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AN
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY
OF
CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL
DUBLIN
c.1540 - c.1870
DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university. It is entirely my own work, and I agree that the library may lend or copy the thesis upon request.

Signed:  

Stuart Kinsella

Dated:  

10 March 2009
SUMMARY

This thesis examines the architectural history of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin from c.1540 until c.1870. The main liturgical and ceremonial activity of the building during this period took place within a long choir, extended in the mid-fourteenth century, but which was demolished in the 1870s. The fact that the long choir does not survive as a physical structure, has contributed to a neglect in the study of the cathedral architecture for this period and consequently its role as the Irish chapel royal. A major focus of the thesis has therefore been an attempt to reconstruct that structure based on visual and documentary archival and printed sources. In doing so, it brings together for the first time a substantial collection of archival images of the cathedral. Using a broad range of materials which have not been exploited before for architectural study, this thesis permits a high resolution examination of the cathedral and its precincts, substantial portions of which are now demolished, as well as its monuments many of which have not before been examined. This process has revealed the changes in fashion and taste affecting the cathedral, and hence shows the cultural influences at work on its fabric, furnishings and memorials. Examination of the patrons of this work has yielded new information as to the identity of the architects and craftsmen that restored and maintained the building. The identification of the Irish crown architects, the surveyors-general, as active in these works from the late sixteenth century until the mid-eighteenth century shows the importance of the cathedral as a chapel royal. This status emerged shortly after the Reformation and survived, although waning through the eighteenth century, to 1814 when a new chapel royal was built at Dublin castle. The thesis demonstrates that architectural developments at the cathedral were directly influenced, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by its status as a chapel royal, through the offices of a number of chief governors of Ireland.

The introduction opens with an examination of the issues under consideration, a review of the literature in the field, and the gaps which the thesis intends to fill. The second and third chapters establish the external and internal appearance of the cathedral priory respectively on the cusp of the Reformation. The precinct is examined in detail and, for the first time, a map of the monastic buildings surrounding a square cloister is established. Importantly, it is argued that this cloister was established at (or within a few decades of) the foundation of the cathedral, marking it as an early instance of the square cloister in Ireland before its general introduction by the Cistercians in the twelfth century. The
interior of the building is also examined and mapped for the first time, establishing the location of the chapels and anterooms, and the type of furnishings and monuments then extant within the cathedral. Through the exercise of patronage, numerous links are demonstrated between the cathedral and both the crown and the city in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such that the cathedral was acting as a proto-chapel royal before the term was applied to physical structures.

The bulk of the cathedral’s architectural history from c.1540 to c.1830 is examined in chapters three and four, dealing with periods before and after the Commonwealth. Each chapter starts with a review of the cathedral at the end of the periods under discussion in 1661 and 1831: The first of these highlights three important restorations under Henry Sidney, Archbishop Jones and Thomas Wentworth, identifying where possible the respective architects and craftsmen working on each. It traces the circuitous story of the rebuilding of the tower, and examines the different emphases of each restoration, influenced respectively by Elizabethan chivalry, essentially required maintenance and religious reform. The monuments and craftsmen of the period also show that while the cultural influence is mainly English, there is also a Dutch flavour either mediated by London or drawn directly from the Netherlands. Following the Restoration of Charles II, the cathedral choir was prominently restored twice, the second of which in 1679-80 was an expensive classical restoration which would last largely until the 1830s. This appears to have been by the surveyor-general, William Robinson. Likewise the cathedral’s status as chapel royal was demonstrated by its employment of the surveyors-general, William Molyneux, Edward Lovett Pearce and Arthur Jones Nevill. After this office ended in 1763, this thesis demonstrates a slow break down in the relationship between the cathedral and the royal works, exemplified by a Gothic revival restoration undertaken in 1791 which was halted due to lack of funds. The decline of the cathedral precincts and the choice of alternative venues acting as royal chapels also saw attention move away from Christ Church, which was by this stage a mélange of classical and gothic styles.

After the establishment of the chapel royal at Dublin castle, the cathedral completed its neo-Gothic restoration in the 1830s and 1840s under an architectural unknown, Matthew Price. The sixth chapter examines this restoration and explains the reasons for its poor critical reception, such that in the 1870s this choir, which had experienced multiple stylistic alterations since its fourteenth-century extension, was demolished. An important finding of the thesis is that, through the wealth and calibre of the craftsmen available, the cathedral’s architecture and furnishings were strongly influenced by its chapel royal status.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped in the production of this thesis to whom I am most grateful. As this dissertation has been rather a long time in gestation, it is possible that some names have been overlooked. If so, then thank you.

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In the final stages, I would like to thank Catherine Murray and Greágóir Ó Dúill for their kind hospitality, and also Kenneth Milne, who has been a constant encouragement in my work on Christ Church. I would particularly like to thank my supervisor, Professor Roger Stalley, for his advice and his patience. My parents, Desmond and Ruth, have been thoroughly supportive at every stage, even when no end was in sight, and my mother very kindly proofed the final draft for which I am most grateful. I would also like to thank my sister, Heidi, who provided stalwart encouragement in the last two months. Too familiar with chamfered stops of Dundry blocks, and square cloisters, Caitriona Ní Dhubhghaill will most appreciate this thesis’s conclusion.
Werkleute sind wir: Knappen, Jünger, Meister,
und bauen dich, du hohes Mittelschiff
Workmen are we: apprentices, novices, masters
and are building you, o you high nave.

Rainer Maria Rilke, Das Buch vom münchischen Leben
(Leipzig, 1899)

‘In Ireland, as a general rule, when a building has gone it is very hard to find out what it was like.’

Maurice Craig, The elephant and the Polish question
(Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1990), 69.

‘To attempt any search for what was the design or plan of the conventual buildings of Christ Church would be now a hopeless task.’

A Fingalian (15 April 1881), 118

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2 A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118.
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ABBREVIATIONS


Alen's register  Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, c. 1172-1534: prepared and edited from the original in the registry of the united dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough and Kildare, ed. Charles McNeill (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, extra volume for 1949, Dublin: John Falconer, 1950).

Analecta Hib  Analecta Hibernica


BAA  British Archaeological Association

BL  British Library, London


C.S.P. Dom.  Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.

DCA  Dublin City Archive, Pearse Street.

D.H.R.  *Dublin Historical Record*

Deeds  *Christ Church deeds*, ed. M.J. McEnery & Raymond Refaussé (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), reprinted with additional material from M.J. McEnery (ed.). 'Calendar to Christ church deeds, 1174-1684' in *Twentieth, twenty-third and twenty-fourth reports of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland, appendices* (Dublin, 1888, 1891, 1892), 36-122; 75-152; 100-94; 3-101.

E.H.R.  *English Historical Review*

FCP  Four Courts Press

GO  Genealogical Office, National Library of Ireland, Dublin


H.M.C. Ormond  *Historical Manuscript Commission, Ormond Papers*

IAA  Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin

I.A.D.S.  *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*

IAP  Irish Academic Press

I.E.R.  *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*

I.H.S.  *Irish Historical Studies*

ILHS  Irish Legal History Society

IMC  Irish Manuscripts Commission

NAI  National Archives of Ireland, Dublin

NGI  National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

NLI  National Library of Ireland, Dublin

NMI  National Museum of Ireland

ODNB  Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OUP  Oxford University Press

PA 1541-1870  Proctors' accounts, 1541-1870 with gaps (where the financial year runs from Michaelmas to Michaelmas)

PA 1541  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 1 (Expenses of the Prior and Convent from day to day in the year when Prior Paynewick was installed Dean, 1541); part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 41, no. 6.

PA 1542  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 2 (Accounts of Sir John Mos during his proctorship, 1542) & 3 (Copy of 2 with copy of the rental of the oeconomy lands, part transcribed in TCD MS 10530, ff 58-66; calendared in Deeds, 434 and summarised in Gilbert, History of Dublin, i, 110 & 142; funeral entries published in Registers, 89; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 41-2, no. 7, part published in Alan J. Fletcher, Drama and the performing arts in pre-Cromwellian Ireland: sources and documents from the earliest times until c.1642 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 233).

PA 1546-5  Published as The proctors accounts of Peter Lewis, 1564-5, ed. Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996) from transcription by James Mills (National Archives of Ireland, MS M6141) and from original manuscript (TCD MS 576); part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 79-80, no. 79.

PA 1588  Part transcribed in TCD MS 10530, f. 128v.

PA 1589  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 4 & 5 (copy) (Accounts of Sir Laurence Bryan, Proctor, 1589); funeral entries published in Registers, 89-90; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 80, no. 80.

PA 1594-1595  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 6 (Accounts of Mr Richardson, Proctor, 1594-5); funeral entries published in Registers, 90; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 80, no. 81, part transcribed in TCD MS 10530, f. 129.

PA 1595-1596  RCB C6/1/26/3, no 7 (Accounts of Mr Richardson, Proctor, 1595-6); part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 80-1, no. 82, partially transcribed in TCD MS 10530, f. 129.

PA 1597-1598  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 8 (Account by William Heydon, Proctor, 1597, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in Registers, 90; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 80-1, no. 83.

PA 1612-13  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 9 (Account of Nich. Robinson, Proctor, 1612 & 1613, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in Registers, 90; part published in

Abbreviations
BoydeU, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 81-2, no. 84; part transcribed in TCD MS 10530, f. 128v-129.

**PA 1616-17**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 10 (Acct of Edward Hill, Proctor, 1616 & 1617, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 90; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 82, no. 85, quoted in TCD MS 10530, f. 128.

**PA 1622**
RCB C6/1/26/2, no. 14 (Edmd Donellan, Proctor: his return of the lands, tithes & rents belonging to the Dean of Christchurch & also of the body of the Church. Tendered to His Majesty's Commissioners in June 1622)

**PA 1626**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 11 (Account of Tho. Lowe, Proctor, 1626, with a rent roll) & 12 (Acct of Edward Hill, Proctor, 1626, with a rent roll) & 13 (Copy of 12 with rental from 29 Septr 1627); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 82, no. 86.

**PA 1627**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 14 (Account of Dean Barlow, Proctor, 1627, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91, plate 2.

**PA 1628**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 15 (Account of Tho. Ram, Bp of Ferns & Proctor, 1628, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91.

**PA 1629**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 16 (Account of John Bradly, Proctor, 1629, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 82-3, no. 87.

**PA 1630**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 17 (Account of Christopher Hewson, Proctor, 1630, with a rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 82-3, no. 87.

**PA 1631**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 19 (Account of Mr Donellan, Proctor, 1631) & C6/1/26/3, no. 18 (An Oeconomy rent roll, 1631); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91.

**PA 1632**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 20 (Account of Mr Dean Parker, Proctor, 1632); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 83, no. 88.

**PA 1633**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 21 (Account of John Atherton, Proctor, 1633); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 83, no. 88, part transcribed in TCD MS 10530, f. 128.

**PA 1634**
RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 22 (Account of John Atherton, Proctor, 1634); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 91.
PA 1634-5  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 23 (Account of John Atherton when Bishop of Waterford & Lismore, 1634-5)

PA 1635  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 24 (Account of Edward Parry, Proctor, 1635, with rent roll)

PA 1636  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 25 (Account of William Carville, 1636, with rent roll); part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 83, no. 89.

PA 1637  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 26 (Account of William Carville, 1637, with rent roll); part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 83, no. 89-90.

PA 1638-9  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 27 (Account of Henry Tilson, 1638 & 1639); part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 83-4, no. 91.

PA 1641  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 28 (Account of Edward Parry, Proctor, 1641, with rent roll); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 92; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 84, no. 92.

PA 1645  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 29 (A rent roll of 1645, when Mr Boswell was Proctor).

PA 1660-1661  RCB C6/1/7/2, f. 86v (Chapter act book, 6 February 1661); part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 132, no. 267.


PA 1664-1665  RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 32 (Account of Dean Mossom, Proctor, 1664-1665); no. 31 (A rent roll in 1664 & 1665, Mr Mossom, Proctor); no. 33 (Dean Mossom's disbursements, 1664-1665); funeral entries published in *Registers*, 92; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 133-4, no. 271.


PA 1667-1669  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 1 (Proctors' accounts of Dean Parry, 1667-69); C6/1/26/3, no. 36 (Account of Dr John Parry, Proctor, with a rent roll, 1667-68) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 92-3; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 134-5, no. 274-5.

Abbreviations

PA 1672-1674  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 2 (Proctors’ accounts of Benjamin Phipps, Chancellor, 1672-74) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 93; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 135-6, no. 279-80.

PA 1674-1675  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 4 (Proctor’s accounts of Benjamin Parry, Prebendary of St Michan, 1674-75) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 93-4.


PA 1683-1684  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 7 (Proctor’s accounts of Peter Drelincourt, Chantor, 1683-84) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 95; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 138, no. 288.

PA 1684-1686  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 8 (Proctor’s accounts of Michael Jepson, Chancellor, 1684-86) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 95; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 138-9, no. 289.

PA 1686-1688  RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 9 (Proctor’s accounts of John Pooley, Prebendary of St Michan, 1686-88) & C6/1/15/1; funeral entries published in *Registers*, 95; part published in Boydell, *Music at Christ Church before 1800*, 139, no. 290-1.


RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 13 (Proctor’s accounts of John Francis, Prebendary of St Michael, Proctor, 1696-1704) & C6/1/15/1 (1696-1702); funeral entries published in Registers, 96; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 141-4, no. 298-305.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 14 (Proctor’s accounts of John Clayton, Prebendary of St Michael, Proctor, 1704-08); funeral entries published in Registers, 96; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 144, no. 306-8.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 15 (Proctor’s accounts, 1708-09); funeral entries published in Registers, 96; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 144, no. 308.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 16 (Proctor’s accounts of John Travers, Chancellor, 1709-15); funeral entries published in Registers, 96-7; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 144, no. 310.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 17 (Proctor’s accounts of William Williamson, Treasurer, 1715-19). No. 18 is blank; funeral entries published in Registers, 97; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 144-5, no. 310-13.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 19 (Proctor’s accounts of John Travers, 1720-27). No. 20 is blank; funeral entries published in Registers, 97; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 145-6, no. 313-17.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 21 (Proctor’s accounts of William Jackson, 1733-35); funeral entries published in Registers, 97; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 146-7, no. 318-19.

RCB C6/1/26/16, no. 22 (Proctor’s accounts of Lew[is], Saurin, Chantor, 1735-38); part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 147, no. 320-2.

RCB C6/1/15/2; part published in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 147-55, no. 323-48.

RCB C6/1/15/3

RCB C6/1/15/4 and 5 (copy)

Public Record Office, London

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

Abbreviations
Christ Church archives. It should be noted the call numbers of the original (RCB C6/1/7) and copy (C6/1/8) of the seventh chapter act book were until recently reversed, and now apply to the correct volumes.

Registers

The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, ed. Raymond Refaussé and Colm Lennon (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 39-86, a facsimile reproduction of Obits, but with different page splits and numbering.

RIA Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
R.I.A. Proc. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
RSAI Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin
RSAI Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
TCD Trinity College Dublin
TRIARC Trinity Irish Art Research Centre
UCD University College Dublin
WSC Wide Streets Commission

For dating purposes, it has been assumed that the year began in January, so pre 1752 dates between 1 January and 25 March are assigned the year following relating to 26 March-31 December.
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Chapter II

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¹ The figures consist of a collection of images illustrating points made in each chapter, usually illustrating monuments, furnishings or other buildings.
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Plate 3. View of Christ Church from north / north east (1698-9) by Francis Place (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design), printed in Loeber, 'Francis Place', 12, plate 4).


Plate 5. View from north side (c.1739) by Jonas Blaymire, engraved by Guillame d’Heulland in James Ware, The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, ed. Walter Harris (3 vols, Dublin, 1739-64), i, opp. 299).

Plate 6. Detail of custom house and Essex bridge with Christ Church tower and weathervane in the background drawn by Joseph Tudor and engraved anonymously as part of a series of six Dublin views, later published in Gentleman’s magazine (May 1753).


Plate 8. ‘West front of Christ Church, Dublin’ (1772) by Gabriel Beranger from ‘A collection of drawings, of the principal antique buildings of Ireland designed on the spot & collected by Gabriel Beranger’ (RIA, SR/3/C/30/85) reproduced in Peter Harbison (ed.), Beranger’s Rambles in Ireland based on the Royal Irish Academy’s manuscripts 3.C.31, 32 and 30 (Wicklow: Wordwell, 2004), no. 54, p. 119.

Plate 9. ‘W: front of Christ Church Cathedral’ (1772) by Gabriel Beranger (University College Dublin, Wat 18) reproduced courtesy of the Irish Virtual Research Library and Archive, University College Dublin from the original image in Special Collections, UCD Library, accessed online at http://hdl.handle.net/10151/2

$^2$The plates consist of a chronological collection of images of the cathedral from c.1581-c.1870 arranged as external views, internal views, elevations, and maps and ground plans which can be found in appendix 1.
A black and white copy exists in the Irish Architectural Archive (IAA 94/30/87).

Plate 10. View of north side engraved by John Lodge for Robert Pool & John Cash, Views of the most remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other edifices in the City of Dublin, delineated by R. Pool and J. Cash, with historical descriptions, etc. (Dublin: J. Williams, 1780, reprinted Shannon, 1970), opp. 76, 'Published according to Act of Parliament, March 1st, 1779.'

Plate 11. View from south east ('taken Anno 1780') by Angelo Maria Bigari, engraved by Thomas Medland and 'Published October 1 791 by S. Hooper Holborn' and later in Francis Grose, The antiquities of Ireland, ed. Edward Ledwich (2 vols, London: S. Hooper, 1791), i, plate 14. (opp. 5). Although taken 'from an Original Drawing ... in the possession of the Right Hon. Wm. Conyngham', the original is not known to survive, and any changes to the image, such as the omission of the Four Courts, would, it has been suggested to me by Professor Peter Harbison, most likely have been by Bigari himself rather than the engravers.

Plate 12. 'South View of Christ Church, taken from the Window of an House, in Skinner Row'. This is a composite picture of which the cathedral elevation is possibly by Robert Parke (c.1787). The ruined Four Courts in the foreground are a later addition. It is currently in the possession of the family of the late Robin Lewis-Crosby (d.2008).

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Plate 15. View of cathedral (and St Michael's church rebuilt by Edward Parke on the left) from south west (1815-19) by George Grattan. (Victoria & Albert Museum, CT 35869 [286-1876], reproduced in black and white in Anne Crookshank & the Knight of Glin [Desmond Fitzgerald], The watercolours of Ireland: works on paper in pencil, pastel and paint c.1600-1914 (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1994), 136, plate 172).


Plate 17. View from north west (1819) by George Petrie, engraved by T. Barber, printed in T.K. Cromwell, Excursions through Ireland ... (London 1820).
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Plate 20. View from east / south east (1824) by J.S. Templeton, reproduced in Milne, Christ Church, plate 23a.

Plate 21. View west-north-west of the old law courts through to demolished buildings on Christ Church Lane (Edward H. Murphy, *Irish Topographical Prints and Drawings* (NLI 532 TB), printed in reverse and reproduced in Kenny, ‘Four Courts’, 131. Its correct mirror image was reproduced (as here) in McParland, ‘Four Courts’, 143.

Law, *Prints and maps of Dublin*, i, no. 4.54 dates it to 1825.


Plate 26. View from south west (1833) by Samuel Lover, printed in J[ohn] O’D[onovan], *Illustrations of Irish Topography* no. xviii, Christ Church Cathedral’, *Irish Penny Magazine*, i, 18 (4 May 1833), 137, and reproduced with the same text in *Ireland illustrated*, 137. The image with different text is also reproduced in *Dublin Saturday Magazine*, i, 19 ([August, 1865]), 145.


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Plate 31. ‘Christ Church Cathedral from the West’, a view from the north west (September 1841) by G.V. Du Noyer (RSAI, George Victor Du Noyer sketchbooks, v of xii, no. [page] 23).


Plate 33. View from north-west by unknown artist (location unknown), published as cover to David Dickson (ed.), The gorgeous mask: Dublin 1700-1850 (Dublin: Trinity History Workshop, 1987). Dickson is a former owner of the oil painting.

Plate 34. Conjectural aerial view from south east engraved by Smyth, published as supplement to London Illustrated News (16 June 1846) and reproduced in Tom Kennedy (ed.), Victorian Dublin (Dublin, 1980), 11.

Plate 35. Sketch from west / north-west (1846) signed E. Evans, printed in Dublin and its environs: with a map of the city, and numerous illustrations engraved on wood (Dublin: James McGlashan, 21 D’Olier Street & W. Orr and Co., London, 1846), 85-91, at 86.


Plate 37. View from north west (c.1847-8) by Narcissus Batt (Ulster Museum, ‘Sketches of Irish antiquities’, Batt album, vol. 8, no. (?12 [catalogue no. 4357]).

Plate 38. View of Christ Church, after Newenham, published in Irish Intelligence, the Progress of the Irish Society of London, iv (1851), reproduced in Law, Prints and maps of Dublin (2005), i. 4.458.

Plate 39. View of Christ Church from south-southeast (1853), published in Irwin’s Dublin Guide (Dublin, 1853), 127, reproduced in Law, Prints and maps of Dublin, i, no. 4.475.

Plate 40. View from south west (1850) printed in New city pictorial directory 1850 to which is added a retrospective review of the past year (Dublin: Henry Shaw, 1850), reprinted Henry Shaw, The Dublin pictorial guide & directory of 1850, intro. Kevin B. Whelan (Belfast: Friar’s Bush Press, 1988), sub nomine Christchurch Place [no page numbers]

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Plate 42. View from south / south-west published as a view surrounding a map of ‘Dublin in 1861’ (Dublin: T. Edward Heffernan, 1 May 1861), and published in Edward Heffernan, *Heffernan’s hand-book of Dublin* (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1861), opp. 66 (reproduced in Law, *Prints and drawings of Dublin*, i, no. 4.578, copy also in lantern slide collection of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (RSAI, box 11, slide 52) and Drew scrapbook (Cathedral archives).

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Plate 99. Reading’s ‘Map of the Liberties of Christ Church, Dublin’ based on Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 18 printed in Edward Seymour, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin, 1869), between pp 64 & 65.


Plate 102. Ground plan of the crypt by William Butler (1870-1), printed in William Butler, Measured drawings of Christ Church prior to the restoration (Dublin, 1874), drawing no. i.

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CHAPTER I – CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL DUBLIN: AN INTRODUCTION

In 1868, the eccentric Bavarian king, Ludwig II decided to build a castle in the style of those of medieval Germany. The result was Schloss Neuschwanstein, completed in 1886, a fantastical gothic building fused with the underlying rock and bristling with turrets (figure 1). Small wonder that Disney immortalised it as the modern embodiment of the medieval castle. The same year, 1868, the English architect, George Edmund Street, proposed a plan for the restoration of Christ Church cathedral in Dublin, work which was completed a decade later on St Philip and St James’s day, 1878. The final complex, which incorporated the old tower of St Michael’s church in a new synod hall joined to the cathedral by a bridge, was another exuberantly imaginative historicist work. Yet its recreation of the medieval cathedral using an eclectic range of inspirations from Venice to London (figure 2, plates 49-50), implicitly acknowledged the impossibility of recreating any notional original building. Both castle and cathedral remained substantially unchanged in the 120-30 years since. Indeed, as photography was only really popularised in the late nineteenth century, the majority of surviving images depict the buildings much as they are today. But here the comparison ends. While Neuschwanstein was built on the site of a ruin, Christ Church was a living building in continuous use for the previous eight and a half centuries. It is to this building that this thesis turns its attention. This earlier cathedral was radically altered in appearance by Street’s restoration (plate 45-8), most controversially in the demolition of the choir, the main site of activity in the cathedral since extended in the mid-fourteenth century, but a structure largely unknown today.

It is this vanished long choir at the heart of the cathedral which saw the main decorative refurbishments, classical and gothic. But the fact that Christ Church had not one but two gothic revivals, by Matthew Price (1831-46) and G.E. Street (1871-8), ensured that this style, to the neglect of others, dominated architectural discussion from early on in the Gothic revival. The missing long choir typifies an amnesia promulgated by Victorians, which saw the period between the demise of medieval Gothic and the restoration of Victorian Gothic (a pairing still used to link the medieval and the modern) as some sort of dark age, regarding even Georgian or ‘rococo’ Gothic as debased, an argument which might explain the sometimes tendentious searches for overlap between gothic survival

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1 G.E. Street, Report to the dean and chapter of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, on the restoration of the cathedral church (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Foster; London and Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1868).
and revival. The neglect of this period of the cathedral’s history still impacts today. Indeed Roger Stalley, the author of the history of the cathedral’s architecture from its foundation until the late nineteenth century restoration covering this period in a chapter entitled ‘The 1562 collapse of the nave and its aftermath’, devoted only three pages to the period between 1565 and the 1870s, primarily due to the lack of research that has so far been carried out on the building. Stalley has sympathised with Street’s demolition of the structurally fourteenth century long choir because the contexts were poor early gothic-revival pastiche by Matthew Price, but this takes little cognisance of the fact that Price’s intervention itself removed an impressive but little-known classical scheme before it.

Why this relatively recent period of the cathedral’s architectural history has remained virtually unstudied has a number of overlapping political, religious, historical and practical causes. Practically speaking, the old structures and their archaeology no longer remained as a visual cue or ‘aide-memoire’ to prompt the architectural historian. Historically, the establishment of a new state in Ireland saw a redirection of interest in the country’s built heritage to the pre-Anglo-Norman, neglecting areas seen as inspired by foreign influence, be it Anglo-Norman, English or Huguenot. Religiously, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 saw a church reluctant to publicly dwell on its formerly intimate connection with the crown, preferring to emphasise earlier pre-Reformation origins. The dramatic and pristine building-complex which Street had created at the cathedral after disestablishment acted as an important architectural ambassador for the Church of Ireland. Politically, the former established church, still dominated by an ascendency class of diminishing influence, was keen to maintain a low profile. In such a climate the church was content to forget the fact that the cathedral long choir had housed the chapel royal. Indeed, Street’s truncation of this ecclesiastical limb to a shortened chancel reflected architecturally the contraction of the disestablished church.

