St. Cloud, Versailles, and spent much time in a hidden locked room in the old Trocadèro Museum on the Colline de Chaillot studying and copying the stained glass and fragments contained there. He made several watercolour studies from these twelfth-century fragments. He also visited the Cluny Museum, which contained some glass which was alleged to have come from the Sainte Chapelle. It is highly probable that he also visited Sainte Chapelle itself as well as Notre Dame, and we can assume that these visits would have been reflected in the work that Clarke would produce for the Honan Chapel shortly afterwards. Before returning to London in July he visited the cathedral at Amiens, and on his return to London he contacted his stained glass colleagues before returning to Dublin.

The First World War broke out on the 4th August, and a few days later Clarke embarked on a trip to Inishere with his friends Austin Molloy and Sean Keating. The landscape in Inishere was to be a great source of inspiration to him, and he was to spend six summers on the island, drawing inspiration from the many different types of plants growing on the rocks and in the sea there. The influence of these visits can be seen in the lower panels and decorative borders in many of his stained glass windows. In October 1914, Clarke's diary records a meeting with Sir John O'Connell, governor of Belvedere College and trustee of the Honan bequest, in which O'Connell invited Clarke to submit designs for several windows for the Honan Chapel of St. Finbarr, on the grounds of the Royal University (now University College Cork). It is very likely that Laurence ('Larky') Waldron had arranged the introduction of Clarke and O'Connell, as they were neighbours in Killiney and, as we have already established, both Waldron and O'Connell were governors of Belvedere College.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Costigan and Cullen, (2010), 36.

Clarke agreed to submit designs for several windows in five weeks, and it is notable that Sarah Purser had already accepted a commission for some of the windows before Clarke was approached. Gordon Bowe notes that as Purser was under the impression that her studio would do all the windows, she was resentful when this did not turn out to be the case.²⁵⁰ However, as Teehan and Wincott Heckett state, “Bringing in Clarke, when Sarah Purser’s firm could easily have been entrusted with all of the windows was an inspired move by O’Connell, as Clarke’s personal contribution turned out to be the chief glory of the whole chapel.”²⁵¹

The first design submitted by Clarke, the *St. Brigid* window, was so admired that he was asked to submit a further four designs, and was assured that a number of the chapel windows would be assigned to him, although he did not receive a formal order from O’Connell until the beginning of the following year. He was originally commissioned to design five windows but he was encouraged to compete for the rest of the work. Clarke submitted five intricate drawings, coloured and to scale, of windows depicting five Irish saints – Sts. Patrick, Brigid, Colmcille, Gobnait and Ita. According to Gordon Bowe “every line of lead is drawn in, even the thickness of the coloured glass suggested, and the flesh and features of each saint are shaded in finest pencil tones”.²⁵² On the eve of his twenty-sixth birthday, he began the series of windows for the Honan Chapel that were to be arguably his greatest achievement in stained glass, and indeed, may be considered one of the greatest series of stained glass windows produced in the 20th century. In the next section we will examine Clarke’s series of windows for the Honan Chapel in detail, attempting to discern the type of iconography employed, the possible reasons for the employment of this particular type of iconography, questioning whether the iconography can be directly linked to the biblical narrative, or whether it has a more tenuous link to the bible. It is worth keeping the ideals of O’Connell and Windle in mind when engaging with the imagery portrayed. We will then examine the windows executed by the artists of An Túr Gloine, from a similar hermeneutical perspective. Finally, the *Virgin in Glory* window in Terenure will provide an exceptional example of how Clarke fused the narratives of the Old and New Testaments in a window which skilfully blends biblical narrative with Roman Catholic Mariology.

²⁵⁰Op. cit., 40.

²⁵¹Teehan and Wincott Heckett, *The Honan Chapel*, 99.

²⁵²op. cit., 42.

The Honan Chapel

In this section, we will examine the Clarke windows of the Honan Chapel, which are justifiably considered to be one of the most important series of windows designed and created by the artist. We will also examine the windows created by the artists of An Túr Gloine for the chapel, paying particular attention to the *St. John* window, which has not been entirely understood up to this point. The Clarke windows were instrumental in bringing his work to the attention of a national and international audience, and in some ways overshadowed the work of An Túr Gloine, which may explain Purser's resentment. It may be useful at this point to review the context, both artistic and cultural, as well as religious in which the building and design of the Honan Chapel was undertaken. We have seen how Sir John O'Connell had been made trustee of the bequest of the Honan family, who wished to erect a chapel for the Catholic students of Munster on the grounds of what was then called the Royal University. Teehan and Wincott Heckett point out that:

The chapel was founded in the belief that it is essential for a college to meet both the spiritual and academic needs of students. Coupled with this belief was O'Connell's contention that to win the hearts of its congregation, the chapel's design must be truly Irish in inspiration and representative of insular ecclesiastical art.²⁵³

Sir John O'Connell, unlike Windle, had no known political affiliations, and his writings reveal him to be a man of deep spirituality, aligned with a steely sense of purpose "which he used to great effect in realizing his ideals."²⁵⁴ We can assume therefore, that Clarke and the An Túr Gloine artists would have been given very specific instructions on the type of iconography which was required for the chapel, and how that iconography reflected the ideals of the founders of the chapel. The Honan chapel was built and furnished in a Celtic Revival style, recalling the Hiberno-Romanesque style that preceded the Gothic, and the artists would have been aware of the necessity to reflect this ideal in the stained glass windows. As O'Connell's official history of the Honan Chapel indicates, the studies of 19th century antiquarians of the art, architecture and literature of the early Christian Church in Ireland and Britain were consulted. Margaret Stokes's book *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, published in 1887 was one of the main sources consulted by O'Connell, and it is certain that it played a vital role in the design of the Honan Chapel. This book not only provided information on the specific features required to construct and decorate a chapel based on the Hiberno-Romanesque style of the early Christian church, it also provided information about the iconographic significance of these features. The idea behind the

²⁵³Op.cit. 23.

²⁵⁴Op.cit. 30.

structure of the Honan Chapel is based on the structural sources for the chapel of St. Cronan's at Roscrea, and Cormac's Chapel at Cashel. We can therefore assume that the manner in which decoration of the chapel, including the stained glass windows, was arranged, had the iconography and symbolism of the design of the earlier churches in mind. The layout and structure of early Christian churches in Ireland, such as Cormac's Chapel, provides some insight into how churches of that time were intended, in their layout and the organisation of their decoration, "to situate the individual and the Church (as a structure, institution and Christian community) within the wider, universal context of the Divine and the created world through the image of the Crucifixion."²⁵⁵ In all of the churches of this period in Ireland, the chancel, which was the ritual and symbolic focus of the building (being the site of the altar and thus the area occupied by the priest during the celebration of the sacraments), represented the head of Christ. The nave, which was occupied by the congregation, represented the body of Christ, and the transepts represented the arms of Christ on the cross, which were outstretched to embrace the four corners of the earth. This form of decoration was intended to represent a kind of metaphorical journey from this world to the next. The entrance to the church was therefore seen as marking the transition between the two worlds. The nave was the means by which the journey was made, and the east end, which was usually the most elaborate end, symbolized heaven, established on earth at the end of time. This perhaps explains why images of saints are portrayed in the nave, as in the stained glass windows in the Honan Chapel. As pointed out by Teehan and Wincott Heckett, "It may be that the mosaics, carvings, stained glass windows and furniture of the building were organized in order to exploit themes celebrated symbolically in the design of the earlier churches."²⁵⁶ The windows in the Honan chapel conform to O'Connell's overall vision – the symbolic representation of the Church, with Christ as head and the people of God represented in the nave by the iconography of the stained glass, which is notable for its imagery of the early Christian saints. The tendency to portray the saints of the early Irish Church in the windows seems to have developed in Ireland during the medieval revival of the 19th century, according to Teehan and Wincott Heckett. A.W.N. Pugin's cathedral in Killarney (completed in the 1870s) and his son's Cathedral at Cobh in Co. Cork, where the saints are set in the clerestory windows of the nave, provide two examples of this.²⁵⁷ Teehan and Wincott Heckett make the following observation regarding this tendency in Catholic churches of the period:

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 108.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 111.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 128.

Church of Ireland medieval revival buildings of the same period, while sometimes including early Irish saints in the nave windows, do not do so systematically, in such a way as to translate the nave visually, in symbolic form, into the ‘Body of the Church’ peopled by the (Irish) saints of heaven.²⁵⁸

It can be observed therefore that the layout of the Honan chapel, rather than being set in a directly biblical context, would seem to suggest a liturgical context based on a hermeneutic reflecting Paul’s interpretation of the Church as set out in the first letter to the Corinthians (cf. 1 Cor. 12:27). According to Paul, and indeed also implicit in the book of Revelation (21:1-8), the *ekklesia* is formed into the body of Christ by means of the gospel (Eph. 3:6), born of one baptism (Eph. 4:5), nourished by one bread (1 Cor. 10:17), gathering into one people (Gal.3:28) the children of one God and Father (Eph. 4:6). It would appear that the building and iconography, including the stained glass windows were created to be of service to this idea, and to draw attention to the liturgical and sacramental aspects of the church. One of the questions posed by this thesis in studying the stained glass windows of early 20th century Irish churches and cathedrals concerns the extent to which the biblical narrative is reflected in the work of the artists of this period. In our study of the windows in the Honan chapel, we will keep this question in mind in order to enable comparison with Loughrea Cathedral built at the beginning of the 20th century and containing stained glass which was created up to the 1950s. By also comparing the windows that we have examined in St. Fin Barre’s Church of Ireland cathedral, built in the latter half of the nineteenth century, we hope to construct a model of relationship between biblical iconography and religious identity in the overall context of Irish stained glass in the 20th century.

As we have established, the layout of the Honan chapel was based on the symbolic construction of early medieval Irish churches, and the stained glass windows were designed to complement the ritualistic and symbolic focus of the building. O’Connell also intended the design to appeal to worshippers of the twentieth century, reflecting something of the artistic and cultural spirit of the time. His vision involved the task of integrating past and present, a task described by Gadamer as follows:

Works of architecture do not stand motionless on the shore of the stream of history, but are borne along by it. Even if historically-minded ages try to reconstruct the architecture of an earlier age, they cannot turn back the wheel of history, but must mediate in a new and better way between the past and the present.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 150.

Gadamer's statement is a reminder that all great works of art and architecture occupy "a timeless present" beyond any historical confinement, as they continue to be encountered by later generations.²⁶⁰

We will now examine the windows in detail, in order to establish the type of iconography displayed, and to situate the framework guiding the iconographic content of the windows. For examination of the Clarke windows we will draw particularly on the recent work of Costigan and Cullen in this area in order to assist in identifying and assessing the means that Clarke employed in order to convey the imagery depicted in the glass, thereby enabling a more complete understanding of his particular religious aesthetic. Sir John O'Connell's own account published in 1916, the year of the completion of the building and detailing the iconographic content will be another important source.

The Honan Chapel Windows

Clarke prepared for the design of the windows of the Honan Chapel with a great deal of care and attention, as evidenced by his correspondence, which details the characteristics of each saint, and attributes particular colours to their windows. The nine windows designed by Clarke are as follows;

Sts. Brigid, Patrick and Columcille(1915) (3 lights); *St. Finbarr* (1916); *St. Ita* (1916); *St. Albert* (1916); *St. Gobnait* (1916); *St. Brendan* (1916); *St. Declan* (1916); *St. Joseph* (1917); and *Our Lady of Sorrows* (1917). Clarke's depiction of these saints demonstrates an extensive understanding of church history and symbolism. In his preparation for the design of the St. Brigid window, he researched her life in the *Book of Lismore* and the *Leabhar Breac*, which detailed the stories and legends surrounding her. Following a viewing of the windows in the Studios, *The Irish Times* of 30th June 1916 remarked upon the symbolism evident in the depiction of the Irish saints as follows:

The many legends of St. Briget [*sic*] are artistically interwoven in the design of the window, dedicated to the 'Mary of Ireland' – the cloth of heaven held over her head by an angel, her lamp which was never quenched, the oak forests of the Curragh, the calf and the five lilies, representing the five provinces over which she had spiritual influence. The window of St. Briget is designed in blue; whilst that of Columkill [*sic*] is dominated by a rich golden colouring, the dove of the churches, the white horse of Iona, and other symbols of the saint being interwoven in the design.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 96.

²⁶¹ Cf. Costigan and Cullen (2010), 98.

West End Windows

The three-light window of the three miracle working saints of Ireland, Brigid, Patrick and Columcille, is located above the main door of the church on the west wall [Fig.1]. The first light depicts St. Brigid of Kildare, in the main panel, who is portrayed wearing a blue cloak, a white headdress decorated with spirals, and a deep blue robe. She is holding a statue of the church she founded in Kildare in her left hand, and there is a calf by her side. In her right hand she holds what Clarke's correspondence describes as "the inextinguishable spiritual lamp".²⁶² The top panel portrays an angel wearing a multi-coloured robe, and holds a cloth of heaven behind the saint's head. The lower panels portray four angels carrying torches representing prayers, prophecies, miracles and charities and five lilies symbolizing the five provinces.

The central light portrays St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. Clarke made a special trip to London in April 1915 to buy some medieval blue and green glass for this window according to Gordon Bowe.²⁶³ The top panel portrays Patrick as a young boy dressed in white, set in a medallion, (a typical device of the medieval period) which is linked to his mandorla-shaped halo by an angel. The angel's halo is in the form of St. Andrew's cross, which suggests that Patrick was born in Scotland.²⁶⁴ The main panel is dominated by green, portraying Patrick in a deep green cloak, wearing a brooch, stole, mitre and boots, and holding a shamrock in his right hand. In his left hand he holds his bishop's crozier, while standing at his right side is his acolyte, Benignus, portrayed holding a lighted torch, symbolising truth, light, and understanding. The lower panel portrays the death of Patrick, surrounded by saints and disciples, one of whom is holding a blazing torch, with the paschal fire which he lit on Tara depicted in the background. The borders are filled with symbols of Patrick's learning and faith, and in the centre of the bottom border in a golden missal an inscription reads: "Pray for Harry Clarke who made this window and for Austin Molloy who helped him. June 1915."

The third light depicting St. Columcille emphasises yellow, symbolizing brightness, goodness and faith. Clarke's plans for this window are as follows:

Top subjects: Horse

Angel with the cloth of heaven forming background.

²⁶²Ibid, 98. This lamp is possibly a reference to the parable of the wise virgins, who kept their lamps filled with oil while awaiting the arrival of the bridegroom in Matt. 25:1-13,

²⁶³Gordon Bowe, *Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, 43.

²⁶⁴Ibid., 51.

Background

The figure: St. Columba and the angel with whom he held heavenly converse-his book-the doves-he is called the Dove of the Church – the white horse symbolising an incident at the close of his life.

Base: Columba on Iona turns towards Ireland and Mayo – the miraculous connection between the two islands is shown by a chain of stars carried by angels.²⁶⁵

Similar to the *St. Brigid* window, the top panel of the *St. Columcille* window depicts an angel holding a cloth of heaven behind the saint's head. Columcille holds a staff in one hand, and a quill and book in the other. The horse who, according to tradition, comforted him and shed tears on his impending death is to his right.²⁶⁶ To the right of his head his guardian angel is depicted in profile, while the two doves who were his messengers on Iona are depicted in the foreground.

Nave Windows

Scarlet is the dominant colour in the *St. Finnbarr* window, which is Clarke's first window in the nave of the chapel [Fig.64]. As St. Finnbarr is the patron saint of Cork, the chapel is dedicated to him. The top panel depicts the legend of Finnbarr's birth, where his noble mother, having rejected her betrothed, eloped with Finnbarr's father, Amergin. The couple were sentenced to burn at the stake, but a hurricane blew out the fire and saved them. The unborn Finnbarr is depicted crying from his mother's womb, surrounded by a crimson halo, while his father is shown on the right. The main panel shows the saint, fair-headed²⁶⁷ and wearing robes of dark red and rose pink. He is holding a crozier on his left hand, and his right hand is gloved in gold, raised in blessing and radiates a golden light. According to legend, young Finnbarr encountered Christ in a vision, and when he fell to his knees, Christ helped him up with his right hand. Hence, the gloved hand covering the radiant light which continually glowed following the encounter, an echo perhaps of the account of the radiance of Moses' face following his encounter with God (Ex. 34:35). An inset of the saint's monastery in Cork, with the spire of St. Fin Barre's cathedral²⁶⁸ in the distance is positioned to the right of the main panel, while a book decorated with the arms of the diocese is to his

²⁶⁵ Cf. Costigan and Cullen (2010), 100.

²⁶⁶ See Sir John O'Connell, *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork: Some Notes on the Building and the Ideals which Inspired It* (Cork: Guy & Co. Ltd., 1916), 42-3

²⁶⁷ Fin Barr's name, which is variously spelled Finbarr, or Fin Barre means fair-headed in ancient Irish.

²⁶⁸ A cathedral had existed on the present site since the early medieval period. Fin Barr founded his school in Cork in 606, and it continued to be listed among the five principal monastic schools of Ireland until the tenth century. See Maurice Carey, *St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork* (Norwich: Jarrold Publishing, 2003), 1.

left. The saint's name is shown in Gaelic script on a vertical parchment-like strip, which, according to Gordon Bower "is reminiscent of Dr. George Otto Simms" description of the 'wealth of detail' in the *Book of Kells* pages that calls for repeated study".²⁶⁹

Once again the borders of the *St. Finnbar* window are rich in detail, showing a flowering hazel tree in snow, representing one of his miracles. The lower panel, which is framed in flowers, shows an angel praying at the consecration of St. Finnbar and St. Maccuirp, the Master of Barras, with their two mitres at the centre. The flames depicted refer to the miraculous nature of the consecration, and are part of a repeated flame motif portrayed in the window. According to O'Connell's account of the traditional story, on the day of consecration:

The angels of God appeared to and raised St. Barre and St. Maccuirp aloft, and then they consecrated them as Bishops, and having brought them back to earth again, oil broke forth from the earth near where they were standing until it covered the shoes of all those there present...On that very day St. Barre and St. Maccuirp as Bishops and the other clerics marked out the cemetery of St. Barre's Church, which is called Corchadh, and after they had consecrated it they promised in the Lord's name that after the Day of Judgment Hell should not close on any person who should have been buried in it.²⁷⁰

St. Ita was known as the Brigid of Munster [Fig.65]. Directly descended from the High Kings of Ireland she founded a church in Killeedy, Co. Limerick in the 6th century. Following her conversion to Christianity, in the face of much opposition, she changed her name from Deirdre, and became a fervent ascetic and a dedicated teacher. According to O'Connell "she put away the crown and the sceptre and all the panoply of royalty in order that she might serve God as a teacher and inspirer of the saints of Munster in a life of labour, mortification and prayer".²⁷¹ Clarke's portrayal emphasises this aspect of her personality, depicting her lean face, veiled head and crossed hands. The background to her head is stark and checkered, denoting the manna which was alleged to have been fed to her while fasting. As in the Brigid window, *St. Ita* is depicted wearing royal blue robes, unto which jewels are sown. On each side of her, the heads of four of her disciples are portrayed in ruby and gold medallions – Saint Brendan of Kerry who was her foster child, St. Colman of Cloyne, St. Finnbar, and Carthage. Tongues of flame crossed over her head are representative of her intense love of God, according to Clarke's notes – "her nimbus symbolises her burning love

²⁶⁹ Gordon Bower, *Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, 54.

²⁷⁰ Sir John O'Connell, *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork*, 44.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, 49.

of God”.²⁷² Emblems of her royal lineage, a crown, sceptre and orb, which were discarded by her appear behind her figure, while at her feet are three jewels, the emblems of the Holy Trinity, which she adopted in place of her royal emblems. The lower panel is linked to the rest of the window by a golden dove rising from the figures depicting St. Ita as a young woman with her holy maids praying with Saint Colman and Saint Brendan. Clarke’s notes describe the border of the window as follows:

*The Border: Has heads of four Irish saints over whom St. Ita exercised spiritual influence – in the border and wherever possible emblems are introduced symbolising St. Ita’s great devotion to the Holy Trinity.*²⁷³

Above the lower panel on the left side there is an eye, symbolising St. Ita’s gift of prophecy, and a golden cross is pictured on the opposite side.

The *St. Albert* window is placed next to the *St. Finnbar* window in the chapel [Fig.66], and it is the only seated saint in the chapel, which, as Gordon Bowe reminds us, is reminiscent of *La Belle Verrière* window in Chartres Cathedral, as well as the twelfth century *Osias* window in Canterbury Cathedral. St. Albert is the patron saint of Cashel, and was thought to have been a bishop in that diocese. Green is the predominant colour in the window with the saint dressed in a green robe, with a purple outer garment and a red and gold sash, with one green gloved hand raised in blessing, and the other holding a silver crozier decorated with Celtic interlacing. His face which is framed in red curly hair has an extremely dignified bearing with the eyes giving the impression of deep contemplation. A golden crucifix appears behind him, with the figure of Christ vaguely discernible – as St. Albert was believed to have had visions of the cross this representation is not directly biblical, but relates to the tradition attached to the saint. O’Connell recounts one of the few legends recorded about St. Albert, which relates to the crucifix shown in the window, behind the figure of the saint. He was buried in the church in Ratisbon near the tomb of his companion, St. Erhard, and according to the legend, one of the guardians of the church saw tears flowing from the eyes of an image of the crucified Christ near the grave of St. Erhard. Having prayed to St. Erhard, a woman of the town recovered her eyesight through the intercession of St. Albert. “Thus” notes O’Connell, “it appeared that St. Erhard desired the companion

²⁷²Cf. Costigan and Cullen (2010), 104. Hamlin and Hughes point out that the early Christian monasteries were places of fosterage, education and learning, which accounts for the fact that St. Brendan was a foster child of St. Ita. See Ann Hamlin and Kathleen Hughes, *The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997) 15.