The aim of this thesis is therefore to investigate the architectural history of Christ Church from the Reformation until its restoration by Street in the period 1540-1870. The focus is primarily on the cathedral fabric and the precincts although, to illustrate a point, reference is occasionally made to other buildings associated with the cathedral. Some

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5 Roger Stalley, ‘Confronting the past: George Edmund Street at Christ Church cathedral, Dublin’ in Frank Salmon (ed.), *Gothic and the Gothic revival: papers from the 26th annual symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 1997* (Manchester 1998), 75-86.
contemporary buildings are also noted for comparative purposes. Given the greater
degree of documentation available for the long choir and the fact that it was the focus of
most change to the fabric during the period, particular attention is devoted to this
liturgical and ceremonial space. The initial chapters examine the fabric of the Augustinian
cathedral priory on the cusp of the Reformation, the first dealing with the monastic
buildings and the precincts, the second with the interior, forming a snapshot of the fabric
to which the reader can compare later modifications. Subsequent chapters examine the
cathedral from the perspective of 1660, 1830 and 1870 respectively. Poised on the
threshold of the Restoration of Charles II, the first of these examines the building
following restoration work in the previous century under the royal governors Henry
Sidney and Thomas Wentworth. The second examines the flurry of work carried out
after the the Restoration, followed by a long decline in architectural activity while the
emphasis of the city moved elsewhere. With Street’s restoration in prospect which would
remove nearly all traces of previous work, the 1870 chapter looks back and assesses the
public reception and relevance of Price’s two-phase 1831-46 restoration. It is first
necessary to highlight in more detail the reasons for the neglect of the cathedral during
this period, whether as a Church of Ireland cathedral, a post-Reformation church or as a
Dublin chapel royal. These are numerous and can be examined by setting them in the
wider geographical context of England, narrowing the focus then to Ireland and Dublin.

The English identify far more strongly with cathedrals as part of their national heritage
than do the Irish, an interest which in itself has produced a large academic literature. Just
‘Recent literature’ alone in 1985 ran to four pages in Pevsner’s collected descriptions of
English cathedrals, while a survey of literature about Westminster abbey, a cathedral in
all but name, between 1571 and 2000 serves to fill an entire volume. Also, the annual
conferences of the British Archaeological Association often centre around the collation
of the ‘results of recent research on major cathedrals, minsters and abbeys’. However,
the association of cathedrals with medieval or Victorian Gothic and little in between has
caused a wider neglect of the architectural history of cathedrals for the period under
investigation, which is only slowly being remedied. Two authors in particular have made
important contributions to the study of cathedrals for this period. For his doctorate,

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6 See p. 5 below.
Thomas Cocke studied attitudes to the restoration of medieval buildings in England from c.1550 to c.1775, and also wrote on the early eighteenth-century cathedral restorer, James Essex and on the reception of Romanesque and Gothic in a classically dominated age. Furthermore, he contributed to the post-Reformation architectural histories of Lincoln, Norwich and Ely. Gerald Cobb has also amassed a wealth of visual and documentary material concerning the post-Reformation cathedrals, aptly titled the ‘forgotten centuries’. Recent studies of English cathedrals dealing with issues of space and ritual are also of value to the architectural historian, as is the increased availability of materials in the chronological narratives of Lehmburg. However it is the resurgence of cathedral histories, many of them multi-authored with specialist chapters, that provide the best window on this neglected period. The pattern for these studies was set by York Minster in 1977, but the burst of millenarianist scholarship appears to have begun in 1991 at Gloucester, and continued for the cathedrals of Ripon, Rochester, Lincoln, Canterbury, Norwich, Peterborough, Bristol, and Hereford, concluding with St Paul’s.


13 Gerald Cobb, English cathedrals, the forgotten centuries: restoration and change from 1530 to the present day (Hampshire, 1980). See also Gerald Cobb, ‘Fashions in fittings: changes in cathedral furniture’, Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society, iii (1955), 95-114.


18 Bill Forster & Bill Robson & Jennifer Deadman, Ripon cathedral: its history and architecture (York: Sessions, 1993); Diana Holbrook, ‘Repair and restoration of the fabric since 1540’ in Nigel Yates & P.A. Welsby...
London in 2004. 19 These provide valuable bibliographic context for the study of Irish cathedrals, yet, even with such recent scholarship, the need for further research is highlighted by the fact that not all of the histories, namely Peterborough and surprisingly Canterbury, 20 could sustain discrete discussions of the post-Reformation architecture.

Several factors have contributed to gaps in our knowledge of Irish cathedrals during this period. Unlike England, the medieval cathedrals in Ireland are still primarily owned by a minority of the Irish population, the Church of Ireland, and while the cathedrals did not suffer the burnings of many Irish country houses in the early twentieth century, like these ascendency edifices, the study of the medieval cathedrals has historically preoccupied only a minority, usually located in areas of sizeable Protestant population, such as Armagh, Cloyne, Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny, Lisburn, Limerick and Cashel. 21 Although some of these nineteenth-century histories were very thorough, namely those by Mason (1820) and Graves and Prim (1857), their datedness and the lack of any surviving tradition of the study of Irish cathedrals 22 has restricted subsequent studies to very general overviews. 23 Galloway’s work, which includes a bibliography of work on Irish
datedness and the lack of any survivor tradition of the study of Irish cathedrals 22 has restricted subsequent studies to very general overviews. 23 Galloway’s work, which includes a bibliography of work on Irish

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22 For which see Raymond Refaussé, ‘Introduction’ in Milne, Christ Church, 1-22, at 3-6.
23 T.M. Fallow, The cathedral churches of Ireland (London, 1894); J.G.F. Day & Henry Patton, The cathedrals of the Church of Ireland (London, 1932); R. Wyse Jackson, Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland (Dublin, 1981); Peter Galloway, The cathedrals of Ireland (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies & Queen’s University, 1992); Sam Hutchison, Towers, spires and pinnacles: a history of the cathedrals and churches of the Church of Ireland (Wordwell, 2003).
cathedrals, is the only example to include Roman Catholic cathedrals, but his entries for each building are no more than a précis of existing knowledge. While there has been increasing interest in the history of Irish cathedrals clustering around the millennium in the examples of Killaloe, Downpatrick, Christ Church, Dublin, and Kildare, the majority of these works place little emphasis on the architectural history of the buildings, their construction and restoration. Notable exceptions are the works of Graves & Prim on Kilkenny, and Street and Stalley on Christ Church, but otherwise this neglect reflects a wider historical malaise in the study of Irish architecture. An architectural survey of Irish cathedrals remains to be written, although contributory steps have been taken in the last decades, in O’Sullivan’s study of Ardfeirt, varied work on St Fin Barre’s in Cork, Mulvin on St Mary’s in Limerick, Wilson on St Colman’s in Cobh, and in Dublin, by Stalley on Christ Church, and by Rae and O’Neill on St Patrick’s, examined later.

Similarly, the study of cathedral monuments, long neglected, has only in recent decades re-emerged. For many years St Canice’s was the best studied, and Walter Fitzgerald’s industrious *Journal of the Memorials of the Dead of Ireland* published from 1888 to 1934 did much to promote interest in the early twentieth-century. However, the next decades of the century saw infrequent publications of relevance to cathedral monuments, although the scholarship of what was produced was sound. A sudden bloom of publications took place in the 1970s benefiting from groundwork laid in the previous decades, including much of relevance to cathedrals. Monuments from the medieval to the modern period

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29 Graves & Prim, *St Canice’s*, section II.

were examined by Rae, Hunt, Potterton, Loeber and King.31 Their work was supplemented by specific studies of cathedral monuments for St Mary’s, Limrick, St Canice’s, Kilkenny and St Patrick’s, Dublin,32 and the field has more generally been expanded since by Gillespie,33 and the ongoing work of Tait,34 Harris,35 the Gittos,36 and Cockerham.37 Despite this work, there is clearly much further research to be undertaken on the architectural history of Irish cathedrals and their monuments.

More generally, the field of Irish architectural history declined in the first half of the twentieth century, exacerbated by reactionary academic interests after the founding of the state.38 Useful contributions were made by Arthur Champneys, and Alfred Clapham, but by far the largest was a 1943 doctoral thesis on Gothic architecture in Ireland by Edwin


37 Paul Cockerham, ‘“To mak a Tombe for the Earl of Ormon and to set it up in Iarland”: Renaissance ideals in Irish funeral monuments’ in Thomas Herron & Michael Potterton (ed.), Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540-1660 (Dublin: FCP, 2007), 195-230. Sam Hutchinson, The light of other days: a selection of monuments, inscriptions and memorials in Church of Ireland churches and graveyards and those whom they commemorate (Wordwell, 2008) is by his own admission ‘not a comprehensive catalogue but rather a personal collection’.

38 Stalley, Cistercians monasteries of Ireland, 5. See also Roger Stalley & Rachel Moss, Reconstructions of the Gothic Past (http://www.tcd.ie/History_of_Art/rgp/, accessed 22 June 2008), which states that ‘There is some evidence to suggest that a philosophy based on nationalism continues to exert and influence policy in the area of conservation and restoration’. 
He was well acquainted with the one person who, at a practical level, sustained architectural investigation in this period: Harold Leask, inspector of national monuments in the Office of Public Works, who published his *Irish churches and monastic buildings* in 1955-60. Irish architectural history strengthened in the 1950s and 1960s, but there appears to have been a general reluctance to devote time and resources to studying the churches and cathedrals of the Church of Ireland which, consisting of the majority of Ireland’s medieval churches, include some of the most distinctive buildings in the landscape. The reasons for this are little explored, but partially owe to the Catholic church’s pre-dominance coupled with a perhaps oversensitive approach by architectural historians, many of whom were of Anglo-Irish or English pedigree. Again, it was in the 1970s that publications began to emerge: de Breffney on churches and abbeys, McCarthy on eighteenth-century cathedral restorations, Craig generally on Irish architecture, and Rowan on denominational distinctions. These Protestant churches have been more explicitly examined in recent work by Dolan on large medieval diocesan churches; Larmour on Church of Ireland churches, and the work of Nigel Yates. Yet often it is an outside perspective that generates the most insight. Richardson’s work on the gothic revival in Ireland has been influential. Similarly Stalley’s writings since 1969 have provided much needed contextual broadening for Irish art historical studies.

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Another serious lacuna has been the lack of study of the built environment of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is partially due to a scarcity of surviving physical evidence: fabric, artefacts and archaeology, which would otherwise tend to inspire inquiry, but is also due to the fact that the documentary sources have been used for the analysis of religious and socio-political issues from the Reformation up until the Restoration, rather than for the examination of issues of art historical and architectural interest. Furthermore, the instability of Ireland during this period had a negative impact on the production of art and architecture. Another outside observer, Rolf Loeber, originally from the Netherlands, was the first to systematically investigate the architecture of this period with two seminal articles in the 1970s. Jane Fenlon has also devoted considerable investigation to early seventeenth century buildings and their contents, and both Stalley and Moss have contributed to the study of medieval architecture in the early modern and modern periods. It is only recently that the question of the Renaissance and Ireland has been addressed seriously, partially due to the ravaged nature of the country during the period. The term ‘Renaissance’ is associated with élite patronage and the production of art, neither of which gained a firm foothold in Ireland. The supposedly synonymous term ‘early modern’ remains a less weighted nomenclature. Further studies of this relatively unexamined period are emerging from the perspective of post-medieval archaeology, such as in Simpson’s work on Dublin and Oram’s work on churches.

In terms of Irish architectural reference works, ironically it is the least understood period, 1600-1720 for which a biographical dictionary of Irish architects has been published. As

McParland has noted,\textsuperscript{51} there are no Irish reference works comparable to Colvin's \textit{Biographical dictionary of British architects} or his \textit{King's works},\textsuperscript{52} although he himself is the author of one of the few partial studies of the Irish works, to which Stalley added the study of an earlier period, while O'Dwyer has filled out the later picture.\textsuperscript{53} The ambition typical of imperial Victorians in say, the original \textit{Dictionary of National Biography}, has only fleetingly been seen in the twentieth-century in such projects as \textit{A New History of Ireland} begun in 1976 concluded almost thirty years later.\textsuperscript{54} Delays in the issuing of these volumes often arose from either a lack of substantial research groundwork having taken place in the area, or from radical revision of interpretations in fields where there was no general consensus. Both problems reflect wider gaps in the primary reference material available to Irish academia. Similarly, the biographical dictionary of Irish architects, planned in 1973 to be edited by John Harris,\textsuperscript{55} saw only the publication of Loeber's period and the dictionary as a whole remains unpublished.\textsuperscript{56} Loeber's handlist of Irish craftsmen from the 15th to 20th centuries also remains unpublished.\textsuperscript{57} 

Honing in on the capital city itself, Dublin's architectural history has been well studied in recent years, perhaps ultimately in response to the destruction of Georgian Dublin in the 1960-70s.\textsuperscript{58} Yet scholars such as Maurice Craig and Edward McParland,\textsuperscript{59} have restricted their work to the Restoration period onwards, judging, probably correctly, that there was

\begin{itemize}
  \item 'A biographical dictionary of Irish architects, craftsmen and engineers', \textit{Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society}, xvi, 1 & 2 (January-June 1973), [71]. Rolf Loeber was to be the contact.
  \item Ann Martha Rowan, 'A database of Irish architects 1700-1950', \textit{Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society}, xxxvi (1994), 75-7 gives the background to the project. The architect names and periods are available online [http://iarc.ie/biographical, accessed 4 April 2006], and have been partially published as Anne Martha Rowan, 'A database of Irish architects, 1720-1940' in the \textit{Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society}, xxxviii (1996-7) and later editions of \textit{L.A.D.S.}, yet even the \textit{Architectural Record Annual Report} (2000), 11-12 [http://iarc.ie/annual_reports/iaa_annual_report_2000.pdf, accessed online 22 June 2008] who described it as 'The single most important project being undertaken in the Archive' acknowledged that there was 'no direct public access to the Index'.
  \item The Irish Georgian Society took a leading role in conservation, and published the \textit{Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society} (1958-1997) replaced by \textit{L.A.D.S.} (1998-).
\end{itemize}
little of artistic merit prior to this. For Dublin, studies of buildings before this, such as an examination of the old Four Courts in the cathedral cloister garth, the old Tholsel, or the buildings of Trinity College, are the exception rather than the rule, and scholars who have explored earlier still are rarely architectural historians, for the simple reason that the buildings largely no longer survive. An examination of the city to 1610 in the first volume of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series was carried out by an historical geographer, Howard Clarke, and the eagerly awaited succeeding volume is by a documentary historian, Colm Lennon. A recent historical geography of Dublin contained virtually nothing on the sixteenth and seventeenth century, while the 2005 ‘Pevsner’ volume on Dublin’s built heritage contains barely a page on the early modern period. For a volume concerned with surviving built heritage this is entirely justifiable, but highlights the lack of earlier buildings; the author, Christine Casey, states that seventeenth-century Dublin is ‘crying out for research’. Nor have Dublin’s medieval churches been exhaustively or recently treated; Wheeler and Craig’s study is from 1948, while Crawford’s work is not specifically architectural, making the architectural contributions by Michael O’Neill to the forthcoming history of St Patrick’s cathedral all the more important.

In view of these gaps, this thesis offers a number of opportunities for analysis of the hitherto unexamined architectural history of the cathedral from c.1540-c.1870 allowing insight into at least six neglected areas. The first is the extent to which the architectural change of the pre-1870s cathedral, albeit an unusually important case-study little of which survives, can be re-envisaged from the near continuous surviving documentation. Second, this detail allows the fabric and the use to which it was put to be examined at a higher resolution than previously appreciated. Third, it is possible to identify many of the architects, masons and craftsmen who were engaged in the endless repair the cathedral

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required, sustaining a microcosm of maintenance which mirrored a wider Dublin and Irish context. Fourth, through the building, its monuments and craftsmen, such detail permits consideration of the different architectural styles adopted; the influence of the Renaissance in the early modern period, the adoption of classicism and the eventual return to gothic. Fifth is the possibility of showing a tendency to defer to stylistic trends set by the royal court and London. Sixth is to establish the architectural importance of the cathedral as a chapel royal and to avail of the building’s unusually extensive documentation to cast light on the Irish royal works, with which it appears associated. This final point emerges as the central overarching question of the thesis – to what extent was the cathedral’s architecture and art determined by the crown influence?

The role of the cathedral as chapel royal has been largely underplayed. Indeed the question of when the cathedral acquired this status remains unexamined, and is here argued to range from at least the Reformation to the early nineteenth century. Even the official cathedral history contains few references to the chapel royal, largely limited to the period 1660-1830 when Protestant ascendancy was at its height. With little awareness of this royal influence and with sparse surviving evidence, architectural analysis has failed to take this cathedral-crown relationship into account and, as noted above, the period c.1570-c.1870 has been considered as no more than ‘aftermath’. The reality was that for much of the early modern period and later, Christ Church was Ireland’s pre-eminent ecclesiastical centre, ranked above all other Irish cathedrals, effectively including Armagh, due to the political and cultural centrality of Dublin. Not only was it the closest cathedral to Dublin castle, probably one of the main reasons for the crown to avail of it, but it also held an important role, shared with St Patrick’s, as the provincial and diocesan cathedral.

In addition, deans at Christ Church tended also to be bishops in the early modern period and were known to have held, in commendam, the bishoprics of Kilmore and Ossory, as well as the archbishoprics of Armagh and Tuam. Eventually, this system was formalised with Dean William Moreton’s appointment as bishop of Kildare in 1681, a position held

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65 Robin Usher, ‘Chapel royal and symbol of the church militant: the iconography of Christ Church and St. Patrick’s cathedrals, Dublin, c.1660-1760’, J.A.D.S., x (2008), 200-23 was the first to explicitly examine the chapel royal since H.J. Lawlor, ‘The chapel of Dublin castle’, R.S.A.I. Jn., li (1923), 34-73, plate i-viii, (including appendix by M.S. Dudley Westropp), 104; lviii (1928), 44-53, which is written from the perspective of the castle chapel.

66 Raymond Gillespie, The coming of reform, 1500-58; ‘The shaping of reform, 1558-1625’; ‘The crisis of reform, 1625-60’ and Kenneth Milne, Restoration and reorganisation, 1660-1830 in Milne, Christ Church, 151-73; 174-94; 195-217 and 255-97. The final article is the only substantial study of 1660-1830, although some work was done by David Murphy, ‘Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: 1660 to 1760’ (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1995).

by the Christ Church dean until 1846. Having retained its lands through the dissolution of the monasteries, similar to the bishop of Rochester and the dean of Westminster, it was Christ Church that added value to the bishopric and not vice versa, making it one of the more remunerative Irish sees. Furthermore deans had often served time as chaplains to former lords lieutenant. Both wealthy and influential, it is therefore unsurprising that for much of the period under consideration, Christ Church was the centre to which the Church of Ireland looked, intimately bound to the representation of church and state.

In investigating these areas of neglect, this thesis examines a number of themes including the use of the building, its condition, the changes made to it, and the influencing factors over these, all of which are mutually intertwined and cannot be satisfactorily answered without reference to each other. Hence there is some inevitable overlap in the study of these issues in the following chapters. A building’s internal arrangements, furnishings and ornament are ultimately more important indicators of the building’s use than the purpose for which it may originally have been built. It is therefore one of the main tasks within the next chapters to outline so far as is possible, the spatial arrangement of the cathedral interior and its precincts and the reuse of those spaces over time, such as the conversion of a chapel into a court or chapter house, or of monastic buildings into courts. Spaces rarely had a single use alone; the cathedral and precincts were used for a wide variety of religious, state and civic ceremonial functions often leaving an architectural trace for the later art historian. Furthermore the status of spaces changed over time, whether through a chapel receiving a new dedication, an old arch becoming an entrance or the transfer of stalls to different areas in the choir. There was a clear hierarchy to cathedral space most easily seen in the fees for burial in different areas. Similarly the provision of monuments of differing sizes in different areas of the cathedral act as a barometer of the status of the individuals commemorated in contemporary society.

Inspecting the building at a higher resolution can inform on two levels. First, it can establish the physical health of the building in terms of the condition of the fabric, its roofs, masonry, etc. Second, the type of furnishings, fabrics, decorative paintwork and carved ornamentation which exists in the building, whether this applies to the chancel, the choir stalls, the altar or the organ, reflects not only the practice of contemporary architects and craftsmen, but for example in the case of elaborate decorative schemes in the chancel or in the the positioning of the altar, enlighten the reader as to the form of churchmanship prevalent in the building at the time. More specifically, it is important to establish not only when and why these alterations in the building took place, but whether
they were examples of necessity or 'magnificence', for which two restorations in the mid-1560s and 1679-80 provide particularly good polarising extremes. Neither have the identities of the various master masons, overseers, architects, crafts-men and women been established. Although some identities are probably irretrievable, a provisional list of architects and craftsmen can be assembled of those readily identifiable from the rich surviving archival material (appendix 3). Another important question is where the cultural influences affected Christ Church originated and to what extent new practices came from these external sources? There is certainly evidence for a cultural mix of both ideas and craftsmen from Ireland, England, the Netherlands and further afield and, as an important centre, ideas expressed at Christ Church could potentially be disseminated through the capital into the surrounding country. Indeed the cathedral’s ecclesiastical and political prominence meant that to some extent it served as a national model, influence which brings us full circle to the earlier questions raised. Who were the patrons behind changes made to the building? Did these restorations change the use of the building? To what extent did lord deputies take a more personal interest in the detail of restorations?

Eliding these themes together, two broad categories emerge, enabling first, a spatial examination of the cathedral at a chosen point in time with some background chronology of how this point was reached, and second, the identification of the agents of change under which this took place, be they patrons, architects or craftsmen. Ultimately one of the most interesting questions is the extent to which the cathedral and crown were bound together during this period, a question more obvious in dealing with Dublin castle, but a question not considered before for Christ Church as chapel royal. Were members of the Irish royal works always employed at the cathedral? When did this start, and was it an intentional or a gradual process? When did this process stop and did the waning of the relationship with the crown affect the calibre of architects employed and therefore the quality of the architectural intervention? As McParland has noted about the old library at Trinity College Dublin, the questions of the length of the building, the height of roof or what sort of shelves were used, were ultimately unrelated to the storage of books, but to politics. 68 Similarly, although this thesis restricts itself largely to the examination of the cathedral’s fabric and furnishings, invariably architecture reflects the political context, and it is hoped that the assemblage of evidence uncovered in this detailed examination of the cathedral may also be of use beyond the field of architectural history.

68 McParland, Public architecture, 2.
The process by which a cathedral that has been radically altered and in parts destroyed can be studied is relatively simple in theory but laborious in practice due to the variety of sources used. These range from documentary descriptions to visual representations and physical remainders, and are drawn together for the first time in the thesis. One of the most striking aspects of the cathedral is the wealth of documentary evidence. For an Irish institution, this is rare if not unique and offers an opportunity to examine a building over an unprecedented length of time. Only the Dublin city archives themselves can claim anything close to the chronological span of records relating to the cathedral. Much of the cathedral archive remains unpublished and only a portion of the material was exploited for the 2000 cathedral history. As a result much local archival material is here presented for the first time, as is complementary material from other archival collections including church, state, civic and private records. Another range of materials consulted was contemporary accounts. This includes historical writings which often include incidental first-hand observations concerning the state of the cathedral not otherwise recorded. A plethora of travel writings also survive, many the observations of young gentlemen on their ‘grand tour’. A similar, but later genre of writings are the tourist guides, which are valuable for their contemporary observations of the building. Newspapers are another source, present in Dublin since the later seventeenth century, but which only provide continuous coverage from the eighteenth century.

There is also a wealth of untapped visual material concerning Christ Church which has never been considered before as a whole. Apart from a few early examples, these begin to appear at the Restoration and are plentiful by the early nineteenth century. It is onto these later images of the cathedral that earlier written descriptions must be mentally mapped. This would be a simple process if all artists and surveyors maintained the same high levels of accuracy of depiction, and also dated their images. In reality, many images are difficult to place chronologically, and their accuracy differs wildly depending on the purpose for which they were produced, from public presentation to private survey or personal drawing. These difficulties have been ignored in past discussion of cathedral images, and in general the images have never been subject to critical analysis. It is therefore important to assess their value as documentary sources for the history of the cathedral, which is undertaken here for the first time.

Refaussé, ‘Introduction’, 14 highlights that Dublin City Council has a more ‘sustained record of administrative activity’, evident from the city charters (1171-1727), but the cathedral Deeds, particularly no. 364c, more accurately reproduced in Alen’s register, 28, make it clear that Hiberno-Norse land grants to the cathedral were being recorded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
Many of the images are inaccurate or take artistic liberties with the building, a practice not unknown in Dublin,\textsuperscript{70} but which makes resolving similar features in the building over time much more difficult. A simple example is the perspective twist that is made in Derricke's image of the castle and of the cathedral south east of it (plate 1). The south ranging building by the tower fits the location of the east range of the cloister, but if it represents the long choir as the gothic two-light windows suggest, the position is incorrect. More confused is Dineley's image of the cathedral (plate 2), which can be usefully compared with that by Francis Place a few years later (plate 3). While the roofs and tower could have been drawn from the same vantage point, according to Place's view the clustering of buildings around the cathedral is impossible for Dineley to have drawn unhindered from a distance, unless adding the buildings individually as he circumnavigated the building; indeed this may account for the multiple perspectives.

This congestion of the cathedral's surrounding built environment is a recurring difficulty for those drawing it, particularly if the wish is for an artificial view unblemished by those surrounding buildings. This explains errors in Blaymire's drawing (plate 5).\textsuperscript{71} It is shown devoid of any adhering buildings, whereas later maps (plates 86-7) clearly show the cathedral not only surrounded at close quarters by houses and shops, but to have buildings abutting it on the northwest side of the nave. Furthermore, plans demonstrate that the south wall of the Lady chapel was coterminous and probably the same as the choir north wall (plates 87, 89 & 94). This means that the shadow which Blaymire depicts as cast half-way down the west gable of the Lady chapel (plate 5) cannot have existed, as it assumes the north aisle continued between the Lady chapel and choir, which was not the case. Nevertheless, this error was inherited in later variants of the view (plate 7 & 10).