²⁷³ Ibid.

of his pilgrimage, labours and merits during his life to share with him the power of working miracles after death”.²⁷⁴

Interestingly, Clarke used himself as a model for the figure of Christ, photographing himself in a loin cloth, and working from the photographs when designing the window. He was to use these photographs again when designing the *Crucifixion* window for the church in Terenure in Dublin. Above the crucifix, a horizontal bar of green glass forms the arms of another cross, from which a standing figure of St. Albert appears holding a golden crucifix, and preaching to a congregation of Ratisbon in Germany, where he died. The lower panel depicts a procession led by Albert and several of his followers, probably including St. Erhard, who holds a golden bell and a monstrance containing a host, which Clarke portrays in clear glass, allowing the light to shine through, producing a luminous effect. They are accompanied by a young man carrying a cross, identified by Gordon Bowe as St. Hildulph, and also two young acolytes carrying a bible and staff.²⁷⁵ St. Albert’s name is inscribed in Irish and Celtic script in the lower border.

The *St. Gobnait* [Fig. 67] window is placed on the south side of the nave, and once again blue is the predominant colour of the saint’s robe. St. Gobnait is associated with the Ballyvourney area of Cork, and according to O’Connell, there is still a cross there which was associated with devotion to the saint. This cross is included in the background behind the saint in this window.²⁷⁶ Ruby and blue strings of beads with inserts of five bees representing her role as the patron saint of beekeepers appear at each side.

Both the red background and the blue robe of the saint are composed of large honeycombed shapes which are decorated with tiny figures. St. Gobnait is portrayed in profile, with long flowing red hair, and she is raising her crozier to mark a line through which the plague, which was rampant in the area, cannot pass into her community. Outside the line are three unprotected, terrified men, who appear to have contracted the plague. One of these men bears Harry Clarke’s initials and the date – 1916. The depictions of these men demonstrate the interesting dichotomy in Clarke’s work, where great beauty is contrasted with the grotesque, reflecting what Teehan and Wincott Hekett refer to as his “essentially medieval love of the macabre and the sublime”.²⁷⁷

In her left hand, St. Gobnait holds a model of her abbey and high cross in Ballyvourney, Co. Cork where she was born at the beginning of the 6th century, and where she spent her entire

²⁷⁴ Op. cit. 45.

²⁷⁵ Gordon Bowe, 56.

²⁷⁶ O’Connell, *The Honan Hostel Chapel*, 52.

²⁷⁷ Op. cit. 182.

life. Behind her a group of robbers skulk, one of them beating off a huge bee which is larger than his head. Gordon Bowe points out that the intricate detail of this man's tiny head is worth noting for the fact that it is executed in accordance with medieval tradition, where two lead lines cut across the face, emphasising the pathos of the man, "rather than blandly following the contours of his head".²⁷⁸ Beneath the saint's shoes, another robber is depicted running away in panic from another huge bee. The window is depicting a legend which told of an attempted robbery of St. Gobnait's abbey being foiled by her bees having chased the robbers away in fright. In the lower panel of the window St. Gobnait is portrayed standing behind a cleric who holds the beehive, and one of the blue honeycombs in her cloak is inscribed with a tiny mitred bishop, holding a crook and a child, again signed with the initials 'HC 1916'. Yet another honeycomb contains a miniature gravestone bearing the inscription 'HC RIP', evidence of Clarke's macabre sense of humour. Gordon Bowe indicates that the particular intricacy of the technique, the choice and treatment of the glass and the expressive detail in this window place it among Clarke's finest works. The juxtaposition between the beautifully executed figure of the saint, and the detailed study in the macabre evident in the portrayal of the thieves is, according to Gordon Bowe, reminiscent of the windows of St. Mary's, Fairford, depicting the history of the Christian religion in the Old and New Law. She quotes the comments of Charles Connick on these windows as follows: "They have a picturesque and striking air of wickedness that is rare in the stained glass windows of the world."²⁷⁹ This window is interesting also from the point of view that it is the first time that Clarke used a feature which was to become a distinctive characteristic of his work – the high necked rucked collar worn by St. Gobnait, which completely covers the neck, and also a little roundel of flashed blue glass with shades of turquoise and green, which was achieved by using silver stain in varying degrees.

St. Declan of Ardmore is portrayed in the next window of this series of Munster saints [Fig. 68]. He was reputed to be one of four bishops who preceded St. Patrick in Ireland. The window is predominantly yellow in colour, and shows St. Declan as a man of the sea, standing over the waves. The strong features of the face, with dark shaggy eyebrows, and red hair, may be based on a portrait of the fishermen of Inishere which Clarke drew on one of his trips to the island, according to Gordon Bowe.²⁸⁰ In the top panel of the window, St. Declan is portrayed preaching to his disciples who are seated in a boat bound for Wales where they are beginning a mission. Wearing a cloak of gold and red, he is carrying a large

²⁷⁸Gordon Bowe, 58.

²⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 60.

²⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 60.

cross, while the boat is seen being tossed by the waves. One of the men holds a flaming torch, and the bell which legend said that St. Declan had been miraculously presented with is behind them. While they were on the way to Wales to spread the message of Christianity, Declan realised that he had left the bell behind, but in response to prayer, it appeared before the boat and went before them to an island in Waterford, where Declan landed and founded the city, which he named Ardmore. In the main panel St. Declan is portrayed holding a model of Ardmore Cathedral in his right hand, and a crozier in his left, a feature that was used quite regularly by Clarke in these windows. His silver staff is covered in Celtic motifs, while his acolyte Ruanus holds the bell. The border is decorated with tiny angels, accompanying Declan's four companion saints, Ciaran, Ibar, Ailbe and Colman. In the lower panel Declan is depicted on his return from his consecration as bishop by Pope Leo in Rome, meeting St. Patrick who has yet to be consecrated on the road from Ireland to Rome, where the men greet each other. Behind them is a barely discernible portrayal of early Christians embracing one another in a gesture of brotherhood.

Facing the St. Declan window on the south side is the window of *St. Brendan* [Fig. 69]. Once again green dominates the window, with pink, red, gold and blue adding to the overall effect. St. Brendan founded many Irish monasteries in the sixth century, including one at Clonfert, and it is notable that Loughrea Cathedral is dedicated to the saint. St. Brendan was renowned for his sea voyages, and he is portrayed in the main panel holding an oar. The setting sun is at his shoulder, and the sky behind him is framed by stalactites of white marble and crystal, with Celtic interlacing. The upper panel shows Brendan in blue robes praying with pilgrims as they search for the Islands of the Blessed. The presence of a crucifix and the Host on board, as in the St. Albert window above, is a reminder of the importance of the Eucharist in Catholic worship. The borders are full of exotic birds, which Brendan encountered on his voyages, and also tiny medallions containing portraits of Brendan's fellow saints and contemporaries – St. Ita, St. Bridget and others. The lower panel portrays the meeting of St. Brendan with Judas Iscariot, when he is said to have found him one Christmas night, suspended between two bars, fastened to a rock in the middle of the ocean, being lashed by the sea. Legend has it that when Brendan enquired who he was, Judas told how he was condemned to spend eternity in a mountain where he was tortured by fire day and night as punishment for his betrayal of Christ. However, during certain Christian feasts he was given some respite from his sufferings and allowed to spend the day on the rock, where he was found by Brendan. According to O'Connell's account, Judas spoke the following words to Brendan:

Here I find respite every Sunday from evening to evening, from the nativity of Our Lord to the Epiphany, from Easter to Pentecost, on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, as also on the day of her Holy Assumption, but on all other days I am deported with Herod and Pilate, with Anna and Caiphas, and therefore I abjure you that you deign to intercede for me that I may remain here even to sunrise on tomorrow, so that the devils may not torture me in honour of your arrival and drag me to the evil inheritance I have bought for myself.²⁸¹

Brendan's prayers of intercession allowed him to have respite until sunrise the next day, and Judas told Brendan that he was allowed to wear a rag around his head to protect his face from the wind and biting fish, because of a charitable action he had performed once in his lifetime, by giving a piece of cloth to a leper at Joppa. According to Gordon Bowe, Clarke's diary reveals that he consulted a poem by Matthew Arnold on the Brendan voyages, and the medieval *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* thought to have been written in the second half of the eighth century, which was well known throughout Europe, both for the stories about Judas and other dramatic adventures experienced by St. Brendan.²⁸² According to the story, Brendan and fourteen other monks voyaged for seven years into the Western ocean in a wicker and hide vessel. Clarke's vivid and horrifying portrayal of Judas bear further testimony to his imaginative powers, which had been fuelled by depictions of torment and terror in the medieval churches and cathedrals which he had visited on his travels in England and France. Gordon Bowe points in particular to the medieval seven-light *Last Judgment* window in the west end of St. Mary the Virgin, Fairford, which Clarke had made a special pilgrimage to see. St. Mary's is the only church in England to have retained a complete set of medieval stained glass windows, and as Gordon Bowe points out, they capture the terror and dread of judgment and hell fire which was a particularly medieval preoccupation. She states that Clarke "is among the very few modern masters to emulate" these terrifying medieval images, and that these images "also employ elements of the stained glass technique which Harry was to develop along his own lines in subsequent years. They used rich rubies, often abraded (which Harry would acid instead), and painted with half tone matts...to suggest the inherent forms and features of their caricature-like monsters".²⁸³

Chancel Windows

The two single-light windows *The Virgin of Sorrows* [Fig. 70] and *St. Joseph* [Fig. 71] in the south wall of the chancel of the chapel are on a smaller scale than the other windows, and are at eye level, so they can be viewed close-up. The dominant colour in the *St. Joseph* window is red with blue providing the secondary colour. Joseph wears a gold kippah or

²⁸¹ Sir John O'Connell, 51.

²⁸² Gordon Bowe, (1989), 64.

²⁸³ Ibid, 65.

Jewish cap, and holds two white lilies, traditionally associated with Joseph, as symbols of purity. The top panel contains a depiction of the Holy Family, with young Jesus holding two pieces of wood in the shape of a cross, while Joseph hammers a nail and Mary spins wool beside them. We have already come across a similar extra biblical image in Loughrea, indicating the popularity of this depiction of the Holy Family. While Mary was sewing in the Loughrea window, the appearance of this type of iconography here also indicates its popularity in Roman Catholic iconography. The border depicts two angels in blue robes. The border of the main panel depicts four angels, also in blue and in profile. Each of these angels holds something of symbolic significance; the first angel holds a cross, while the second holds a golden casket. Below them, the third angel holds a set of scales denoting justice, while the fourth carries a shield. Joseph's blue shoes are decorated in black and gold, as he stands on a cushion of silver spirals. On the lower panel, there is a depiction of Joseph's death, with Mary praying at the foot of the bed, beside Jesus, and several Irish saints including St. Finbarr and St. Columcille present.

The window depicting *Our Lady of Sorrows* is located to the right of the altar. The top panel depicts a bright star representing the Holy Family, and beneath this star is the Holy Spirit traditionally depicted in the form of a dove with tongues of fire, denoting the miraculous conception experienced by Mary. Underneath this image, there are two angels in red and golden robes depicted clasping hands, and the background is portrayed with shimmering blue and green patterns. On her right, three figures display tiny medallions, bearing instruments of the Passion, such as the crown of thorns, the pillar, and the cross. Many tiny figures, barely discernible are depicted throughout the window, with the borders containing twelve male figures holding churches, and twelve female figures holding symbols representing the passion of Jesus and scenes from Mary's life. In the main panel, Mary is depicted wearing robes of royal blue and turquoise, her pale face wearing an expression of deep sorrow. She wears a golden crown, and holds two flowers; a pink rose and a white lily, and her halo is a rich emerald green, while golden brocade decorates her robe. On her feet are blue slippers, and she also stands on a bed of silver spirals. On the lower panel, she is depicted with saints and disciples, and a figure in blue on the right hand side holds a crown, while other figures hold churches. At the centre of the panel one of the saints holds a scroll containing four lines of musical notation for *Cronan na maighdine*, an Irish lullaby of the virgin, with words inscribed in Irish on the right hand side, and English

on the left. The window is signed ‘Harry Clarke March 1917’ on the far right of the lowest panel, above the symbol of the sun.

Although these eleven windows designed by Clarke were his first commission in stained glass, they were universally praised, helping to establish his reputation as an exceptionally gifted stained glass artist. Sir Bertram Windle declared that Clarke’s windows had “bridged the gap between the middle ages and the 20th century”, high praise indeed as the stained glass work of the Gothic Cathedrals of the Middle Ages are considered to have reached the apogee of the art of stained glass. Clarke himself later stated that he considered his work on the windows of the Honan chapel to be the finest he had ever done. The following words from a website dedicated to the Honan Chapel project captures the effect of the Clarke windows from a purely aesthetic perspective:

Each of Clarke’s eleven breathtaking Honan Chapel windows are resplendent with deep and lustrous colours. His palette is typically restricted. Yet, the combinations of colours he chooses, and the techniques he employs, such as flashing different coloured panels of glass together to create tones of greater subtlety, achieves great vitality and variation. His saints are ethereal in form, and seem to simultaneously loom out from and fuse with the elaborate symbols and decorative panels which surround them. Another feature of Clarke’s work is his abstraction of the human form; Clarke’s saints are elongated, their features taut and angular. The leads which join the panels of glass themselves form a restless and lively pattern of their own, which increases the dramatic intensity of each window light.²⁸⁴

An Túr Gloine Windows

As we have previously noted, Sir John O’Connell had commissioned Sarah Purser’s firm An Túr Gloine to design several windows for the chapel before he engaged Clarke, and the east window in the chancel contains the iconographic depiction of the resurrected Christ, executed by A.E. Childs [Fig 72]. In this window, Christ is portrayed “clothed in the red and white of majesty looking out over and commanding the entire space of the chapel – not Christ crucified, or Christ incarnate, as is often illustrated in the east window, but rather, Christ as he will appear at the end of time”.²⁸⁵ The Risen Christ holds a banner of victory, and a Crown of Glory can be seen in the upper panel of the window, alluding to the Kingship of Christ. The presence of the banner of victory was also noted in the Resurrection window in St. Fin Barre’s. This would be very much in accordance with pre-Vatican II

²⁸⁴“The Honan Chapel, A Christian Gallery of Pagan Beauty”, accessed April 28, 2011, <http://www.angelfire.com/ks/honanchapelproject> - “The Honan Chapel, A Christian Gallery of Pagan Beauty”.

²⁸⁵ cf. Teehan and WincottHeckett, *The Honan Chapel: A Golden Vision*, 121.

liturgical practice, which placed a particular emphasis on Christ as a royal priest.²⁸⁶ The image of Christ as King would be emphasised even further following the 1925 papal encyclical *Quas Primas* by Pope Pius XI.²⁸⁷ The lower panel of the window depicts the symbols of the four Evangelists; the man representing St. Matthew, the lion for St. Mark, the ox for St. Luke, and the eagle for St. John. The symbols are portrayed surrounding a cross bearing the initials IHS, the initials of Christ.

St. John the Evangelist Window

The third window in the Sanctuary is the St. John the Evangelist [Fig.73] window designed by Catherine O'Brien. O'Brien was born near Ennis, Co. Clare in 1882 to an Anglo-Irish Protestant family, who had a strong commitment to Drumcliffe Church, Bindon Street, where two windows created by O'Brien were erected in memory of her two sisters, who were regular worshippers. She joined An Túr Gloine in 1904, one year after its establishment. In 1943, following Sarah Purser's death, she took over as director. During her time with the studio, she produced countless designs and hundreds of windows for churches in Ireland and abroad. Most of these windows were for Church of Ireland churches, as Roman Catholic patrons tended to favour Harry Clarke Studios, or the Catholic artists of An Túr Gloine. The *St. John* window therefore is probably one of the few windows executed by her for a Roman Catholic church in Ireland. This window is of particular interest as it has a marked biblical theme. However, it does not, as most of the existing literature claims, depict scenes from the passion of Christ as recounted in John's gospel, but rather, as Hayes and Rogers correctly observe, depicts scenes from the life of St. John taken from the canonical gospels and the Book of Revelation.²⁸⁸ The direct biblical themes in this window as well as its position, set it apart from the other windows in the chapel, and it will be interesting to assess the particular hermeneutic underpinning its iconographical depictions. Drawing on more than one gospel and the Book of Revelation, which was traditionally attributed to John the Evangelist, it recounts in several scenes, the life of John as a continual spiritual development from the moment of his first encounter with Jesus. The lower panel contains the symbol of the eagle, representing John the Evangelist. Above this symbol, represented in vivid colour is a scene portraying the calling of John and

²⁸⁶ Cf. "The Honan Chapel and Collection-Virtual Tour", accessed April 27, 2011 www.honan.ucc.ie/vrtour.php?media=ourLord.

²⁸⁷ See Michael Healy's *Christus Rex* window in Loughrea Cathedral, below for biblical background.

²⁸⁸ . Both Gordon Bowe and White catalogue this window as representing Scenes from the life of Christ in John's gospel. O'Connell describes it as a window commemorating 'St. John the Beloved Disciple, depicting scenes from his life. I am grateful to Jessie Rogers for pointing out that this window in fact portrays scenes from John's life, from different gospel accounts, and the Book of Revelation. Cf. Myra Hayes and Jessie Rogers "Lost in Translation" *Irish Arts Review* Vol. 29, No. 4, Winter 2012: 128-31.

his brother James by Jesus. John and James are in a boat with their father Zebedee, as recorded in Matthew 4 and Mark 1. Jesus stands on the shore accompanied by Peter and Andrew who have already answered Jesus' call to follow him. The scene is detailed to the point that it appears to show John and James mending their nets, as indicated in Matt. 4:21, and Mark 1:19, indicating a close reading of the text, and reminding the viewer that John and James had their lives mapped out for them as Galilean fishermen, before Jesus called them to join him. Underneath this large scene are two smaller scenes from the early stages of John's discipleship – the scene on the left shows John standing with a clenched fist, while James points towards heaven. This is a depiction of the narrative in Luke 9, when, following rejection of Jesus in a Samaritan village, James and John suggested that they call down fire from heaven to consume the villagers (Lk. 9:54). Jesus is turned towards them, rebuking them, saying "For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them" (Lk. 9:56).

The scene on the right shows Jesus speaking to a woman, while James and John stand by as onlookers. This is a representation of the story in Matthew 20, where the mother of James and John approaches Jesus with the request that her two sons may sit, one on the right hand and the other on the left hand side of Jesus in his kingdom. The images on this window draw the viewer's attention to the gradual spiritual development of John, as an impetuous and self-seeking disciple is transformed into the disciple that Jesus loved. The two central scenes in the window portray John reclining against Jesus during the Last Supper (John 13), and supporting the mother of Jesus following the crucifixion, when Jesus had placed his mother in John's care by declaring him her son, and Mary his mother (John 19). The identification of the 'beloved disciple' mentioned in John's Gospel with John son of Zebedee is assumed. Directly above these two scenes is the crucifixion scene itself, with Mary weeping in sorrow at the foot of the cross, while John gazes helplessly at the dying Lord drawing on the crucifixion narrative found in John's gospel (John 19:25-26). Placed directly above the crucifixion scene are two scenes depicting the aftermath of the resurrection of Jesus. The scene on the left portrays Peter and John racing to the tomb following Mary Magdalene's report that the body of Jesus had been taken away in John 20. The scene portrays John ahead of Peter, as we are told in John's gospel that the beloved disciple outran Peter and arrived at the tomb first. The scene on the right portrays the appearance of the risen Lord to Peter and John, this time with Peter at the front talking to Jesus while John follows behind. The author of John's gospel describes this encounter at the Sea of Tiberius in John 21, where Peter turns around and seeing John enquires of Jesus

“And what shall this man do?” (John 21:21), which leads to Jesus’ cryptic reply concerning the fate of the beloved disciple.

The scene portrayed at the top of the window focuses on Christ glorified, as described in Revelation 1. The alpha and omega symbols are represented, as well as the seven candlesticks, and what appear to be seven stars in his right hand (Rev. 1: 16) John falls prostrate in adoration at the feet of Christ, his transformation complete as he has developed from an immature self-centredness to a Christ-centred focus.

Close inspection of the crucifixion scene in the window reveals the unusual detail of the serpent coiled around the foot of the cross, with its mouth open at the feet of Christ. This does not reflect the gospel narrative, but probably refers to Genesis 3:15 which in the KJV reads “And I will put enmity between thee (the serpent) and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel”. The image of the serpent at the foot of the cross was prevalent in Carolingian art of the ninth century, where, according to Bradley “it rapidly became a popular motif in both miniatures and ivories”.²⁸⁹ It does not occur elsewhere in 19th and 20th- century Irish iconography. Because of a difference in pronoun in the Latin Vulgate from which the authorized Catholic translations were made prior to Vatican II, the Douay-Rheims bible reads “she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel”. As a result of this grammatical distinction, Catholic iconography generally depicts the Virgin Mary standing on the head of the serpent, whereas Protestant interpretation in the light of the KJV understood the verse in Genesis to be a prophecy of Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection as victory over Satan. While recent studies in the use of epicene pronouns in ancient Hebrew texts suggest that both interpretations have merit,²⁹⁰ the presence of this iconography in the *St. John* window suggests a non-Catholic reading of scripture, which would be in keeping with O’Brien’s Church of Ireland background. As the window was designed by An Túr Gloine artists, but is variously attributed – Kelly, Larmour and the chapel website all name O’Brien as the creator, but the *Gazetteer of Irish Stained Glass* names A.E. Child, it is worth comparing the style of the window with *Our Lord* window which is positively identified as Child’s work. Even the most superficial examination of the Child window suggests that the styles are too different to have been executed by the same artist. According to Hayes and Rogers:-

²⁸⁹ Jill Bradley, ‘*You Shall Surely not Die*’: *The Concepts of Sin and Death as expressed in the Manuscript Art of Northwestern Europe, c800-1200*, Vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 121.

²⁹⁰ See D.E.S. Stein, “Grammar of Social Gender in Biblical Hebrew” *Hebrew Studies* 49, 2008, <http://scholar.davidstein.name/Articles/GrammarGender-->

The Child window, though well executed, is more reminiscent of the traditional style of stained glass that had preceded the emergence of the artists of An Túr Gloine and Harry Clarke. The attention to details in the biblical text is also striking and supports the assertion that O'Brien was responsible for the *St. John* window.²⁹¹

This window in particular is an excellent example of how the medium of stained glass can portray a powerful biblical narrative in a detailed and nuanced way, drawing attention to the subtleties within the text and indicating a close reading of the text by the artist. It demonstrates admirably the power of imagery to reveal biblical truth by the transformation of the written narrative into image. According to Gregory of Nyssa “the transcendence, the majesty, and the silence of God are more readily presented in images, because these qualities of God are, rightly understood, not intellectual concepts but primarily sensory experiences”.²⁹² While we must acknowledge that the images in the stained glass windows in the Honan Chapel “do not stimulate the mind to greater precision of thought and expression” they do however allow the receptive viewer to contemplate the meaning of the image without the demanding imposition of the intellect in search of appropriate articulation. This impact poses the question of the relationship of intention of the author/artist upon the reader/viewer. The literary critic, Northrup Frye drew attention to the difficulty of enabling students of English literature to comprehend the nuances of biblical allusion and reference in the poetry of poets such as Milton and Blake. He described his experiences as a junior lecturer in English Literature, struggling to explain the biblical content within the texts, and his subsequent decision to study the bible thus:

My interest in the subject began in my earliest days as a junior instructor when I found myself teaching about Milton and writing about Blake, two authors who were exceptionally biblical even by the standards of English Literature. I soon realized that a student of English Literature who does not know the Bible does not understand a good deal of what is going on in what he reads: the most conscientious student will be continually misconstruing the implications, even the meaning.²⁹³

Frye's experience presents a fundamental question in the process of 'reading' the biblical content in stained glass windows. It is obvious from what we have already discerned from the work of an artist such as Catherine O'Brien that she possessed an exceptional level of biblical literacy, which no doubt sprang from her Church of Ireland background. The question of how much of this understanding of the biblical content of the imagery was communicated to the viewer is one which will be of some importance and leads us back to

²⁹¹ Hayes and Rogers, 130.

²⁹²Cf. M.R. Miles, *Image as Insight, Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*. (Boston: Beacon, 1985), 32.

²⁹³Northrup Frye, *The Great Code, The Bible and Literature*, ed. A. A. Lee, (London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 5-6.

the main aim of this study. While it is acknowledged that much valuable work has been done in the field of study of Irish stained glass, it has mostly been from the art historical perspective. While this work is extremely important from the point of view of cataloguing and appreciating the wealth of stained glass produced in 19th and 20th century Ireland, it remains to be seen whether there is an aspect to the understanding of the stained glass of this period that has been overlooked, namely, the question of what exactly the iconography of the stained glass of the period signifies. Gadamer has observed that ‘Even the non-linguistic work of art [therefore] falls within the province of the proper task of hermeneutics. It must be integrated into the self-understanding of each person’.²⁹⁴ We will return to this question later, keeping in mind the question of the Biblical hermeneutic underpinning the stained glass imagery in this period, and the impact that this imagery was to have upon the viewer of the windows in question.

Nave Windows designed by An Túr Gloine

Having examined the Clarke windows in the nave, as well as the three windows in the chancel, designed by Clarke and O’Brien, and Child, it is time to examine the remainder of the saint windows designed by the artists of An Túr Gloine, which adorn the nave. These include St. Ailbe [Fig.74], St. Fachtna [Fig.75], and St. Munchin [Fig.76] on the north aisle and St. Colman [Fig.77], St. Flannan [Fig.78], and St. Carthage [Fig. 79] on the south aisle. Each of these windows has been credited to Sarah Purser on the Honan Chapel website map, but they were designed by individual artists within the studio. The fourth window from the chancel commemorates St. *Ailbe*, patron saint of Emly, designed by Child. The window is typical of the more traditional style associated with Child. St. Ailbe is represented in episcopal dress, with his mitre on his head and a Celtic crozier in his left hand, and in his right hand, he bears the model of the first cathedral at Emly. The lower panel of the window refers to a legend similar to the one of Romulus and Remus and the founding of Rome, where Cronan, the local lord ordered the baby to be exposed in a wild forest to be devoured by wild dogs, but it was found by a wolf who took care of it until it was found by a cleric who adopted it.

The next window depicting *St. Fachtna*, designed by Child, is also notable for its traditional style. The saint is clothed in a crimson Bishop’s cope, again bearing a crozier in his left hand, and a book of the Gospels in his right, symbolising his fame as the founder of a

²⁹⁴Hans-Georg Gadamer, ‘Aesthetics and Hermeneutics’ in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. David E. Linge. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 100.

renowned college in Ireland, in the Diocese of Ross. The school of Ross became a celebrated seat of learning and gained an international reputation for the study of scripture and learning until the ninth century when it was besieged and destroyed by the Danes. This window is a reminder of the importance of Ireland as a centre of study in the early medieval period. According to O’Connell, it is at the school at Ross where St. Brendan, acquired knowledge of the liberal sciences, and St. Ita took a deep interest in its welfare and prosperity.²⁹⁵ The school is depicted in the top panel of the window, while the second panel from the top depicts the legend associated with the saint, where, following his daily prayer he left his copy of the divine office behind on a rainy night, but it was unaffected by the weather, as the angels built a shrine to protect it. The lower panel depicts another legend, which tells how his sight was restored, having undertaken a journey of five days on the instruction of an angel.

The window nearest to the door on the north wall portrays *St. Munchin*, the patron saint of Limerick. It is designed by Catherine O’Brien. In the central panel the saint is depicted standing by the river Shannon, bearing the abbey church of St. Mungret in his left hand, while in the right hand he holds a torch, the symbol of his missionary zeal. The predella recalls the story that he received his consecration as Bishop from the hands of St. Patrick. The upper panel represents an incident from the history of St. Mungret’s Abbey, which has given rise to a local proverb. O’Connell recounts the story as follows: - The story goes that the monks of St. Mungret enjoyed a reputation for great learning, and having heard that some monks were arriving from another monastery for a theological disputation, and fearful of losing their reputation, they dressed some novices as washer-women, and having taught them Greek and Hebrew, they sent them to the river to wash clothes at the point where the visitors would be passing. When the visitors arrived, they asked for directions, and when the novices replied in Greek and Hebrew, the monks returned to their own monastery without risking a discussion, leaving St. Mungret’s with an even greater reputation. The proverb “As wise as the women of Mungret” is still associated with the area.²⁹⁶ The lower panel depicts a bishop blessing a king, symbolising the saint’s patronage of the O’Brien’s, kings of Thomond.

The second window on the south wall is that of *St. Colman*, the Patron saint of the diocese of Cloyne. He is depicted holding a scroll on which a text from the Psalms is transcribed in

²⁹⁵ O’Connell, 47.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

Gaelic. Although it is impossible to be certain, as only a few words are visible on the scroll, the clear presence of the word ‘eirigh’, the Irish word for ‘rise’, or ‘awake’ suggests at least two possibilities. It may be part of verse 3 of psalm 113 – “From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same the Lord’s name is to be praised”, or verse 2 of Psalm 139 – “Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising”. However, the presence of a harp to the left of the figure of St. Colman, as well as O’Connell’s statement that in his youth, St. Colman devoted himself to music and was the Royal Bard of Munster²⁹⁷ lends considerable weight to the possibility that the text is from Psalm 108:1-2 which reads “O God, my heart is fixed, I will sing and give praise, even with my glory. Awake, psalter and harp; I myself will awake early. I will praise thee, O Lord...”. The presence of the letters ‘Can’ (Irish for sing) at the top of the scroll, and ‘glóire’ in the middle adds further credibility to this possibility. The design of the window is attributed to Child, but the presence of the Irish script suggests some input from Michael Healy who spoke fluent Irish, as we have already established. The inclusion of the psalms in the iconography is a reminder of the important role of the psalms in early Irish Christianity. Timothy O’Neill points out that in medieval Irish monastic schools, education began about age seven, and the primary text book was the psalter, with students expected to memorise the psalms. The psalms were also used to teach reading, and O’Neill points out that “the phrase ‘he learned his psalms’ meant that it was there he first went to school”.²⁹⁸ The high level of biblical knowledge among early Irish Christians seems to be indisputable, and the reasons for the decline in this knowledge may be attributed to the later association of bible reading with Protestantism. Miriam Moffitt points out that among Irish Catholics in the nineteenth century “a personal study of the scriptures signified, not just a denial of their Catholic faith, but also a betrayal of their ethnicity and their sense of belonging”.²⁹⁹ This is an area that will be explored later, but it is worth noting that the situation in early Christian Ireland was very different.

In the lower panel of the St. Colman window, the saint is represented as a young bard at the court of the King at Cashel, where he met St. Brendan, who, together with St. Ita, persuaded him to dedicate his life and talents to the service of God.

The next window executed by An Túr Gloine, designed by Catherine O’Brien, on the south aisle depicts *St. Flannan*, the patron saint of the diocese of Killaloe. Once again he is

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 50.

²⁹⁸ Timothy O’Neill, “Psalms and Psalm Books” *Treasures of Irish Christianity* Vol. II eds. S. Ryan and B. Leahy (Dublin: Veritas, 2013), 46.

²⁹⁹ Miriam Moffitt, “Scripture Reading Among Irish Catholics in the Nineteenth Century” *Treasures of Irish Christianity* Vol. II (Dublin: Veritas, 2013) 181.

depicted with mitre and chasuble, holding a monstrance. The upper panel recounts the legend of St. Flannan bringing the Sacred Host to his dying father, who was King of Munster. St. Flannan had been in Rome and on his return he preached with such zeal that his father had converted to Christianity, resigned his throne, and entered the monastery at Lismore. He was returning over the mountains after a visit to Killaloe when he was taken ill, and died. The lower panel shows the saint laying the foundation stone of the cathedral at Killaloe.

The final window executed by the studio was designed by Ethel Rhind, and portrays *St. Carthage*, or Mochudda, Bishop and Patron of the Diocese of Lismore. The top panel recounts the prophecy made by St. Columcille regarding St. Carthage's death and resurrection. Beneath this panel is a legend which tells that when Carthage was being carried to his baptism, he was met by a holy man called Aeden, who was asked to perform the ceremony. No water was available, but "a clear fountain rose out of the earth for the purpose".³⁰⁰ Two other legends are recorded in the lower panels; the upper one shows the story of the Magus who refused to believe in the holiness of the saint, until he caused a withered bough of a tree to bear fruit; the lower panel recounts the legend which resembles the crossing of the Red Sea, showing the saint crossing a river which divided in order to allow him and his people an escape from their enemies, another Mosaic echo in the legends of the saints. According to O'Connell, this area was later referred to as 'the place of benediction'.³⁰¹

It is remarkable that all the saints portrayed in the nave windows came from the Munster area, indicating the great number of men and women dedicated to God in this golden era of Irish Christianity. All of these men and women were historical characters, whose lives were documented in various annals and records of the period. Doubtless those who recorded their lives and actions were engaged in hagiography, and the legends and miracles associated with them will be treated with scepticism by modern readers and viewers. To the people of early Christian Ireland however, these stories would not have posed any problem. According to Hamlin and Hughes:

The miracle-stories of the New Testament, which present so great a difficulty for a modern rationalist audience, were meat and drink to the early Irish, as to most other barbarian peoples. They delighted in marvels and were ready to believe them. Druids had had powers of prophecy and second sight; why not saints? They were

³⁰⁰ O'Connell, 53.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

ready to believe in another world, and the people from that world sometimes came back to meet with men.³⁰²

What cannot be disputed is the genuine affection and respect accorded to these extraordinary people. Their achievements were astounding when the time frame of the introduction of Christianity to Ireland is considered. They built monasteries and schools, bringing many people to faith in Jesus Christ, both in Ireland and abroad. Their influence in the reconstruction of civilization in mainland Europe, following the destruction of the Roman Empire is still in evidence today, where the names of the Irish saints are synonymous with monastic settlements and learning. The windows in the nave of the Honan Chapel pay homage to these men and women from diverse backgrounds – some from pagan royalty, some from the bardic traditions, but all finding their true calling in the service of God and the people of the early medieval period, both in Ireland and abroad. While the windows depicting the saints rely to a great deal on legends associated with them, there is nonetheless a strong identification with Roman Catholicism in the frequent depiction of the Eucharist, particularly in the windows of the saints associated with missionary activity. These depictions remind the viewer that the men and women portrayed were responsible for bringing Christianity back to Europe during the so-called “Dark Ages”. It is also an indicator of the importance of the Eucharist in the liturgy of Irish Christianity from the earliest period. It is fitting that the lives of these individuals are celebrated in glorious coloured light, designed and executed by the finest stained glass artists of the twentieth century in Ireland.

In assessing the impact that the design and building of the Honan Chapel had at the time, it is important to remember that the purpose of the building was to provide a spiritual space for the Catholic students of Munster, noting again that the university which the chapel serves was the only one in the Munster area at the time. It is also necessary to be reminded that at this period the university was populated entirely by men, as the words of Sir John O’Connell remind us, “Again we are reminded that this is a chapel for young men, for these praises of God in all His works were uttered by young men confessing and bearing testimony to the works of the Lord...”³⁰³ We have seen that the scholarship that informed the design was based largely around Margaret Stokes’ book *Early Christian Art in Ireland* [1887], and that this scholarship “embraced the visual and iconographic, but also the

³⁰² Ann Hamlin and Kathleen Hughes, *The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press: 1997) 16.

³⁰³ *Ibid*, 35.

liturgical”³⁰⁴ Another text familiar to the patrons of the Honan Chapel was the Stowe Missal [Dublin, Royal Academy, MS D. 11.3]³⁰⁵. It would appear therefore, that as Teehan and Wincott Heckett remark:

It does seem probable that those responsible for the design of the Honan Chapel were as learned in their understanding of early Christian spirituality and its iconographic expression as their early medieval counterparts. The details of the decoration were selected not simply to recall motifs deemed typical of what was understood to be the ‘Celtic Church’, *they were also selected with an overall iconographic programme in mind*. It was a programme that articulated, in a complex, multivalent, and integrated fashion, the position of the individual and ‘the Church’ within the wider, universal context of the divine, and, in the words of Margaret Stokes, ‘his plan for man’s salvation’.³⁰⁶

The overall impression of the design of the chapel, which is well served by the positioning of the stained glass windows by Clarke and the artists of *An Túr Gloine* is of a unity of purpose and design, represented iconographically by the image of Christ as the Risen Lord, presiding over all his people - the church on earth, and the saints of Munster in heaven. While direct biblical narrative is in evidence in the *St. John* window, some of the other windows refer indirectly to a biblical background. The inscription of the psalm in the *St. Colman* window, the depiction of the Holy Family in the *St. Joseph* window, and the cross in the *St. Albert* and *St. Brendan* windows represent the biblical narrative mediated through the lives of the saints. There is certainly a strong biblical theme suggested in the overall structure and design of the building. The theme of Christ as head and Lord of the Church is one which runs through the New Testament from the Pauline letters up to and including the Book of Revelation . Indeed, the words from the psalm “I have loved O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth” (Ps. 26:8), which was quoted at a dedication ceremony in Brisbane for the installation of Clarke’s *Crucifixion* window there, can be seen to reflect the aspirations of all involved in the project .

Having examined the design and building of the Honan Chapel, and in particular its stained glass, we have seen how it can be seen as the exemplar *par excellence* of early 20th century church building in Ireland. We have seen how the convergence of varying factors contributed to the realisation of the ideals of all those involved in the project. The following three factors can be seen to have contributed to facilitating the creative environment into

³⁰⁴Cf. Teehan and Wincott-Heckett (2004), 121.

³⁰⁵This manuscript had been transcribed by Charles O’Connor in the early 19th century, and subsequently translated by the Philologist Whitley Stokes, the brother of Margaret Stokes, in 1903 following its return to Ireland in 1883. Cf. Teehan and Wincott-Heckett (2004), 121.

³⁰⁶Op. Cit., 126. (Italics added).

which the building of the Honan Chapel, and a few years earlier, the Cathedral at Loughrea emerged:-

- 1) The prevailing atmosphere in Ireland at the beginning of the 20th century, following the establishment of the Anglo-Irish and Celtic Revivalist movements, which placed a renewed emphasis on Irish Art and literature. The formation of the Arts and Crafts Movement and An Túr Gloine can be attributed to the mood at this time.
- 2) The patronage of visionaries such as Edward Martyn and Sir John O'Connell and their willingness to extend the boundaries of artistic and architectural endeavour in the construction and decoration of the churches which they undertook to build.
- 3) The re-emergence of a strong Catholic identity in the wake of Catholic emancipation and the post-famine Devotional Revolution.³⁰⁷ The desire to express that identity by looking to the 'golden' Christian past for inspiration, and using the emerging stained glass artists of the period led to an experimental and daring enterprise which produced some of the most inspired art seen in Irish churches for centuries.

The Honan chapel was completed in its entirety in 1916, and for the next few years very little was achieved in Irish stained glass work because of the various social and political upheavals taking place in Ireland and abroad. This gap is particularly in evidence in Loughrea Cathedral, where the windows can be divided into two periods of activity – part one which has already been examined, comprising the years 1905 to 1912, and part two encompassing the years 1927 to the last window executed by Patrick Pye in 1957. This period brings the iconography right up to the period just before Vatican II which introduced considerable changes in the structure of Roman Catholic churches. The next chapter will examine this period of activity in Loughrea, paying particular attention to any discernible changes in the iconography in the years following independence, when the Irish Free State became synonymous with Roman Catholicism.

³⁰⁷ For Larkin's hypothesis regarding the efforts of the Roman Catholic church authorities, particularly Archbishop Paul Cullen, to restructure Irish Catholicism in accordance with the practices of Western Europe in the wake of the Great Famine see Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75", in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 3 (June, 1972), 625-652.

EXCURSUS

St. Joseph's Church, Terenure, Dublin.

Typology in Stained Glass – Women from the Hebrew Scriptures-The Virgin in Glory

Harry Clarke was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the artists involved in this experiment, and is perhaps the most universally acknowledged and praised. While his beautiful work for the Honan Chapel was justifiably singled out for particular praise, it is important to point out that throughout his short life he worked at an astounding pace to produce many more windows of singular quality and craftsmanship. It is to one of these windows that we will turn our attention now in an attempt to examine the level of Biblical literacy which underpinned his work. The window in question is a two light window of *The Annunciation* and *The Blessed Virgin in Glory* which he executed for St. Joseph's RC church in Terenure in Dublin [Fig. 80-83]. This particular window is fascinating from the point of view that it is surprisingly rich in biblical detail, despite the fact that it appears at first sight to be a standard example of Roman Catholic iconography of a type quite common for the period. Commissioned in February 1922, by Fr. Healy, who had previously commissioned a crucifixion window for the church, it was put in place the following year in the Lady Chapel in St. Joseph's.

While each window displays Clarke's artistry at the height of its power, what is truly remarkable is the extraordinary amount of biblical detail and the level of Old Testament allusion present in the second light. The first light is a beautifully colourful depiction of the annunciation, with the Virgin Mary depicted as a young woman, clothed in various shades of blue, gazing soulfully towards the viewer and clasping flowers towards her breast. The angel Gabriel appears to soar above her head, (notably wearing ballet slippers, a reminder of Clarke's love of ballet) and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is shown above her, echoing St. Luke's annunciation narrative. In response to Mary's question as to how the message of the angel can be fulfilled, the angel replied "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee: therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Lk. 1:35). This window captures the momentous moment of incarnation, when all the promises of the Old Testament are finally about to be fulfilled. Bodkin described this window as "a simple, if wholly spiritual pastoral" while the other light, *the Blessed Virgin in Glory* is of a very different style.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ Cf. Gordon Bowe, 1989, 151.

In the second light the viewer is initially presented with an image of the Virgin Mary in a majestic pose, once again clothed in blue, symbolising calm, stability, comfort and peace.³⁰⁹ She wears a silver diadem, which is surrounded by a golden halo, and in place of the flowers which she held in the *Annunciation* light, she holds a sceptre and orb, and a scroll bearing the inscription *Benedictatu in mulieribus, Et benedictus fructus ventris*, words taken again from Luke's narrative, this time the words of Elizabeth from the visitation narrative: "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (Lk. 1:42). These words have of course been immortalised in the Hail Mary prayer, the main prayer of the rosary, and the Angelus which would have been familiar to many Catholics in the 1920's even in the Latin form, as presented in the scroll. The feet of the Virgin are placed over the image of a fork-tailed serpent, which appears to be wrapped around the crescent moon, from which spring the leaves of a large tree replete with golden fruit. The figures of Adam and Eve appear to each side of the tree, and Gordon Bowe suggests that their anguished demeanour reflects the moment of realisation of their fall from grace, having eaten of the forbidden fruit, as recorded in the book of Genesis. On close inspection however, it is possible to interpret this scene as the moment *before* they partook of the fruit when the couple contemplated the enticing nature of the fruit of the tree, before the fatal decision was made. The fact that the golden fruit is still on the tree, and neither character is holding the fruit, lends credence to this interpretation. It is interesting to note that both Adam and Eve are present at this moment of temptation, with Adam appearing to be equally tempted. Reflecting the biblical text "And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat" (Gen. 3:6), the portrayal of the scene suggests complicity in the decision to eat the fruit. This has not always been clear in the historical reception of this text. Whatever interpretation is accepted, it is clear that Clarke's inclusion of this scene is aimed at demonstrating the connection between the Genesis story, and the images portrayed in the main panel of the window.