That Blaymire took liberties with his drawings is implicit from his wonderful quote concerning Killaloe cathedral, where a complaint to Blaymire was met with the retort: 'Is

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{70} For example, Edward McParland, 'Malton's views of Dublin: too good to be true?' in Gillespie & Kennedy, Ireland: art into history, 15-25, 231.
\textsuperscript{71} Unlike Edward Parke, who signed his name 'Parks', but for whom the academic community has settled on 'Parke', there is disagreement on the plurality of Blaymire['s'] name, due to the confusion caused by the possessive plural of the name. In Ware's illustrations, he is signed as 'I. Blaymires' or I. Blaymiers', a spelling used by Toby Barnard, Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770 (New Haven, 2004), xv; Edward McParland, 'Jonas Blaymires: early antiquarian or papal spy?' (Unpublished postgraduate seminar talk, Wednesday 26 October 2005) and Heather King, 'The pre-1700 memorials in St Patrick's cathedral' in Conleth Manning (ed.), Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Heasly (Wicklow: Wordwell, 1998), 75-104, at 104. Reference material such as A. M. Rowan, 'Ivory, Thomas (1731/2-1786)', ODNB, OUP, 2004 [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/14509, accessed 27 June 2008] and Mary Pollard, A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade, 1550-1800: based on the records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), 285 give him as Blaymire. Following Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Making connections in Georgian Ireland', Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, xxxviii (1996-97), 6-23, at 8, Rowan identifies Ivory's master 'Mr Bell Myers', as probably 'Jonas Blaymire'.
\end{footnotesize}
it possible that I can draw a Venus from a broomstick?". The final of these views by John Lodge (plate 10) has one less set of lancets in the north nave clerestory than its two ancestors (plate 5 & 7), which on comparison with Parke’s elevation (plate 64) can be seen to be a fudge. Technically, Lodge is correct in depicting only five instead of six bays of lancets, but Parke shows that the eastern lancets have been blocked up, and instead Lodge has attempted to neaten the asymmetrical result by spreading out the remaining windows to fill the available space, no doubt to ensure inclusion amongst the ‘remarkable’ views of Pool and Cash. Bigari’s 1780 view (plate 11) is another problematic picture. Not only does he omit the long choir roof, but the apparent alignment of the east end of the chapter house with the east wall of the south transept, fourteen years before the demolition of the eastern bay in 1794, is either illusory through misleading perspective, or an example of a later alteration to the picture. Either way it serves as a warning to be wary of an artist who started off as a theatrical scene-painter.

Further inaccuracy abounds concerning the Four Courts in the same image, which Bigari’s drawing simply deletes from view (plate 11), a fact most visible on comparison with the Kirkwood image of about fifty years later (plate 23), which itself exaggerates the scale of the buildings in a Piranesi-like manner by depicting diminutive foreground figures. Also confusing is a view of the south side of the cathedral (plate 12), which is probably an eighteenth-century drawing but is anachronistically painted over with the much later ruins of the Four Courts. This is suggested by a later version of the same view in which the artist who drew these court ruins, also reproduced the cathedral in the same style (plate 43). Another surviving view of the courts was particularly difficult to resolve with the surrounding topography until McParland realised that the original plate appears to have been published back-to-front (plate 21).

In terms of the three earliest maps portraying the cathedral, all are too rudimentary to seriously criticise, but a number of their features are accurate: the tower, southern close and west range in Speed’s map, the nave, choir and central tower in Wright’s sketch and

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73 Strickland, Dictionary, i, 61-2. Thomas Drew, ‘Christ Church Cathedral: the old cloister, &c.’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 518 (15 July 1881), 217 appears unaware that the eastern bay was demolished after Bigari’s view. He felt Bigari corroborated his views and instead dismissed the careful drawing of the surveyor, O’Callaghan Newenham (plate 22), as so ‘wholly untruthful’ that he ‘would never think of consulting it for antiquarian evidence’.

74 McParland, ‘Four courts’, 23-32, figures 3-9, at 7a-b.
the doglegged passageway from Christ Church Lane through a courtyard to Fishamble Street on de Gomme’s map (plates 75-7). However, maps by Brooking and particularly Rocque (plates 85-6), the latter of whom supposedly brought accurate mapping to Dublin, are disappointingly inaccurate when compared with a cathedral survey carried out by Reading in 1761 (plate 87). Even Reading’s map, however, inaccurately displays the long choir as a regular rectangle. The kink in it halfway along, where the north wall begins to use the south wall of the Lady chapel, was not depicted correctly until Street’s survey of 1868 (plate 100). Even the Ordnance Survey map straightened this, resulting in the rooms of the former Lady chapel forming improbably irregular shapes (plate 96). For the purpose of this thesis, the relative accuracy of these maps was compared by scanning them, sizing them to the same scale and changing their relative transparency, revealing how closely they resemble each other (chapter 2, figures 1 & 2).

A more confusing problem is that many of the images are undated and so only a knowledge of the building’s architectural developments or the use of internal evidence can place them within a chronological sequence. For example, the aforementioned view of the south side (plate 12) overdrawn with the chapter house ruins is undated, but must be eighteenth-century due to the roofed house which is pictured over the old chapter house, which was occupied by the verger, James Hewitt, until removed in 1794. The date range of Grattan’s view from the southwest can similarly be narrowed down from the fact that St Michael’s church, depicted on the left of the image, was completed in 1815, while the artist himself died in 1819. Two other images, the first from Christchurch Place looking east (plate 28) and the second viewed from the northwest (plate 33), can only be dated from the internal evidence within the picture itself depicting either architectural detail or in the case of the former picture, from a nearby shop sign.

Further problems arise regarding the Four Courts. Newenham depicts the shambolic condition of the cathedral and its precincts in a collection published in 1830 (plate 22). However, the views were individually published from 1826 onwards, and this or an earlier date would sit more happily with the current knowledge of the dismantling of the buildings of the precinct. What dramatically highlights this point is a view by Kirkwood and Son of the towering Four Courts in the old cloister published in 1831 (plate 23), which would appear to diametrically oppose Newenham’s view, published the previous year. To complicate things further, the earliest it seems likely for the Kirkwood image to
be drawn is 1826, the year in which the artists arrived in Dublin from Edinburgh. There are at least two explanations here. One is that the view by Newenham was indeed drawn soon after Kirkwood in 1826 and that the two can be taken as representing before and after views of demolition. Another is that the Kirkwood image is not as accurately drawn as that by Newenham and is misleading in its representation of the north-south depth of the court of chancery, clothing the eastern portion of the Four Courts and south west corner of the transept in shadow. In this case it is possible that through the choice of angle used, Newenham still accurately reflected the same view at close chronological proximity. These are issues which have not been addressed before and not only have they contributed to confusion over the chronology of the partial reuse and demise of the precinct buildings and work on the cathedral, but with such insecure dating, it renders the images less useful as evidence for further historical investigation.

One of the most striking points about the images and plans is the variety of type and style, reflecting the different purposes for which they were executed. Their backgrounds ranged from business to pleasure, illustrative to measured, undertaken by talented amateurs like Narcissus Batt (plate 37 & 53), professional hacks such as ‘ne’er do well’, Robert Clayton (plate 51), or highly respected draftsmen such as Jonas Blaymire (plate 5). The images can be grouped into several overlapping categories. One type attempts to convey a specific message such as Derricke’s view of Dublin castle, part of the political propaganda of Henry Sidney, complete with decapitated speared Irish heads projecting from the battlements (plate 1). Other views in a similar but more benign vein were intended to persuade the viewer of the impressiveness of Dublin’s historic monuments. Blaymire, Beranger and Bigari (plates 5, 8-9 & 11) give an enlightenment portrayal of an idealised but somewhat anodyne cathedral, which gives way in the nineteenth century to a romantic delight in the depiction of the ruined Gothic pile by Grattan, Petrie, Newenham, Lover and others (plates 15-27).

Professionals could also draw for pleasure. This was the case for Wright’s 1655 doodle (plate 76) and similarly for the view by Newenham (plate 22) who was a landscape and topographical draughtsman employed for 25 years as Superintendent-General of Barracks in Ireland. Others such as Narcissus Batt, a student at Trinity College Dublin

77 Strickland, Dictionary, i, 594.
78 Strickland, Dictionary, i, 184.
79 McParland, ‘Jonas Blaymires’.
destined for the Church of Ireland,81 Thomas Dineley, the barrister turned ‘traveller and antiquarian’,82 W.F. Wakeman and G.V. Du Noyer (plates 37 & 53, 2, 29, 31 & 52), all appear at least not to have been drawing for profit, as none of these images have been published, but it is difficult to disentangle such examples from antiquarian concern. Such concerns blurred the categories once again, employing professionals on tasks which were labours of love, namely the employ of architect, Patrick Byrne (plate 65), in producing drawings for the unpublished history of Christ Church by the antiquarian W.M. Mason. Similarly, the Victorian cathedral architect, Thomas Drew, took great interest in its history, producing antiquarian plans of the medieval building (plate 104-5). Reportedly based on first-hand excavation, they appear however to have been largely conjectural.83 There is no doubt however that it was the professional surveyors and architects who were expected to record images, elevations and plans accurately. These included Abraham Carter, Thomas Reading and, working for the Wide Streets Commission, John Longfield, who surveyed maps of property within the precinct (plates 79-81, 87, 90-3), and architects Edward Parke, G.E. Street and William Butler respectively (plates 64, 66-7, 68-73), though clearly a large number of elevations and plans have not survived.84 It should also be noted that a number of illustrations are both of unknown provenance and by unknown artists, such as a view from Christchurch Place of between 1836-43, and a view later still from the northwest (plates 28 & 33). The two artists of the strange composite view of the cathedral (pre-1794) and ruined four courts (after c.1826) from the south (plate 12) are also unknown, but similarity in the strong treatment of shadow and the depiction of blocky stonework found also in Edward Parke’s north side elevation (plate 64), suggest that the older of the two portions of this composition may, if he learnt his trade from his father, either have been by Robert Parke, or the young Edward Parke himself. Each of these examples highlights unresolved issues. Given the reliance on such a small collection of images before the nineteenth-century, it is important to have a better understanding of the context and limitations of these resources.

83 See chapter ii, p. 38.
84 The tracing of Street’s originals (plates 66-7) was undertaken by Miss Seymour. It seems likely given the precentor, Edward Seymour’s collaboration with Street, that this was a relance of his, and is possibly identifiable with the Miss G. Seymour noted in the strangers’ gallery of the synod hall at the first synod (Saunders Newsletter (7 April 1875), 1).
One view of the transepts and nave by an unknown painter (plate 54) used as the cover of the 2000 cathedral history, serves to highlight the imbalance in coverage of the building between numerous external views and just four internal views. Although an internal view of the choir was reported in 1855 as hanging in the chapter room, its location is unknown, and no view of the choir interior survives before the 1860s, highlighting the importance of using complementary and comparative material. The former lies in plan evidence (plate 94, 97-9), photographs (plates 59-60), and internal elevations of the choir (plate 67 & 73) from which its earlier state can be envisaged. The latter material includes views of similar Dublin or Irish buildings such as six images of the interior of St Patrick's cathedral (chapter v, figures 37-9; chapter vi, figures 19-21), a view of Kilmainham chapel (chapter v, figure 28), and a photograph of the choir of St Canice’s cathedral, Kilkenny (chapter vi, figure 22). The views of St Patrick’s hang in the vestibule of its deanery, offering a clue as to why fewer paintings of Christ Church survive. As there was no fixed deanery at Christ Church for centuries, and indeed the position of dean was shared with St Patrick’s and then the archbishop of Dublin through the nineteenth century, conditions were inclement for assembling a gallery of paintings of Christ Church. The few internal views directly affect the visual record of monuments and furnishings in the cathedral which is generally poor, and relies for earlier material on two seventeenth-century manuscripts: ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ and Dineley’s ‘Observations’.87

While Dineley’s manuscript is clearly an illustrated diary of his travels, the origin of ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ is less certain. It contains a series of drawings of monuments in early seventeenth-century Dublin churches. The manuscript has been dated from a seventeenth-century watermark and from a comparison of handwriting, however neither Loeber nor Harris noted the identification of the author as Albone Leverett, Athlone Pursuivant from 1608-50, suggested in 1917 by his successor as ‘Athlone’, G.D. Burtchaell.89 If this is the artist’s identity, in addition to its record of existing monuments,  

84 See also ‘Photographs of Christ Church Cathedral’, Dublin Builder, xiii, 274 (15 May 1871), 135.
85 NLI, GO MS 15 (Microfilm Positive 9218) copied for William Betham (c.1803), now DCA, Gilbert Collection, MS 201; Thomas Dineley, ‘Observations made on his tour in Ireland and France, 1675-80’ (NLI, MS 392 (Microfilm Positive 7515)).
the manuscript may also be a collection of completed designs, like Maximillian Colt’s 1619 collection.90 Richard Boyle, earl of Cork confirmed him as a monument designer when he ‘gaue Mr Leveret, the purcevant at Armes, 40s for drawing the Module of my deer wives Tombe’, a tomb undertaken by Tingham, a Chapelizod-based sculptor.91

Older monuments included in the manuscript include the Kildare chantry, an episcopal tomb, and one to Edward Griffith, whose inscription declares that it was ‘reneved bi Sr Henri Bagnol Knight’, who died in 1598.92 A monument to Dean Culme of St Patrick’s cathedral (d.1657), however appears to date from seven years after Leverett’s death, but it is perfectly possible that the dean had commissioned a monument while still in his prime, and that the date was added on his death, indeed it was quite usual for an individual to design their own tomb; the design for Alderman Edmond Malone’s monument in the manuscript is endorsed with the date 1592, yet he did not die until 1635.93 Alternatively, wives commemorating themselves on monuments to husbands that had pre-deceased them also were obliged to omit their date of death.94 Llewellyn estimates that over 30% of tombs were erected before the death of the commemorated.95 The artist, almost certainly a herald given the collection in which it resides, showed strong antiquarian interest in his historical surroundings, and his illustrations have saved these furnishings from oblivion.

Not all evidence of the cathedral from 1540-1870 has been destroyed however. There are in situ remains of the old chapter house; much of the walls of the old Lady chapel survive in the new chapter house; and, just south of it, the dressed-stone south-eastern corner of the old long choir remains as testament to the extent of the old cathedral. Ex situ material also survives. Carved stone kept in the crypt for over a century was catalogued in 1999, and is now stored across the road from the cathedral in the another cn’pt, that of St Werburgh’s church.96 Other mementos survive in the crypt, such as the old font and piscina surround (chapter iii, figures 17.a-b, 21.a-b), an altar composed of medieval stone

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93 Loeber, ‘Sculpted memorials’, 283.
94 Cockerham & Harris, ‘Kilkenny funeral monuments’, 137; Graves & Prim, St Canio’s, 182.
96 Rachel Moss, ‘Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: Crypt stone project, a database of medieval carved stone (Unpublished report, Christ Church Cathedral Dublin & The Heritage Council, 1999).
fragments, the old stocks and mural tablets commemorating Bishop Lindsay’s involvement in Price’s restoration, while portions of the former Byfield organ and carved timber decoration from the old choir exist in crypt storage areas. Curios such as the ‘fount’ stone (chapter iii, figure 18.a), and the wooden carved Kildare crest on the side of the Fitzgerald monument (chapter vi, figure 17.c), survive in the cathedral itself, and together each of these items offer insight into the pre-1870s cathedral.

 Probably the most extensive group of survivors from before 1870 are the monuments. Ranging from the thirteenth century, they are the finest art works in the cathedral bar the building itself. No satisfactory study of them has been undertaken other than an 1878 attempt, unfortunately marred by myriad typographical inaccuracies, therefore a list of monuments for which evidence survives is appended to this thesis (appendix 2), many of which are either previously unexamined, unidentified, only briefly noted before in academic journals or require reinterpretation. Internal evidence for example on Edward Griffith’s monument shows that its traditional date is too late. Two hitherto anonymous monuments may also be associated with Elizabeth Sidney and Archbishop James Margetson. The schools of craftsmanship can also be examined in further detail for the Agard and Harrington, and Chichester monuments, possibilities not previously explored. Specialist literature on individual monuments is also assembled here for the first time.

By virtue of the considerable property holdings and the requirements of establishing liturgical patterns, there was always an awareness of the need for records, their preservation and interpretation at the cathedral. The writing of what we would consider a history of the cathedral however was not undertaken until the seventeenth century, by Sir James Ware. Resident across the road in Castle Street, it is clear from the fact that the Christ Church psalter eventually went with his collection to the Bodleian library, that he had unrivalled access to the cathedral archives. Others had access with written permission. In 1732, the chapter agreed ‘that Dr. Wilkins may have a transcript of Arch Bp Cummin’s Canons remaining among the Archives of this Church (as is suggested) to be made use of in the writing of some History said to be in Hand’. However, an

97 Butler, Christ Church (1901), 10.
98 John Finlayson, Inscriptions on the monuments, mural tablets etc., at present existing in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin (Dublin, 1878).
99 James Ware, De praesulibus Hiberniae: commentarius, a prima gentis Hiberniae ad fidei Christianam conversione, ad nostra usque tempora (Dublin, 1665) translated as The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, ed. Walter Harris (3 vols in 2, Dublin, 1739-64).
101 RCB C6/1/8/5, 77 (Tuesday 27 June 1732), what would be David Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a synodo verolamiensi A.D. CCCX XLVI. ad londinensem A.D. M DCCXVII (London, 1737).
awareness of the cathedral's architectural history does not appear to have emerged until the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, particularly as part of the gothic revival when a conscious attempt was made to 'revert' the cathedral style to gothic. An early example of this occurs in the translation of Ware's work by his great-grandson-in-law, Walter Harris, who also wrote a history of the antiquities of Dublin prominently featuring the cathedrals.\textsuperscript{102} The chapter were happy to pay Harris £10 Sterling for Procuring a Coper (sic) Plate to be made for Engraving the Structure and Edifice of this Cathedral,\textsuperscript{103} one of the first times the chapter consciously concerned themselves with a visual record of the building. Drawn by Jonas Blaymire, a 'surveyor and measurer' by profession (plate 5),\textsuperscript{104} it was engraved in Paris by Guillaume d'Heulland (d.1770),\textsuperscript{105} whence, despite the 1739 publication date, the prints arrived in June 1740.\textsuperscript{106} Another publication which made copious references to the cathedral archive was Archdall's 1786 \textit{Monasticon Hibernicum},\textsuperscript{107} and similar access was granted for Grose's \textit{Antiquities of Ireland},\textsuperscript{108} which featured Bigari's view from the south east (plate 11). The historical groundwork appears to have been carried out not by Grose but by William Burton Conyngham, probably the 'Col: Robert Burton' who applied for liberty 'to inspect the Black Book & other ancient Records in the Registry of this Church' in 1779.\textsuperscript{109}

With more visual material being printed, so too visual appreciation of architecture grew. Although unillustrated, a good example of this is Bell's prize-winning \textit{Essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture}, in which he examines Christ Church.\textsuperscript{110} He was one of the first to distinguish between architectural styles noting the 'Saxon style' and observing in the transepts the 'mixture of the circular and pointed Gothic arches together'. He was also an astute observer of the relative age of portions of the building, noting the transept

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{102} Walter Harris, \textit{The history of antiquities of the city of Dublin, from the earliest accounts: compiled from authentic memoirs} (Dublin, 1766, facsimile reproduced Ballynahinch: Davidson, 1994).
\bibitem{103} RCB C6/1/8/5, 157 (Monday 30 April 1739).
\bibitem{107} Mervyn Archdall, \textit{Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of Ireland} ... (Dublin: Luke Smyth, 1786; incompletely reprinted ed. Patrick F. Moran, 2 vols, Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1873).
\bibitem{108} Francis Grose, \textit{The antiquities of Ireland}, ed. Edward Ledwich (2 vols, London: S. Hooper, 1791), but see Samuel Hooper, \textit{This day is published, (on a similar plan to the Antiquities of England and Wales) number I. of The antiquities of Ireland: being a collection of views of the most remarkable ruins and ancient buildings, ...} (London, 1792) notes at the top of the page: 'London, March, 1792'.
\bibitem{109} RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 71-71v (Thursday 25 March 1779).
\bibitem{110} Thomas Bell, \textit{An essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, with reference to the ancient history and present state of the remains of such architecture in Ireland} (Dublin, 1829), 137-150.
\end{thebibliography}
vaulting as 'modern', and additional windows in the choir as 'built two or three centuries later' than other choir windows. His architectural observations are informed by a local knowledge of the cathedral's history, as well as a comparative knowledge of other buildings, forming a solid basis for the later architectural study of the building.

William Monck Mason was no architectural historian, but his unpublished history of Christ Church assembled by 1819,111 saw the commissioning of an elevation of the Romanesque doorway in the north transept by Patrick Byrne and a ground plan of the cathedral and precincts (plates 65 & 94). Given that both Byrne and Grattan provided views for Mason's *St Patrick's* the choir (chapter v, figure 38) and Boyle monument respectively,112 it is highly plausible that a view of Christ Church by Grattan was also intended for the Christ Church history (plates 15 & 16),113 and these illustrations together (plate 15, 65, 94) record the cathedral during a period of substantial change under the Wide Streets Commissioners. Much of the intelligent architectural commentary on the cathedral came from the *Ecclesiologist* and the *Dublin Builder* whose approaches, despite differences in readership, had much in common, and increasingly provided the English and Irish platforms for criticism and comment on church restorations.

The number of publications relating to the architecture and general history of the building increased substantially in the period surrounding Street's restoration of the building in the 1870s including the first published history by the precentor, Edward Seymour, though with little architectural commentary.114 Early architectural observances were by W.H. Mandeville Ellis, who would go on to become a member of the governing board of the cathedral,115 and the *Irish Builder* contained numerous articles and observations on the restoration, including those by William Butler, whose published

112 Mason, *St Patrick's*, opp. liii, engraved by William Finlay and published 1 August 1818.
113 Strickland, Dictionary, i, 404-7 and 'Memoir of the life of the late artist George Grattan', *The Dublin Inquisitor for 1821* (Dublin, [1821]), 349-54. For Mason's proposed history, see Catalogue of the literary collections and original compositions of William Monck Mason, Esq., in the departments of Irish history and philology which will be sold by auction by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson at their house 3, Wellington Street, Strand, on Monday the 29th of March 1858 and the two following days at one o'clock precisely ([London], 1858). The manuscript is now TCD MS 10529-30, illustrations and plans for which (by architect and artist, Patrick Byrne) are in the end pages of W.M. Mason, *The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin* (Dublin, 1820), Dublin City Library & Archives, Gilbert collection. See also chapter v, 245.
115 W.H.M. Ellis, 'Galway Collegiate Church', *Ecclesiologist*, xxiii (February 1862), 22; 'St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin', *Gentleman's magazine and historical review*, ccxvi, 1 (February 1864), 219-21; 'Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin', *Ecclesiologist*, xxiv (February 1863), 32-3.
architectural drawings are an important record of the pre-restoration building. Street gave a public lecture on thirteenth-century architecture which praised the cathedral building, and he published two reports for the cathedral chapter which show a deep understanding of architectural history and a sympathy for its Irish historical context. Other architectural observers chimed in, such as McVittie with his sometimes abstruse Details of the restoration. Street's restoration was crowned with the publication of a sumptuous vellum-bound study of the history and architecture of the cathedral by Seymour and Street himself. The years following began a process of digestion as to just what Street did to the building. After the initial euphoria, architectural writings began to criticise his hubris at demolishing the long choir, and to highlight his more obvious mistakes, as in his choice of a soft Caen stone, which did not respond well to the Irish weather. The aphorism that one doesn't miss something until it is gone, applies well in the aftermath of the restoration work, which prompted much consideration of the state of the former building in works by Thomas Drew, who took a particular interest in the cloister garth, and in the archival work of a clique of employees in the Public Records Office of Ireland including H.F. Berry (later Twiss) and James Mills. For Christ Church, Berry's most important work was his analysis of the craft guilds that inevitably supplied personnel to the cathedral, and his little known study of the overseer-precentor, Peter

116 William Butler, 'Christ Church Cathedral', Irish Builder, xiii, 269 (1 March 1871), 60-3; 270 (15 March 1871), 70-1; Measured drawings of Christ Church prior to the restoration (Dublin, 1874).
117 C.E. Street, 'Architecture in the thirteenth century' in [R.H. Martley and R.D. Usbin (eds.)] The afternoon lectures on literature and art delivered in the theatre of the Museum of Industry, S. Stephen's Green, Dublin, in April and May, 1866 (4th series, London: Bell and Daldy; Dublin: Hodges and Smith, and W. McGee, 1867), 1-48; Report to the dean and chapter of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, on the restoration of the cathedral church (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Foster, London and Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1868); Report on the proposed rebuilding of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and on the erection of a synod hall for the Church of Ireland (Report upon the proposed rebuilding of the choir of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, and on the erection of the synod hall in connection with the cathedral) (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Foster, London and Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1871)
118 R.B. McVittie, Details of the restoration of Christ Church cathedral, Dubhn with a brief history of its preceding condition, from the date of its supposed foundation (A.D. 1038) to the present time (Dublin, 1878).
119 Street & Seymour, Christ Church (1882):
120 Thomas Drew, 'Street as a restorer: the discoveries at Christ Church cathedral', Dubhn University Review (1 June 1886), 518-31; J.G. Robertson, 'Notes upon Street as a restorer: the discoveries at Christ Church', Royal Historical & Archaeological Association of Ireland Jn., vi (1887), 160-2; William Butler, Christ Church cathedral Dublin: its present lamentable condition (Dublin: Wood Printing Works, 1905).
Lewis. James Mills also studied Lewis and his year-long diary which he intended to publish, and also wrote on the spatial arrangement of the sixteenth century building.

By the early twentieth-century, there was such a passing of older scholars, that Drew felt obliged to excuse the situation at a Dublin meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1901. One individual that continued work on aspects of cathedral furnishings and architecture, was John Lubbock Robinson, later archdeacon of Glendalough and largely unsung as a scholar. Relevant work consisted of published studies of the proctor’s accounts of 1689-90, the bells, the lectern, and some of the more erudite cathedral guides, while unpublished typescripts include examinations of the prison and stocks, the deanery and the Christ Church psalter. Apart from passing remarks by Butler, and mainly derivative material from architects, Dewhurst and Leask, and later Dean Lewis-Crosby, there would be little academic analysis of the cathedral until the 1970s. A minor renaissance of interest in cathedral history took place under Gwynn and Hand in the 1950s, but added little architectural understanding, and was exclusively medieval.

The first architectural analysis of the cathedral since Street (and arguably since Bell before him) was by Roger Stalley who, between 1973 and 1983, contributed a number of

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124 Thomas Drew, “Dublin for archaeologists: being the opening address of the antiquarian section in Dublin”, Archaeological Journal, lvi (1900), 287-300. [Lumbard monument mentioned by Drew was reproduced in the proceedings of the meeting ([?]Cochrane 1900, 338)].


126 J.L. Robinson, “The Prison and Stocks of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin” (Typescript, RCB C6/6/4/1, no. 29); “Christ Church deanery” (Typescript, 10 April 1912, RCB C6/6/4/2, no. 3); “The illuminated capitals of the Church Cathedral” (Typescript, RCB C6/6/4/1, no. 30).


128 G.J. Hand, “The psalter of Christ Church, Dublin” (Bodleian MS Rawlinson G. 185”, Repertorium Novum, iv, 2 (1956), 311-22; ii, 1 (1957-8), 222 gives some details of art historical interest.
articles on the cathedral dealing with the Romanesque building campaign, the West Country origins of the Gothic nave, the medieval sculpture and more generally raising its art historical profile.\textsuperscript{129} The destruction of Viking remains in Wood Quay lying in the cathedral’s shadow, and the slightly arbitrary Dublin millennium celebrations in 1988 celebrating the first taxing of the citizens, spurred a number of academics to investigate medieval and early modern Dublin, with consequent spin-offs for the cathedral in articles by Denis Bethell, J.F. Lydon, and Colm Kenny.\textsuperscript{130} Fortuitous independent work in these decades produced a somewhat eccentric study of the Romanesque capitals,\textsuperscript{131} reflections on the cathedral crypt,\textsuperscript{132} histories of the cathedral organs,\textsuperscript{133} and bells,\textsuperscript{134} an examination of cathedral liturgy from the Restoration to the eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{135} an analysis of Edward Lovett Pearce’s Christ Church deanery,\textsuperscript{136} and an assessment of Street as a restorer,\textsuperscript{137} all of which were part of the increasing fashionability of writing on Christ Church as an architectural work accessible though a critical mass of academic literature.

The pump primer for this body of work was the reinvigoration of the administration and life of the cathedral itself during the 1980s and 1990s, later coupled with the optimistic financial mood of an economic boom, that caused an upsurge in research into the history

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\item \textsuperscript{131} H.V. Beuer Szlechter, ‘Sur un chapiteau Roman de la cathédrale de Dublin: Sainte For et les chevaliers Normands en Irlande’[A Romanesque capital in Dublin cathedral: Saint Faith and Norman knights in Ireland] in [René Louis,] \textit{La chanson de geste et le mythe Carolingien: mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l’occasion de son 75e anniversaire} (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, 1982).
\item \textsuperscript{132} Tadhg O’Keeffe, ‘Architecture and regular life in Holy Trinity cathedral, 1150-1350’ in Stuart Kinsella (ed.), \textit{Augustinians at Christ Church: the canons regular of the cathedral priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin} (Dublin: Christ Church Cathedral Publications, 2000), 41-54; \textit{Romanesque Ireland: architecture and ideology in the twelfth century} (Dublin: FCP, 2003).
\item \textsuperscript{133} Andrew Johnstone, ‘Organs, past and present, at Christ Church Cathedral’, \textit{Friends of Christ Church Cathedral [Dublin] Newsletter}, 22: 2 (Summer 2004), 20-2.
\item \textsuperscript{134} David Murphy & Leslie Taylor, \textit{The bells of Christ Church Dublin} (Dublin: Strongbow Publications, 1994).
\item \textsuperscript{135} David Murphy, ‘Late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century ritual practices in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin’, \textit{Pege}, ii (1996), 21-30 based on David Murphy, ‘Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: 1660 to 1760’ (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1995).
\item \textsuperscript{137} For example, Seán O’Reilly, ‘The arts of interference, presumption and invention: George Edmund Street rebuilds Christ Church’ in Frank Salmon (ed.), \textit{Gothic and the Gothic revival: papers from the 26th annual symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 1997} (Manchester, 1998), 87-98 revised as ‘A philosophy of restoration: George Edmund Street at Dublin’s Christ Church’, \textit{L.A.D.S.,} i, (1998), 200-20.
\end{itemize}
of the building. This resulted in a cathedral history project, begun in 1995 and completed with the publication of the cathedral Deeds in 2001. Recent restoration work has also generated reports and studies on the cathedral fabric, archaeology, furnishings and monuments that would not otherwise have taken place. By the end of the century, Stalley’s analysis had covered considerable aspects of the architectural history of the cathedral, dealing with the building of the medieval cathedral, the arrangement of its precincts and the Tudor rebuilding work. Perhaps covered in most detail was the restoration of the cathedral by Street, which included the publication of a number of key texts. Much of this work (excluding the monuments) can be found synopsised in Casey’s Dublin.138 ‘The only other substantial contribution to the architectural history of the building was Gillespie’s final realisation of Mills’ and indeed Lydon’s aim to publish an important primary source, the diary of the builder-cleric, Peter Lewis,139 to which he added an erudite preface covering Lewis’s work on the cathedral. Based in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rae contributed little more to his architectural analysis of St Patrick’s cathedral than his 1979 article, however, Stalley’s interest in the Dublin cathedrals encouraged further analysis of St Patrick’s by his student Michael O’Neill, which revealed a complementarity in the Anglo-Norman architecture of both Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals.140 Also useful is Geaney’s analysis of the cathedral roof timbers.141 Usher’s work on the iconography of Dublin after the Restoration is a useful general overview of the medieval cathedrals during this period, and is one of few contributions made in recent times to an examination of the post-medieval architecture. Increased building activity within and without the cathedral led to a number of archaeological reports. One of the first was also one of the best researched, Stalley’s detailed historical and architectural analysis of the crypt of 1992,142 relating to a project


139 The provost accounts of Peter Lewis, 1564-5, ed. Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: FCP, 1996).


142 Roger Stalley, ‘Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: The medieval crypt: Report on the architecture and the monuments contained within it (preliminary draft) (Unpublished report, December 1992);
not realised for another seven years. Archaeological reports filed were carried out in 1996 by Nelis and O'Donovan from 1999 onwards by Simpson and by Kehoe in 2000. Reports have also been produced from conservation work on the Jacobean candlesticks and tabernacle, and on monuments examined by Ellis and Oldenbourgh.

Analysis of the cathedral architecture has concentrated on the periods of most prominent architectural changes: the Anglo-Norman rebuilding and Victorian restorations, or on early well documented building phases such as rebuilding work after the south wall's collapse in 1562, so well documented in Precentor Lewis's remarkable diary. Stalley's work on the precincts has set out much of the detail and its problems, but many issues are unresolved and warrant further research. While the cathedral's history from the Reformation to Street's restoration has recently been told, its architectural history for this period remains almost unknown. Like Ludwig II's castle, there is an air of unreality to finding such a gap in the history of this major Irish ecclesiastical building, complete with considerably untapped archival resources. This thesis seeks to fill that void.

CHAPTER II - 'THE VERIE STATION PLACE': THE PRECINCT OF THE CATHEDRAL PRIORY OF HOLY TRINITY AT THE REFORMATION

On the cusp of the Reformation, the tale of Christ Church and its modern architectural history might have well have taken a different turn. Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, as it had become commonly known,\(^1\) was one of only six religious houses that requested exemption from the dissolution of the monasteries\(^2\) and ultimately, through the 1540 letters of support from the lord deputy and council and the mayor and aldermen,\(^3\) was one of very few religious houses to survive. The reasons given were clearly coordinated. Both letters emotively lauded the advantages of Christ Church as in the centre of the city, comparing it to St Paul’s cathedral in London, that it was the resort of parliaments and great councils, and where Dublin congregations gathered for sermons, processions and celebrations. It was ‘the verie station place’ they stated, but furthermore warned:

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\text{in consideration that if the said Chirch were suppressed and put downe, being in the myddes of the citie, it wold be a great desolation and a fowle waste and deformitie of the said citie, and a great comforte and encouraginge of our Soveraine Lords the Kynges Irish enymyes.}^{4}
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Ultimately however, it was suppression commissioners themselves who found a reprieve for the cathedral. As Lord Deputy Grey noted, they had discovered that Christ Church was ‘originaly to be foundid a secular Churche Metropolytane’.\(^5\) Whether prior to its institution as an Augustinian cathedral priory Christ Church ever had a secular constitution to which it could later revert is a moot point. Antiquity was on its side however, and after a series of legal complications, letters patent were granted on 10 May 1541 confirming Christ Church’s survival of the Reformation as a secular cathedral.\(^6\)

By virtue of the survival of the institution, the cathedral fabric was secured, and its extensive property holdings were unaffected. Indeed, Christ Church was the sole Irish

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\(^1\) The earliest use of the term Christ Church (‘Ecclesiae Christi’) occurs in a will of William de Stafford, dated 16 April 1282 preserved in the ‘Liber albus’ (translated in ‘A calendar of the Liber niger and Liber albus of Christ Church, Dublin’, ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A. Proc., C, xxvii, 1 (January 1908), 1-93, at 31, no. 58) as observed in Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 25; J.L. Robinson, ‘The priors of Christ Church, Dublin’, Irish Church Quarterly, vi (1913), 36-50, at 38, note 4, and Butler, Christ Church (1901), 4.

\(^2\) S.P. Henry VIII, iii, pt iii (continued) (1834), pp 130-1, no. CCLXIX.

\(^3\) S.P. Henry VIII, ii, pt iii (1834), 544-6, no. CCI & CCII (19 & 23 January 1540). Although dated 1538 in that edition, Bradshaw, Dissolution, 118, note 2, observes that the ‘king’s commissioners referred to [in the letters] are the suppression commissioners of 1539-40, not the royal commissioners of 1537-8’.

\(^4\) State Papers, Henry VIII, ii, pt iii (11 vols, London 1830-52 [1834]), 545-6, no CCII.

\(^5\) S. P. Henry VIII, ii, pt iii (1834), 544-5, no. CCI.

\(^6\) For an overview of this period at the cathedral, see Gillespie, ‘Coming of reform, 1500-58’, 165.
religious house within the area of crown influence to emerge institutionally altered but intact from the dissolution. ⁷ In many respects the monastic buildings appear to have been little changed. But for a note of part of the cathedral being ‘broken down for some purpose’ in 1545,⁸ there is no evidence of any large-scale demolition. The survival of the monastic buildings of such a wealthy Augustinian house in an urban setting was not unique – portions of St Thomas’s abbey west of the cathedral were also retained, as was the steeple of All Saints’ (or All Hallows’) priory – but the continued use of the buildings by the same staff in a ‘rebranded’ institution was unusual. It can be paralleled in English cathedral priories, and a few Irish abbeys which were allowed continue as communities of secular priests, namely Newry, Holy Cross in Tipperary, and Abington in Limerick.⁹ The survival of Irish monastic remains was more likely in the cases of small, inaccessible rural houses overlooked by mainstream development, and so it was rare for the buildings of such a wealthy house in the capital to last until they could be so fully recorded. The key to reconstructing the monastic buildings over four and a half centuries old is in establishing that the buildings survived far beyond their shelf-life by being converted to law courts in 1608 by Samuel Molyneux, clerk of the royal works in Ireland.¹⁰ where they remained until 1796, when they moved to the quays.¹¹ Therefore, in addition to the medieval references to the precincts, a whole range of early modern and indeed modern visual and documentary records can be tapped including individual ground plans (plates 78-82, 84), a complete survey of the precincts in 1761 (plates 87, 89, 97-9), as well as later plans and illustrations documenting the decline of the courts (plate 91, 11-27).

In order to form a clearer picture of the Reformation period, it is useful to set the cathedral buildings in the wider context of the city. The built environment was in a poor state. The population had never recovered to pre-Black Death levels and there are regular references to both the presence of waste or void ground in the city and the requirement

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⁷ Brendan Bradshaw, The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), map 2, shows houses in the north-west and south-west unaffected by the suppression campaigns.
of tenants of properties to build houses of oak often with roofs of either slate or tile. Prior Richard Skyrett, for example, made a lease in 1508 of a house near the high cross which was to be covered with oak wood and tiles. An overview of the building stock of the medieval city has described the dissolution as ‘following on from more than two centuries of morphological stagnation at Dublin’, and furthermore identified the monastic buildings as the ‘most superior in the city’, as they were built mainly of stone in a settlement in which wood and thatch were still highly prevalent.

The immediate impact of the dissolution on the architectural state of Dublin however was further dereliction. Eight monastic houses were dissolved in Dublin between 1537, when the convent of St Mary de Hogges was dismantled, and 1544 when the influential Cistercian abbey of St Mary’s succumbed also. Of these, three were Augustinian. To the east were two houses, both founded by Diarmuid McMurrough, that followed the order of Arrouaise: All Hallows’ priory of canons and nearby St Mary de Hogges. To the west, was the abbey of St Thomas the martyr, staffed by Victorine canons. Dissolution meant demolition for the majority of these religious houses. The church of the Dominican house of Friars Preachers was demolished and the building materials sold off; the church of the Augustinian friars was also demolished, although some buildings were retained for farming purposes. At St Mary de Hogges, the vice-treasurer, William Brabazon, was reputed to have plundered roofing and building materials for the repair of the castle, which was not then undertaken until 1552. All Hallows’, unusually, was given to the city, and some of its buildings, notably its steeple, described as ruinous in 1571, survived to be incorporated into Dublin’s first university, established on the site in 1591. The buildings of St Thomas’s abbey, which included a hall and a tower, were retained for the use of the lord deputy and commissioners, and granted to Brabazon in 1544, ultimately becoming the seat of his family who became the earls of Meath in 1627. His ennobled descendants were probably unaware that their wealth and rank was garnered from corruption in high office, Brabazon being one of the chief offenders, accused of fraud.

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12 Lennon, Lords of Dublin, 30-3; Deeds, 1115 (1508).
13 Clarke, Dublin to 1610, 10. For example, Account roll, 37-9, 60-1.
16 Archdall, Monastic Hibernicum (1873), ii, 17.
17 Roland Budd, The platiorme of an universitie: All Hallows’ priory to Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin: Particular Books, 2001), 13, 27-9; Clarke, Dublin to 1610, 19.
and peculation in 1537 by Archbishop Browne. Brabazon and Lord Deputy Anthony St Leger were considered a double act facilitating 'widespread profiteering from dissolved monastic and confiscated rebel lands by way of speculation and undervaluation.

Following the Reformation then, the city's noteworthy buildings were Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, the castle, the parochial churches, and the archbishop's palace of St Sepulchre's, 'one of the greatest domestic buildings in the city'. After these grand Anglo-Norman building projects, it was not until Elizabeth's reign that one could properly speak of architecture, in the sense of buildings of aesthetic calibre, returning to Dublin. In 1560, Queen Elizabeth 'caused the castle of Dublin to be repaired for her lieutenants or deputies to dwell in; at which time the castle clock, and other publick clocks were setup'. Soon afterwards, a series of 'New Buildings', assembly rooms for the guilds were built, and Richard Stanihurst included these, the tholsel (where his father James, the city recorder worked from 1554-73), the market cross and St Sepulchre's in considering the 'gorgeous buildings' of Dublin. In such a context of advanced decay by the mid to late sixteenth century, the surviving monastic buildings of Christ Church, which still remained in use, must have stood out prominently in the Dublin landscape.

Two aspects of Christ Church should be considered for their bearing on its architecture and layout. It was not only a cathedral, but a house of Augustinian canons, which together conferred on it the role of cathedral priory, a rare institution in Ireland. Did the presence of Augustinians at Christ Church influence its built environment? The fact that the Augustinian canons were known for the flexibility of their rule and, more relevantly, the financially unburdensome nature of their communities relative to other orders, allowed them to become the most pervasive religious in medieval Ireland, adopted by Anglo-Norman and Irish communities alike. While most houses consisted of churches with some form of cloistered layout, the diversity of contexts, layouts and buildings has posed a formidable task for scholars to address. In the face of sparse documentation on the order in Ireland and the lack of any continuity following the Reformation there has

21 Danielle O'Donovan, 'English patron, English building? The importance of St Sepulchre's archiepiscopal palace, Dublin' in Se~n Duffy, Medieval Dublin IV (Dublin: FCP, 2003), 253-78, at 264.
22 Lennon, Lords of the Dublin, 32-3.
23 Harris, Dublin, 312.
24 Lennon, Lords of the Dublin, 29.
been only sporadic study of the order. This imbalance has been redressed in recent years, but has confirmed the broad range of Augustinian architecture and its corresponding lack of stylistic cohesion. Architectural study of Irish houses of Augustinian canons has therefore tended to be individual, such as Bridgetown priory, regional as in Clare, Killone and Inchicronan in Clare, or lineal, as in Crossmolina in Killala diocese founded from Buttevant in Cloyne diocese. Some overview of Augustinian architecture has been attempted, but the task is more difficult than for the wealthier and more regulated houses of the Cistercians. Given the light architectural imprint of the Augustinians, it is therefore difficult to assess their impact on the architecture and layout of Christ Church. Nor were they the first religious to live at Christ Church, and the relationship between the monastic buildings used from the 1160s onwards and any pre-existing ground plan or buildings has not yet been teased out.

A second question is what influence Christ Church’s role as a cathedral priory had on its architecture or layout. Key to this is the extent to which a bishop or archbishop was involved in the running of the cathedral, and more particularly whether he was resident. In Ireland as many as nine other cathedral priories may have existed at one time or another. However, aside from Christ Church, only two of these existed for any length of time: Benedictines at Downpatrick (1182-1538) and Victorine Augustinian canons at


31 The classic work is Stalley, Cistercian monasteries of Ireland.

Newtown Trim (1202-1541), each of which were suppressed at the Reformation. One more Benedictine cathedral priory might be added to this list: Cashel, a place with documented connections with the Benedictine Schottenkloster in Regensburg. The Cistercian archbishop of Cashel, Dávid mac Cearbhaill (d.1289) dreamt that the Benedictine monks of Cashel ‘abbey’ plotted to behead him, and a later confirmation of property of Hore abbey in 1289 (which he founded in 1272), noted possessions formerly belonging to the religious of the ‘Upper Rock’ at the cathedral. The evidence is slender but given the English Benedictine cathedral priories, merits investigation.

With the exception of the Irish examples already noted and the Benedictine cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, the institution of the cathedral priory was the preserve of England, with roughly half of its cathedrals established in this way by the Reformation. All were Benedictine but for the Augustinian cathedral priory of Carlisle at the Scottish frontier. Beyond this border, St Andrew’s cathedral was also staffed by Augustinians, while Dunkeld cathedral was possibly also originally intended to host Augustinian canons, after failed attempts to establish two successive Benedictine bishops. The presence of Augustinians at Christ Church from their introduction by Laurence O’Toole shortly after he became archbishop of Dublin in 1162 happened to coincide closely with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. Not only can it be seen that cathedral priories were limited to either Benedictine monks or Augustinian canons, but their distribution was one of core and periphery, the wealthier Benedictine examples in the English heartland, while the slimmed-down Augustinian in Dublin, Carlisle and Scotland occupied the frontiers of the Angevin empire. The introduction of Augustinians at Christ Church, well established in Ireland by the mid-twelfth century, may also have been a benign manner in which to reintroduce a monastic discipline on an existing community. As archbishop,

36 For which see David W. V. Weston, *Carlisle cathedral history* (Carlisle: Bookcase, 2000).
O'Toole lived in the episcopal palace at Christ Church, but as an Augustinian, he lived in community with his canons as abbot, a role associated with two later archbishops of Dublin: Alen and de Ferings. This ‘golden age of patriarchal rule in the cathedral priories’ was of as short duration in Dublin as elsewhere, and with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, their first archbishop established the prior in the cloister west range (inherited later by the dean), and moved the episcopal palace to St Sepulchre’s beside St Patrick’s, incidentally also adopting a courtyard pattern as used at Christ Church, a format found only rarely in English episcopal palaces, at Sherbourne and Old Sarum.

The possibility that the Christ Church ground plan and monastic buildings may have been influenced by an earlier monastic group cannot be ruled out. In the late eleventh- and early twelfth-centuries, Benedictines, the originators of the claustral plan in western Europe, are recorded at the cathedral, during which period the bishops of the Hiberno-Norse diocese of Dublin were loyal to Canterbury, a link which appears not to pre-date the Norman conquest of England. The foundation of the cathedral is traditionally associated with Sitriuc’s pilgrimage accompanied by the king of Brega, Flannacán Ua Cellag, to Rome in 1028, in the footsteps of Cnut, the Danish king of England, Norway and Denmark, who made the same journey in 1027. The cathedral’s founding collection of relics and its martyrology have each been traced to the city of Cologne, where there were two houses of Irish Benedictine monks. Certainly church design in

43 A practise described as ‘the conventional elder statesman’s pilgrimage to Rome’ by Seán Duffy, ‘The western world’s tower of honour and dignity: the career of Muirchertach Ua Briain in context’ in Bracken & Ó Rian-Raedel, Ireland and Europe in the twelfth century, 56-73, at 57.
the walled Hiberno-Norse towns followed a different path to that in the rest of Ireland prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The association of the early foundation of the cathedral with Rome and its northern counterpart, Cologne, suggest that the cultural influences acting on the early cathedral, prior to the Norman conquest of England, may well have derived from a fusion of the zeal of the converted Hiberno-Norse with the much older Christian contacts of the island with fellow Irish monks on the continent.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to establish the layout, form and condition of the cathedral’s monastic buildings by the Reformation. Strangely, the size of the cloister has not yet been satisfactorily established. Of four proposals made, three have considered it as a square. The first proposal, by Drew in 1882, was based on a first-hand excavation of the site, and so was best positioned to answer the question of cloister size. However, his reconstruction (plate 104) utilised little excavated evidence and less surviving documentation. The second proposal was a plan incidental to a later article by Drew focussing on the chapter house (plate 105), and depicts narrower cloister walkways, implicitly acknowledging fault with his first proposal. The south and west ranges depicted in the first plan as the refectory and ‘Domus Conversorum’ also do not appear. The latter term is more appropriate to laybrothers of a Cistercian foundation, and is perhaps a result of Drew reading too much into the death-bed conversions of the Dublin laity for inclusion in the cathedral obits. It is remarkable that these few cloister illustrations have remained relatively unquestioned for over a century, despite the obvious contradictions in the two plans, and the amateur manner in which the excavation was carried out.

The third proposed cloister is the only one to envisage the cloister as rectangular and conceives the west and south ranges of the monastic buildings as used by the courts, reading the courts of king’s bench and common pleas as occupying the old cloister garth. It is the first analysis to be based on a serious engagement with the surviving map and documentary evidence, considering Reading’s ground plan (plate 87, 97) as evidence

of the former monastic buildings. A further proposal estimates the size of the cloister garth on the basis of comparison with the thirteenth-century monastic plan of the priory of Athassel in Tipperary.\textsuperscript{50} The Anglo-Norman activity at both Augustinian houses of Christ Church and Athassel yield architectural similarities, but their differing geographical and historical contexts make direct comparison difficult; Athassel was a green field site, while Christ Church was encumbered by previous buildings and issues of space.

To reconstruct the layout and arrangement of the cloister, it must first be demonstrated that the law courts occupied the former monastic buildings, for which there are three main arguments. First, documentation confirms the continuity of use of the monastic buildings by the law courts; Sir James Ware noted of the cathedral, that the first bishop of Dublin ‘Donat built an episcopal palace near it, in the place where the deanry house formerly stood’ to which Harris added ‘which is now the site of the Four-Courts’,\textsuperscript{51} a statement that can be widened to include other claustral buildings. The continued use of the monastic buildings through traditions of residence and common dining (examined below) had by the early seventeenth century faded away, but dove-tailed neatly with the desire for a new judicial use for the buildings. Second, the discrepancy between the floor levels of the courts can only be explained if the courts occupied older existing buildings. A description of the courts as erected by Molyneux in 1608 records that while ‘the Courts of Chancery & Common please (sic) were on a level, there was an Ascent of 10 or 12 Steps or more from the Chancery to the Exchequer & from the Exchequer there was 6 or Eight steps more to the King’s Bench’.\textsuperscript{52} The restoration of the courts in 1695, by the surveyor general, William Robinson, brought the floor level of all the courts down to that of the courts of common pleas and chancery, thus demonstrating that there was no particular reason for the courts of exchequer and king’s bench to have been so elevated unless they were reflecting pre-existing natural or built topography beneath. Robinson’s alterations to upper portions seems to have been limited to his addition of a cupola or dome to the quasi-cruciform courts, visible in intact or ruinous form in later illustrations (plate 3, 13 at F, 15-16, 26-7, 94).\textsuperscript{53} Furthermore, the fact that the court of chancery

\textsuperscript{51} Ware, \textit{Works}, i, 301.
\textsuperscript{53} For Robinson, see Rolf Loeber, \textit{A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland, 1600-1720} (London: John Murray, 1981), 88-97.
extended east over a vaulted passage to the former dormitory, and that the court of
exchequer extended over the passage leading to Christ Church Lane suggests that these
were pre-existing buildings with former functions unrelated to their later judicial use.
One of the strongest arguments for the reuse of the monastic buildings is that there
would be little economic advantage to moving the courts to Christ Church if older
buildings were to be demolished (for which there is no evidence) and new ones built.
This applies, for example, in the proposed cloister based on Athassel above, which places
the refectory south of the court of chancery, an unconvincing argument considering the
demolition and rebuilding required.54 If the courts were to be built anew, a variety of
other green field sites existed around Dublin with fewer limits on the available space to
be used. Ockam’s razor suggests that the simplest solution, that the courts occupied the
old monastic buildings, is the most likely, in turn defining the monastic cloister as square.

These monastic buildings were substantial,55 centrally located and prestigious, part of
Dublin’s oldest foundation. No wonder their attraction to the judiciary. As a solution to
the cathedral’s economic problems,56 Dean Wheeler must have welcomed the idea with
open arms. Although payments were hugely delayed in arriving, documents dated June
1629 confirm the cathedral’s lease of the Four Courts to the crown on a 1000 year lease
at £12 a year.57 If Molyneux arrived at the cathedral seeking space for four courts, he had
room for three: the king’s bench in the west range, the exchequer probably in the old
kitchen and the chancery in the refectory, needing only one further space for the
common pleas court. A logical location to build this would be in the cloister where walls
on at least three sides provided an existing structure. Adding a fourth wall, a floor and
ceiling, to enclose this further court would be a relatively minor modification, allowing
the courts to be occupied quickly. From the surviving evidence and as the simplest
solution, this version of events appears most likely.58 To visualise this process, plans of
the lower and upper levels of the former monastic buildings have been collated with
smaller plots scaled onto Reading’s map (figures 1-2), and demonstrate this additative
process, with the court of common pleas occupying the west half of the former cloister.