This image of Mary standing on the head of the serpent portrayed here is indicative of a particular interpretation of Gen. 3:15, which was included in the Douay-Rheims bible, the only acceptable bible for Catholics in the early 20th century. The vulgate translates Gen.

³⁰⁹This conforms to traditional medieval iconography, and as pointed out by Teehan and Wincott-Heckett it conceptually relates to Wassily Kandinsky's treatise *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* of 1911. Translated in 1914 to English as *The Art of Spiritual Harmony* this work explores the idea of colour as 'the power which directly influences the soul', echoing Goethe's theory that every colour has a spiritual association, and stating that 'blue is the typical heavenly colour. The ultimate feeling it creates is one of [supernatural] rest'. (Teehan and Wincott Heckett, 2004, p. 178). It is very likely that Clarke would have been familiar with this work.

3:15 as “*she* will crush your head”, However, Douay-Rheims followed the format of the vulgate translating Gen. 3:15 as “I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel”. This would have been the version that Clarke would have been familiar with, and explains the imagery of the Virgin crushing the head of the serpent in this window. It is also why this is the first reading on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.³¹⁰ The interpretation of Genesis 3:15 in the *St. John* window in the Honan Chapel, from a Church of Ireland perspective has already been discussed above, where the ambiguity of the pronoun has been indicated.

Women from the Hebrew Scriptures

As previously stated, on first viewing, this window appears to be a beautifully executed study of our Lady glorified in heaven, but it is when the background to the main figure of the Virgin is examined in detail that the amount of biblical detail contained in the window is appreciated. Beginning at the top of the window, beneath the figure of Christ and framed within the jewelled screen surrounding the main figure, are vivid portrayals of female characters from the Old Testament. Closer inspection reveals these characters to be what were regarded in medieval theology as *typos* or types of Mary. As observed by Frye this meant that:

Everything that happens in the Old Testament is a “type” or adumbration of something that happens in the New Testament, and the whole subject is therefore called typology...Paul speaks in Romans 5:14 of Adam as a *typos* of Christ; the Vulgate renders *typos* here as “forma”, but the AV’s “figure” reflects the fact that “figura” had come to be the standard Latin equivalent of *typos*³¹¹.

Frye makes no claim to be a biblical scholar, but as a literary critic, he accepts that the typological way of reading the Bible is the ‘right’ way of reading it in the sense that it conforms to the intentionality of the book itself, and to the conventions it assumes and requires.³¹² With this idea in mind let us examine the OT female characters appearing in the

³¹⁰I am grateful to Jessie Rogers for pointing this out to me. It is an example of how a misreading of the biblical text can find its way into religious iconography, and demonstrates the value of a hermeneutical approach to the reading of religious imagery and iconography. It is also worth observing at this point that in the wake of the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX in 1854, there was a considerable outpouring of Marian devotion across the Roman Catholic world, including Ireland. Much of the Marian iconography displayed in churches built from this time onwards can be attributed to this factor. Cf. Larkin, 1972, 625-652.

³¹¹Frye, *The Great Code*,

³¹²*Ibid.*, p. 98. Eric Auerbach, in his influential *Mimesis* also acknowledged the validity of this approach to the bible when he states ‘Before his appearance, there are the characters and events of the Old Testament – of the age of the Law – in which the coming of the Saviour is figurally revealed’. See also Erich Auerbach, ‘Adam and Eve’ in *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Trans. William R. Trask, (New Jersey: Princeton, 1953) 158.

window in Terenure. Interestingly, Clarke has etched the names of the first four characters into the glass, presumably to ensure identification. This would suggest that he could not make the assumption that they would be immediately identifiable to their audience through the chosen iconography. Immediately under the figure of Christ at the top of the window, in aquamarine shaded glass, Clarke has portrayed Ruth on the left hand side, and Deborah on the right. Ruth is cited in Matthew's genealogy as the grandmother of Jesse, the father of David, and therefore a direct ancestor of Jesus (Matt. 1:5). The book of Ruth informs us of her background as a Moabite, indicating the mixed heritage of Jesus, although Ruth was no mere foreigner, but had embraced the God of Israel as her God (Ruth 1:16). She is portrayed in the window holding a sheaf of corn, which has considerable significance to the narrative in the Book of Ruth (2:2-23). The theme of the book of Ruth can be seen to be *hesed*, a Hebrew word normally translated as loving kindness, and a concept that permeates Luke's gospel.

Deborah, portrayed on the right, as the only female judge in Israel's history, led a successful counterattack against the forces of Jabin, the Canaanite king. Her story appears twice in chapters 4 and 5 of Judges. One of the most heroic women in the Old Testament, she was a prophetess, wife, counsellor, and warrior, as well as being the only female Judge in Israel. Clarke depicts her appropriately, beside the image of an owl, traditionally a symbol of wisdom, and good judgement.

Underneath the depictions of Ruth and Deborah are portrayals of two of the OT matriarchs – Rebecca on the right, and Rachel on the left. Each of these women are representative of mothers, and wives of the great patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob, and Clarke depicts them in a beautifully presented blue glass, with Rebecca carrying a pitcher of water on her head, as depicted in Gen. 24 and Rachel holding a lamb, signifying perhaps both the meaning of her name (Rachel means 'ewe'), and her situation in the biblical narrative. In the account of Jacob's first meeting with Rachel in Gen. 29:6-9 she is said to have been looking after her father Laban's sheep. Rachel's role as matriarch is referred to in Matthew's gospel, following the account of Herod's slaying of the children of Bethlehem, where the author quotes Jeremiah 31:15: "In Rama there was a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not" (Matt. 2:18). The author of Matthew's gospel is making a connection here between the OT matriarchs, and the birth of the Messiah, and Clarke is seemingly well aware of this connection as evidenced by the inclusion of these women in this window. These portrayals are indicative of a serious engagement with the text, and it is obvious from the subtle

nuances of the work that Clarke spent a considerable amount of time in reading and preparation for the visualisation of these OT women.³¹³

The section of the window beneath the portrayals of Rachel and Rebecca contains images of Esther and Judith, two other formidable women from the Old Testament. On the left, Esther is portrayed being crowned by King Xerxes, and on the right is Judith, carrying the head of Holofernes. Both of these women were considered to be great heroines of the people of Israel, having been responsible for saving their people from catastrophe. As agents of salvation of their people, they prefigured Mary, whose willing acceptance of the role of mother of the Messiah led to the salvation of all mankind. Their inclusion in this window is appropriate therefore, and interestingly, in the Tridentine mass for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception the following quotation from the book of Judith is said after the epistle from the Book of Wisdom:

GRADUAL ✕ Judith 13. 23

Benedicta es tu, Virgo Maria, a Domino Deo excelso, prae omnibus mulieribus super terram. V.: Tu gloria Ierusalem, tu laetitia Israel, tu honorificentia a populi nostri. Alleluia, alleluia. V.: Tota pulchraes, Maria: et macula originalis non est in te. Alleluia.

Blessed art thou, O Virgin Mary, by the Lord the most high God, above all women upon the earth.⁴ V.: Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honor of our people. Alleluia, alleluia. V.: (*Canticles* 4. 7) Thou art all fair, O Mary, and there is in thee no stain of original sin.

Both Esther and Judith through courageous action on behalf of their people – Esther as Queen of Persia challenged Haman, the king’s vizier who had plotted to annihilate the Jewish people of the Persian diaspora, and Judith who singlehandedly decapitated the Assyrian general Holofernes – show that leadership and salvation could come from a woman. As observed by Fox “The book of Esther links the issue of national salvation to human character. It raises the question of whether a person of dubious character, strength and (initially) unclear self-definition can carry the burden of national salvation”³¹⁴. Mary of Nazareth, through her faith and surrender to the will of God was to be the agent *par excellence* through whom salvation could be brought about for mankind. Clarke’s window reflects beautifully the fact that

³¹³For more detail on Clarke’s depiction of women see Karen Normoyle, “The Iconography of Woman in the work of Harry Clarke” (MA diss., University of Limerick, 2005). Chapter 2 in particular analyses the representation of women in art of the period, and how Clarke’s work related to this.

³¹⁴Michael. V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1991), 205.

women, from Genesis right up to the New Testament had a very considerable role to play in salvation history. His depiction of Esther and Judith in the window shows Esther pleading to Xerxes on behalf of her Jewish compatriots on the left, and Judith with her maid hurrying towards the mountain city of Bethulia, following the execution of Holofernes on the right. The grimace on her maid's face graphically illustrates a mixture of disgust and fear following the dramatic events that had just unfolded. Once again Clarke's imagination captures a scene from the narrative of the bible without flinching from the macabre elements of the story.

Also included along the blue border of this window, edged with white beads are five tiny grisaille scenes from the life of the Virgin. These scenes coincide with four joyous mysteries of the rosary – the annunciation, the visitation, the birth of Jesus, the presentation at the temple, and the Coronation, one of the glorious mysteries. It remains only to be stated that this window is breathtaking in its scope, encapsulating themes of the fall of Adam and Eve, the role of the women who prefigured Mary in the OT, the Annunciation, visitation and Infancy narratives of Luke's gospel, as well as the relatively recent dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Placed at the top of this beautifully executed imagery is the majestic image of Christ, who seems to be surveying what is essentially a microcosm of Mary's role in the history of salvation.

Clarke continued creating windows of extraordinary beauty until his early death in Davos, Switzerland in 1931. His legacy to the Irish nation, in terms of his output of stained glass is outstanding. Whether he was inspired to create such masterpieces in the art of stained glass from his own religious perspective is a question that is difficult to answer. Unlike most of the other artists of An Túr Gloine, he seems to have had an ambiguous attitude towards religion, particularly Roman Catholicism. His son Michael wrote in 1988 "He would never be a devout Catholic, but would never decry it in others. Much of religion in which he did not believe he found aesthetically pleasing. The peripheral rules he found an irritation. The deeper mysteries filled him with awe."³¹⁵ However, his friend, the artist John Austen related a story to James White, the former Director of the National Gallery and the author of several books on Irish stained glass, that Clarke's reply to a friend who asked him what he would do if he was told he would be dead in five minutes was instantaneous: "Why, send for a priest, of course."³¹⁶ Perhaps he suffered the same conflict experienced by his fellow Irish artists who experienced the Jesuit education of Belvedere College in the early part of the 20th century. As we pointed out earlier, the clue to Clarke's strange juxtaposition of beauty and the macabre may lie in Joyce's description in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* of the

³¹⁵Gordon Bowe, *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, xiii.

³¹⁶*Ibid.*

Belvedere retreat which usually took place around Lent. The truly terrifying sermon on hell, as described by Joyce in over twelve pages full of biblical references and quotations from Jesuit saints, may have left a strong impression on the young Clarke, both terrifying him and fuelling his vivid imagination.³¹⁷ That this experience helped to form his religious and artistic aesthetic can hardly be doubted. We have seen how many of the key players involved in the commissioning of stained glass for the newly built churches of the early 20th century had been educated by the Jesuits at Belvedere College. Clarke was the only Belvedere educated stained glass artist, and it would appear that this impacted on his work, not only from the point of view that he was given commissions because of his Belvedere connections, but also because of the particular style of religious education that was part of the Jesuit ethos of the time. According to James G. R. Cronin, the rich connection between Jesuit education and the Irish Arts and Crafts movement can be directly traced through a case study of the Honan Chapel.³¹⁸ He points out that together with O'Connell, Windle and Clarke, Thomas Bodkin, the director of the National Gallery of Ireland from 1927-1935, and a nephew of Hugh Lane was instrumental in enhancing the social and cultural life of Ireland in the 20th century.

³¹⁷Cf. James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91-113. The sermon begins with a quotation (incorrectly cited by Joyce as from Ecclesiastes) from Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 7:40 (regarded as deuterocanonical by Protestants) "In all thy works, remember thy last end, thou shalt never sin", and contains at least forty biblical references, as well as several quotations from saints and classical literature.

³¹⁸ James G. R. Cronin, *Honan Chapel, Cork: influence of Jesuit education on the Irish Arts and Crafts Movement (1894-1925)* in Honan Chapel & Collection Online <http://honan.ucc.ie/> accessed 21st October, 2013.

LOUGHREA CATHEDRAL (1925-1957)

The years between 1912 and 1925 were marked by monumental historical and political events both in Ireland and abroad, and there were no windows executed during this period. In the midst of major reporting on the progress of the First World War, an article from the *Irish Times* in November 1917 reflects the political turmoil which characterised the period, and draws attention to a sermon preached in the cathedral by the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Gilmartin, condemning armed force as morally unlawful. This sermon was in response to a visit by Eamonn De Valera to Loughrea, where a meeting was held by Sinn Féin to discuss the political future of the country. It is interesting to note that Loughrea cathedral continued to play a significant role in the affairs of the nation during this period.³¹⁹ The Irish Free State was formed in December 1922, ushering in a period of relative stability. The decoration of the cathedral in Loughrea resumed in 1925.

Hubert McGoldrick's Sacred Heart Window

It is interesting to note that Hubert McGoldrick's 1925 window depicting the Sacred Heart and St. Margaret Mary [Fig. 84] reflects a particularly Roman Catholic perspective. Although little is known about McGoldrick's life, we know that he was born in Dublin and educated at Synge Street Christian Brothers School, which implies that he was a Roman Catholic. According to Egan, who states that this window is one of his earliest and best, he studied under Child at the Metropolitan School of Art and joined *An Túr Gloine* in 1920.³²⁰ The iconography of the Sacred Heart holds particular resonance in Ireland, and many Irish homes up to very recently contained a picture of the Sacred Heart. *The Sacred Heart*

³¹⁹ "Mr. De Valera in the West: Big Meeting in Loughrea, Pronouncement by Dr. Gilmartin, The Question of Armed Resistance to Authority", *Irish Times*, November 7, 1917, 3.

³²⁰ Egan, *St. Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea*.

Messenger which celebrated 125 years of publication in 2012 had very large circulation figures since its foundation in 1888. Although the Carthusians and the Jesuits were instrumental in creating the popular devotion to the Sacred Heart, especially following the visions of the French Franciscan nun Margareta Mary Alacoque (1647-90), more recent scholarship, particularly by the Innsbruck Patrologist Hugo Rahner (1900-1968) has indicated that in the High Middle Ages “devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus began on the broad basis of Johannine-inspired patristic meditation on the pierced side of the crucified Jesus as the source of sacramental life (John 19:34)”.³²¹ In 1856, Pope Pius IX proclaimed a universal feast of the Sacred Heart, as, according to Fahlbusch, it is theologically legitimate to view the person of Christ under the symbol of his heart, as the Merciful Redeemer. Interestingly, referring to Paul Gerhardt specifically, he suggests also that this concept is not entirely alien to Protestant piety.³²² While McGoldrick’s window seems to be somewhat inspired by both Michael Healy and Harry Clarke, particularly in relation to the figures of the angels in the upper panels, it is still uniquely his own style. The first light shows the figure of Christ pointing to his visible heart which is surrounded by thorns, and the second light shows St. Margaret Mary kneeling at a lectern gazing at him. Fahlbusch points out the iconographic problems inherent in this imagery, which has a tendency to be overly sentimental and tasteless, however McGoldrick’s imagery is dignified and beautifully executed and as Egan points out “he shows a sensitive appreciation of the function of leading and a mastery of stained glass technique”.³²³ This suggests that the new bishop of Loughrea, Dr. John Dignan, and his administrator a young priest, Patrick Jennings continued with the ideals of the founders of the Cathedral in the decoration. Edward Martyn had died in 1924, but An Túr Gloine remained the favoured studio, and between Dr. Dignan and Fr. Jennings over the next twenty-five years, they had the remaining eleven windows filled with stained glass. The studio celebrated its twentieth-fifth year of operation in January 1927, and Dr. Dignan wrote that it would have given him great pleasure to attend the celebrations, if it were possible, “to testify our friendship for Miss Purser and her fellow workers and our admiration for their achievement. Clonfert was their first patron – so much so that we give all our orders to An Túr Gloine”.³²⁴

St. Clare, St. Francis and Centurion Windows

Between 1927 and 1940 nine windows were erected, all of which were commissioned from An Túr Gloine. Michael Healy was requested on each occasion, but Sarah Purser selected

³²¹ See Erwin Fahlbusch, *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), 806.

³²² *Ibid.*, 806.

³²³ Egan, *St. Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea*.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

A.E. Child to execute the Saints Clare and Francesca window (1929) in the east transept [Figs. 85, 86], and The Centurion (1934) and Saint Patrick (1937) windows in the east aisle [Figs. 87, 88]. These windows are conventional in style, but once again as Egan points out they glow with colour.³²⁵ The Saint Clare and Saint Francis is a two light window showing St. Clare dressed appropriately as a nun, and St. Francis in what appears to be very elaborate clothing for the simple friar of Assisi. This portrayal of St. Francis is so different to the usual portrayal of the saint in the brown Franciscan habit that it would be difficult to identify him but for the fact that both saint's names are inscribed in Irish on the lower panels. The Centurion window is interesting from the biblical perspective, as the main light is a portrayal of the Centurion from Matthew and Luke's gospels, whose faith so impressed Jesus, and whose words "Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof, but only say the word and my servant shall be healed." (Matt. 8:8; see also Luke 7:6-7) have been immortalised in the Mass when they are pronounced by the congregation before reception of the Eucharist. Jesus' response to the Centurion's faith are inscribed in Latin at the top of the window – "Non inveni tantam Fidem in Israel - I have not found such great faith in Israel" (Matt. 8:10, Luke 7:9). The lower panel of this window is a portrayal of another faith encounter between Jesus and the man who approached him regarding his epileptic son from Mark and Matthew's gospel (Mark 9:16-29; Matt. 17:14-21). This man is described as "one of the multitude" whose request to Jesus to heal his son who has suffered from this condition since infancy is framed in more uncertain terms than the faith demonstrated by the centurion – he asks Jesus "if he can do anything" to have compassion and to heal him (Mark 9:21). This request elicits a statement from Jesus on the power of faith "all things are possible to him who believes" (9:22), which in turn provokes a cry of desperation which finds an echo in all who struggle to attain perfect faith, and which is once again inscribed in the window in Latin "Credo, Domine, adiuva incredulitatem meam – Lord, I believe, help my unbelief" (Mark 9:23). The drama of this scene is well portrayed by Child with the father joining his hands in supplication before Jesus and the son at his feet with his head in his hands portraying genuine anguish and need. The gospel narrative continues with the curing of the young man by Jesus in a scene which shows the great authority by which Jesus healed those tormented by what were considered to be 'unclean spirits' (Mark 9:24). Such was the power of the healing that the young man appeared dead afterwards (9:35), leading to much mumbling amongst the crowd. There follows an interesting dialogue between Jesus and his disciples where they question him on the reason why they could not cast out the unclean spirit, and Jesus replied cryptically "This kind

³²⁵ Ibid.

cannot be driven out by anything but prayer” (Mark 9:29). Matthew’s gospel however gives the disciple’s lack of faith as the reason – “For truly, I say to you, if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there’, and it will move; and nothing will be impossible to you” (Matt. 17:20). The Centurion window can therefore be seen as a meditation on the power of faith as exemplified by the faith of the Centurion, a Gentile whose faith Jesus praises, and the more fragile faith of the father of the epileptic whose moving request to Jesus for help in increasing his faith is representative of all those who have ever struggled with doubt. The window bears an inscription dedicated to John Smyth II who was a relative of Edward Martyn on his mother’s side. The family fortune had been much depleted by the Wall Street Crash of 1929, and according to Caron, John Smyth II spent most of his later years praying in Loughrea Cathedral. Following his death in 1933, Bishop Dignam commissioned the Centurion window in his memory.³²⁶

St. Patrick and St. John the Evangelist

The St. Patrick window, also by Child is a conventional portrayal of the saint, who is dressed in green robes, and holding a bishop’s crozier. The lower panel (praedella) portrays the saint lighting the Paschal fire at Slane, in defiance of the king of Tara and the druids as traditionally documented.

Healy’s next commission for Loughrea was the St. John the Evangelist window, completed in 1927 [Fig. 89]. This window was also commissioned by the Smyth family, who continued to commission windows for deceased family members. The St. John window commemorates 19- year-old John Smyth III, and is positioned in the nave adjacent to Healy’s St. Anthony window of 1908, which had been erected for John Smyth’s great uncle. The window, according to Egan “shows extraordinary development from his early work at Loughrea”, with the figure of the youthful, beardless St. John almost filling the window.³²⁷ In line with the traditional iconography St. John is holding the chalice from which a serpent is emerging in his right hand, and in his left hand he is holding a copy of the Gospel. Underneath his left hand is the symbol of a large eagle in fiery red and burnished gold, and underneath his right hand, his name is inscribed in archaic Irish – Naom. Eóin Soir-géal-Aide (St. John the Evangelist).³²⁸ The top panel bears an image of the crucifixion, as portrayed in John’s Gospel, with the mother of Jesus and the beloved disciple at the foot of the cross (John 19:26-27). Underneath, the first words from John’s gospel is inscribed in Latin “In Principio Erat Verbum – In the beginning was the Word” (John 1:1). In the

³²⁶ Thomas D. Caron, *Michael Healy and An Túr Gloine*, 119.