54 A point also noted by Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 113 and note 96.
55 See pp 57-71 below.
56 Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 182.
57 Deeds, 1500-1; RCB C6/1/26/7/1; CAB, 156; James Morrin, Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in
Ireland, Charles I (Dublin, 1863), 450-1.
58 An examination of the cloister is made in Stuart Kinsella, ‘Mapping Christ Church cathedral, Dublin
c.1028-1608: an examination of the western precinct of the monastic buildings’ in John Bradley, A.J.
Fletcher & Anngret Simms (ed.), Dublin and the medieval world (Dublin: FCP, forthcoming), which also
disputes the proposed cloister plan suggested in Michael O’Neill, ‘Aspects of the architecture of Athassel
and Holy Trinity Augustinian priories’ in the same volume.
First, a deed of 1662 locates the court in the old cloister, describing a room used by Sir Walter Plunkett of Dublin, prothonotary of the common pleas, as 'in the cloister yard of Holy Trinity under the Court of Common Pleas'. Second, the additional foundations required to support the court of common pleas are shown beneath its east and south walls in a map of 1701 (plate 82). This depicts apparently semi-circular columns which, as they are not illustrated in any other plans of court cellars, are most likely new supports for the building above, whether or not they are architecturally accurate representations. While the eastern foundations were required for the wall, the southern supports probably reinforced the entranceway which would have received much traffic. Third, the fact that, as noted above, the floor level was the same as that of the neighbouring court of chancery supports the notion that the court of common pleas was built to be incorporated in the simplest manner possible into the reused monastic buildings. Fourth, while the court of king's bench meets with the cathedral structure to its north, the court of common pleas east of it, extends only to the northern cloister garth boundary (plate 83, 90-3 & figure 1). Finally, surviving views of the court of common pleas (plates 18-20, 22) support the idea that it was a later addition. The tops of the windows of common pleas are square rather than round-headed as found in the other courts, suggesting that it belongs to a different period. Furthermore, although the height of common pleas was lower than that of the king's bench, a portion of the eastern windows of the latter court was blocked so that only the top portion of the windows continued to provide light (plate 22). As the transfer of all of the courts to Christ Church was simultaneous, this addition is thus identified as the work of Molyneux in his conversion of the buildings.

What has not been touched upon is the cloister walks in this arrangement. Leases of 1631-2 to the sexton, Daniel Weld, noted a width of 8½ feet 'betwixt the Cloyster pale and the Church dore on the south side of the holie Trinitie', a description which can only refer to either the north or east alleys. On the east side, it could relate to the steps up to a door in the south face of the south transept originally used by the Augustinians for direct access from the dormitory to the church, or an entrance to the crypt in the west wall of the transept. More likely however is one of the two doorways in the south aisle of the nave in the northern alley, which continued west still referred to in 1761 as 'Vaults in M'Gowan's hands with a passage into Christ Church lane', and aligned with the original line of the

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59 Deeds, 1632.
60 CAB, 164, 177-8 noted in Stalley, 'Cathedral and priory buildings', 115.
61 Appendix 6, no. 39.
south wall of the cathedral (figure 1). 62 Drew recorded excavated evidence at this vaulted alley beneath the west range, exaggeratedly labelled ‘gateway’, 63 though one wonders how this was in evidence as Street had already built the porch entrance joining the cathedral and the bridge to the synod hall over this section (plate 49-50). The eastern alley ran south out to the passage passing beneath the eastern end of the former refectory (as at many religious houses) later court of chancery, curving west out to Christ Church Lane beneath the main arched gateway, still visible in plans of 1817 (plate 93).

The above evidence allows the identification of the cloister garth as a square surrounded by cloister walks projecting on northern and eastern sides. The south and western sides however appear to have been integrated, a subject best returned to after an examination of the age of the cloister, for which there are three sources of evidence: archaeological, ground plan, and documentary, which will be examined in this order. Archaeological remains dating from at least two separate periods have been identified which may relate to the cloister. Whether these formed part of the western and southern ranges, or the projecting walkways to the north and east, is unknown. In 1564, concern that the state of the south aisle wall might break the roof of the cloister,64 attests to the presence of covered north walkway. Concern for the cloister roof’s fragility suggests that it may have been a light-weight, timber covering. Although arcading beneath integrated ranges was designed to be load-bearing, projecting walkways were not, and as a result the delicacy of projecting arcades has meant that they rarely survive.65 The earliest archaeological remains at the cathedral are a set of Romanesque cushion and scalloped capital fragments, first noted by Street and rediscovered during archaeological work in 1999 (figure 4.a). Their original location is difficult to pinpoint. Street describes their discovery when ‘pulling down the walls’, suggesting that they could have been internal features within the cathedral, or for example, part of a window or internal arcade. If placed in the cloister however, the capitals could well have crowned columns of an early arcade. His further note that they had ‘been subjected to fire’,66 may identify them just there. One of few dated fires at Christ Church in 1283, burnt the steeple or ‘campanile’.67 A cathedral

62 A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 511 (1 April 1881), 102 notes this western vault’s alignment with the south transept.
63 A point also queried by Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 111-12.
64 PA 1564-5, 113.
66 Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 90.
67 ‘Annals of St Mary’s abbey’ in Chartularies of St Mary’s abbey, Dublin... and annals of Ireland, 1162-1370, ed. J.T. Gilbert (2 vols, London, 1884-6), ii, 290, 318-19; Grace, Annales, 39.
vicar choral, Meredith Hanmer writing in the 1590s,\(^6\) noted that the fire affected 'the belfrie or steeple and Chapter house of the blessed Trinity', but also 'the Dormiture and Cloyster'.\(^7\) Although likely, the latter detail, may be an embroidering of earlier annals.\(^8\) A freestanding waterleaf capital with square abacus from the cathedral’s stone collection, recently suggested as having occupied a wall arcade or cloister arcade (figure 4.1),\(^7\) highlights the many unanswered questions remaining over this collection.

Street’s assignment of the cloister fragments to Dúnán’s church may just refer to the pre-Anglo-Norman building, given that these are probably twelfth-century.\(^7\) This dating is based on a comparison with 'our best guess of what a 12th-century Benedictine cloister of the highest rank looked like', Henry I’s foundation, Reading abbey, established in 1121.\(^7\) However, the dating of scallop capitals can also extend to the late twelfth century. Whether cushion capitals and their evolved form scallop capitals, pre-date the Norman conquest in 1066 has been a topic of debate. Recent views were that they do not pre-date the conquest, but in 1951, Zarnecki wrote that 'Cushion capitals had already been used in some Anglo-Saxon buildings and were derived, no doubt, from Germany, where they were quite common from the beginning of the eleventh century'.\(^7\) Thurlby suggested this view may be valid having revisited evidence noted in 1853 of the reuse of Romanesque sculpture including scalloped capitals at Southwell minster in a Norman rebuilding.\(^7\) These suggested dates are closer to the date of the foundation of the Dublin cathedral. In a European context, however, geometric capitals such as these could date any time between the eleventh and late twelfth centuries.\(^7\) In this case, their design is

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\(^7\) Meredith Hanmer, ‘Chronicle of Ireland’ in The Historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors viz. Meredith Hanmer Doctor in Divinite: Edmund Campion sometime fellow of St John’s Colledge in Oxford: and Edmund Spenser Esq. (Dublin, 1633), 1-206, at 205.

\(^8\) Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 102, note 41.

\(^9\) Michael O’Neill, ‘Stonework’ exhibition in north transept (April 2008), panel text. The Christ Church medieval stone collection, formerly in the crypt, is now stored in the crypt of St Werburgh’s church.


derived from the West Country in England. One opportunity for rebuilding would have been the return of Bishop Gréine to Dublin between 1123-9, following a long sojourn in England where he was exposed to Anglo-Norman building styles. West Country influence at just this time can also be found at Cormac’s chapel at Cashel.

Other archaeological remains survive that may point to a later cloister arcade at Christ Church. Two pieces are ‘a piece of hood moulding with cusped ornament’ (figure 5.a), and a multi-moulded base composed of horizontal bands of varying thickness and grouped as hexagonal shafts (figure 5.b). A moulded plinth for three half-octagonal bases with a tail, perhaps a cloister buttress, and a cluster of five capitals, have also been tentatively assigned to a cloister. While all but the cusped piece have been assigned to the fifteenth century, these surviving remains seem too disparate to belong to the cloister of a single campaign. The only documentation for a late medieval rebuilding of the cloister at Christ Church is an obit entry which notes a legacy of £10 left by Sir Roger Darcy for the building of a cloister. Darcy flourished in the mid to late fourteenth century and his name occurs in the obits before that of Robert Lokynton, prior of the cathedral, who died in 1397. It is possible that some of these fragments can be associated with a rebuilding of the cloister in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The first two pieces noted bear a resemblance to the Perpendicular gothic cloister arcade found in Cook Street, thought probably to be from St Mary’s abbey, although Christ Church has also been considered (figure 7.b). The mouldings of the Christ Church examples however, are simpler and may therefore indicate an earlier date. The cusped piece forms a portion of what on the Cook Street examples forms a trefoil in the spandrel of the cloister arch. The building of cloisters in England in the mid-fourteenth century was restricted almost exclusively to Windsor and to St Paul’s cathedral and Westminster.

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80 Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 114; Rachel Moss, ‘Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: Crypt stone project, a database of medieval carved stone (Unpublished report, Christ Church Cathedral Dublin & The Heritage Council, 1999), M1114.
81 Moss, ‘Crypt stone project’, E1271.
82 Moss, ‘Crypt stone project’, E1378. A cross is carved on the base of a similar shaped stone (L1423), illustrated in Butler, *Christ Church*, opp 34.
83 Moss, ‘Crypt stone project’, H1186.
84 Registers, 66.
abbey in London, a city with which Dublin had regular contact. The same trefoil motif and cusping is present on the lower portion of old St Paul’s cathedral cloister in London, (figure 7.a). If this inspired the Dublin examples, it would once again demonstrate a stylistic deference on the part of the colonial periphery to the imperial heartland of London and the royal court. Searching for sources for fifteenth-century cloisters for Ireland, Dublin would be the obvious place to look – where did the ‘White Earl’ of Ormond and his entourage, for example, who spent much time in Dublin during his periods as chief governor in the first half of the fifteenth century, find the design for the cloisters of his abbey of Holy Cross in Tipperary? A late fourteenth-century date for a Perpendicular cloister at Christ Church would be the earliest such evidence in Ireland. The ground plan also contributes to our understanding the cloister’s age namely through a peculiarity of the west range. Throughout the medieval period and indeed surviving until the early nineteenth century, a series of chambers aligning north-south connected a subterranean route from north of the cathedral through the crypt, under the west range of the cloister beneath the prior’s hall, eventually to emerge in the passage south of the cloister which ran out to Christ Church lane (figure 2). The unusual epithet of ‘Hell’ binds three divisions of the route together beneath the west range identifiable with the crypt, and cellars under the courts of the king’s bench and the exchequer.

The naming scheme arises from two cellars in the crypt known as ‘Paradis’ and ‘Hell’ which occupied neighbouring vaults of the crypt at the west end of St John’s Lane. Naming porches or entrances as Paradise is common, mimicking a celestial portal. A feature in a graveyard in Kilranelagh, Wicklow, possibly part of a slab-shrine, through which all the coffins were brought, for example, was called the ‘Gates of Heaven’. One origin may be the Cluniac tradition of prayer for the dead in chapels in western narthexes or galilaea to ensure their entry into paradise, a term applied generally by the end of the

88 Toby Barnard & Jane Fenlon, ‘Preface’ in Toby Barnard & Jane Fenlon (ed.), The dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), x note that from the appointment in 1688 of the second duke of Ormonde, an ‘e’ was added to the Ormond name, and use Ormonde or Ormondes to refer to the family ‘over its entire history’, which is the practice followed here. The Ormond atelier noted in chapter iii, 102-3, 116-18 notes a specific period of Ormond earls, not the Ormonde family, and is here given as Ormond.
89 Stalley, Cistercian monasteries of Ireland, 152-62.
90 Deeds, 740.
twelfth-century to porches and entrances such as in Durham, Lincoln and Ely. On the early ninth-century plan of the Benedictine St Gaul plan in Switzerland however, Paradise marks the enclosures beyond the semi-circular apses east and west of the church. Several cathedrals in England have areas known as Paradise: a wall at Winchester, a southeastern space at Durham, the garth at Chichester, some having threshold characteristics. Such named spaces were also found in Ireland in a chamber at St Canice’s cathedral, and an orchard or garden lately called “paradise,” in St. Brigid’s-st., suburbs of Dublin, part of Christ Church property noted in 1464, 1557 and 1606. The location of Paradise at Christ Church given in 1379 was close to two entrances: the first, a bay east of it, was the north-south passage along the crypt west bay (plate 78), visible as a northern crypt door (plate 64). The second, two bays east, was ‘the door in the north side of Holy Trinity Church, opposite Winetavern street’ to which entrance was gained by an elevated stairway (plate 5). Either could have earned the moniker ‘Paradise’.

Presumably in contradistinction to this distinctive name, a neighbouring cellar to the east of Paradise, extant as a tavern from at least 1629 to 1649, was called ‘Hell’. Although no Paradise is noted in the seventeenth century, the presence of its antithesis suggests that the fourteenth-century title had left its mark on the naming of a cellar, indeed the

99 Deeds, 974, 1246.
100 Deeds, 740, 1284.
cellar had an almost continuous history of occupation from 1331 until 1679. Hell was located along the north side of the crypt nave and, perhaps for a time, beneath the north transept, although it is difficult to determine how far these taverns reached beneath the cathedral. Presumably by association, the sobriquet Hell was applied in 1686 to a cellar beneath the court of exchequer, due south of the cellars of John Amos given up by William Scrivener c.1678 (plate 78). The term applied equally, in 1701, to the cellar due north of this, under the court of king’s bench. In addition, ‘the corner by Hell’ was noted in 1705 with reference to other tenants who held ‘part of the Common pleas offices … in Cloyster Yard’. By the late eighteenth-century, Hell was applied to the narrow entrance way to the passage from Christ Church lane where the cellar Hell emerged. Whether Hell was a cellar or a passageway in a 1742 report is ambiguous, but it is a passageway in Rocque’s map of 1756 (plate 86, 21), in Prancer’s 1788 account, a chapter act of 1792, and in two nineteenth-century memoirs. Gilbert noted the migration of the name and also its extension to apply to the entire route from Christ Church Lane beneath the court of chancery, south of the old chapter house (the ‘dark passage’ on Reading’s map which Drew regarded as ‘Hell’) to Christ Church Yard.

This infernal digression over a wide chronological range is relevant because, with the exception of the use of the term Hell from the late eighteenth century onwards, the term is applied to the aforementioned north-south sequence of cellars. However, there is early documentary and surviving architectural evidence which locates a road beneath a western portion of the cathedral and claustral buildings in the early thirteenth century. If the above noted north-south axis and the thirteenth-century subterranean roadway can be identified as the same western passageway, this has implications for the dating of the ground plan of the cloister that survived to the dissolution and beyond. Two Anglo-

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103 Deeds, 1795, 1818.
104 Deeds, 1864; RCB C6/1/3/6, 2-3.
106 [Reilly's] Dublin Newsletter (9-13 January 1742).
107 J. Prancer, ['Observatory belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, described'], Gentleman's Magazine, lviii, 1 (April 1788), 291-4 & plate 1 (fig. 3).
108 C6/1/7/7, ff 168-168v. This volume, one of the original chapter act books (C6/1/7) was mis-labelled a copy (C6/1/8), but has since been renumbered as C6/1/7/7 indicating it as an original. The result is that any scholars referring to chapter act records between 1770-93 may now be referring to the copy volume.
109 St.P., "As true's the Deil's in hell / Or Dublin city.", Notes and Queries, 5th ser., iv (30 October 1875), 357 and [K. Harr], 'Notes and Queries: John Burke's recollections', D.H.R., vi, 4 (September-November, 1944), 150-3, at 151.
Norman documents shed light on this surviving routeway. The first is a grant of 1226 to the prior of Holy Trinity, Dublin ‘that he may divert into his neighbouring land a street under the church of the Holy Trinity and the Prior’s chamber.’\textsuperscript{112} The prior’s chamber was in the west range, so the road must have been located at the west end beneath the cathedral and monastic buildings. The second document records Henry III’s 1234 grant to Archbishop Luke and ‘the Prior and canons of the church of the Holy Trinity in that city, that in order to lengthen and enlarge [‘elongandam et dilatandam’\textsuperscript{113}] their church they may occupy and close up a street lying near it towards the west; provided that in place of the street they carry a road along the neighbouring land of the Prior and canons extending to the old street on the other side of that land. This road will give free access to the church’.\textsuperscript{114} The diversion of two separate roads at the west end of the cathedral within eight years of each other seems unlikely. It is possible that the distinction between the road being ‘under the church’ and ‘near it towards the west’ may reflect the stage of rebuilding of the nave at this time; O’Neill has suggested 1234 as the date for the commencement of the nave.\textsuperscript{115} The point of note here is that the route through the crypt and under the prior’s chambers was a publicly accessible north-south route.

Archaeological remains of this route survive; a 1999 excavation noted a ‘beaten slate / mortared floor’ in the fifth and final (westernmost) bay of the crypt, identifiable with this right-of-way.\textsuperscript{116} Architectural remains also survive; the route (plate 78) is still emphasised by chamfered Dundry blocks set at a height distinct from the rest of the crypt. As yet no reason for this height discrepancy has been advanced. It probably reflects the fact that the topography underlying the cathedral is at its lowest at this point (plate 5). The neighbouring bay to the east demonstrates however, that the topography cannot account entirely for the height difference of the chamfer stops. Therefore, the western bay is

\textsuperscript{112} Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251 [etc.] (5 vols, London, 1875-86), nos 1356 & 1382.
\textsuperscript{113} The Latin ‘dilatandam’ is translated in the Patent Rolls as ‘widening’, but in the Calendar as ‘enlarging’. The word ‘dilatatio’ is defined as ‘enlargement’ in R.E. Latham (ed.), Revised medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources (London: British Academy & OUP, 1965), 147.
\textsuperscript{114} Pat Rolls, Henry III, 1232-1247, 70, printed in Lanin in Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, ed. J.T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, London, 1870), 100 and Cal Doc Ire., 1171-1251, 323, no. 2178.
marked out as architecturally distinct from its neighbouring crypt bays. On the north wall, 'dressings of soft stone', probably Dundry, survived until the restoration of the 1870s; McVittie described these as two doorways, 'one over the other, both in good preservation ... with chamfered jambs, and semi-circular chamfered heads'. A stepped entrance to the cloister survives on the south side of the passage. The decorative chamfer stops on the Dundry blocks are similar to work found in the south transept and would sit comfortably in the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century.

Despite the Anglo-Norman dating of the embellishments, the fact that builders of the same era wished to move the routeway implies that the route, and therefore the buildings over it, predated the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The cloister size must then have been limited by this pre-existing north-south right-of-way to the west until at least 1226, by which time the ground plan of the claustral buildings had been established. The origin of this route so inconvenient to the Anglo-Normans was most likely a legacy of the first developmental phase of Viking Dublin, a dún or fort dated 841-980, which surrounded the settlement with a defensive earthen bank (plate 106, A). This conjectural location of the dún relative to the cathedral was first proposed from studies carried out in 1978 'based on town plan analysis and excavation reports'. It seems logical that any such physical boundary would have been serviced on its inner side by a routeway. From c.980, Hiberno-Norse Dublin was a settlement which thrived on trade, forcing the expansion of the city westwards over this dún boundary (plate 106, B). In the process this placed Christ Church in what would remain the centre of the medieval town for the rest of the medieval period. This west range axis of chambers surviving far beyond the Reformation therefore may reflect the influence of one of the earliest topographical features on the site, namely the man-made dún wall, on the monastic layout.

Having examined the origins of this route beneath the west range, we can return to the question of the south and west cloister ranges. As a square cloister garth with projecting walkways on the north and east, logically the west and south alleyways must be beneath the west range and refectory. An alleyway has been shown beneath the west range and was

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117 James Mills, 'Sixteenth century notices of the chapels and crypts of the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin', R.S.A.I., xxx (1900), 195-203, at 200, who elucidates the prose of R.B. McVittie, Details of the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin, 1878), 63.


probably matched by one beneath the south range. This integration of the walkways within the cellars of the ranges, first proposed for the cathedral in 1884, is unusual in Ireland before the late medieval period, when the form was popularised by the Franciscans. Examination of a wide range of cloistered houses built by the Anglo-Normans shows that projecting walkways were the predominant form. As the route beneath the west range appears to predate the Anglo-Normans, so it is reasonable to question whether the ground plan, if not also the buildings of the ranges, are earlier. A survey of many of Europe’s earliest cloisters demonstrates that integrated ranges were not unusual in the early eleventh century. Their character was robust at ground floor level; at Simeonstift in Trier (c.1036) substantial piers with roundheaded arches (figure 8.a), may allude to the Roman architecture of that city. St-Philbert at Tournus, built between 1028 and 1056, is a similar example. Later in the eleventh century, for example in the cloister of St Benedetto, Conversano (figure 8.b), the same round arches of the ranges form relieving arches to allow for more delicate arcading within them.

The collation and plotting of map evidence can help depict the arrangement of cellars beneath the west and south ranges (figure 2). Another map by Mason (plate 94) depicts blocks along the eastern wall of the former court of common pleas and the walls of the court of chancery, but their interpretation is uncertain. Notes on the map indicate that all four courts are in ruins, but solid walls are indicated for the courts of king’s bench and exchequer. One interpretation is to read these blocks as actual piers, in this case, supporting the east wall of the court of common pleas, which may correspond to the those on the west side. However, the foundations surveyed in 1701 (plate 82) do not align with Mason’s arches. A single 1566 reference to the area beneath the court of the king’s bench notes ‘the stone pillar in the middle therof’. An 1825 illustration is the sole visual source for the arch type found on the south side of the refectory (plate 21), and depicts a simple round-headed arch. If Mason’s plan represents piers, this arch would be one of a series of five bays running through the south range, the easternmost of which led into the eastern cloister walk. A completely open arcaded undercroft

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120 See p. 70.
121 Drew, ‘Cloister garth and monastic buildings’, 216.
125 Deeds, 1303, RCB C6/1/26/5, no. 1.
beneath the south range similar, for example, to the ground floor of the long room in Trinity College is difficult to find medieval parallels for, but a more enclosed version with the same number of bays is a likely estimation of the south range basement. Alternatively the drawn block piers are graphic representations of demolished walls. The c.1818 map, which indicates all the courts as ‘in Ruins’, would then imply that the courts of common pleas and chancery were demolished at this time. It is however impossible to reconcile the proposed demolished walls with the surviving images of the Four Courts (plates 18-20, 22-3), such that the former explanation is more likely. Two arches are certain to have existed: the eastern arch leading to the eastern cloister walk and that, possibly medieval, drawn by Murphy (plate 21). Putting these plan and visual details together with what is known of the upper floors of the old four courts a simple model can be derived (the additional arches implied by Mason’s plan are visible in outline) giving an approximated view of the monastic buildings as probably survived to the Reformation (figure 9).

One unanswered question is how such seemingly permeable integrated ranges maintained a sense of claus trium or enclosure for the Augustinian canons. The south range had at least two archways leading into the range from the laneway to its south (figure 9, plate 21). In addition, the western alley was a publicly accessible thoroughfare until at least the early thirteenth century, and access to the crypt was possible later in the medieval period as shown by portions of the crypt leased before the Reformation. Lanfranc’s late twelfth-century monastic constitutions for Canterbury and other Benedictine houses show that while the crypt, cloister or chapterhouse were accessible to the religious, public access was only by arrangement with a guestmaster. The passage of a road so close to Holy Trinity’s cloister was therefore unusual, and its diversion in the 1230s could be interpreted as an attempt to limit public access to the cathedral priory precinct.

One final method whereby the ground plan can provide evidence of the cloister’s age is in analysis of its setting out. The surviving evidence for the cathedral’s pre-1170s history is slim indeed, however, the small size of the late medieval cloister demonstrated above, argues that the cloister is unlikely to have been expanded either symmetrically or asymmetrically since its establishment. There is no documentation of the Augustinians reusing or adapting pre-existing Benedictine claustral remains, but given the generally minimal architectural impact of the Augustinians, this is a likely and economic scenario. Measurements from the ground plans of cloister and cathedral support a hypothesis of

The method of laying out is what the medieval mason referred to as *ad quadratum*, that is, from the square, and this commonly used method is found throughout the monastic and cathedral plan. This is done by establishing a square, and either taking its diagonal and using it as a width to establish a larger square, or taking its width and using that as the diagonal of a smaller square. Bearing in mind that the cathedral was laid out in a confined urban space, it is logical to search for small modular units within the plan first. These and the relationships between them are illustrated in the accompanying diagram (figure 10). An important relationship to establish is that between the square of the south transept and the claustral buildings. A diagonal in the south transept pivoted at the south east corner, curves down to transept south façade to form a line that extends into the cloister by the width of the cloister alley. The ratio of the width of the transept to the width of the transept plus the cloister alley is the *ad quadratum* relationship of 1 to the square root of 2, a mathematically ‘irrational’ number, easily extracted from lengths revolving around an axis. Similarly, a diagonal pivoted at the north west corner of the south transept curves downwards to align with the west wall of the transept, extending across the slype into the east range to touch the north wall of the chapter house. Another relationship demonstrates that the entire cathedral and cloister can be contained within one square whose centre is in the angle of the south nave aisle and transept. This is delimited by the western wall of king’s bench, the transept north wall, the chancery south wall, and the entrance to the crypt eastern chapel.

The width of the cathedral nave and the diagonal of the cloister are also the same which suggests a relationship between the aisle proportions and the plan of the cloister. The foundation narratives explicitly attribute to Dúnán both the nave and ‘two collateral structures’, either aisles or transepts. Also, the Anglo-Norman transepts recognised a pre-existing aisled nave to the west. Unless these transept entrances were unaligned with the previous building (unlikely given the continuous use of the building and the fact that a new nave was not rebuilt for at least 40-50 years), this implies that it is the width of an earlier nave and aisles that related to the cloister diagonal. The width of the overall square cloister plan from the angle between the south transept and the nave to the south wall of

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128 Nicola Coldstream, *Masons and sculptor* (Medieval craftsmen series, British Museum Press, 1991), 36-9. Her acknowledgements relished Peter Kidson’s advice that ‘one did not need to be a mathematician to understand medieval systems of proportion’.

129 Stalley, ‘Construction of the medieval cathedral’, 68.
the south range is the same length as the five-bay crypt. These five relationships and numerous others demonstrate a clear and close relationship between the cathedral and cloister plans which make it almost certain that both were laid out simultaneously.

The exceptions to this plan are logical and include the court of exchequer, the site of a combustible kitchen which understandably was at a remove; the fourteenth-century long choir; and the spacing of the piers of the nave crypt. Dundry stone throughout the latter indicates Anglo-Norman rebuilding and perhaps repositioned the supporting piers (the nave and crypt piers are unaligned\textsuperscript{136}), although this may not have affected the number of bays. The location of one of these earlier piers may be indicated by the surviving stepped foundations now on display beneath glazing. The uppermost slab shows a curve which may have marked the base of a pillar (figure 3).\textsuperscript{131} Also, although the crypt chapels are truncated by the suggested bounding square, other refinements to the laying out process include them, and they lie within the duplication of two crossing squares eastward.

A number of mild misalignments between the diagrams and the underlying map require explanation. First, the primary plan by Reading (plate 87) is damaged by folds and although the best depiction of the ground plan at the time, it inaccurately depicts the long choir as straight,\textsuperscript{132} which may also account for the deviation in the north-south alignment of the western wall of king’s bench and exchequer. Second, the thicknesses of walls very often accounted for the deviation in the reality of ground plans from their theoretical measurements,\textsuperscript{133} as recently demonstrated for Cormac’s chapel.\textsuperscript{134} Third, as no map exists which surveys together the cathedral, the crypt beneath it, and the old law courts to its south, plans have been collated digitally, made semi-transparent, and had their scales adjusted to allow for reasonable comparison. Over two centuries of surveying cumulative errors have naturally occurred. Maps and drawings presented here (figure 1-2, 12) are therefore approximations based on available resources.

Given such an integrated ground plan, an important question to establish is how old it is. The cathedral foundation narratives ascribe the building of the choir, the bell tower\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{131} Pointed out to me by Professor Olaf Olsen, former director of the National Museum of Denmark.
\textsuperscript{132} See chapter i, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{134} Roger Stalley, ‘Design and function: the construction and decoration of Cormac’s chapel at Cashel’ in Bracken & Ó Rian-Raedel, \textit{Ireland and Europe in the twelfth century}, 162-75, at 171.
\textsuperscript{135} Mentioned only in the later foundation narrative.
and two chapels to the Anglo-Normans.\(^\text{136}\) While the above-crypt levels of the transepts were rebuilt in the late twelfth century, these narratives attribute only extensions from the crossing and transepts to the Anglo-Normans: vertically for the bell tower (if located over the crossing) and eastwards, horizontally, for the chapels. The square plans of the crossing and transepts were unaltered. Furthermore, beneath them in the crypt, the piers lack any Dundry embellishment. These two later characteristics suggest that this core portion, and if integrated, then the cloister plans also, pre-dated the Anglo-Normans.

One other feature of the ground plan is unusual and useful for dating purposes. Short, polygonal apses and \(\textit{ételiron}\) (stepped) arrangements of chapels, as found in the crypt ground plan at Christ Church are rare in Ireland and England. Winchester, begun after the Norman conquest in 1079, is the earliest English example.\(^\text{137}\) The Christ Church ground plan also features a crossing and square transepts (stemming from the crossing rather than the outer walls) in a 1:1:1 relationship. Eleventh-century ground plans in Europe provide good comparisons with these features, and it might here be remembered that early eleventh-century England was ruled by Danish kings, with whom Sitriuc shared some cultural affinity. England’s architecture at this time was inspired by continental examples from north Lotharingia and ultimately imperial Germany.\(^\text{138}\) In Cologne, from whence Christ Church’s relics originated,\(^\text{139}\) St Pantaleon has a similar five-bay aisled nave and square transepts,\(^\text{140}\) and a polygonal or three-apsed arrangement can also be found in another Cologne church, St Georg’s.\(^\text{141}\) Such examples show that the Christ Church ground plan that predated the Anglo-Normans, while possibly being influenced by countries closer to Ireland, might have drawn directly on continental rather than England models, especially given the cathedral’s associations with Rome and Cologne at its foundation.\(^\text{142}\) This question of whether cultural influence on Ireland came directly from Europe or was mediated through England is a recurring theme over the next centuries.

Documentary evidence further helps to identify the cloister’s age. One of the foundation narratives notes that Sitriuc ‘gave also gold and silver sufficient to build a church with all

\(^{136}\) Appendix 4, A2 & B10.
\(^{139}\) Ó Ruain, ‘Das Martyrologium’ in the English synopsis leaves little doubt over this.
\(^{142}\) O’Keeffe, \textit{Romanesque Ireland}, 101-2 suggested this before the Cologne evidence was known.
its court’, and that Dúnán erected ‘the chapel of St Nicholas on the north side, with other buildings according to the wish of the founder.’ This court (translated from ‘curia’) with its structures may correspond to a cloister and monastic buildings. Such courts were known in early Irish monasteries; a courtyard, consisting of a private central open space called a *plateola* or *platea*, was usually located to the west of the church. For example, gifts presented to Columba in the monastery of Conall, bishop of Culraithin (Coleraine) were laid out ‘*in platea monasterii strata*’, translated as ‘in the courtyard of the monastery’. As Irish monasteries grew larger, these courts became larger and more public, but their layout differed markedly from the angular grid-patterns of Benedictine foundations. This difference is reflected etymologically. The terms *‘platea’* or *‘platea’*, mean open space, site or plot (sometimes square), while *‘curia’* means a courtyard (implying enclosure, and with formal or legal associations). Interestingly, the cathedral foundation narrative refers to the bishop’s palace west of the cathedral as a *‘platea pallata’*, suggesting some form of cultural fusion between the Hiberno-Norse cathedral and its Irish surrounds. Another foundation narrative entry notes a church of St Michael built with remaining money and timber near the refectory. This implies that the refectory was a pre-existing building, but also recalls that the buildings were mainly wooden. Indeed Norwegian churches built between c.1030-c.1070, following the initial mission phase, were all wooden, thought to be inspired by Dublin and Waterford Hiberno-Norse examples.

The earliest firm evidence of monks at the cathedral is from the condemnation by the Benedictine Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury of Bishop Samuel Ua hAingliu of Dublin who had ‘expelled and dispersed several of the monks appointed to serve in the said church’. written some time between 1100 and 1109. Traditionally, the second to

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143 Appendix 4, B9.
144 Edmond O'Donovan, *Early Christian and medieval excavations at Teach Naithi; the changing morphology of a church site in Dundrum* in Séan Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin X* (Dublin: FCP, forthcoming), delivered as a Friends of Medieval Symposium lecture on Saturday 24 May 2008, identifies a group of Dublin churches with western plateaux and topography falling away to the east as St Michael le Pole, St Naithi’s, Dundrum; Kilbogget, Cabinteely; Lehaunstown; and Kilgobbin, Stepaside.
147 Appendix 4, B10, A3 & B10.
fourth bishops of Dublin are regarded as Benedictines, although the training of the second bishop, Gilla Pátraic, at Worcester has recently been questioned. The question arises then as to whether the Benedictines were introduced by these later bishops or during the episcopacy of the first bishop, Dúnán. Benedictine cathedral priories existed in England in the examples of Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester and Sherbourne, from the late tenth century. There appear to have been no Irish Benedictine houses then, but Irish associations with continental houses were known. The cathedral relic collection was tailor-made for the foundation of the new Dublin cathedral at one of two Irish houses of Benedictine monks at St Pantaleon and Groß St Martin in Cologne. The cathedral martyrology also came from Cologne, originally compiled in one of two Benedictine monasteries, Saint-Félix, or more likely, Saint-Symphorien in Metz, ruled by an Irish abbot named Fingenius. While a visit by Sitriuc to Cologne is not documented, his pilgrimage in 1028, accompanied by another nobleman, Flannacán Ua Cellaig, king of Brega, is the most logical way of explaining the transport of the relics and martyrology to Dublin. The fact that one of the first grants of land to the cathedral was Portrane in southern Brega (which extended into modern north county Dublin) may reflect a joint initiative in establishing the cathedral. It is known that the ecclesiastical family of Uí Dúnáin ... was based at Tuilén (Dulane) in Brega, and the first bishop, Dúnán, bears the name of this family. The presence of other Leinster monks training in Cologne has also prompted the suggestion that Dúnán may have been training there as a Benedictine under Elias, abbot of both St Pantaleon and Groß St Martin (1019-42).

In summary then, the cloister which survived to the Reformation was not only 300 years old dating to the Anglo-Norman rebuilding, but dated at least in plan, and possibly in

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196 Michael Richter, ‘The European dimension of Irish history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, Peritia, 4 (1985), 328-345, at 332 notes that it is rare for it to be recorded that he did not travel alone.
199 For the Uí Dúnáin, see D. Ó Corráin, ‘Mael Muire Ua Dúnáin (1040-1117), reformer’ in P. de Brún, S. Ó Coileáin & Pádraig Ó Rían (ed.), Folia Gadelica: essays presented by former students to R.A. Breatnach (Cork, 1983), 47-53.
buildings, to an earlier period. This is testified by the small size of the cloister limited by a Hiberno-Norse routeway to the west; its measurements consonant with the earliest known proportions of the cathedral; the presence of integrated ranges, unusual in late twelfth and thirteenth-century Ireland and the sustained presence of Benedictines documented from at least the late eleventh century. It is possible that some rebuilding work took place under some of the later bishops of Dublin funded by eleventh and twelfth-century bequests from kings of Dublin and Leinster.\(^\text{161}\) A confused reference in the cathedral foundation narratives suggests that the episcopal palace was either newly built or extended on land formerly used as an orchard for the prior and convent. The two narratives state that this was either before there were archbishops in Ireland (1121) (the provisional date of the three Romanesque capitals already mentioned) or in Dublin (1152), but the implication is that the episcopal palace was rebuilt in the first half of the twelfth century, perhaps more appropriately at the end of it following the elevation of Dublin to the archiepiscopate in 1152. The synod at which this took place may also have provided an impetus for building projects at this time.\(^\text{162}\) However, alterations were probably piecemeal and there are no indications of wholesale rebuilding prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Indeed, there were only two episcopates of any long-term stability, that of the first bishop Dúnán (c.1030-74), and Gréine (1121-61) and it is within the latter that the above mentioned capitals and palace rebuilding fit chronologically. However, the evidence of Sitriuc’s ambitious demands for multiple buildings and the contacts with Irish Benedictines abroad provide ample motivation for the laying out of Christ Church, under the initial sustained episcopate of Dúnán as a cloistered Benedictine cathedral priory. The importance of this is that the introduction of the square cloister to Ireland is traditionally attributed to the Cistercians, whose first foundation was not until 1142 at Mellifont, a century after Christ Church’s foundation.\(^\text{163}\)

Having established the plan, and probable age range of the cloister, attention may now be turned first to the claustral buildings, and then more generally to the precinct. The levels of the cloister buildings relative to each other are not well understood. One need only compare the stairs on cathedral’s north side (plate 2, 5) with the flat Christ Church yard on the south side (plate 11, 18-19, 20) to see the difference in level. The topography is at its most irregular in the cloister area, where there is an incline upwards from north to

\(^{161}\) *Alen’s register*, 28; *Deeds* 364c.

\(^{162}\) *O’Keeffe, ‘Romanesque as metaphor’*, 315.

south (plate 15-17, 48 & 69). Furthermore, as viewed from Skinner's Row (plates 22-3), a
descent eastwards from the western gateway prevents the passage south of the cloister
from being seen. It is visible through the archway in Murphy's illustration (plate 21) and
other images of the ruined courts (plate 26) and is still evident today. Finally, the various
'dark passages' south of the cathedral, where they do not refer to covered tunnels,
indicate overshadowing by surrounding buildings (plates 22-4).

Howard Clarke has suggested that the old chapter house step half-way between the
present chapter house ruins and the present cloister level marks the original cloister
level. From the vantage point of the new exit from Street's 'lean-to' in the north east
corner, it is possible to see that the base level of the old chapter house entrance and the
base level of the low doorway into the crypt (now altered due to recent work which
lowered the floor) are at approximately the same level, which would support Clarke's
proposal. There are also a series of steps surrounded by Dundry stone, at present
inaccessible, located at the south end of the west bay of the crypt, which rise to roughly
the same level as the bases of the crypt doorway arch, but are beneath the current cloister
level. While the cloister was therefore at a lower level than at present, the level of the
chapter house below the half-way step suggests that it may have been rebuilt at a lower
level than its predecessor. Furthermore, the area beneath the west range may have
differed in depth to the rest of the cloister. Murphy's illustration (plate 21) shows an
arch, lower than that beneath the old refectory perpendicular to it, possibly indicating a
lower level of cellar. Putting these observations together, we can reconstruct the various
levels from lowest to highest, starting with the crypt and chapter house, followed by the
cloister-which was the level at which the integrated ranges were built. Next in elevation
was the cathedral floor, and above this was the lowest of the first storey of the claustral
buildings: the refectory (and probably the dormitories and latrines), then '10 or 12 Steps'
above this the kitchen, and a further '6 or Eight steps' to the level of the prior's hall'. The
evidence for this distribution of levels can be found in surviving images, notably the level
of the old chapter house roof, and supported by surviving architectural features in the
crypt and the remains of the former entrance on the west side south transept south wall
marked by a still-visible external relieving arch. However, to accurately confirm the
relationships between these heights, a southern elevation, such as does not presently

164 Stalley, 'Cathedral and priory buildings', 115.
165 For which see p. 64 below.
exist, would have to incorporate the surviving materials of cathedral, crypt and chapter house, as well as a reconstruction of Molyneaux’s law courts.

The varying levels most probably reflected the underlying topography. Archaeological evidence suggests that early eleventh-century Dublin was densely occupied and space at a premium. Sitriuc may have carried out a policy of urban clearance such as that at Derry in 1162, or perhaps chosen a relatively unoccupied site. However, as it is stated that Sitriuc himself gave ‘a site on which to build a church to the Holy Trinity’, perhaps the location was that of his palace, much like Emperor Constantine, who after his conversion to Christianity in 313 gave his Lateran palace for the use of the Christian church. This theme recurs in Ireland with two of the Ua Briain family: at the synod of 1101, Muirchertach gave the Rock of Cashel to the religious of Ireland, and in 1168, Domnall Mór gave the site of his palace for the building of St Mary’s cathedral, Limerick. Street viewed the function of the crypt as for the ‘utilisation of foundation walls’. However, the elevation of the cathedral and its monastic buildings over cellar-like crypts not only served to level out the irregular topography of the site, but also maximised the storage space available beneath the building. The spread of building over a number of levels was common with prominent hill-top cathedrals with little flat terrain, such as at Burgos in Spain or Sienna in Italy, and was exacerbated by their subsequent extension, producing precipitous structures such as Durham’s galilee chapel. Irish examples are more sedate, and include crypts at Armagh cathedral, the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont in Co. Louth, the Franciscan friary at Buttevant, Co. Cork and the Augustinian nunnery at Killone in Co. Clare, all to cope with sloping terrain. So while a crypt under an entire church was unusual, its provision of support for a single level over varied terrain was not without European precedents.

The absence of a crypt beneath the western bay of the cathedral nave may relate to its alignment with the suggested position of the dún wall, one bay west of the right-of-way. If the dún wall was already in place when the western bay of the nave came to be built, it would have made little sense to remove this supporting structure and replace it with an

166 Stalley, ‘Construction of the medieval cathedral’, 55.
167 Appendix 4, B8.
169 CS, 1101, ATG, T1101.8 and AFM, M1101.5.
170 T.J. Westropp, ‘Carvings in St. Mary’s cathedral, Limerick’, R.S.A.I. Jn, xxii (1892), 70-9, at 70; Peter Galloway, The cathedrals of Ireland (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies & Queen’s University, 1992), 157.
172 Stalley, ‘Crypt report’, 14, note 71; O’Keeffe, Romanesque Ireland, 98.
additional crypt bay. Precedents exist for both the demolition and the preservation of earlier city walls in the cases of church building. Lincoln cathedral breached the Roman city wall when it was extended eastwards in 1192, and a request from the Lincoln chapter for royal permission for breaching the wall east of the Minster in 1255 is also documented. At St Peter’s church in Waterford the city’s ‘defensive bank had been partially levelled before the nave was completed in stone’. In the second quarter of the twelfth century, the city defences dictated the location of the west wall and a slope in the nave more acute at its western end. This demonstrates that the positioning of the Waterford church close to the city wall was very similar to Christ Church in Dublin, both Hiberno-Norse churches acknowledging the extant built topography. The relationship of the Dublin cathedral to the civic boundary however seems to have varied. While the dún wall may have been structurally incorporated beneath the west bay of the nave, to its south it appears later to have been dismantled, because in 1566 a cellar of considerable height beneath the prior’s chambers was noted in this area (figure 1-2).

It is from this type of post-Reformation record that much detail can be pieced together about the monastic buildings themselves. The scale of the buildings of the east and south range reflected the size of the community that Holy Trinity could support which appears to have hovered between single and double figures: eleven canons in 1300, eight in 1307, eight in 1468, twelve in 1539. The quality of its fabric can also be estimated. Dressed stone is shown in the arches beneath the south range (plate 21), while the chapter house (plate 11, 18-20) features Bath stonework (as distinct from Dundry in the nave) elaborately carved by West Country masons, much of which survives. Evidence from Drew’s excavation of the chapter house shows that the roofs were composed of

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175 Deeds, 1303, RCB C6/1/26/5, no. 1.

176 Lydon, ‘Christ Church in the later medieval Irish world’, 77.

177 Deeds, 164 (1300); Lydon in Account Roll, six citing Berry, Register of visitation, p. 172 (1307 & 1468); Deeds 431 (1539). Lydon in Account Roll, six gives ten canons, but the new constitution allowed for a dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer and vicars choral from eight regular canons.

178 Jennifer Alexander, ‘[Review] Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History’, Antiquaries Journal, 82 (2002), 384-5 argues that ‘the close similarities between the nave and the Chapter House would over-tide the evidence of a different stone source being involved, especially when the two stone types in question come from the same region of south-west England’.
‘slates and ridge tiles’. Later evidence of roofs occurs in a 1466 deed which required a tenant to ‘build up with oaken beams and stone roof the benches and outstalls belonging to the premises’, while in 1483, John Estrete senior was ‘to erect, within 8 years, a new house, with oak beams and roof of stone tiles, and to repair same’. Heliers (tilers or slatours) regularly employed on the sixteenth-century cathedral also confirm the presence of tiled or slated roofs. The helier, who also had a servant was paid 16s. for 24 days work on ‘John Kenans house’ in 1542, including payments for ‘a gutter of tymber’ for it for 4d., and the larger 5s. to a carpenter for 5 days work on ‘our Ladie Chappell’. Evocatively, in December 1564, Peter Lewis noted that ‘Tady, hellyer, hadys mane to cleane the gutters of the Dean’s chambyr for the great snow that fell this Chrystynmas and frost’. These monastic buildings consisted of three ranges on the east (south of the transept), west and south, the order in which they will now be examined. This eastern range consisted of dormitories in the upper floor for the Augustinian canons used by the vicars choral after the Reformation. The first mention of the dormitory or dorter appears to be in the 1539 scheme for converting the cathedral from regular to secular status, and in 1542, 2d. was spent on ‘mendynge the dore of the dortore steyres’. A clear continuity of use and fabric was shown between the Augustinian canons and subsequent prebends, vicars choral and their tenants who rebuilt their houses in the dormitory. In 1634, the chapter ordered that the prebendary of St Michael’s and the treasurer should have

soe much of the Roome in the Dormitory on the east end as is contiguous and adjoyning to thaire chambers or houses. And that the rest of the voide roome betweene the end of the Treasurers house, and the passadge to Coulfabus shall appertaine unto the Prebends and Viccars Choralls

This usefully defines some spatial divisions in the range. ‘Coulfabas or Comon Privie’ as it is more familiarly known, was at the south east end of the range ‘at the end of the

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180 Deeds 977 (1466), 1047 (1483); PA 1542; PA 1564-5.

181 TCD MS 10529, ff 87-99, at f. 87 (sub anno 1539) noted that the letters patent of 1541 ‘does not descend to so minute particulars’ as the commissioners’ 1539 document, and the English translation by W.M. Monck Mason given in NLI MS 98, ff 44-50 [pp 88-97] and TCD MS 10529, ff 87-99 deserves to be better known.

182 PA 1542.

183 CAB, 157 (30 April 1630); 159 (10 May 1630).

184 CAB, 223 (16 December 1634).

185 CAB, 38 (17 November 1581 [Deeds, 1357]); 126 (17 June 1608); 185-6 (26 April 1633); also 223 (16 December 1634), given variously as Coolfabus, Colfabus, Colffabay and Coulfabas. The name may derive from the Irish word ‘cúl’ meaning corner or rear, and a corruption of the Latin word ‘fabricus’, to make,
Dormitorie'. Where the cathedral canons performed their ablutions is unclear. European cloisters were used for washing both people and clothes, but no evidence for this, or a Mellifont-like lavabo at Christ Church survives. An eighteenth-century reference to 'a little yard where there is a water-pipe fixed' in the former cloister's north-eastern corner may be relevant, but its location hardly suited the purpose: to its east lay a doorway to the crypt and to its north, prior to the 1560s collapse of the south wall was a Romanesque doorway leading from the nave to the east cloister alley.

The early history of the dormitory is little known, but provision for sleeping the religious staff must have been made since the introduction of a monastic rule to the cathedral. Whether this upper storey of the east range was affected by the rebuilding of the chapter house is unknown, but the range may have been rebuilt following the fire in 1283, as the excavation of the chapter house 'dug out charred timber and debris of a fire, containing encaustic tiles and some of the original slates and ridge tiles'. As circumspectly noted above, later annals refer to the burning of 'the belfrie or steeple and Chapter house of the blessed Trinity, with the Dormiture and Cloyster'. This dormitory and latrines or 'reredorter' can be mapped precisely using the numbered properties listed in the legend of Reading's map (plates 87, 97-9 & figures 11.a-b). The dormitory is described as being over the east range, so it is reasonable to assume that it lay over at least the properties nos. 27-28, probably originally limited to the eastern boundary of property no. 27. The 1634 identification of the treasurer as an occupant of the dormitories demonstrates continuity of occupancy: property no. 20 was in 1761 held under John Jebb, the longest serving cathedral treasurer (1740-87). A straight line along the east side of properties nos. 20 and 23 (although admittedly missing in no. 19), may have marked the eastern line of an expanded dormitory, and can be visualised in Bigari's 1780 view (plate 11) which confirms that the dormitory did not align exactly with the chapter house southeast corner, but with a point some centimetres west of it. Properties nos. 17, 19, 22-25 are all described as 'Part of Coolfabius', leaving no doubt as to the latrines' location, and has been the subject of much speculation: ‘A Ch. Ch. Man’, ‘Colfabius’, Notes and queries, iii, 81 (17 May 1851), 390; H.C. Who or what was “Coolfabius?”, Irish Builder, xxiii, 519 (1 August 1881), 232 first suggested it to be a mixture of Irish and Latin; A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Christ Church Cathedral &c.’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 520 (15 August 1881); 245; Drew, ‘Cloister garth and monastic buildings’, 218; Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 125, note 124.

186 CAB, 165-8 (16 November 1631).
188 Appendix 6, no. 41.
189 Appendix 6.
190 Hanmer, 'Chronicle of Ireland', 1-206, at 205.
191 Appendix 6.
and illustrating that these extended east of the dormitory along the south precinct border, flushed by what was known as ‘the Great Gout’ (plate 105), a water channel either synonymous with or derived from the city conduit which ran along Skinners’ Row.192

Beneath the dormitory lay one of the finest cathedral spaces, a sophisticated early English gothic chapter house erected c.1225-30,193 which survived the Reformation unscathed. Its west gable was filled by two windows surrounding an entrance (originally open, but later crudely altered to fit a solid door) and ornamented by complex mouldings. The east gable consisted of an elegant glazed three-light window.194 Originally this featured some stained glass, as two panes of coloured glass for the chapter house window were replaced in 1542 for £.195 The lower levels however, were probably clear. In 1565, Peter Lewis ‘made a bargayne with an engluse [English] boy, a glaysser, for the chapter house that the doggs had broken’, further asking ‘Mr. Barane to make barres for the chaptyr wyndow’ out of a ‘stone of yerne [iron]’ to ensure it did not happen again. Unfortunately, ‘the barres was stolen by nyght with thewys [thieves]’, but the chapter house windows were presumably barred from then on.196 Internally, the space consisted of four bays covered by ribbed vaulting, and was most likely brightly coloured as attested by traces of paintwork discovered on the chapter house walls.197 A two-coloured tile of the fourteenth century, the only French example yet discovered in Ireland, reflects the medieval tiled floor which was present, perhaps laid down at the same time as the cathedral floor in the early fourteenth century,198 and this floor would also have been occupied by grave slabs. As with the embellishment of the chapter house walls, paintwork appears also to have been applied to monuments as attested by an excavated chapter house monument on which was found ‘traces of ancient colour and decoration in the interstices of the carving’.199

Like the other monastic buildings, little is known of the early history of the chapter house. The rebuilding of the chapter house in the thirteenth-century might well have

194 Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 117-18, figures 6-7 illustrate the gables as reconstructed by Stuart Harrison.
195 PA 1542
196 PA 1564-5, 105-6.
197 A.C. Champneys, *Irish ecclesiastical architecture* (London and Dublin, 1910, reprinted Shannon, 1970), 201. Traces of paintwork from a medieval decorative scheme has also been discovered by Christoph Oldenbourg around a nook shaft near the belfry door in the south transept (Personal communication).
198 E.S. Eames & Thomas Fanning, *Irish medieval tiles: decorated medieval tiles in Ireland, with an inventory of sites and designs and a visual index*, Royal Irish Academy monographs in archaeology, 2 (Dublin, 1988), 32 (T210), now in the NMI
been expected to affect the dormitory above, though this was not necessarily the case, as at St-Sauveur, Charroux, where a thirteenth-century chapter house was constructed beneath an eleventh-century dormitory. However, the fact that the floor level of the chapter house is 20 inches below the step outside the chapter house (probably marking the level of the cloister) suggests that depth not height was used, thus allowing the full development of the gothic vaulting, without affecting the dormitory. The chapter continued to use it until 1699 when it was leased out for commercial purposes. In 1794, its eastern bay was removed and the remaining bays used as a carriage entrance. It was demolished in the 1820s only to be revealed again by excavations in 1882, but these ruins, together with the intact vaulted chapter house of St Mary’s abbey under a modern brick warehouse, are the only substantial monastic remains to survive in Dublin.