³²⁷ Egan, *St. Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea*.

³²⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Síle de Cléir of the University of Limerick for this translation.

predella panel, the ageing disciple is depicted seated at a desk writing with Christ standing before him. According to Caron, in this scene Healy “has captured a spontaneity and instantaneous movement that is almost never seen in stained glass. The aged St. John seated at his desk appears to have looked up just at this moment”.³²⁹ The Chi Rho sign flanked by the Alpha and Omega signs indicating the traditional view of St. John as the author of the Book of Revelation (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13) appear in this panel overhead the figures of Christ and St. John.³³⁰ The acidizing technique which Healy would perfect in his later windows enhances the dramatic colour effect on this window producing a portrait of exceptional dignity and power. This window shows Healy at the height of his creative power as an artist and craftsman and according to McGreevy it demonstrates “the apocalyptic note beginning to strike clearly both in the expression of the Evangelist and in the technical handling throughout, the eagle, particularly, being a wonderful creation in colours of fire and gold”.³³¹ It marks the beginning of Healy’s mature style, being the first of a series of windows which Healy produced between 1930 and 1940 which together rank as some of the finest stained glass ever produced in Ireland.

Christ the King and Our Lady Queen of Heaven

The *Christ the King* (1930) [Fig.90], and *Our Lady Queen of Heaven* (1934) [Fig.91] windows in the west aisle are exquisitely executed by Healy and emphasise the glorified splendour of Christ and our Lady. The figure of Christ, dressed in regal red and gazing serenely on the observer has a transcendent quality that compellingly indicates his divinity as the second person of the Trinity over his humanity as Jesus of Nazareth. Wearing a crown and holding a sceptre in his left hand with the Chi Rho monogram again in evidence, he appears as a majestic King. It is probable that this window was commissioned in response to the institution of the Feast of Christ the King by Pope Pius XI in 1925. The Feast is not confined to the Roman Catholic church however, as many mainline Protestant churches observe the Feast on the last Sunday of the Liturgical year. There is a strong biblical basis to the Kingship of Christ, but it is not represented by any human monarchy as evidenced by the words of Jesus before Pilate in John’s gospel – “My Kingdom is not of this world” (Jn. 18:36). While Jesus did not contradict Nathanael’s statement “You are the king of Israel” (Jn. 1:49), he did however turn his attention toward the parousia of the Son of Man. The enthronement of Christ took place at the moment of his resurrection, as it is then

³²⁹ Caron, *An Túr Gloine and Michael Healy*, Vol. 2, 139.

³³⁰ From about 320 the Chi Rho monogram of Christ was diffused throughout the Roman Empire and became the most common sign on Christian tombs. Roman coins showing the monogram combined with the alpha and omega signs in the British Museum are evidence of the widespread use of these symbols from the Earliest Christian period onwards. See Gabriele Finaldi *The Image of Christ*, (London: National Gallery, 2000), 20.

³³¹ McGreevy, *St. Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea*, 360.

that he sits on the same throne with his Father (Rev. 3:21), that he is exalted at the right hand of God (Acts 2:30-35), thus the Father has established his Son as “king of kings and Lord of lords” (Rev. 19:16, 17:14). The image of Christ the King therefore, has a strong eschatological basis and is rooted in the anticipation the Second Coming of Christ by Christians. In his encyclical *Quas Primas* Pope Pius XI referred to 1925 as a Jubilee year and the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Nicaea, which added to the creed the words “of whose kingdom there shall be no end” thereby acknowledging the kingly dignity of Christ. Quoting extensively from the Old and New Testaments and the Church Fathers, he declares “this kingdom is spiritual and is concerned with spiritual things. That this is so the above quotations from scripture amply prove, and Christ by his own actions confirm it...the Gospels present this kingdom as one which men prepare to enter by penance and cannot actually enter except by faith and by baptism”.³³² He reminds Christians that Christ’s kingship is not obtained by violence nor usurped but “by his essence and by nature”, and that their allegiance is to Christ and not to earthly leaders, perhaps subtly referring to leaders such as Benito Mussolini whose rise to power in Italy forms the historical background.³³³

McGreevy suggests that in these windows, Healy seems to have renounced the humanism that he had learned in Florence, and that the expression found in the faces of Christ and Mary is one of absolute regality. He makes the following interesting remark:

Looking at these impassively majestic figures the idea inevitably suggests itself that national events in the preceding years, events in which Healy took a passionate interest established for him a clear conception of an ultimate, uncompromising righteousness, an absolute righteousness, that could not, of course, be associated with erring human nature but that could and should be attributed to divinity. Healy here seems to lay aside not only the humanism of the Renaissance but even the happy charity of the late Middle Ages. He brings back to religious iconography vital figures which, like the mosaic figures of Byzantine art in the period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, are essentially imaged ideas.³³⁴

McGreevy’s comment draws attention to Healy’s engagement with the political situation in Ireland, and suggests that his work at this period reflects an increasing sense of the inability of political forces to provide lasting peace and stability. The turmoil of the revolutionary

³³² Pope Pius XI, *Quas Primas* (1925) 24 [www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/ency_11121925_quas-primas_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyc/ency_11121925_quas-primas_en.html) . Accessed 01/03/13.

³³³ Ibid. The so-called ‘March on Rome’ had taken place in October 1922, which facilitated the rise to power of Mussolini and his Fascist party.

³³⁴ Op. cit., 362.

years had been followed by a bitter civil war that had left a scar on the national psyche, and the political situation in Europe following the Great War was volatile. The Wall Street Crash of 1929 plunged the world into a Great Depression, which would last throughout the 1930s, and would be a major contribution to the rise of Fascism, eventually leading to the Second World War. All this could not be foreseen in 1930, however reading *Quas Primas* with the benefit of hindsight provides a poignant reminder of the threat to world peace underlying this papal encyclical, and its attempt to alert the world to the primacy of Christ's kingship as the only means of attaining justice and peace lends a particular gravitas to Healy's *Christ the King* window. It is also an indication of how the work of the artists in Loughrea reflected the identity of both Irish and International Catholicism as experienced in the first half of the 20th century.

Egan suggests that for the *Queen of Heaven* window, which is equally majestic and is enhanced by the 'acidizing' technique which he used in his later work, Healy has gone for inspiration beyond the Renaissance to the period which produced the Kilcorban Madonna in the thirteenth century. This statue, the oldest wooden statue of our Lady in the country, is housed in the museum on the site of Loughrea Cathedral. The title *Queen of Heaven* is derived from the declaration of Mary as *Theotokos* (God-bearer) at the First Council of Ephesus in the fifth century and was given full expression when the feast day was implemented in the papal encyclical *Ad Caeli Reginum* issued by Pope Pius XII in 1954. Although the feast would not have been officially in place when this window was executed, it has long been part of church tradition to honour Mary for her role in the salvation of humanity. The biblical background to this title is found in the Roman Catholic interpretation of Revelation 12, where the woman "clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rev. 12:1) is identified with Mary. The earliest Roman depiction of *Santa Maria Regina* in art, depicting the Virgin Mary as Queen dates to the 6th century, and is found in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua built in the 5th century in the Forum Romanum. Webb describes the scene in the Triumphal Arch – "The earliest layer bears the Maria Regina, mid-6th century. Still visible is the Virgin Mary wearing jewelled robes and crown, seated on a jewelled throne with the Child on her lap, attended by an angel."³³⁵ Healy's *Queen of Heaven* window can therefore be seen as an iconographical representation which can be traced back to the early centuries of Christianity, bearing the Latin inscription *Regina Coeli* which are the opening words of Compline antiphons from Holy Saturday until noon on the Sunday after Pentecost. McGreevy

³³⁵Matilda Webb, *The Churches and Catacombs of Early Christian Rome: A Comprehensive Guide*, (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001) 117.

describes the effect of these two windows as follows: “the figures are of an incomparable, divinely regal, splendour. Surely never before had Healy elaborated gorgeousness of colour to such a degree. The whole effect is overwhelming”.³³⁶

St. Joseph

Having completed these two windows, Healy executed the *St. Joseph* [Fig. 92] window which was put in place in 1935, also in the West aisle. This window seems to be a return to the humanist style that Healy had abandoned for the *Christ the King*, and *Queen of Heaven* windows. St. Joseph is portrayed inclining his head towards the young Christ, his hand protectively laid on the child’s shoulder, who appears to be showing him a butterfly, which is traditionally a symbol of the resurrection. From a biblical perspective, there is no mention of St. Joseph after the narrative of the finding of the twelve year old Christ in the temple in chapter 2 of Luke’s gospel. Roman Catholic tradition holds that Joseph died in the arms of Mary and Jesus before Jesus reached adulthood, and the absence of Joseph from any of the Passion narratives would suggest that he was not alive to take care of the burial of Jesus according to Jewish tradition. As we have noted above, this task fell to Joseph of Arimathea, an incident recorded by all the gospel writers (Matt. 27:59-60; Mark 15:45-46; Luke 23:51-54; John 19:38-42). Christian art has almost always portrayed Joseph as an elderly man and Healy’s portrayal conforms to this image, representing Joseph as a grey haired, bearded man with a kind, gentle expression. In 1870, Pope Pius IX had declared St. Joseph patron of the universal Church, whose feast day was celebrated on the 19th March, and in 1889 Pope Leo XIII issued the encyclical *Quamquam Pluries* urging the faithful to pray to St. Joseph for his patronage and protection against the challenges facing the church.³³⁷ The purple and blue colours surrounding the figures of Joseph and Jesus are beautifully conveyed, and as McGreevy remarks this is one of Healy’s most magnificent achievements and “humanly it is all heart”.³³⁸ Noting that St. Joseph was always a rewarding subject for Healy, he points out that in 1916 he had executed a St. Joseph window for Clongowes Woods College, and had later executed the first three of the *Dolour* windows featuring Saint Joseph for the same chapel which were all he had completed by the time of his death.

The lower panel of the window portrays a scene which is loosely based on Matthew’s narrative of the flight into Egypt (Matt. 2:13-14), where Mary rests with the Christ Child in

³³⁶ McGreevy, *St. Brendan’s Cathedral, Loughrea*, 362-63.

³³⁷ See Pope Leo XIII, *Quamquam Pluries*, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15081889_quamquam-pluries_en.html Accessed March 12th 2013.

³³⁸ *Op. Cit.*, 363.

her arms. Joseph, holding a lantern, stands over a fire which he had probably made to keep them warm, as the donkey stands behind him grazing. This scene is a poignant reminder of the refugee status of Jesus' family who were at the mercy of the insecure and power hungry Herod. The top panel shows an Angel in vivid red and gold, again pointing to Matthew's gospel where "the Angel of the Lord" appeared on three occasions to Joseph in a dream (Matt. 1:20; 2:13, 19). Mc Greevy's comment "Considering how sentimentally Our Lord's foster-father is usually made to look, it is remarkable that an intellectual artist like Healy should, over twenty-five years, have found him one of the most richly inspiring of religious subjects" suggests that Healy was attracted to the humanity of the man who was charged with the protection and upbringing of the Christ child.³³⁹ Perhaps St. Joseph's particular qualities of humility, obedience, compassion and hard work appealed to an artist who was, according to McGreevy's personal knowledge of him, an "Irishman of the people, sprung from the humbler ranks of society, yet a man of extraordinarily wide range of understanding and power of interpretation, and a master of the richest and most fastidious sensibility both in colour and draughtsmanship".³⁴⁰ Indeed, Pope Leo's words in *Quamquam Pluries* draw attention to the appeal of St. Joseph for workers and artists, when he declares (in a less politically correct era, it must be noted) – "As to workmen, artisans and persons of lesser degree, their recourse to Joseph is a special right and his example is for their particular imitation".³⁴¹

Ascension Window

Healy's final two three-light windows for Loughrea are *The Ascension* (1936)[Fig. 93] and *The Last Judgment* (1940) [Fig. 94], both deservedly described by McGreevy as "the crowning masterpieces of the Irish stained glass revival" in both technique and in theme. Both windows are located in the West Transept and together they effect a powerful impact on the viewer. The Ascension window is taken from the gospel narratives as they appear in Mark 16:19, Luke 24:51, and Acts 1:2, where Jesus was "taken up to heaven". There appears to be a gradual expansion of the detail from the account given in Mark where the event is described as follows: "And the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of God" (Mark 16:19), Luke adds a benediction and refers to the adoration of the disciples, Acts refers to a cloud and two men

³³⁹ Op.cit., 363.

³⁴⁰ Thomas McGreevy, "Michael Healy: Personal Reminiscences, Extracts from a Broadcast", *The Capuchin Annual*, (1944): 113.

³⁴¹ Pope Leo XIII, *Quamquam Pluries*, 4.

dressed in white who remarked “Ye men of Galilee, why do you stand looking up to heaven; This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven” (Acts 1:11). In the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus the disciples prostrated themselves on the ground after Jesus went up to heaven.

The feast of the Ascension was not celebrated independently in the early centuries, but was celebrated in conjunction with the feast of Pentecost, and according to Dewald the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth may be regarded as the time when the Ascension gained independent significance.³⁴² From these accounts in the synoptic gospels and Acts, the portrayal of the Ascension gradually developed and evolved in Western art and from Dewald’s comprehensive account of this development it is possible to trace the original iconography to two types, the Hellenistic and the Oriental, which may also be referred to as the Western and Eastern forms. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that the Hellenistic type portrayed Christ as beardless, stepping from a mountain into heaven assisted by the Hand of God which emerges from heaven to draw him up. Some of the disciples are represented beneath the figure of Christ, either gazing up to heaven, or prostrate on the ground in an attitude of fear or prayer. The Oriental type, which was mainly represented in Syrian Art portrays a bearded Christ surrounded by a mandorla supported by two angels with an additional angel offering a crown to The Redeemer with veiled hands. It featured the symbols of the four evangelists, an angel, an ox, an eagle and a lion, and also featured Mary in the centre, with six disciples at each side, the group on the right headed by Peter, and those on the left headed by Paul. Similar imagery appeared in early Palestinian representations which also included Mary, and Paul. These eastern representations did not comply with canonical descriptions, which do not mention Mary’s presence and make Paul’s impossible, indeed, the imagery of the four beasts and the presence of a wheel and the sun and moon owe more to the visions of Ezekiel and Revelation. Dewald suggests that this points to an extra-canonical source for the Oriental representations that combined the visions of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse with the canonical accounts of the Ascension.³⁴³

Whatever the sources for the Eastern representations of the Ascension the implications for Western art lie in the fact that the Syro-Palestinian type was introduced to Italian Christian art as a consequence of the foundation of Constantinople, which created strong links between Italy and the East. As Dewald points out there is strong evidence of the employment of Eastern artists in Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries. We therefore find a

³⁴² Ernest T. Dewald, “The Iconography of the Ascension” *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol 19, No. 3, (Jul.-Sep., 1915): 277-319.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 284.

transition from the older Hellenistic representation of the Ascension to the new Oriental forms which can be found in Italian art of this period, and it is to this transition that we can trace the type of representation that is found in Healy's window. While the inclusion of Paul was subsequently abandoned, the image of Mary flanked on each side by the disciples remains the most familiar representation to contemporary Western viewers. Healy's representation conforms to this type, to some degree, positioning Mary and Saint John in the centre with five of the disciples on the right and five on the left, all gazing upwards in apparent wonder. Some have their hands joined in prayer, as have Mary and John. Christ is shown ascending above a cloud, with his hands raised in blessing, surrounded by six angels on each side, with what appears to be an angel in the top panel holding a crown over the head of Christ. On the top panel on the left is a tiny medallion portraying a dove, representing the Holy Spirit, and on the right a similar medallion bears the image of a flame – probably representing the tongues of fire of Pentecost. We see therefore the link between the Ascension and Pentecost which can be traced back to the early Christian church and which finds a biblical basis in the Farewell discourse in chapter 16 of John's gospel. Having told the disciples that he is "going to Him who sent me" (v.5), discerning their sorrow, he then consoles them by saying "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: it is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Counsellor will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you" (v.7). John's gospel therefore provides the link between the return of Jesus to the Father, and the sending of the Holy Spirit, the Counsellor. This is the reason that the final two verses in Luke's gospel describe the disciples returning to Jerusalem following the Ascension "with great joy, and were continually in the temple blessing God" (Luke 24: 52-53). An interesting feature in Healy's portrayal is the presence of a red boundary between the earthbound characters, and Christ's heavenly space, a feature which originated in the earlier representations, intended to indicate the separation of the two realms.

Last Judgment Window

This was the final window executed by Healy for Loughrea, and it is undoubtedly the masterpiece of his mature style. It is a three-light window which Healy commenced in 1936, and did not complete until 1940. The Last Judgement is traditionally the subject matter for the west transept, where it has been a popular theme from the Middle Ages in many ecclesiastical contexts. The biblical foundation for the subject is found mainly in Matthew's gospel, where there is a vivid description of Christ's judgment at the end of time in chapter 24:29-31, and 25:31-46. The allegorical description of the final judgment in Revelation 20:12 also provides ample biblical basis for the iconography which has formed around this theme. Some of the earliest surviving examples are to be found in the 12th

century representations in York Minster, and the famous example from St. Mary's in Fairford, which fired the imagination of Harry Clarke has already been mentioned above. During the 15th century the Last Judgment filled main lights of many windows, with imagery becoming increasingly complex and elaborate. Between the 9th and 16th centuries, representations of the Last Judgment fell into two categories. The first category indicated the completion of the judgment by the separation of the just from the damned, while the second category, the *Psychostasis* or Weighing of Souls by St. Michael was often represented in imagery which has precedence in pre-Christian antiquity, particularly in ancient Egyptian theology, and in the Old Testament references to the idea of the weighing of souls is found in the books of Job, and Daniel (Job. 31:6; Dan. v. 27).³⁴⁴

The imagery in Healy's *Last Judgment* window conforms to the first category where Christ is portrayed in the central light, seated in great majesty and power with three angels underneath. Caron notes that there is a more obvious Byzantine influence in this window than in the Christ the King window, and refers to the golden mandorla surrounding Christ, with tiny sparkling tesserae which evoke Byzantine mosaics.³⁴⁵ The angel on the left holds a trumpet which is probably a reference to the description of the last days in 1 Cor:15:52 where the dead will be raised at the sound of the trumpet. The angel in the centre holds a large book, which is reminiscent of the description in Revelation 20 – "Also another book was opened, which is the book of life. And the dead were judged by what was written in the books, by what they had done" (Rev. 20:12). The third angel appears to be holding an orb. The upper panel of the left light contains the figure of Mary interceding on behalf of those who are to be judged surrounded by four of the apostles with Peter at the front holding the keys to heaven with which he is traditionally associated. Referred to as the *traditio clavis* this handing over of the keys is symbolic of the primacy of Peter, and had traditionally been associated with Last Judgment iconography, as can be seen in examples such as Orcagna's Strozzi Altarpiece of 1357, in the north transept chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. The biblical basis for the *traditio clavis* comes from Matthew 16:13-19 where Jesus states "I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (16:19) in response to Peter's declaration "You are the Messiah, the son of the living God" (16:16). While we cannot be certain, it is nevertheless highly probable that Healy would have seen this iconography while staying in Florence. The upper right panel contains the figure of

³⁴⁴ For further examination of the idea of *Psychostasis* see Mary Phillips Perry, "On Psychostasis in Christian Art -1" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 22, No. 116 (Nov., 1912) 94-97.

³⁴⁵ Caron, *An Túr Gloine and Michael Healy*, 198.

John the Baptist, also flanked by four apostles, who was traditionally represented with Mary in Byzantine and Medieval portrayals of this scene. This configuration was known as the Deësis, a motif imported to the West from Byzantium, and signifies the prayer and intercession of Mary and John the Baptist on behalf of all humanity. Their placement at Christ's right and left is typical of Last Judgment imagery.³⁴⁶ According to Denny,³⁴⁷ the artistic canon was well defined during the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages, and it is interesting to note that Healy appears to be following in the footsteps of the artists of this period in the choice of iconographical motifs employed in his window. The presence of the apostles is a reference to Matthew 19:28, where Jesus declares that "you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel". The central panels at the right and left hand side beneath the figures of Mary and John the Baptist are dominated by two groups of angels. The first angel on the right (Christ's left) is holding a flaming sword, which is probably a reference to the cherubim placed to guard the way to the tree of life in Genesis 3:24 as this group of angels is placed overhead the vast sea of contorted faces representing those condemned. The angels on the viewer's left (Christ's right) are led by one angel holding a palm branch, and are placed overhead the tranquil faces of the just who appear as if they are floating on a calm sea of clear water. The two groups appear to be separated by what Caron refers to as a "powerful thrusting column of energy".³⁴⁸

The effect of the Last Judgment window is breathtaking, and there is little doubt that it was an ambitious task to which Healy rose admirably. Caron describes the intricacy of the artistry involved when he states "The degree of acidizing in The Last Judgement, and to a marginally lesser extent in the Ascension, has been pushed to new frontiers. Aside from the faces, hands, etc. everything sparkles and shimmers to create a truly iridescent, jewel-like effect which dazzles and delights".³⁴⁹ As the last window executed by Healy for Loughrea it can be considered to be a fitting legacy for this consummate artist. Commenting in 1946 on Healy's contribution to stained glass work in Ireland, and on the Ascension and Last Judgment windows in particular McGreevy remarked as follows:

The final result in both these windows is such that it may be years before anything approximating to their full significance is grasped by even a succession of sensitive observers. For myself I can only record that after visiting them repeatedly over a

³⁴⁶ See Anne Leader, "Michelangelo's Last Judgement: The Culmination of Papal Propaganda in the Sistine Chapel" *Studies in Iconography* 27 (2006) 114 <http://www.academia.edu/467863/MichelangelosLastJudgment> Accessed 9th May 2013

³⁴⁷ Don Denny, "The Last Judgement Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning" *Speculum* Vol. 57, No. 3 (1982) 532.

³⁴⁸ Caron, "Michael Healy and An Túr Gloine", 198.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 199.

few days I feel no doubts about their importance as major masterpieces of art...for I have no doubt that as the years go on whole books will be written by men of many nations about Michael Healy and his work.³⁵⁰

The fact that McGreevy's prediction did not materialise is an indication of the lack of any serious study of Healy's work from the time of his death in 1941, shortly after the completion of the Last Judgment window, until Caron's thesis in 1991. Since then no major retrospective has been undertaken to evaluate the significance of his work which was appreciated by only a handful of his contemporaries. McGreevy, who was the chief art critic for *The Studio* and served as director of the National Gallery of Ireland from 1950 to 1963, as well as serving on the first Irish Arts Council was well placed to appreciate his work, but the truth is that few in Ireland of that period had the required training in art appreciation to evaluate it. The following account by Curran gives some idea of how highly regarded his work was internationally:

The fact that the very fullest opportunity was not, until his last years, given to the exercise of Michael Healy's genius is not a comment on his work but on contemporary taste and methods. His place was recognised by his colleagues, and he had one or two of those indications of foreign opinion that may or may not be significant. He was invited in 1910 to join a Pittsburgh firm of glass-makers, and in 1913 the *Union Internationale des Beaux Arts et des Lettres* directed by Paul Adam, Rodin and Vincent d'Indy invited him to join their society with the courteous formula: 'L'intérêt de vos dernières oeuvres vous ayant designé à notre attention, nous avons l'honneur de solliciter votre presence parmi nous'. Such attentions can never be wholly unpleasing even to a man of Healy's singular modesty.³⁵¹

It is interesting to note that Harry Clarke had also executed a Last Judgment window for St. Patrick's Church in Newport, Co. Mayo a few years earlier than Healy's in 1931.³⁵² The window at St. Mary's, Fairford was no doubt influential in Clarke's portrayal, but it is worth noting also that the Irish High Crosses of the 11th century contained several portrayals of the Last Judgment, the best example being Muiredach's cross at Monasterboice. According to Kees Veelenturf, this cross has the most elaborate portrayal of the Last Judgment in Irish art,

³⁵⁰ McGreevy, *St. Brendan's Cathedral, Loughrea*, 366.

³⁵¹ Curran, "Michael Healy: Stained Glass Worker", 81.

³⁵² This was the last window Clarke worked on, although it had been commissioned by Canon MacDonald P.P. in August 1926, who had sold his life insurance policy to pay for the window. Pressure of work and Clarke's worsening health meant that it took four years to complete. Canon MacDonald was inconsolable when Clarke died in January 1931, as it was installed a month later at the end of February. See *Stained Glass Windows of Mayo by Harry Clarke and the Clarke Studios*, Mayo Heritage Office, 2006.

containing graphic depictions of the damned being led to hell by devils.³⁵³ Clarke's window is notable for its macabre detail and for having a self-portrait of Clarke included among the damned. The theme of the Last Judgment was a particularly Medieval and Byzantine preoccupation, which gradually became associated with the judicial practice of trial by ordeal in German church court trials. Denny points out that "It is probable that in this area of association, so little documented, lie the origins of a tradition that comes to be more easily apparent in art from the end of the Middle Ages, when it was a common practice to represent the Last Judgment in civic court rooms".³⁵⁴ It is possible to infer from this that Martin Luther would have been familiar with this iconography and that this imagery may have been instrumental in causing the insecurity about his salvation documented in the story of the thunderstorm which led to his entering a monastery in 1505. Following the Reformation in Europe, new themes and subjects relevant to the idea of personal and unmediated appropriation of justification emphasised in the Protestant territories began to replace many of the earlier iconic representations of Mary and the saints. According to Miles, scenes of the Last Judgment also lost the fascination they had held for late-medieval people. Quoting one of Luther's sermons, preached on September 7th, 1538 as follows: "The Last Judgment is abolished, it concerns the believer as little as it does the angels...All believers pass from this life into heaven without any judgment".³⁵⁵ While it is easy to see how the Last Judgment iconography conflicted with Luther's theory of Justification by faith alone, it is difficult to understand how his belief in *sola scriptura* could overlook the biblical account of judgment recorded in Matthew 24 and 25. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine Luther's apparent inconsistency in this matter, it is sufficient to note how this iconography would have been abhorrent to reformed theology on many levels, not least the inclusion of the handing over the keys, representing the primacy of Peter.³⁵⁶ Miles demonstrates how the advent of Protestantism led to the emergence of a language-oriented religion and culture, and to the decline of the type of dramatic imagery portrayed by Last Judgment iconography. Although Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* fresco in the Sistine Chapel was unveiled on the 31st October 1541, the visual portrayal of this type of imagery gradually declined in Roman Catholic iconography and remained an almost uniquely Medieval phenomenon. Healy and Clarke's choice of this subject, suggested no doubt by

³⁵³ http://irishhighcrosses.com/index_files/Page888.htm

³⁵⁴ Op. cit., 545.

³⁵⁵ Margaret R. Miles, *Image As Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*, (Oregon: Beacon Press, 1985), 117.

³⁵⁶ For a comprehensive treatment of this imagery see Leader, "Michelangelo's Last Judgement: The Culmination of Papal Propaganda in the Sistine Chapel" *Studies in Iconography* 27 (2006) 114 <http://www.academia.edu/467863/MichelangelosLastJudgment> Accessed 9th May 2013

those who commissioned these windows represents an interesting engagement with what had been vivid visual reminders of inevitable judgment, eliciting a high degree of religious anxiety in Medieval society. It represents a specifically Roman Catholic pre-occupation which fired the imagination of these 20th century artists who did not flinch from portraying this challenging subject for contemporary viewers. In an ironic twist, both artists were dead within a year of execution of these windows.

Creation Rose Window

Following Healy's death, Evie Hone became his successor for commissions for the cathedral windows. She had joined An Túr Gloine in 1933, and had worked closely with Healy, who provided considerable help and encouragement to her in the absence of such encouragement from Sarah Purser, who did not particularly like her work. Healy and Hone shared a strong religious sensibility even though she came from a Church of Ireland background. Her conversion to Catholicism can possibly be attributed to Healy's influence, as they seemed to have been kindred spirits. Her first window for the cathedral was the St. Brigid window executed in 1942 [Fig. 95], showing the saint giving bread to a hungry girl. Four years later she was commissioned to paint the large rose window over the gallery, but it was not completed until 1950, due to pressure of work. The subject matter is of the Creation drawn from the biblical narrative in Genesis [Fig. 96]. The centre panel contains the symbols of the Holy Trinity, represented by the hand of God the Father, the monogram of Christ, and the image of the dove. The Alpha and Omega signs are portrayed underneath these symbols, surrounded by the heavenly bodies. The six side panels portray the lion, the eagle, the pelican and the serpent, symbols of the elements of earth, air, water and fire, the image of Adam and Eve in the garden, and the tree of life. The rose window in medieval times was round to represent the *Imago Mundi* or the image of the universe itself summoning up all human knowledge. While the six side panels can be seen to represent the six days of creation, and the centre panel can be understood to represent the seventh day when God rested from his work (Gen. 2:2-4) the window does not present the Genesis account chronologically. Interestingly, in several medieval creation rose windows, such as Lausanne Cathedral, symbols such as those of the zodiac and of the elements were juxtaposed with the image of the Holy Trinity and Adam and Eve. Hone's creation window reflects an early medieval tradition based on the personification of the elements particularly evident in Romanesque art and architecture.³⁵⁷ Her work was influenced by her passion for early

³⁵⁷ See Manuel Antonio Castfneiras Gonzalez 'From Chaos to Cosmos: The Creation Iconography in The Catalan Romanesque Bibles' *Arte Medievale Anno 1, 2002, 1*, 36. <http://www.academiaedu/3354620>
Accessed 21/8/13.

medieval Christian art, particularly the Irish High Crosses. Her admiration for the French artist Georges Rouault whose painting reflected his early apprenticeship as a stained glass artist, employing intensely brilliant colours and heavy black contouring reminiscent of stained glass windows can also be detected in her work. The early medieval concept of the creation followed closely the principles of platonic philosophy, according to which God had led the world from chaos to order and from ugliness to beauty. The idea that the cosmos was made up of the four elements which unite to form a cross was very much a platonic one, which was incorporated into Christian tradition through St. Augustine, Boethius, Isidore, Bede and hexameral literature.

The inclusion of the eagle can also be seen as symbolic of the Spirit of God which hovered over the waters (Gen. 1:2). According to Painton Cowen, the Hebrew scholar Robert Alter has indicated that the idea of God's breath hints at the wingbeat of an eagle in the Hebrew text.³⁵⁸ The eagle is also the symbol of John the Evangelist whose gospel prologue echoes the first chapter of Genesis (John 1:1). The symbol of the lion, representing fire, is also the symbol of Mark the Evangelist. Hone has chosen to represent the Creation in symbolic terms, reflecting an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation of the Genesis narrative, which is interesting in the light of the controversies which raged following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1850. This creation window by Hone brings to an end the fruitful association between the various clerical administrators of Loughrea Cathedral, and the artists of An Túr Gloine which had commenced in 1903. Because of the time span of almost half a century from the initial foundation of the company, as well as the fact that every artist in the co-operative is represented with the exception of Wilhelmina Geddes (who had been involved with the company during the time of inactivity), Loughrea Cathedral is "a permanent monument to the Irish revival in stained glass".³⁵⁹ For this reason, a detailed analysis of the iconography in display in the windows is crucial to our study, and has an essential role to play in an important aspect of this thesis – namely, how much the iconography displayed in church buildings of this era subtly, but convincingly reflects the identity formation which was an intrinsic element of religious and cultural expression of the period. Before developing this further, we will turn to the final window executed in Loughrea.

³⁵⁸ See Painton Cowen, *Six Days: The Story of the Making of the Chester Cathedral Creation Window*, (Bristol: Alastair Sawday Publishing Company Ltd., 2003), 35. Cowen has written extensively on stained glass and was closely involved in documenting the creation of the millennium creation window in Chester Cathedral executed by Rosalind Grimshaw in 2001. Grimshaw based her interpretation of the creation narrative on Robert Alter's translation. See Robert Alter, *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 1.

³⁵⁹ Egan, *St. Brendan's Cathedral*, (1986).

St. Brigid Window

In 1957, Bishop William Philbin commissioned the St. Brigid window for the porch position which corresponds to the St. Brendan window executed by Sarah Purser. Patrick Pye, the young artist who executed this window was very much influenced by Evie Hone's work, and went on to become a leading stained glass artist. As he is the only artist engaged in the work in Loughrea who is still alive and who has given interviews in recent years about the motivation behind his work, it may be interesting to examine what he has to say about the art of stained glass in general, and in particular, the Roman Catholic imagination that informs his work. As a Christian artist working in a modernist idiom what he has to say about this role can probably be applied to all of the artists who have worked on the stained glass windows that we have examined. In August 2004, Don Briel of the Center for Catholic Studies and Paul Murray of the Angelicum University in Rome visited Pye in his studio in the Wicklow Hills and asked him to reflect on his life and work. Born in Winchester in 1929, and brought up in Dublin by his mother, Pye converted to Catholicism when he was thirty-three years old. The following statement conveys some of the reasoning behind his conversion, and gives us an indication of the importance of art in relation to his religious sensibility: "One of the things that brought me into Mother Church was that they weren't too puritan about taking pleasure in art. We call the artist to help us to celebrate. For a feast day, if there is no God, is there much to celebrate?"³⁶⁰ The idea of art as celebration and festival has been explored in detail by Gadamar who suggests that a work of art has a festive, as well as symbolic and playful character as it takes us out of ordinary time into what Gadamar describes as 'fulfilled' or 'autonomous' time. In the interview, Briel suggests that the main task of the artist is not pleasure, but intelligibility and meaning, and quotes Pye's own suggestion that the artist "is thrown straight at the deep end of the metaphysical question. If vision must be interpretative, then the interpretation must be critical. The artist is naturally in line with the writers of the gospels for whom the heart was an organ of understanding, not of feeling. The artist must learn to see with the heart".³⁶¹ Pye's comparison of the artist to the gospel writers gives an insight into how the stained glass artist approaches interpretation of biblical subject matter. While a work of art such as a stained glass window must be interpreted just as a text must be interpreted, Pye implies that the interpretation required for the reading of the gospels and viewing a biblical scene portrayed by an artist is less of an intellectual activity than an engagement with the spiritual imagination. This idea is echoed by Rosalind Grimshaw, the artist who executed the

³⁶⁰ Don Briel and Paul Murray, O.P., 'A Conversation with Patrick Pye' in *Logos* 8: 2 (Spring, 2005) 98, www.stthomas.edu/cathstudies/logos/archive Accessed 1st March 2013.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 99. Briel quotes here from Patrick Pye, *Apples and Angels* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1980), 5.

creation rose window for Chester Cathedral in 2001. Describing the process involved in the creation of the window Grimshaw makes the following observation:

What is so lovely about stained glass is that you make things – you don't put them together. I know it looks like putting pieces of glass together and holding the result up to the light, but actually during the making period each piece of glass becomes a point of focus. Then my own 'focus' – the imagination, or the creative spirit I suppose – adds something to it, perhaps another piece of glass alongside it or 'plated' to it and 'something new' emerges. I love not being in total control.³⁶²

Cowen points out that although Grimshaw is not particularly religious, she does admit to feeling a kinship with the idea of the Biblical Creation, particularly the aspect that deals with humankind's responsibility in stewardship of the Earth, and on re-reading Genesis, she identified with the idea of the Spirit that hovers over the waters of oblivion.³⁶³ Stained glass is unique as an art form in that it relies on light to transform the images into something which glows with vibrant colour. Mark Chagall described his approach to the creative process involved in stained glass as follows: "Stained glass looks quite simple. The material is light itself. For a cathedral or a synagogue the phenomenon is the same: something mystical that passes through the window...one must be humble before the material – submissive. The material is natural and everything natural is religious".³⁶⁴ These testimonies from stained glass artists give some indication of the mysterious process involved in working with the natural phenomenon of light in the creation of all stained glass. In the hands of an artist as gifted as those we have examined, the biblical narratives are communicated as human expressions of divine activity in the created universe.

Having concluded our detailed examination of the windows in Loughrea Cathedral and the Honan Chapel, we are in a position to make several observations which will help us to evaluate the role of this particular art form in defining and consolidating Roman Catholic identity in the early part of the 20th century. We have seen how the formation of an indigenous stained glass studio by Edward Martyn in 1903 initiated a flourishing industry which was responsible for decorating two of the finest Roman Catholic church buildings of the period. Over the following half century the artists of An Túr Gloine together with Harry Clarke who arrived on the scene spectacularly in 1916, created work

³⁶² Cowen, *Six Days*, 100.

³⁶³ Ibid. Grimshaw describes the period of designing and making the Chester window as a 'fantastically creative period' which is all the more remarkable considering the fact that the artist suffers from Parkinson's Disease and spent six weeks in hospital during the period when the window was being designed and executed.

³⁶⁴ See Cowen, *Six Days*, 4.

of enduring quality which reflects a particularly Irish religious imagination. We have seen the development of style from the early New Testament scenes of Nativity and Passion executed by Child and Purser, to the images of popular saints such as St. Anthony and St. Francis. There is little doubt that Michael Healy's work, spanning the period from 1904 to 1940 demonstrates an extraordinary development, culminating in the breathtaking beauty of the Christ the King, Queen of Heaven, St. Joseph, Ascension and Last Judgment windows, all executed in the 1930s. We have observed that the subject matter of these windows also reflect particular preoccupations of the universal Roman Catholic Church at this period.

Having examined the iconographical content of the windows with a view to determining whether there is an underlying ideological perspective in evidence we are in a position to draw some conclusions. However, some questions remain, which we will attempt to address in the following pages. We have established that there was a strong Roman Catholic perspective influencing individuals such as Edward Martyn, Bishop Healy and Fr. O'Donovan in Loughrea, and Sir John O'Connell and Sir Bertram Windle in the Honan Chapel. However, we have also noted that there was a substantial input from artists such as O'Brien and Purser, as well as Evie Hone (who later converted to Catholicism) who were from a Church of Ireland background. We have shown that the St. John window in the Honan Chapel reflects an inadvertently Protestant biblical perspective, and have recognised the subtle endorsement of papal authority in evidence in Michael Healy's *Last Judgment* window, where the *traditio clavis* is maintained in the iconography. This particular motif is conclusive evidence of an assertion of Roman Catholic identity, which is even more apparent from the examination of iconographical representation of the *Last Judgment* in St. Fin Barre's Cathedral which has already been undertaken above.³⁶⁵ The St. Fin Barre *Last Judgment* showed Christ at the centre, as judge, but alone. Neither the apostles nor Mary were included in the scene, which is consistent with a particularly Protestant interpretation.

One of the more puzzling aspects of the iconography in the earlier Loughrea windows executed by Child is the motif of the crown of thorns which appears unexpectedly in the Baptism of the Lord, the Agony in the Garden, and the Resurrection windows. The iconography of the crown of thorns has an interesting history, which we will recount briefly. According to Horne, the various ways in which artists have depicted the Crown

³⁶⁵ For analysis of the impact of the Reformation on the iconography of the *Last Judgment* see Craig Harbison, *The Last Judgment in 16th century Northern Europe: A Study of the relation between Art and the Reformation*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1976.

of Thorns is a clue to the date at which they worked. None of the earliest representations of our Lord on the Cross show him wearing a Crown of Thorns. This can be seen from observation of the Irish High Crosses, as well as early medieval and Byzantine art. It is not until the middle of the thirteenth century that this changed, in an unexpected way. In 1239, the French king Louis IX received what was claimed to be the crown of thorns from Constantinople. The relic was carried from Constantinople to Venice and from there to Paris, arriving in August 1239. The relic spent a year travelling across Europe, and according to Horne “at every stopping place vast numbers of the faithful came to venerate it so that we may suppose that its appearance would become widely known”.³⁶⁶ This relic which is housed today in Notre Dame Cathedral, claims not only to be the very one that Louis obtained in 1240, but also to be the actual Crown of Thorns itself. Horne asserts that the evidence for its authenticity as the original relic is overwhelming, and having viewed it by special permission in 1933, he describes it as not a crown of thorns, but a ring of rushes, bound together by twisting ties. From the time this relic was carried across Europe, this fillet or wreath seen and venerated by many, began to be represented in art in this form. However, it underwent a gradual change, where eventually it became a formed crown made of twisted stems, with long protruding points. Horne indicates that the three periods of the representation of the crown of thorns in the history of art enable art historians to date the representations by the fact that the fillet or band must be after the year 1240, and the full Crown of Thorns will not appear until after 1300.³⁶⁷ While Italian artists represented the crown as consisting of pliable twigs with small thorns, the Northern artists portrayed a structure of unbending, knotted boughs, with enormous spikes half a foot long, which no human hands could have constructed according to Anne Jameson, an art critic from the 19th century. It has been suggested however that the thorns were removed and distributed as relics to various locations in Europe.³⁶⁸ From the biblical perspective, it is worth noting that all the evangelists except Luke give an account of Jesus receiving the crown of thorns. Luke Timothy Johnson suggests that Luke’s reasons for the omission of the mocking of the soldiers, which includes the crown of thorns scene, in Mark 15:16-20; Matt 27:27-31 and John 19:2-3 testifies to his cultural sensitivity. He makes the following remark:-

This omission has the effect of making the Jews themselves appear as the ones who carry Jesus off to crucifixion rather than the Roman soldiers in 23:26...he

³⁶⁶ Dom Ethelbert Horne, F.S.A., ‘The Crown of Thorns in Art’, *Downside Review* 53 (1935) 48-51.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 51.

³⁶⁸ For details of the relic of the crown of thorns in Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris see <http://www.notredamedeparis.fr/spip.php?article339> Accessed 9th September, 2013.

[so] carefully distinguishes the leaders of the people and the soldiers, who actively mock Jesus, and the people who only stand watching.³⁶⁹

Luke portrays Jesus maintaining philosophic composure and self-control, as Philosopher, Prophet and Saviour, advancing the major themes of his gospel.

What appears to be indisputable however is that this iconography came to symbolise the passion of Christ in a visceral way during the Middle Ages, gaining momentum by becoming a powerful representation of suffering humanity. The question we must ask is why this motif is so evident in the stained glass in Loughrea. Recent scholarship may enable us to place this motif within the context of European Catholicism. The historical association between Irish and French Catholicism has consistently been noted by historians, who point to the fact that the Irish had long looked to France for support in their resistance to British rule. The link between the Young Irelanders and the nascent French Republic is well chronicled, however, recent scholarship has made a convincing link between influential Irish Catholic intellectuals such as Edward Martyn and figures from the emerging French Catholic Renaissance of the early 20th century. In a recent study of French influence on Irish social, cultural and religious discourse on this particular generation of Irishmen, W. J. McCormack has made important links between Edward Martyn and his French Catholic counterparts. Indeed, he has convincingly demonstrated that this influence continued up to and included the Irish Rebellion of 1916, having considerable influence on the leaders of the rebellion, particularly on Patrick Pearse, who adapted the powerful ideology of sacrifice inherent in the French Catholic Revival to an Irish context.³⁷⁰

McCormack demonstrates Martyn's association with the French aristocratic intellectual, Florimond Alfred Jacques de Basterot (1836-1904) whose family had held Irish land since the 1820s, and had intermarried with the O'Brien clan, and had established links to the Martyns of Tullira. De Basterot's estate in North Clare, Parkmore, hosted visits by leading French intellectuals including Guy de Maupassant, his cousin, Maurice Barrès, the novelist-politician, and the Catholic novelist Paul Bourget. According to McCormack "Initial discussions which led to the foundation of the Abbey Theatre took place at de Basterot's Parkmore".³⁷¹ It is highly probable that discussions on Irish cultural matters

³⁶⁹ Luke Timothy Johnson, 'The Gospel of Luke' *Sacra Pagina Series* Volume 3 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press) 1991, 372-381.