By the 1540s, half a millennium after the establishment of the cathedral, a considerable number of graves, memorials and tomb slabs would have accumulated not only within the cathedral, but without, in the precincts. The chapter house would almost certainly have been the burial place for the cathedral priors. Lanfranc’s late twelfth-century instructions for novices provides an early comparison, in which he incidentally located a monument, probably commemorating a mid-twelfth century prior, at the entrance to the chapter house of Canterbury cathedral. Many of the collection of nine tomb slabs and one sarcophagus on display in the crypt, and dating to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, appear to have come from the chapter house. It is therefore a strong possibility that some of these may commemorate one of the following three priors: Adam Delamore (d. after 1292), Henry de la Warre of Bristol (d. after 1313), and John Pocot (d. after 1320). The collection also includes a richly floriated grave slab and an effigial slab of a noblewoman, both discovered in 1886. Three grave slabs are carved with single heads, and one has the heads of a male and female. Some of the slabs may commemorate dignitaries remembered in the book of obits in the decades either side of the year 1300, such as Stephen of Fulburn, archbishop of Tuam and justiciar of Ireland.

201 Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 120.
202 David Knowles (ed.), The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc (Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1951, 1967, revised Christopher N.L. Brooke, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 214-15 note that ‘Christopher Wilson has suggested that this may have been the tomb of Prior Wilbert (1152x4-1167 ...)’.
203 Some fragments are in storage in the crypt of St Werburgh’s church across the road from the cathedral.
204 For example, Hunt, Irish medieval figure sculpture, i, nos. 29-32.
207 Drew, ‘Street as a restorer, 518 & 531.
(d.1288),
and Thomas de Hakwell, prior of Kilmainham (d. after 1293).
However, no Dublin archbishops within this date range (other than the Sandfords buried in St
Patrick’s) are known to be buried in Ireland. Why more tomb slabs have not survived is possibly due to some being reused for architectural purposes. For example, a cross,
typical of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, survives, in easily carveable
Dundry stone, which was turned over and carved as a cloister base (figure 6.a-b).

The chapter house was not the only venue for burials. Walking through the cloister in the
1540s, one would have encountered a range of other tomb memorials. A request by
James Selyman for burial in the cloister survives from 1469. Furthermore concerning
the law courts built in the cloister garth, Drew noted that the builders ‘had evidently an
eye to popular feeling about desecration of graves, for they laid a great cradle of massive
oak beams on them, and built their walls on these without digging foundations.’
While such a cradle probably represented an economic solution, the implication is that the
cloister was full of burials which later builders would rather leave untouched. Cloistral
burial was common in a variety of other monastic, secular and collegiate foundations,
such as the cathedrals of Gloucester, Wells and Toulouse, as well as Winchester
College, Oxford. If a stone memorial could not be obtained, timber could suffice. The
cathedral paid 3d. ‘for the wooden structure of John Grancest in the cemetery of the
[Friars] Preachers’ in 1338, a judge of the king’s bench, who had supported the cathedral
over the years. East of the chapter house was a space that may have been used for
further burials, as was suggested by Fitzgerald who noted that a ‘small burial-ground

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208 Registers, 61; Philomena Connolly, ‘Fulbourn, Stephen of (d. 1288)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004
(1906-7 [1907]), 275-317, at 316.
210 A table of the burial places of Dublin prelates was first compiled in William Butler, ‘A chronological list
of the bishops and archbishops of Dublin, with contemporary kings of Ireland and England, and popes’ in
William Butler, Measured drawings, [p. 9] and this is developed by H.J. Lawlor, ‘The monuments of the pre-
211 Moss, ‘Crypt stone project’, L1423.
212 H. F. Berry, Register of wills and inventories of the diocese of Dublin in the time of archbishops TreguO and Walton
1437-83 (Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1898), 7.
213 Drew, ‘Ancient chapter-house’ (1890-1), 43.
214 John Leland, The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543 (Oxford, 1711), iv, f. 172a,
reproduced as Leland’s itinerary in England and Wales (Illinois: Centaur Press, 1964), ii, pt v, 33 & 61 notes the
burial of Strongbow’s father, Richard FitzGilbert, also called Strongbow in Gloucester cathedral cloister.
215 Peter Draper, ‘Enclosures and entrances in medieval cathedrals: access and security’ in Janet Backhouse
(ed.), The medieval English cathedrals: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig: proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton
Symposium (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 76-88, plate 1 notes ‘Cemetery of the canons’ in the centre of
Wells cathedral cloisters.
existed till the time of the restoration to the east of the old Chapter-house.218 This was on the basis of an effigy discovered in the grounds during work to make a new carriageway (plate 49),219 prior to the reopening of the cathedral in May 1878.220 The tomb discovered was of an unidentified noblewoman crowned with an elaborate canopy, probably late thirteenth century, and now on the south side of the chapel of St Laurence O’Toole in the south transept. Equally plausible hypotheses are that the tomb was either originally located within the chapter house and perhaps detached from its original position when the eastern bay of the chapter house was truncated, or that the monument was moved from the cathedral itself during one of numerous subsequent renovations.

One the far side of the cloister, the prior’s chambers occupied the upper level of the west range, as was the case at many other religious houses.221 It was sizeable enough to be referred to after the Reformation as the dean’s hall,222 and such scale was consonant with examples in England where it was often the prior’s chambers alone that survived the dissolution because of their scale.223 In the case of newly established bishoprics, they often served as the basis for new episcopal palaces,224 in a reversal of the late twelfth-century events at Holy Trinity, where the archbishop abandoned the palace to the prior. The exact extent of the chambers are uncertain, but they would have given a good view over the road running past the west end of the cathedral. Indeed the position of these western frontages most likely dated from the introduction of the routeway in the 1230s. Before the road, the west range may have extended beyond the west façade of the cathedral similar to the example of Castle Acre priory, Norfolk.225 For a bishop in the early days, as head of the community, to be physically as well as symbolically attached to the cathedral priory, one might expect him also to have a view of the cloister. Following this space through its use by the bishop, prior then dean, this does appear to have been the original eastern extent of the chambers, as evinced by a deed of 1629 made by ‘Randall, archbishop of Tuam, dean, and the Chapter of Holy Trinity Church’ to King

219 A carriageway had existed prior to this as indicated by the two gateways (plate 34, 40, 42, 44-6, 96) with signs on them stating ‘Carriage Entrance’ (plate 46).
220 J.G. Cockburn, ‘Strongbow’s monument’ (Christ Church Cathedral Archives, n.d., but described as ‘at the close of the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral’) newspaper cutting in scrapbook on the history of St Audoen’s church, p. 296; Finlayson, Inscription, [48]; Fitzgerald, ‘Dublin: Christ Church’ (1908), 298.
221 Harold Brakspear, ‘The abbot’s house at Battle’, Archaeologia, 83 (1933), 139-66.
222 Deeds; 1303 (9 January 1566).
225 Thompson, Cloister, abbot & precinct, 79.
Charles I and his successors of the Four Courts. It specified that the lease must be 'together with free passage to and from the premises and the lights and cleristeries belonging thereto (reserving to the Dean and his successors right of way from the Dean’s lodgings through the present passage and door into the Court of King’s Bench, and that his windows or lights shall not be interfered with ...).’226 There is no mention of a change in level between the spaces, and the reference to a right-of-way reserved to the dean and his successors implies that he had previously had access to this eastern space.

South of the prior’s chambers in the west range was also his personal kitchen, a general kitchen, and below this, north to south: a woodshed, brewhouse and stables. The kitchen was located in the more removed southwest corner of the cloister extending over the passage to Christ Church Lane (the later court of exchequer) in case of fire. This allowed it to be close enough to service the refectory to its east and the prior’s chambers to its north. Two carpenters were paid 7s. for work ‘on the Vicars Kychin’ in 1542, but no location is specified. In 1591 however, this is clarified in a lease by a verger of a ‘Celler under the Deanes Kitchen, comonly called the vicars brewhouse, banding from the ruinouse gate of the said Churche to the Deanes Wode Cellar northe, and from the Deanes Entrie este unto the queenes pavement west’.227 As the dean’s or prior’s kitchen was likely to be near the priory kitchen, its proximity to the prior’s chambers supports the location of the kitchen further south in the range. After the Reformation, the kitchen space was leased out commercially; in 1578, the house ‘over and against the great gate’ was occupied by Margaret Hoggin, while a small house north of this was occupied by a barber, Thomas Neweman.228 Some cathedral servants remained though. The sexton, John Kelly, inhabited the gatehouse and a house beside it, and this was taken over by John Bullock, a vicar choral and verger in 1590, who undertook to restore it.229

Beneath the prior’s chambers, wood and grain was stored, a practice which had a long lineage; in early August 1344, a payment is recorded of two men paid for ‘cutting underwood in the wood of Clonken for 14 days in autumn at board, for brewing and baking for the abbey in autumn’.230 In 1584 a buttonmaker, John Forde leased a loft under the dean’s house which obliged to ‘make a fallying dore upon the said loft where through the said deane and his successors shall put ther wode, Coles and outhere

226 Deeds, 1500.
227 PA 1542; CAB, 69 (28 February 1591).
228 Deeds, 1350 (18 July 1578).
229 CAB, 28:9.
230 Account roll, 64.
necessaries in to his Cellar under the said loft with free ingresse and outgresse at all tymes convenyent'.

South of this storage area, was vicar's brewhouse, which required a plentiful supply of grain or oats. Victorian commentators were fond of referring to the cathedral crypt as 'granaries of the Danes', and unverifiable, there were precedents which Sitriuc may have seen. The Benedictine monastery of Groß St Martin in Cologne was built on the extant remains of Roman storehouses (horrea) which form the church crypt. At Christ Church, the cellarer was responsible for brewing ale and providing bread for the refectory, the only food not under the remit of the kitchener, both of which required storage for grain. The cellarers were Augustinian canons; Brother Stephen, perhaps of Derby, is recorded as cellarer in 1343, as is Brother Nicholas de Barton later. Another brother, William Topp received money ‘for buying wheat and oats in the year of our Lord, 1368’. Perhaps no coincidence near to the food storage, was the stable of the prior (later dean) south of the west gate beneath a stone house which could hold six horses, and was still noted as the dean’s stable in 1621. As with other claustral buildings, these spaces most likely continued to fulfil the roles, such as storage, assigned to them in the medieval period for some time after the Reformation.

Given the dormitory’s location in the east range, and the prior’s chambers in the west, the refectory hall was located, as customary, in the south range, and appears to have been the most imposing cloister space next to the chapter house. Elevated on the first floor, its windows would have offered a commanding view of the surrounding streets. A detailed document of the suppression commissioners in 1539 notes ‘the great hall, then denominated the refectory’, a description that fits well with the substantial space implied by the presence of ‘trumpeters of the justices who were in the refectory’ in 1338. Use

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231 CAB, 43; Deeds, 1413 should probably be redated to 24 Nov. 1584, as it differs little from that in the chapter book, and from an ‘almost obliterated’ copy, was dated c.1502.
232 Thomas Drew, ‘Correspondence: Christ Church Cathedral’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 513 (1 May 1881), 140-2.; ‘Christ Church Cathedral: the old cloister, &c.’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 518 (15 July 1881), 217.
234 Account roll, 147, 161.
235 Account roll, 173 suggested Derby’s identification also; 51, 158. Nicholas de Barton had also been proctor of the priory in 1317. (Deeds 198).
236 Account roll, 202, abstracted in Deeds 244 (and not 1115 as noted in the Account roll), which was in turn collated from a fair copy in the Novum Registrum, no. 218.
237 Deeds 1354 (24 March 1581); RCB C6/1/26/5, no. 55; CAB, 143 (20 November 1621).
238 Thomas Drew, ‘Christ Church Cathedral: the old cloister, &c.’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 518 (15 July 1881), 217 also suggests this location.
239 TCD 10529, f. 98, sub anno 1539, abbreviatedly mentioned in the calendar (Deeds, 431). Another transcript by Mason notes ‘the Great Hall now called the Refectory’ (NLI MS 98, ff 44-50 at 49 [pp 88-97, at 96v]).
240 Account roll, 19.
of the ‘common hall’ for parliament sessions can be traced back at least to the fifteenth century, if not earlier. Parliaments held at the cathedral often availed of the ‘common house’, probably this large communal refectory hall; indeed the 1542 accounts refer specifically to 4s. paid for four days work ‘to the glaiser on the Parlement howse’. The same pattern existed at Westminster abbey where the refectory, also in the south range, was used for the House of Commons in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The first reference to what was effectively the refectory is the phrase ‘ad mensam conuentu”, translated rather inelegantly as the community dining hall, although mensa can also mean income ‘held in common between bishop and monastic community’. As already noted, its description in the foundation narratives suggests that the mensa or refectory pre-dated the Anglo-Norman building work on St Michael’s church or chapel. This was associated with the bishop’s palace, variously described as a ‘chapel’ and a ‘church’.

St Michael’s tower survives on the other side of a road created in the 1230s. Given that the bishop’s palace was later used by the prior, who occupied the west range, it is possible that the location of St Michael’s was moved around the time this road was built. It was later raised to parochial status by Archbishop Richard Talbot (1417-49).

After the Reformation, the vicars choral received ‘a table cloth for their common hall’ in 1547, and the common garden was also noted ‘to supply daily the herbs necessary in hall and kitchen for the Vicars Choral’, a pattern of communal dining that survived for some time. The threat that ‘Bretherne of the said Churche’ might ‘loose his Comons for one sewnights’ was invoked in 1574, and ‘the vicars table’ is still noted in 1580. But by 1604, the vicars had their own families and the common table of the vicars’ hall was ‘of long time discontinued and dissolved’. The relatively short time between the cessation of communal dining and the installation of the law courts to the cathedral precinct show the convenience of the conversion, the refectory becoming the court of chancery. Later maps show that this former refectory connected over a passageway to the east range.

242 PA 1542
244 Appendix 4, A3 & B10; M.T. Flanagan, Irish royal charters, 104.
247 Deeds, 1207, 1211.
248 CAB, 25 (25 October 1574). The word ‘sewnight’ is used twice and represents ‘se’nnight’ or ‘seven night’, an old term for a week; CAB, 35 (8 April 1580).
249 CAB, 117 (13 December 1604).
dormitories and lavatories (plate 90-3). The refectory’s likely minimum floor level is indicated by the arch height shown on the right of Murphy’s c.1825 image (plate 21).

There is unfortunately no surviving evidence to indicate the extent of the cloister alleyway beneath the south range, but helpful in better specifying its location is the order that the verger, John Bullock, ‘close upe the ester dore, and make a dore in the west Side’ of the aforementioned brewhouse cellar in the west range. The same document noted a ‘dean’s entry’, inherited from the prior, which must have led into the cloister walk. A convenient position for this dean’s entry would have been the corner of two cloister walkways. Given the division of the west range into the dean’s wood cellar in the north and vicars’ brewhouse in the south, the most logical point at which to bisect the west range is a position later occupied by a Four Courts entrance. The new west door made by Bullock was certainly close to this and east of it was the corner of the cloister range (plates 80 & 83). Later deeds confirm this position. The ‘Entry to the Deanery House on the south’ is noted south of the cellar under common pleas, while close to this court in 1662 was a room ‘formerly the Dean’s entry from the cloister yard to his mansion’.

In the medieval period, the cellars of the range were also unpartitioned, as noted by the ‘stone pillar in the middle’ of a cellar leased in 1566. After the Reformation, this practice changed as greater profits could be eked out from dividing spaces up. The same lease required the tenant ‘to build from floor to roof, walls or partitions separating the premises from the other portions of the cellars’. If tall enough, the spaces could also be divided horizontally. The tenant was ordered ‘to construct a loft over the cellar under the Dean’s house between the cellar and the floor of said house’. It was leased again in 1584, but by 1619, the two rooms were insufficient, and two more were partitioned off, and all four of them under the dean’s hall were leased to a Mr Francis Dowde.

The detail of the surviving documentation allows these spaces to be positioned relative to each other using, for example, one of the most descriptive deeds of 1566, describing the west range cellars. Alderman Richard Fyan leased ‘a portion of the great cellar under the Dean’s house, portion of another cellar on the east side thereof (from the stone pillar in the middle thereof to the north end wall), and the small entry room or cellar on the north

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250 CAB, 69 (28 February 1590).
251 Deeds, 1632 (4 August 1662); Deeds, 1628 (24 June 1662).
252 Deeds, 1303 (9 January 1566); RCB C6/1/26/5, no. 1.
253 Deeds, 1413 should probably be redated to 24 Nov. 1584, as it differs little from that in the chapter book, and from an ‘almost obliterated’ copy, dated c.1592.
254 CAB, 142 (18 November 1619) and RCB C6/1/26/5, 3v.
end of both’. These can be identified as the two northern-most cellars of the west range (plate 99, nos. 44 & 38) beneath the dean’s hall and what would become the court of king’s bench (plate 81). The fact that the eastern cellar is the only space not described as under the dean’s hall may imply the westward contraction of the dean’s chambers after the Reformation, before their occupation of the chambers above them by the courts. The ‘small entry room or cellar on the north end of both’ refers either to the entry from Christ Church Lane, the former entry to cloister north ambulatory, or the entrance to the crypt north of the king’s bench cellar which led to the crypt west end (plate 78). All this information can be drawn together visually to provide, for the first time, an accurate ground plan of the monastic buildings based on documentary sources (figure 12).

Turning to the wider precinct, by the time of the Reformation, the cathedral priory was enclosed by a boundary wall largely obscured by adjacent houses built up against it, as captured in later drawings (plate 2). This precinct or ‘liberty’ as it was later known was enclosed by the Anglo-Normans within a generation of their arrival in Dublin, sometime in the early thirteenth century, as shown by Archbishop Henry of London’s land grant to the priory ‘to build a gate at the entrance of the church’.255 There were two gatehouses at either end of the precinct, but the working entrance was almost certainly that leading into a passage south of what became the court of chancery (plates 87, 97-9), giving access to cellars beneath the kitchen and refectory. No image of the gate survives, but a successor to this entrance might be identified in an arch shown on the right of an early nineteenth-century engraving by Grieg (plate 16),256 whose location also fits with an archway marked on Reading’s map (plate 87). The image depicts the arch as subdivided into three, surmounted by a lintel. Although this arch appears to be modern, within the precinct the arch and the piers (supporting what was later the court of exchequer) were dressed stone (plate 21), and given the courts’ origins in the monastic buildings, probably medieval.

The north side of the cathedral was its public face during the medieval period, and remained so until the nineteenth century. The transept was faced with an elevated and richly carved Romanesque door overlooking the north side of the medieval city down to the quays, while inside, the transept was decorated with elaborately carved historiated capitals.257 Although Blaymire (plate 5) indicates no stairs, the view drawn by Dineley some sixty years earlier does (plate 2), and although Dineley’s images are sometimes

255 Deeds, 30 dates this c.1220. Aiken’s register, 48 gives this as 1213-28.
256 Strangely it is not as visible in the original watercolour by Grattan (plate 15).
unreliable, this must have been the north transept given that, at the time, there was no such door in the south face of the south transept – the north door was moved to its present position in the south transept in the 1830s restoration – nor was any such view obtainable (plate 11). The crypt on which the cathedral rests appears to have been at least partially open to Botha street, better known now as St John’s lane. As early as 1331-2, purveyor John de la Bataille ‘paid 19s. 6d. to Nicholas de Brystoll and his fellow carriers, for carriage of 77 tuns 2 pipes of wine from the cellar under Holy Trinity Church, Dublin’ to Wood Quay, and it is obvious from the numerous medieval leases of crypt cellars that the use of cathedral property within the precincts for commercial uses was not a solely post-Reformation phenomenon.

The cathedral in the 1540s was crowned by a substantial crossing tower, the basic form of which dated from the early fourteenth century, and which survived until the late sixteenth century, and following a long campaign of rebuilding, was finally completed in the early seventeenth century. This central tower was probably the location of the bells noted in 1564-5, though they may not always have been sited there. It would be difficult to imagine Christ Church even at an early period without a belfry, the tolling of bells being the most familiar Christian call to prayer. One of the earliest references is negative; a bull of Pope Urban III in 1186 confirmed to the cathedral (among other privileges) ‘permission to hold services with closed doors and no use of bells’. However, the first positive evidence is found in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth-century foundation narrative of the cathedral which notes the building of a bell tower by the Anglo-Normans. Rather than external, as at Salisbury, Rochester and other examples, this was probably a central tower over the crossing. In January 1283, the campanile, probably this Anglo-Norman tower, suffered a fire, and the event is

258 PRI rep DK 43, 60
259 Cathedral deeds and dates are given here: Deeds 740 (1379); Deeds 886 (1423); Deeds 977 (1466); Deeds 983 (1469); Deeds 992 (1471); Deeds 1081 (1487); Deeds 1112 (1502); Deeds 1284 (1505).
260 PA 1564-5, 45-6, 67-8.
261 Lawlor, ‘Calendar of the Liber niger and Liber albus’, 15.
262 Appendix 4, B10.
repeated in numerous annals. The fact that the bell tower (campanile) was recorded as having burned suggested that it was timber. The presumably rebuilt steeple was then blown down in a storm in 1316. That this was a timber structure is supported by the permission granted in 1330 to ‘construct a belfry with a stone wall having a crenelle and battlement’. While the cathedral’s second foundation narrative refers to a campanili, the first, probably written some time between 1283-1330, makes no reference to it, and this may be a silent comment on the absence or rebuilding of a tower during this period.

The cathedral and the Lady chapel occupied the north side of the precinct along St John’s Lane (plate 5). The south side of the precinct consisted of a large space to the east (later known as Christ Church Yard) with monastic buildings on the west side, and the Lady chapel just visible beyond the long choir (plate 18-19). The Lady chapel would have dominated this yard before the extension of the long choir in the mid-fourteenth century, and the subsequent extension of the south aisle of the choir sometime before 1485. This view by Petrie therefore shows the cathedral much as it would have been at the Reformation, with the exception of the dormitories missing from above the chapter house and the truncation of the chapter house by its eastern bay.

An additional question about this scene is whether the arch in the south transept east wall marks the remains of a chapel, or simply an entrance. It is Romanesque dressed with chamfered Dundry on either side, and further embellished with a double roll moulding ascending to a concave scalloped capital, a type unique within the cathedral, probably dating to c.1200. Brakespear allows this estimated date to stretch some twenty years afterwards in some cases, which could date it to the last days of Cumin c.1210-15. Dating to the Anglo-Norman rebuilding, the scale of the arch also marks it as a chapel entrance. No other evidence of a chapel survives and it may have been a casualty of Reformation reorganisation. Its later history is unclear, given that there is no sign of the arch or chapel in 1761, but then two images of a chapel in the late eighteenth century, only for the arch to be opened and shortly afterwards closed as an entranceway in the

265 AFM, M1283.3, ACconn, 1283.4, ALC, I.C1283.3 [i, 491], Pembbridge’s annals; The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn ... and Thady Dowling ... ed. Richard Butler (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1849), 9. (Clyn’s annals); Cal. Carew Mss, Book of Howth, 124 & 324; Grace, Annales, 39.
266 Noted for example in Grace, Annales, 76-7. See also Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 103.
267 Deeds, no. 223. [Anonymous], ‘Notes on the architecture of Ireland. I’, Gentleman’s magazine and historical review, cccxi, 1 (January 1864), 1-20; (April 1864), 426, at 10 notes that a ‘bell-tower of stone’ (emphasised in article) replaced a lighter timber steeple.
268 Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 104.
269 RCB C6/1/7/8, 18-19. See also Stalley, ‘1562 collapse’, 235.
271 As suggested by Dr Michael O’Neill (Personal communication).
nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{272} The location interested scholars in 1866,\textsuperscript{273} and it seems likely that Street drew on these eighteenth-century illustrations and references to a dedication to St Laurence O’Toole south of the choir in his reconstruction.\textsuperscript{274} Yet Sloane sarcastically noted this as specious ‘blocking up a corner by the south transept, because history tells us something of the kind was at one time in the southern aisle by the choir’.\textsuperscript{275}

In fact this space in the transept-aisle angle is better documented as a form of prison. In 1564 instructions ‘to drawe 7 longe bemes from the churche yard to the churche about the pillory to the vestur dore’, appear to locate the cathedral stocks near the door in the south aisle, supported by a 1620 reference to the prebend of St Michan’s house ‘standing at the south Doore of the Church and ioyning to the prison belonging to the same’.\textsuperscript{276} These two door references appear to refer to the aisle rather than the transept.\textsuperscript{277} The position of the stocks is known from Reading’s map (plate 99) where they are in the external angle of the choir and south transept.\textsuperscript{278} With the chapter house at its full height extending a bay east beyond the transept, this corner was a gloomy position, an aesthetic not unsuited for a prison, as visible in a recent reconstruction of the area (figure 13).