³⁷⁰ See W.J. McCormack, *Dublin 1916: The French Connection* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2012) 38.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, 41.

were accompanied by conversations on the state of Irish and French Catholicism between Martyn and de Basterot's French visitors.

As the importance of this French connection in the development of Irish cultural and religious identity has only recently been highlighted, it is worth investigating further, as it may be fruitful in our quest to understand the background to the unusual iconographical detail portrayed in the windows in Loughrea.

The French Influence

The roots of the French Catholic revival can be traced to the 1880s, when an ideologically driven secular legislation began dismantling what remained of the legal heritage of Christian France. The first expulsion of unauthorised religious congregations occurred in 1880, the second expulsion occurred in 1903, (coincidentally, the year the Child windows were executed in Loughrea Cathedral). This followed the closing of 3000 schools run by unauthorised religious orders in 1902. Catholic writers such as Charles Péguy and Léon Bloy were motivated by an attempt to counter these trends toward secularisation. Their influence can be traced to the spate of conversions which took place in France during this period and which has been documented by the French historian of Religion, Frédéric Gugelot in 'La Conversion des Intellectuels au Catholicisme en France, 1885-1935'. Gugelot referred to the modern French attraction to Catholicism as "an avant-garde cultural turn" that introduced "new aesthetic and religious forms that offered an entirely new image of Catholicism".³⁷² The Catholic revival gained considerable momentum from the years following the Act of Separation in 1905, which effectively enshrined laicism into French law, and ended the state's funding of religion. The *renouveau catholique*, which historian Stephen Schloesser S.J. termed 'Jazz Age Catholicism' continued up until the outbreak of World War II. Influenced by the philosophy of Henri Bergson, one of the most notable aspects of the revival was a renewed emphasis on the Roman Catholic doctrine of vicarious suffering, fuelled by an increased interest in medieval mysticism. The notion of vicarious suffering finds a biblical basis in Colossians 1:24, where the author describes how he rejoices in suffering in order to "complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the Church". Emphasising that through acceptance of suffering, an individual could atone for the sins of the French nation that had begun with the French Revolution and had continued with the process of secularisation referred to as *laïcité*, focus was placed on

³⁷² Frédéric Gugelot, *La Conversion des intellectuels au catholicisme en France, 1885-1935* (Paris: CNRS, 1998) 62-63. Quoted by Brenna Moore in *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, The Allure of Suffering and the French Catholic Revival (1905-1944)* (Indiana: Notre Dame, 2013) 3.

symbols and practices centred on *souffrance*. These symbols and practices played a vital role in attracting converts, atheists and lapsed Catholics in early 20th century France. It does not take an enormous stretch of the imagination to see the parallels between this aspect of French Catholicism and Irish Catholicism which perceived itself as pitted against a foreign power hostile to Catholicism.

In her recent study of the role of suffering in the French Catholic Revival, Brenna Moore cites the importance of the *renouveau catholique* in laying the groundwork for some of the most fruitful creative thinking in late modern Catholicism. Referring to *ressourcement*, the term coined by Charles Péguy in a 1904 essay, becoming a symbol of the hermeneutical principle guiding Vatican II, Moore points out that many of the theologians associated with *la nouvelle théologie*, including Yves Congar and Henri de Lubac cite Péguy and other revivalists as important influences.³⁷³ The importance of the revivalists for this thesis however centres on how much influence this French Catholic movement had on the iconography displayed in Loughrea Cathedral. It would seem to have been considerable when taking into account that the motif of the crown of thorns appears to have had particular significance for French Catholicism. According to Moore,

one popular devotional image found in many 19th and early 20th century pamphlets, prayers, iconography and statuary depicted the infant Jesus (le Petit Roi d'Amour) carrying a tiny basket of thorns and hammers, dreaming of the suffering he would endure as an adult, and summoning devotees to join him in his agony on account of a sinful, secular modern nation'.³⁷⁴

It is notable that Raïssa Maritain, one of the leading figures of the *renouveau catholique* entitled her first poem “La couronne d'épines” (The Crown of Thorns). Presenting a vivid account of Jesus’ fear on the Mount of Olives before his crucifixion, this poem reflects the power of this imagery in the French Catholic imagination. Based on the evidence of the imagery in the Loughrea windows, we can confidently assume that this imagery held an equally powerful resonance for Irish Catholics such as Martyn and the founders of the Cathedral. In view of the close association between Martyn, and the early figures of the French Catholic Revival, it is highly plausible that the crown of thorns iconography in Loughrea may be attributed to the prominence of this image in *fin-de-siècle* Catholic intellectual circles. As McCormack has stated, the influence of the French Catholic Revival

³⁷³ Moore, *Sacred Dread*, 20.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

continued to hold sway over the leaders of the 1916 rising, and he cites Charles Péguy as “a central figure in the sacrificial politics of Francophone Irish Catholics”.³⁷⁵ The doctrine of vicarious suffering was to find its ultimate expression in the actions of the leaders of 1916.

This chapter has examined the windows of Loughrea Cathedral, and found a particularly Roman Catholic interpretation of biblical themes, two of the most obvious being the crown of thorn motif in the three windows mentioned, and the *traditio clavis* iconography in Michael Healy’s *Last Judgment* window. One of the aims of this thesis is to find evidence of a quest for Roman Catholic identity in the iconography of the stained glass windows of the early 20th century. The research conducted on the windows in Loughrea and the Honan chapel has indicated that a considerable amount of research and knowledge of Roman Catholic imagery is in evidence on the part of those who commissioned the windows, and also among the stained glass artists themselves. While there is no systematic iconographical programme in evidence, Loughrea can be seen to reflect the development of Roman Catholicism as an intrinsic part of Irish identity from the early days of its construction in 1903, when Irish Catholics understood themselves as belonging to a suffering nation. The turbulent years between 1912 and 1925 are marked by the absence of any new commissions for the cathedral, and are testimony to the political, social and religious upheavals occurring during this period. From 1925 to 1957 when Patrick Pye created the final St. Brigid window there appears to be an increased level of engagement with specifically Roman Catholic themes, such as Healy’s Christ the King (1930) and Queen of Heaven (1933) windows. It is with Healy’s *Last Judgment* window however that the Roman Catholic identification reaches its apogee with the inclusion of the *traditio clavis* iconography.

It is important to note that while some biblical scenes are represented in the windows, all are derived from the New Testament, apart from the Creation rose window executed by Evie Hone. We have noted that this window was executed in 1950, after Hone’s conversion to Catholicism in 1937. Curran remarks that following her conversion, “her work grew into ever closer relation with religious art”.³⁷⁶ Hone’s Church of Ireland background suggests that her knowledge of the Old Testament would have been considerable, and it is probably instrumental in the choice of this subject matter. Her religious development from Church of Ireland upbringing to conversion to Catholicism as an adult gives an interesting dimension to her work, placing her at an important juncture between the two main religious traditions

³⁷⁵ McCormack, *Dublin 1916*, 143. McCormack makes convincing connections between the French neo-Catholics and leaders of 1916, particularly Pearse and Plunkett who were fluent French speakers, and readers.

³⁷⁶ C.P. Curran, ‘Evie Hone: Stained Glass Worker 1894-1955’ *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 44, No. 174, (Summer, 1955) 135.

in early 20th century Ireland. Hone's contribution to the important question of Irish identity at this period, is worth considering in the light of her Church of Ireland background. Together with Edward Martyn, she can be considered to have confounded the stereotypical viewpoint of what constituted Irish identity in the 20th century.

Evie Hone

While Martyn exemplifies the Irish Roman Catholic sensibility of the early 20th century, Evie Hone's work reflects later, post-independence Ireland. She had joined An Túr Gloine in 1933 and worked with Healy, who helped and encouraged her. Her Anglo-Irish ascendancy background was populated by artists and craftsmen. Curran describes the working relationship between Healy and Hone as follows:-

Arezzo and Florence had formed his mind as Paris had shaped Evie Hone's but they had a common meeting place in Chartres, and the practice of the French medieval glass makers. Healy was also quick to appreciate Rouault whom Evie Hone brought to his notice and the value of the expressionist approach...neither of them was a mere revivalist, or given to pastiche; they both were experimentalists.³⁷⁷

Curran's statement highlights Hone's early experience with cubism in Paris in the 1920s with her friend Mainie Jellett as students of Lhote and Gleizes. Gleizes has been described as "a central figure within the Salon Cubist group, a theorist with deep-seated social and religious convictions that were explored in his art. The role of the spiritual within Gleizes's art was clearly crucial to Hone and Jellett at this stage and later".³⁷⁸

Hone was deeply influenced by the art of Georges Rouault, a member of the group of French Catholic artists and writers in the period which became known as the *Renouveau Catholique*. She was therefore steeped in modernism, which was coupled with a deep appreciation of early Christian art, as exemplified in the Irish High Crosses. As a modernist artist and an Irish Anglican, Hone brought a unique perspective to her work as a stained glass artist. Her knowledge of the bible would have been extensive, and her eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism probably owes something to her study of Irish high crosses and medieval cathedrals. What is most interesting about Hone however is the fact that she found the greatest expression for her deep spirituality through the medium of stained glass, which allowed her to broaden her style from the more abstract Cubism in which she had initially trained. A recent publication coinciding with an exhibition of the work of Irish Cubists in the Crawford Gallery in Cork makes the following statement

³⁷⁷ C. P. Curran, "Evie Hone: Stained Glass Worker 1894-1955" *Studies* Vol.44, No. 174, (Summer, 1955): 135.

³⁷⁸ Dickon Hall, "Cubism in Ireland: An Interpretation of Modernism" *Analysing Cubism* (Cork: Crawford Art Gallery, 2013), 23.

regarding Hone's work in stained glass – “In these she appears to have been more comfortable focussing on and explicitly interpreting the religious and national imagery that was at the heart of Ireland's self-perception”.³⁷⁹ This aspect of Hone's work has recently received greater attention as the window which now adorns Irish Government Buildings, entitled *Four Green Fields* has come into focus as a result of some high profile visits from foreign leaders such as Queen Elizabeth II and President Barack Obama. Nicola Gordon Bowe tells the story behind Hone's execution of this “bold modernist window forming the backdrop to State visits in Government Buildings” in the Autumn 2013 edition of the *Irish Arts Review*.³⁸⁰ The window was commissioned for the 1939 New York World Fair, and has been described by Hall as Hone's clearest exploration of Irish identity. While Hone did not write extensively on art she stated that one of her objectives was to approach truth through links to Irish roots in Celtic art, the abstract motivation of which she perceived to be as purifying.³⁸¹ The fact that Hone's work is strongly linked to the exploration of Irish identity today is interesting, both from the point of view of her Church of Ireland upbringing, and her Modernist credentials.

Because the decoration of Loughrea was extended over the first half of the twentieth century, it is possible to note the influence of Martyn, Bishop Healy and Fr. O'Donovan, whose knowledge of Christian art from both East and West contributed to the inclusion of elements such as the *Anastasis* imagery in the 3 light *Crucifixion* window. This is a highly unusual feature in a Roman Catholic context, and gives Loughrea cathedral an air of eclecticism uncommon in Irish churches. The later windows, particularly Healy's, are marked by a strong sense of Catholic identity, which was reinforced by the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922. These features, as well as the experimental nature of the early iconography, involving the newly formed stained glass company, make Loughrea an ideal exemplar of twentieth century Irish stained glass.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 24.

³⁸⁰ Nicola Gordon Bowe, “Four Green Fields” *Irish Arts Review* Vol. 30, No. 3. (2013): 108-11.

³⁸¹ See Hall, 24.

CONCLUSION

Sir Bertram Windle's statement at the conclusion of the building of the Honan Hostel chapel in Cork in 1916 that a gap that had existed from the Middle Ages had been bridged is an indication of the hope engendered that the spiritual and aesthetic elements of Irish Catholicism that had lain dormant for centuries could be revived. This thesis has set out to show that the decoration of the churches built in the early 20th century by the new exponents of stained glass craftsmanship was guided by a desire to express and reflect re-emerging Catholic identity. Stained glass windows have been used as a means of visualising biblical imagery for the unlearned, as well as for the obvious purpose of making the maximum use of light since the Middle ages. This thesis has shown that they also serve the purpose of giving visual expression to the religious identity of communities. This is an aspect of the imagery portrayed in the windows which has not been explored before, and therefore constitutes a contribution to knowledge in this particular field of study. The role of visual imagery in representing and constituting Irish identity, both religious and cultural has received little attention up to this point, and

it is hoped that this neglected area of study will be recognised as a potentially fruitful subject of inquiry for the future.

The early twentieth century in Ireland was characterised by a lack of certainty on what exactly constituted Irish identity, and the revival in Irish art and literature at this period was specifically aimed at developing an authentically Irish response to this question. By setting up the indigenous Irish stained glass movement An Túr Gloine, figures such as Edward Martyn and Sarah Purser contributed considerable time and resources to this project. They were joined in this endeavour by other individuals who were committed to the visual expression of Irish Catholicism which reflected and shaped how Irish Catholics saw themselves. This study has shown that they succeeded in their objectives in creating a distinctly Irish style of stained glass, visually capturing the religious imagery with which Irish Catholics could identify.

The research undertaken in this thesis has consisted of two main areas of enquiry. The first area involved choosing the most important examples of the work of the main artists involved in the project. Following visits to a considerable amount of cathedrals and churches in different locations around the country, it was concluded that the best examples of the work of these artists was to be found in Loughrea Cathedral, Co. Galway, and the Honan Hostel chapel in Cork. The reasons for this choice is twofold: firstly, Loughrea Cathedral not only contains examples of the work of all of the artists of An Túr Gloine (with the exception of Wilhelmina Geddes, whose career coincided with the years when decoration of the cathedral was necessarily halted), but it also covers a time span from 1903 to 1957. This allowed for a comprehensive overview of the development of iconographic content over more than half a century. Secondly, the Honan hostel chapel was built at a time when the question of Roman Catholic identity had profound resonance, at a period of considerable political turmoil in the country. The iconography of the early Christian saints of Munster executed by Harry Clarke gave expression to the aspirations of the founders to represent the visual and iconographic as well as the liturgical aspects of Catholicism. The windows executed by the artists of An Túr Gloine also emphasised this aspect. However, as we discovered, the *St. John* window in the chancel portrayed the biblical narratives underlying the life of the evangelist, providing a biblical dimension to the overall iconographic scheme. Because both of these buildings are entirely decorated in the style initiated by these two emerging studios, they represent the most significant examples of an overall iconographic

programme that articulated the aspirations of the church of the early twentieth century in Ireland.

Having chosen these buildings as the best representations of Irish Catholic identity, the next step in the research involved a detailed analysis of the iconography of the windows. It was also deemed necessary to compare the iconography in the stained glass in the Catholic buildings with the iconography of the Church of Ireland windows in St. Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork. St. Fin Barre's was chosen as an example of a building that had been constructed from scratch, and completed in 1870. Built with a unified iconographical programme in mind, by a single architect, it represented an important example of Church of Ireland identity towards the end of the nineteenth century. This was instrumental in enabling conclusions to be made regarding the hermeneutical framework underlying the iconography in each tradition. The *St. John* window in the Honan chapel provided interesting conclusions regarding the possibility of misunderstanding or misreading the iconography, and the potential rewards of a close reading of the imagery.

Interestingly, some expectations were overturned. It was expected that the Church of Ireland iconography would display a strong Protestant interpretation of the biblical narratives, and this was confirmed to a considerable degree. The typographical dimension of the imagery contributed substantially to the inclusion of a series of windows depicting the story of Christ's life, death resurrection and ascension. This series concluded with scenes from the Book of Revelation, lending an overall unity to the biblical narrative. Two distinct differences in interpretation were noted however. The lack of representation of the Crucifixion in the window representing the trial and execution of Christ were attributed to the different interpretations of the atonement in Catholic and Protestant theology. This contrasted with the Crucifixion scene executed by An Túr Gloine in Loughrea and the *St. John* window in the Honan chapel, where the crucifixion itself was central to the scene. This difference was slightly counterbalanced by the presence of the inadvertently Protestant interpretation of Genesis 3:15 in the *St. John* window, however.

The representations of the *Last Judgment* in Loughrea and St. Fin Barre's provided insight in to the diverging soteriological aspects of Roman Catholic and Protestant theologies. Healy's Loughrea depiction shows the traditionally Roman Catholic image

of Christ as judge in the centre, flanked by Mary and the apostles, with Peter on his right hand side handing him the keys following *traditio clavis* iconography. The *Last Judgment* window in St. Fin Barre's also has Christ at the centre, but he is alone, as judge, presiding over those about to be judged. The problems inherent in this iconography for the Protestant concept of *sola fide* were noted. The absence of Mary was attributed to the Reformers repudiation of the cult of the saints. It was noted however that the Lukan Infancy narrative, giving considerable prominence to Mary, was portrayed in detail in the ambulatory windows. These observations enabled comparison with the Roman Catholic imagery, and highlighted the importance of also being alert to what is *not* shown.

An interesting element to the iconography in the early Loughrea windows was the presence of the crown of thorns in the three images of Christ. Recent scholarship helped to attribute this to the influence of the French Catholic Renaissance on Irish Catholics of the period. Sufficient evidence was produced to suggest that in the early stages of the twentieth century, Irish Catholic intellectuals, including Edward Martyn, liaised with French Catholics engaged in an attempt to counteract the effects of secularisation in France. This link was important in enabling provision of a framework on which to build a contemporary model of Irish Catholic identity. This link, as well as the discovery that all the protagonists operating in the execution of stained glass at this period had been influenced profoundly by recent European art movements, challenged the prevailing orthodoxy that Irish Catholicism of this period was characterised by insularity and conservatism. The research undertaken for this thesis has shown that in the early part of the century, several influential Irish Catholics engaged regularly with European culture and ideas, and made important contacts with Catholics abroad. It appears that as the Irish Free State became increasingly linked with the Catholic Church following independence, it became more suspicious of Modernism. However, it has been shown above that it was in the area of stained glass alone that Modernism in Ireland found its expression in a unique fusion between Cubism and Early Christian art (as exemplified by the Irish High Crosses) in the work of Evie Hone, and later in the work of Patrick Pye. This is consistent with Turpin's findings in his examination of visual culture in the Irish Free state.³⁸²

³⁸² John Turpin, "Visual Culture and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 57, No. 1, (January, 2006).

The decorative scheme in St. Fin Barre's, Cork, displayed a distinctly Protestant biblical interpretation, with the windows following a coherent and systematic portrayal of the narratives from the Old and New Testaments. This thesis followed that systematic approach by examining the windows in the order they appear in the biblical narrative. Loughrea cathedral on the other hand, possibly because of the break in the decorative scheme did not follow a systematic scheme. The early windows (1903-1912) appear to have been experimental, reflecting the innovation of the An Túr Gloine studio, and focusing mainly on the most important New Testament narratives such as the Infancy Narratives, and the Passion Narrative. The theme of suffering is particularly emphasised, as reflected in the crown of thorns iconography. The later windows (1925-1957) reflect a considerably stronger emphasis on Roman Catholic themes such as the Christ the King, Queen of Heaven, and Last Judgment windows, as well as those of the saints. This study took a chronological approach to these windows, which enabled an evaluation of the development of these themes over the fifty years of decoration. A distinctly Roman Catholic hermeneutic is in evidence in Loughrea, particularly in the later windows. The Honan chapel followed a theological pattern in relation to the saints portrayed, reflecting the aspiration to create a sacred environment where the Catholic students of Munster could engage with the lives of the early Christian saints in Munster, many of whom had set up monasteries and schools of learning in the area. Indeed, St. Fin Barr, the patron saint of Cork is said to have had the site of his school, founded in 606 in the area where both the Honan chapel and St. Fin Barre's cathedral are today. It has also been shown that the iconographical scheme in the Honan chapel has a distinctly liturgical theme, reflecting the style of the early Romanesque churches upon which it is modelled.

The main objective of this thesis was to show that Irish Catholic identity found its expression through the imagery portrayed in the innovative stained glass of the period. This involved an examination of the concept of identity as formed through the narrative experience of individuals and community. Ricoeur's work on the significance of biblical narrative in the formation of individual and collective identity was consulted. This enabled a conclusion to be drawn that the reception of the biblical narrative as the defining narrative among Jews and Christians has shaped the collective identity of Western civilisation. This in turn led to the conclusion that the visual interpretation of the biblical narrative has a significant role in shaping the traditions, and by extension, the identities of religious communities. Gadamer's theory on the ontology of art, and its

hermeneutic significance contributed to the discussion on how religious imagery is perceived by the viewer.

Two religious traditions with two narratives have historically existed side by side in Ireland. While both traditions trace their traditions and identity to the grand narrative portrayed in the scriptures, their interpretation of the scriptures have different emphases. The research for this thesis has examined the visual interpretation of the two traditions, and found that as expected, the Church of Ireland places considerable emphasis on the Old Testament narratives. This is not the case with Roman Catholicism, which places a far greater emphasis on the New Testament, in many cases mediated through traditional Roman Catholic devotional practices. Many of the New Testament scenes portrayed have Mariological themes in keeping with the strong identification of Roman Catholics with Mary. It has been noted however that the stained glass artists of both communities have not always conformed to expectations, which suggests that rigid interpretation of scripture was not necessarily their main priority. It also suggests that identity may be a more adaptable concept than expected.

It is important to point out the limitations of the research undertaken for this thesis. Ideally, an examination of stained glass in every 20th century church in Ireland would have contributed an extra dimension to the study, but this was beyond the scope of a single thesis, as it would involve several hundred at least. It would equally have been helpful to examine the impact on Roman Catholic identity of the changes in church architecture implemented after the Second Vatican council. This also would have had too broad a scope, and would provide material for an entire thesis. These limitations were however instrumental in focusing the thesis, and highlighting the areas which were most conducive to evaluation. What this thesis has hopefully achieved is to highlight the importance of the visual in the self-image of religious communities in general, and in 20th century Irish Catholicism in particular. Stained glass as a visual expression of the faith of a community is significant because it reaches so many people, particularly those who cannot or will not read the bible for themselves. The Irish have a reputation as a people who are gifted with language, and perhaps for this reason, serious study of visual culture in Ireland is relatively rare. This is regrettable, but it is hoped that this situation will change in the foreseeable future. One of the most surprising discoveries made during research of this thesis is that an artist such as Michael Healy whose work can be considered to have reached a level of immense aesthetic and spiritual beauty and

technical brilliance remains practically unknown. This situation points to the enormous amount of potential discovery to be made by studies in this area in the future.

The conclusions reached in this thesis have pointed to potential areas of future research in visual imagery in Irish stained glass. It has not been exhaustive, but it has shown that contrary to the prevailing orthodoxy which views early 20th century Ireland as a period of national paralysis, a group of stained glass artists from both religious traditions drew on these faith traditions to produce work of a very high standard. Their work both reflects Irish Catholic identity, and leaves a lasting legacy to Irish people of every tradition.

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10

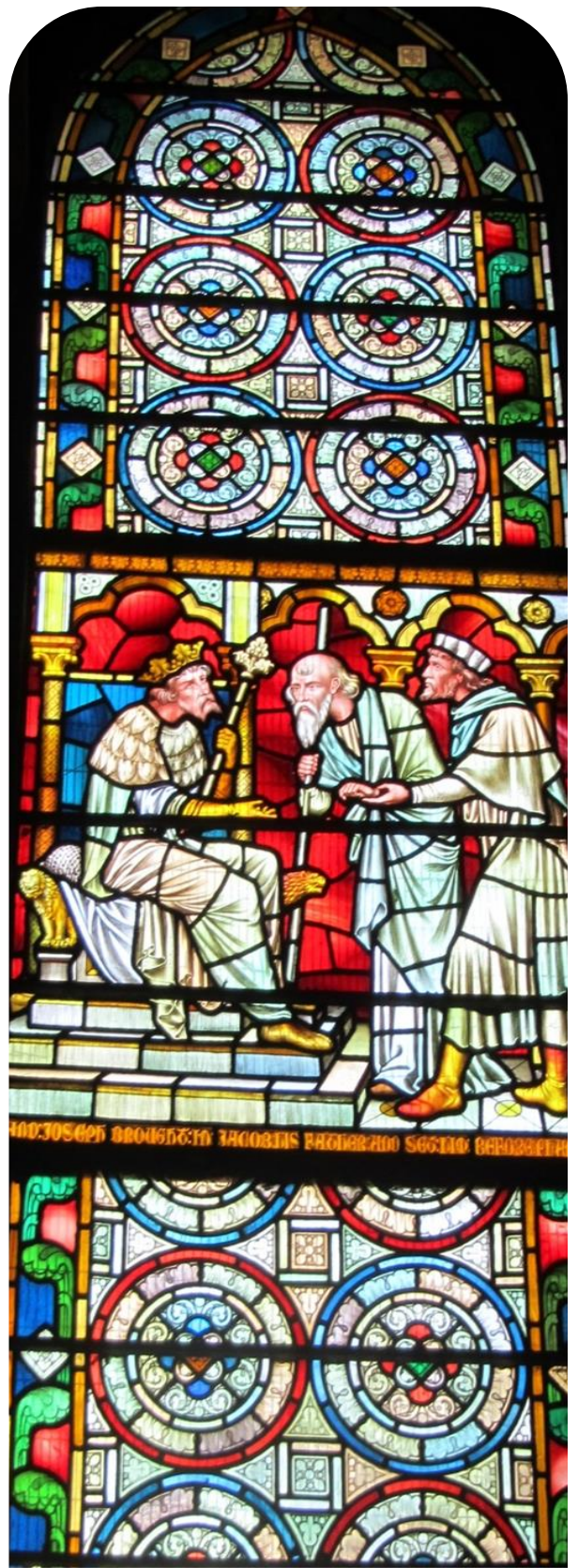


Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

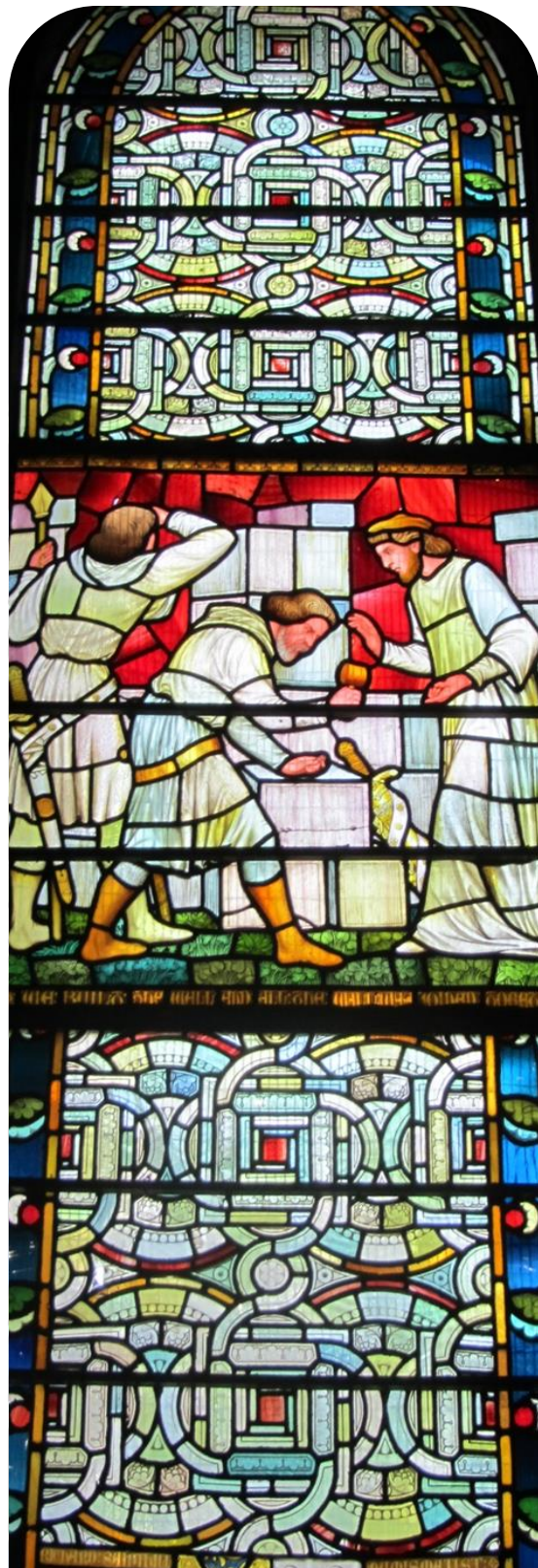


Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47

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Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54

LOUGHREA CATHEDRAL (1905-1912)



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 56 (detail)



Fig. 57



Fig. 57 a. Resurrected Christ with crown of thorns



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61



Fig. 62



Fig. 63

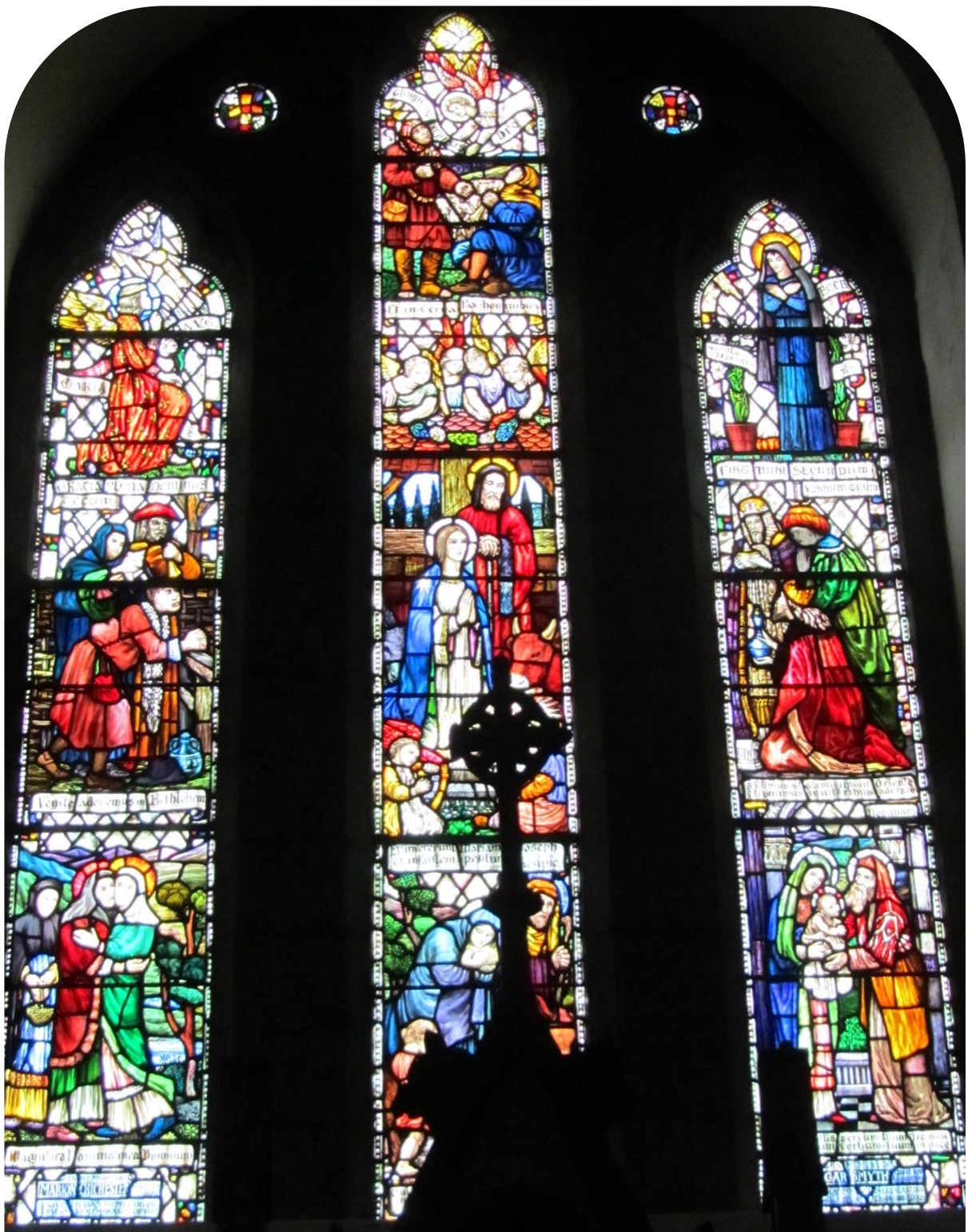


Fig. 64.

Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork.

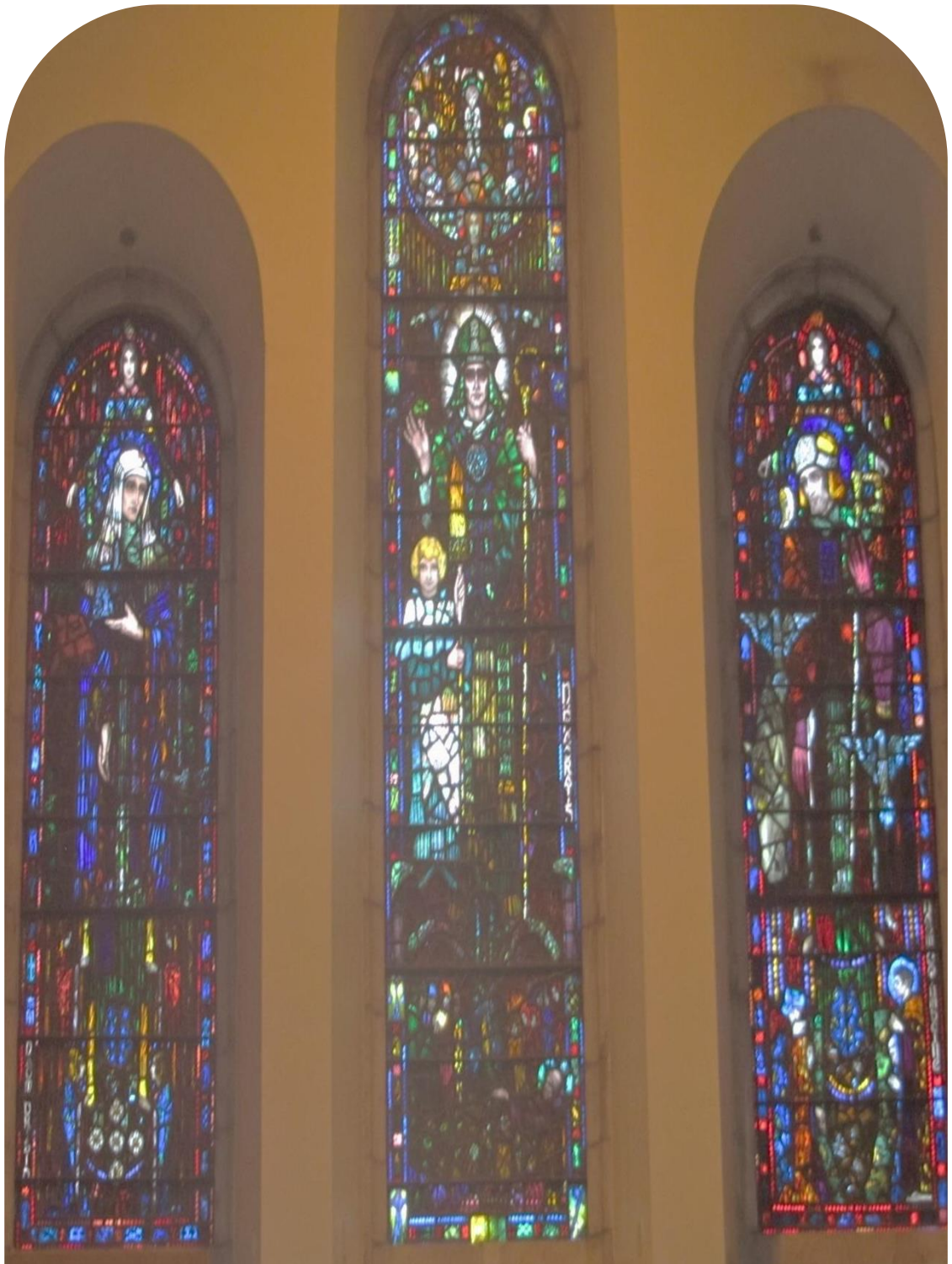


Fig. 1.

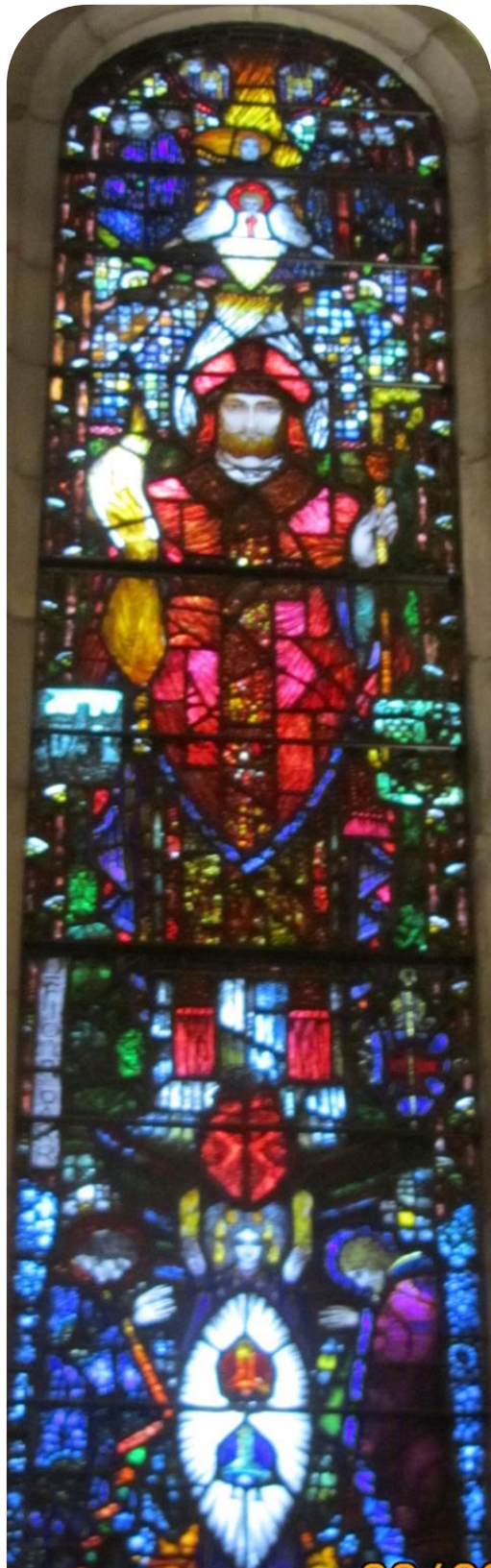


Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79

LOUGHREA CATHEDRAL (1925-1957)



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87



Fig. 88



Fig. 89



Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93

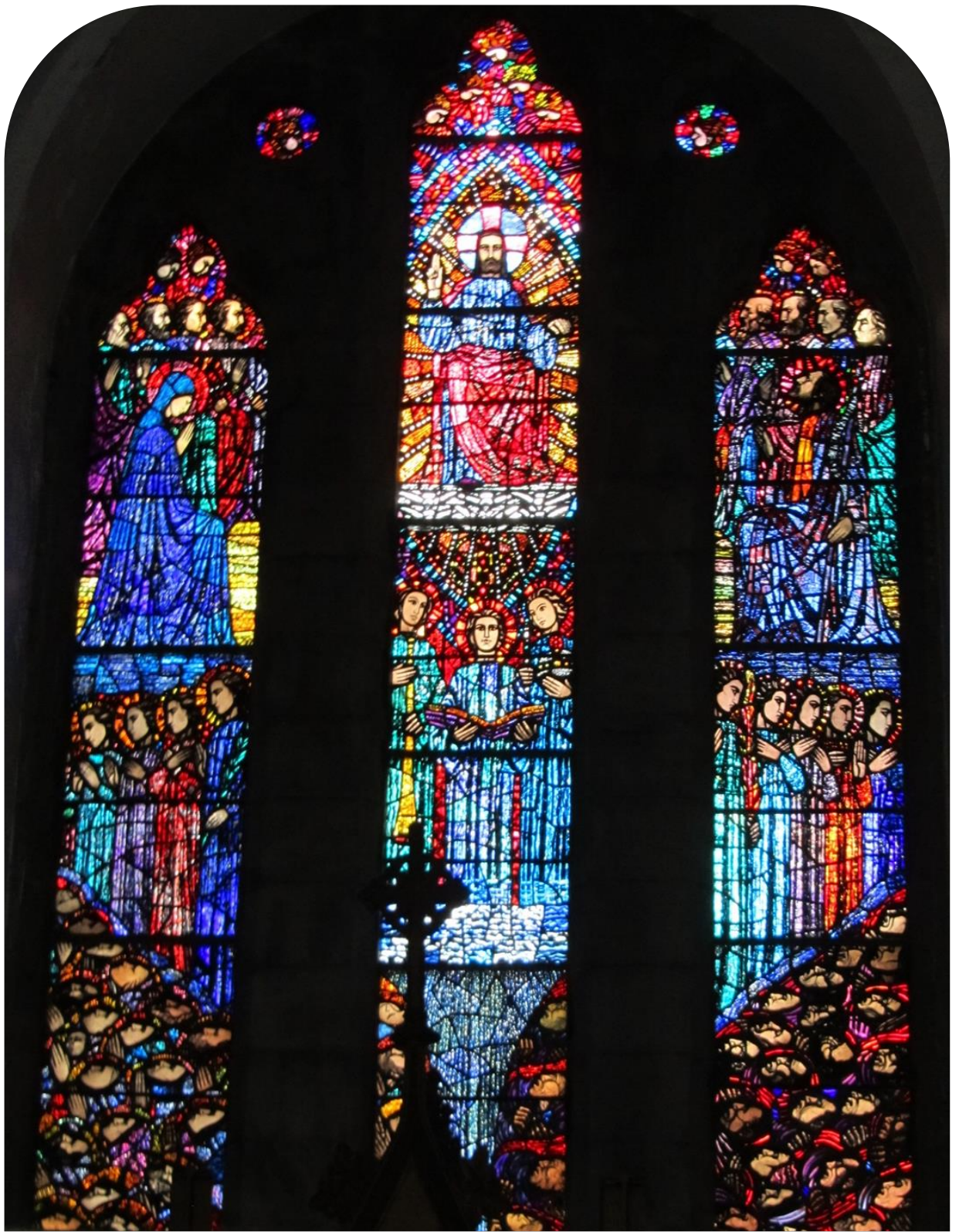


Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96