How early a prison existed is unknown. Lanfranc in late twelfth-century Canterbury was in no doubt that for unruly individuals, ‘a certain number of the brethren shall be told to rise and lay violent hands upon him, and drag or carry him into the prison appointed for rebels such as he’.\textsuperscript{279} By c.1223, Archbishop Henry of London ordered the first pillory for Dublin, and by 1558, the city had ordered stocks in each city ward.\textsuperscript{280} A 1542 payment of 4d. to ‘Peter Dober for punishing a thief’,\textsuperscript{281} shows that the chapter had jurisdiction within its liberties to punish criminals, which it continued to exercise in the seventeenth century. In 1630 one of the vicars choral was locked up for 14 rather than the possible 48 hours according to the ‘Ordinances of this Church’,\textsuperscript{282} and in 1664, a chorister, Joseph Sheppard was ‘committed to Bocardo (being the annitent prison, and place of restraint)

\textsuperscript{272} See chapter v, pp 191-2.
\textsuperscript{273} Letter from John Jebb to R.P. Stewart (2 November 1866) (Cathedral Archives, scrapbook lacking cover formerly belonging to Thomas Drew, p. 9).
\textsuperscript{274} For the O’Toole chapel, see chapter iii, pp 80-3.
\textsuperscript{275} A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118.
\textsuperscript{276} PA 1564-5, 32 (9 November 1564), also cited by Clarke, Dublin to 1610, 23; CAB, 142-3 (4 May 1620).
\textsuperscript{277} See chapter iv, 145-6.
\textsuperscript{278} Appendix 6, no. 31.
\textsuperscript{279} Knowles (ed.), Monastic constitutions, xxvi, 146-53.
\textsuperscript{280} Hist. and mun. doc. Ire., 78; CARD, i, 479.
\textsuperscript{281} Deeds 434 abstracted from PA 1542. For further on the stocks, see William Frazer, ‘On the Dublin stocks and pillory’, R.I.A. Proc., ser. 2, ii, 8 (January 1888), 456-60.
\textsuperscript{282} CAB, 162.
belonging to this Church'. This unusual name was probably coined by clerical Oxford graduates familiar with a name applied to Oxford's old north gate prison or the category of syllogism in medieval logic, describing a logical argument that imprisoned the reasoner. No pre-Reformation evidence of the space survives.

Elsewhere in the yard other residences should be noted. While the dean may have occupied the prior's chambers little moved until the eighteenth century, the larger scale of buildings in Christ Church Yard assigned to the precentor, chancellor and treasurer (plates 90-2) make it unlikely that they were the direct descendants of the chambers of the sub-prior, seneschal and precentor, or sub-precentor and sacrist respectively. That they were rebuilt to these scales on a similar site is however likely as shown in a 1662 deed to rebuild the precentor or chantor’s chambers with a hall, kitchen and study.

In 1881 John Sloane stated that 'To attempt any search for what was the design or plan of the conventual buildings of Christ Church would be now a hopeless task'. This chapter has demonstrated that from the fragmentary evidence available, a wide array of topographical and documentary evidence can be assembled, which has made it possible to present the most accurate view of the Augustinian cloister and the conventual buildings at the dissolution yet produced (figure 12). They are set within a context of Dublin buildings, Augustinian houses, and cathedral priories elsewhere. Furthermore the size of the cloister has for the first time been elucidated on the basis of their conversion, little changed into the Four Courts. Perhaps most significant is the establishment that the cloister plan and some claustral buildings pre-date the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, and were laid out simultaneously as part of the establishment of a Benedictine cathedral priory in the eleventh century or at the cathedral's foundation. This challenges the traditional view that the square cloister was introduced by the Cistercians by up to a century, and forces a rethink of the extent to which mainstream European models were adopted in Ireland, particularly through the cosmopolitan Hiberno-Norse cities.

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285 Deeds 431 (12 December 1539)
286 Deeds 1619 (4 January 1662); H.F. Berry, 'Sir Peter Lewys, ecclesiastic, cathedral and bridge builder and his company of masons, 1564-7', *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, 15 (1902), 2-20, at 10.
287 _A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], 'Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin', Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118.
CHAPTER III - ‘ROMISH RELIQUES ... SWEET FOR THEIR GAIN’:
THE INTERIOR OF HOLY TRINITY AT THE REFORMATION

The survival of Christ Church through the dissolution of the monasteries demonstrated the importance of the cathedral not only as a landmark building, but as an important social institution whose continuity was valued more highly than the particularity of its religious designation. This was a building in which civic and state traditions had been closely knit for centuries, since its establishment as the central church of Sitriuc’s city-state, Duiblinn. Although these relationships were of an ephemeral ceremonial nature, by the end of the medieval period, they left tangible physical traces: as chapels, monuments and various bequeathals. Such patronage also allows the examination of the artistic and cultural forces at work during the period. By examining the cathedral’s interior as it survived to the 1540s using documentary evidence and physical remnants, a picture can be drawn together of the various uses to which the building was put by a wide range of groups. Few scholars have explored this internal cathedral layout. Nor has any cathedral plan for the Reformation period been published. This chapter therefore clarifies the internal arrangements of the fabric, its chapels, furnishings and funerary monuments, making comparison where relevant with other Irish and English ecclesial foundations.

A broad brush stroke portrait of the internal arrangements will first serve to outline the space. The cathedral consisted of an aisled nave with transepts and a crossing with an aisled long choir to the east separated from the crossing by a rood screen. A Lady chapel formed a separate building to the northeast, its south wall serving as the north wall of the mid-fourteenth century choir extension. If we imagine the progress of a visitor of the time, venturing into the cathedral, we are immediately confronted with a number of uncertainties. Where was the entrance for example? How far into the building could a pilgrim venture? What portions of the building were used for monastic services? For the Augustinians, the most commonly used doors were those around the cloister: the elevated door from the dormitories to the south transept, and the probably twin entrances into the nave at either end of the north cloister alley. Citizens had a choice of entrances. The most prominent were those on the north side: an entrance in the north

2 A map of the cathedral and precincts c.1500 was drafted by Professor Raymond Gillespie for the Christ Church history project, but remains unpublished (Cathedral archives).
3 Evidence of a western doorway from the cloister to the nave did not survive the 1562 nave collapse.
transept (plate 2, 5, 65), and a doorway in the nave north side (fourth bay from the crossing) reached by a substantial stairway (plate 5). A more obvious entrance is the west door into Christ Church (or Trinity Lane) which had seven shops on it in 1326, despite being rerouted some time after 1234. While one can easily imagine prestige ceremonies enhanced by colourful processions through this door, it may also have been the main entrance for general access to the nave. Another entrance was probably situated half-way along the choir south aisle. Post-restoration maps show that Christ Church Yard was the largest publicly accessible space with an entrance to the cathedral in this south aisle (plate 77, 85-94), but whether this entrance was medieval is unknown.

For pilgrims to the cathedral, the most impressive sight was the early English gothic nave, composed of stout compound nave piers whose thickness is offset by eight elegant shafts interspersed with paired rolls. The integrated and proportional design is compact, yet spacious, giving an overall impression of strength and sophistication that must have been the intention of the Anglo-Normans who built it, engaging English masons for the nave and transepts work. Not only was the tomb of the first non-Irish chief governor, Strongbow, the most notable nave monument, but the Dublin archbishops often acted in this capacity as justiciars of Ireland, and many of these principal officers of the crown also survive in the cathedral obits. These facts bound the identification of church and state, strong in any case in the medieval period, all the more at the cathedral and was a hint of things to come. By the Reformation, the nave, choir aisle and transept spaces were subdivided into chapels, of which the Lady chapel was the largest. Their locations have been hitherto unclear and easily confused, and it is therefore important to to clarify their positions as accurately as possible. There were at least six cathedral chapels which was not unusual for a large Irish church; there were seven at Clonfert cathedral, at least seven at Quin monastery, nine at Mellifont in 1157, and at least 14 altars and chapels at St Nicholas’s, Galway. While impressive in an Irish context, it paled in comparison to English examples like St Paul’s cathedral, London which at the Reformation had 35

4 Noted in 1592 (Deeds, 1403).
5 Deeds, 571. See also Jas. L. J. Hughes, ‘Main Street, Dublin’, D.H.R., iii, 3 (March-May 1941), 67-77 at 71.
6 See chapter ii, pp 47-9.
8 Summarised from Richard Mant, Church architecture considered, in the relation to the mind of the church since and before the Reformation (Belfast, 1843), 72.
In 1541, Christ Church was divided into spaces dedicated to St Nicholas, St Edmund, St Mary, the Holy Ghost and the Holy Trinity, as well as an altar before the cross, simple sub-divisions which disguise complex histories. These were all internal, but external chapels existed according to the cathedral foundation narratives: St Michael’s chapel, and another dedicated to St Nicholas noted as ‘on the north side’, but not noted again until 1541 when it was described as ‘a long loft called St. Nicholas’ chapel situate over the cellar’ located ‘on the west side of the north gate of the church’. By c. 1580, this was a two-storey lease of ‘William Forster, tenant of a cellar and St. Nicolas chapel’. The north ‘gate’ is probably a variant translation from the Latin porta meaning entrance, thus describing the north aisle porch accessed by the St John’s Lane stairway (plate 5). Reference to a cellar beneath suggests that this chapel was internal, rather than an exterior stall north of the cathedral, a conclusion reached by an earlier scholar who thought the chapel must have been in ‘the western end of the north aisle of the nave, screened off, no doubt, from the rest of the church’, although no evidence survives of these, presumably parclose, screens separating the chapel from the surrounding nave.

The cellar beneath the chapel was the previously noted ‘Paradise’ and appears to have been partly located above the western right-of-way passage in the crypt. If not initially part of the cathedral, this north side chapel was probably incorporated into the aisle during the Anglo-Norman rebuilding of the nave.

Two chapels were established in the Anglo-Norman rebuilding of the cathedral, probably after 1186. The foundation narratives list these as ‘two chapels namely of St Edmund,
king and martyr, and of St Mary who is called Alba and of St Laud'.

This translation was given by Ware and Harris, although variants exist. However, three dedications are listed, and Dugdale’s reading of the Latin original not as ‘sancti laudi’ but ‘sancti landi’, prompted Orpen to ask Lawlor to re-transcribe the entry. Orpen thus reinterpreted the phrase ‘Sce Marie que dicitur Alba et Sce Landi’ as incorrectly transcribed from a lost original reading ‘Sancte Marie que de Alba Landi’. This produced two dedications to two chapels, solving the anomaly, and Orpen’s contextual knowledge reinforces this interpretation. In the absence of a third chapel, the most symmetrical placement of the two chapels of St Edmund and St Maria ‘de Alba Landi’, perhaps following the échelon or stepped plan outlined by the crypt beneath, is either side of a central space, whose role as chancel, eastern chapel or sacristy remains unclear. Re-reading the term ‘sancti laudi’ found in the ‘Liber niger’ as ‘sancti landi’ therefore suggests that no chapel to St Laud or St Lo, bishop of Coutances (529-68) ever existed. The name occurs in the example of Symon de St Laud mentioned c.1181, but no chapel is mentioned and indeed only one English church has such a dedication. Before dismissing it, an early twentieth-century note of chantry of five priests founded in the ‘Chapel of St. Lo by Elias de Asseburn’ on 8 May 1332 should be considered. Ashbourne, no doubt, could endow a chantry chapel. He was mayor of Dublin c.1324-5, and a justice of the King’s Bench, while another relative, William, was abbot of St Mary’s, but the fact that a short biography of him by Mills (who worked in the Public Record Office before 1922) mentions no chantry, and that no source found verifies the reference, suggests the claim must be doubted. The chapel of St Edmund, king and martyr (d. 869), survived throughout the middle ages, and there are recorded benefactions to it from at least two donors: Thomas Alford

17 Appendix 4, A2 and B10 which omits the prefix ‘St’ for Mary.
18 James Ware, The antiquities & history of Ireland, ed. Robert Ware (Dublin, 1705), 134-5 [The Antiquities of Ireland], followed for example by his great-grandson-in-law, Walter Harris, The history of antiquities of the city of Dublin, from the earliest accounts compiled from authentic memoirs (Dublin, 1766, facsimile reproduced Ballynahinch: Davidson, 1994), 373. J.L. Robinson, Handbook to Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin: W. Warren, 1914), 23 suggested a dedication to St Edmund, and of St Mary & St Lo.
19 Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 69, no. 140 queried this by italicising ‘two’.
20 Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (1817), vi, 1148.
22 See below, 80-1.
23 Deeds, 468d; Sherington church, probably due to nearby land owned by a Norman bishop of Coutances.
gave vestments and a chalice, while in 1466, Cristiana Gylach donated a linen cloth.\textsuperscript{26} In October that year, the guild of St Edmund met in the chapel ‘to hear the orders read, bidding them provide themselves with, and practise themselves in the use of, bows and arrows’.\textsuperscript{27} Its dedication also survived beyond the Reformation. In 1542, the proctor paid for glazing work ‘on Saint Edmonds ile and on the Whit Mary chapell’, and in 1564 the precentor noted the dean ‘walking in Sanct Edmondes Ille’.\textsuperscript{28} Its description as an aisle rather than a chapel either refers to a passage near the chapel or, more likely given the two post-Reformation dates, that the chapel was no longer used. Its association with the Lady chapel locates it north of the choir.\textsuperscript{29} The St Edmund dedication may be derived from one of the Anglo-Normans who rebuilt the cathedral, Robert FitzStephen,\textsuperscript{30} who is known, with other ‘barons of Ireland’, to have marched as a standard bearer for the beatified Edmund, at a victory at Fornham near Bury St Edmunds on 16 October 1173.\textsuperscript{31}

The earliest reference to a Marian dedication at the cathedral is the chapel which Orpen argued was dedicated to St Mary of Alba Landa. The location of this chapel is unknown, but given that it is mentioned paired with the chapel of St Edmund which appears to have been on the north side of the choir, it is reasonable to assume that it may have been symmetrically paired with it on the south side of the choir. As will be proposed below, there is some reason to think that the new Lady chapel erected on the northeast side of the cathedral in the thirteenth century, freed a space for a chapel to the canonised St Laurence O’Toole. The archbishop’s chapel was known to lie ‘in the south aisle next the high choir’, and would fit with such a proposed location for the initial location of the St Mary of Alba Landa chapel.\textsuperscript{32} The unusual dedication relates to a Cistercian monastery at

\textsuperscript{26} Registers, 58; Obitis, 48 [Registers, 76] noted in Hall, Dianne, \textit{Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland, c.1140-1540} (Dublin: FCP, 2003), 27. See also Antonia Gransden, ‘Edmund [St Edmund] (d. 869)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004 [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/8500, accessed 7 July 2007]
\textsuperscript{28} PA 1542 and Mills, ‘Chapels and crypts’, 200; \textit{PA 1564-5}, 73 (14 May 1564).
\textsuperscript{29} Mills, ‘Chapels and crypts’, 200 suggested that St Edmund’s chapel occupied the south transept or the west end of the south choir aisle, prior to Orpen’s observation on the chapel of St Mary.
\textsuperscript{30} Appendix 4, A2, B10.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Deeds}, 349.
Whitland (literally white land, ‘alba landa’) in Pembrokeshire in Wales founded in 1140. Cistercian foundations often had Marian dedications, and there was a preponderance of them in Pembrokeshire. The original site of the monastery is unknown, but it continued as ‘Alba Landa’ when it settled at its present site in 1151. It would have been known to Strongbow and his followers; Giraldus Cambrensis described Abbot Cynan of Whitland (d.1176) as a ‘good and saintly’ man, and noted the oppression of the Premonstratensian abbey of Talley, sometime between 1193-1202 by Abbot Peter of Whitland, a former member of Giraldus’s household who competed against him for the bishopric of St David’s. Another link is that Robert Fitz Stephen was, as lord of Pennardd, a vassal of the de Clare family in Ceredigion, thus accounting for his presence with Strongbow in Ireland. He was present at the foundation of the abbey of Strata Florida, as a daughter of Whitland abbey in 1164, greeting their abbot, David on the banks of the Ffluyr brook.

The relatively unusual dedication of a chapel to the Holy Ghost (or Spirit) found in only three English churches, is undiagnostic of a particular period. However, it was a recent dedication; a 1485 deed notes it as ‘the Chapell of the Holy Goste, nowe called Seynt Laurence O Toyles Chapel, in the Southe Isle next adjoyning to the high Quere of the said Church’. The phrase ‘now called’ is ambiguous meaning either ‘at present called’ indicating a past state, or ‘henceforth called’ indicating a future state. Traditionally, the interpretation has been that the dedication of Holy Ghost preceded that of St Laurence O’Toole, but this implies the dedication to O’Toole was two and a half centuries after...
his canonisation, a conclusion 'quite opposed to the original documents'.\textsuperscript{41} Re-dedicating a chapel to St Laurence O'Toole, a distant memory among Anglo-Irish Dubliners, is hardly likely to be a priority in 1485, and a far more logical interpretation is that Holy Ghost was the later dedication, supported by the deed's provision for a 'mass of the Holy Ghost in the chapel of the Holy Ghost'.\textsuperscript{42} Moreover, the abandonment of Dublin's only saint may have had political undertones reflecting the strong antipathy held by the Dublin administration to the O'Tooles of Wicklow. In 1344, the priory paid 4d. for two men 'watching upon the tops of the mountains through fear of the Irish', while in 1462, cathedral property and the two gable windows were damaged from 'injuries by Irish rebels'.\textsuperscript{43} The 1539 charter refers to a 'mass at the altar of the Holy Ghost',\textsuperscript{44} and the dedication is again noted on Christmas Eve 1564, when the proctor had candles put 'about the quere and the churche as custome is in ewny seyd of the quers and the rode lofte and the Holly Gostis chappell and the northe syd of the quers, seat in balles of clay',\textsuperscript{45} which implies the chapel's southern location, all of which suggests that the late fifteenth-century chapel renaming was to the Holy Ghost not O'Toole. Nevertheless, the chapel renaming after the 1480s is not straightforward. The survival of stained glass to St Laurence as an inheritance of the chapel in 1565 poses no difficulty, but the fact that an arbitration judgement of 1500 and a deposition of 1504,\textsuperscript{46} are both noted as taking place in St Laurence's chapel is more difficult to explain. Perhaps an O'Toole altar was retained within the renamed chapel. Alternatively, the survival of the name may reflect either the conservative nature of legal procedures previously located in the chapel, or disputes over allegiancy to particular dedications for which there is no other extant evidence.

It has been noted that the position south of the high altar may have been occupied in the Anglo-Norman period by a chapel dedicated to St Mary. No later references to such a chapel occur and, as shown, this was later dedicated to St Laurence O'Toole. The best opportunity for such a dedication would have been some time after his canonisation in afterwards to Archbishop Lawrence O'Toole, whence the chapel derived its present [my emphasis] name of St. Lawrence O'Toole's Chapel', but there is no evidence of a chapel to him at this time (plate 87, 97-9).\textsuperscript{41} Mills, 'Chapels and crypts', 198.

\textsuperscript{42} Deeds, 1090-1, quoted in Butler, \textit{Christ Church}, 81.

\textsuperscript{43} Account roll, 64, Deeds, 297.

\textsuperscript{44} Boydell, \textit{Music at Christ Church before 1800}, (Latin) 37-41; (English) appendix 1, no. 5, 243-6 (1539).

\textsuperscript{45} PA 1564-5, 46 and note 86, where Gillespie follows Mills, 'Chapels and crypts'. 198 and states that the Holy Ghost chapel was 'known as St Laurence's chapel before 1458 [recte 1485]'.

\textsuperscript{46} PA 1564-5, 48; Lawlor, 'Calendar', 32, no. 59 (August 1500); 28, no. 51, \textit{Deeds}, 380 (November 1504).
1225, and the return of some of his relics to the cathedral by at least 1253. If this was the case, it would mean that the dedication of this southern chapel was changed to St Laurence O'Toole (probably from St Mary de Alba Landa), some time in the mid-thirteenth century, a point which matches well with the contemporary building of a larger Lady chapel to the northeast, because it agrees with one of the foundation narratives which states that 'later the citizens of Dublin, moved by a great miracle of the aforesaid holy Archbishop Lawrence, as is told more fully in his Life, honourably founded and built the great Lady Chapel on the north side of the chancel.' The expression ‘a great miracle’ is precisely the description required by a stringent papal bureaucracy recovering details of the life and miracles of Laurence to validate him as a legitimate saint. Lady chapel renewals were also a common feature of the thirteenth century; nearby St Patrick’s erected a Marian chantry chapel in 1235, and a new Lady chapel in 1270. At Christ Church, a record of a new altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1230 fits neatly with the above proposed removal of the chapel of St Mary to a larger structure to the north east.

Why the Lady chapel was established to the northeast is unknown, but this pattern was particularly favoured in East Anglia, and can be found for example at Thetford in the mid-thirteenth century; Bury St Edmunds in 1275, where its position around an apse with three chapels may have been to avoid the relics of St Edmund; Peterborough in the 1270s and Ely in the 1320s. At Winchester cathedral this position may also have been to avoid the shrine of St Swithun. The question of why the Lady chapel avoided the

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48 Padraig Ó Rian, ‘Dublin’s oldest book? A list of saints ‘made in Germany’ in Seán Duffy, Medieval Dublin V (Dublin: FCP, 2004), 52-72, at 56. I have found no evidence to confirm the suggestion made in A Fingalian [John S. Sloan], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118 that the chapel of St Laurence O'Toole was erected in 1315.
49 Appendix 4, B13. The fact that it is listed after reference to the building of the fourteenth long choir suggests that it was an appended unchronological text given the thirteenth-century date of O'Toole’s canonisation, and the fact that the extension of the long choir angled northeast using the Lady chapel south wall as the choir north wall, something which assumed its pre-existence.
51 J.H. Bernard, The cathedral church of Saint Patrick: a history & description of the building, with a short account of the dean (Bell’s Cathedral Series: St Patrick’s, London: George Bell & Sons, 1903), 10.
52 Deeds, 43 noted also in Mervyn Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, ed. P.F. Moran (2 vols, Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1873), i, 335.
common position east of the chancel as found at St Patrick's, may have related to a
deferece to the space in the thirteenth-century, perhaps not wishing to disturb the relics.
Whatever the reason, by the mid-fourteenth century the choir was free to extend there.
All that remains of the Lady chapel are portions of the walls, the present chapter house
ground plan, and an archway with moulded capitals, whose profile of three-units of scroll
moulding date them to the second half of the thirteenth century,\(^{36}\) probably the 1280s or
1290s.\(^{57}\) This cannot be reconciled with an altar of c.1230, but the archway may date to a
later building campaign, such as in 1281 when 'new work of the presbytery was begun'.\(^{58}\)

Few medieval churches did not have a Marian chapel, indeed the 1453 Cashel synod
made all churches have a statue of the Virgin Mary.\(^{59}\) The fact that the 'history of the
Lady chapel is difficult to establish'\(^{60}\) at the cathedral arises from descriptions of Lady or
Mary chapels being interpreted as multiple Marian chapels, such as the great Mary chapel
and the chapel of St Mary the White,\(^{61}\) the latter perhaps deriving its description from the
'Alba Landi' title. With the possible exception of the Marian dedication of the later
Kildare chantry, it seems likely that there was one chapel only,\(^{62}\) the substantial space
north of the long choir. The consecration of an altar dedicated to St Mary the Virgin
'beate Marie virginis' on the choir north side by Bishop John Kelly of Down in 1414, was
most likely a re-dedication, perhaps marking the completion date of refurbishments
made to the centre of the chapel and its altar noted in the obit of sub-prior, Richard
Tristi (d.1430).\(^{63}\) This refurbishment appears to have garnered interest. From the
fifteenth century onwards, the Lady chapel was the crown's venue for swearing in new
governors in front of the Irish council, significantly beginning in 1414 for Sir John
Talbot,\(^{64}\) then 1420 for James Butler, the fourth ('White') earl of Ormond,\(^{65}\) and 1461 for

21 (1978), 'Part I', 18-57; 22 (1979), 'Part II', 1-48, at ii, 21, figure 16, C.

\(^{57}\) Roger Stalley, 'The architecture of the cathedral and priory buildings, 1250-1530' in Kenneth M"ulne (ed.),

\(^{58}\) Lawlor, 'Calendar', 66.

\(^{59}\) Michael Burrows, 'Fifteenth century Irish provincial legislation' in W.J. Sheils & D. Woods (eds), *The

\(^{60}\) Stalley, 'Architecture of the cathedral and priory buildings', 106.

\(^{61}\) Gilbert, *Dublin*, i, 107; Seymour, *Christ Church* (1869), 30-1.

\(^{62}\) Mills, 'Chapels and crypts', 199 notes the position of the chapel being uncertain, but names all described
positions as agreeing with the large Lady chapel to the north east.

\(^{63}\) R.K. Morris, 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England, c.1250-1400', *Architectural History*,
21 (1978), 'Part I', 18-57; 22 (1979), 'Part II', 1-48, at ii, 21, figure 16, C.

\(^{57}\) Roger Stalley, 'The architecture of the cathedral and priory buildings, 1250-1530' in Kenneth M"ulne (ed.),

\(^{58}\) Lawlor, 'Calendar', 66.

\(^{59}\) Michael Burrows, 'Fifteenth century Irish provincial legislation' in W.J. Sheils & D. Woods (eds), *The

\(^{60}\) Stalley, 'Architecture of the cathedral and priory buildings', 106.

\(^{61}\) Gilbert, *Dublin*, i, 107; Seymour, *Christ Church* (1869), 30-1.

\(^{62}\) Mills, 'Chapels and crypts', 199 notes the position of the chapel being uncertain, but names all described
positions as agreeing with the large Lady chapel to the north east.

\(^{63}\) Registers, 52, 44.

\(^{64}\) J.T. Gilbert, *History of the viceroys of Ireland; with notices of the castle of Dublin and its chief occupants in former times*
(Dublin & London, 1865), 304 (30 November 1414).

\(^{65}\) E.A.E. Matthew, 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship of Ireland in the time of James Butler,
National Archives, Kew, PRO E101/247/8 and PRO E101/247/13, no. 4 (22 April 1420).
Thomas Fitzgerald, seventh earl of Kildare. The city also used the space. In 1314, the appointments of a freeman, a mayor and of bailiffs took place there. Numerous interments also took place in the chapel including a former mayor (1436-7), Robert Chambre (d.1441), Robert Passawant (d.1439), Thomas Glayn (d.c.1475-6), and Peter Higeley [Heygley] (d.c.1477). The burial of Richard Wydown (d.1501), a carpenter from the parish of St Werburgh's, may reflect his previous employment on the cathedral.

Perhaps the most prestigious chapel was that of the guild of merchants dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The guild splintered into three before 1275, but was reunified again by 1451; a charter that year records that Henry VI granted liberty ‘to establish anew a fraternity or gild of the art of Merchants of the city of Dublin, as well men as women, in the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity’. The guild was granted liberty to found a chantry of four priests in the chapel. This chapel can be located in the south aisle from concern in 1564 that ‘the hede of the Trinitie Chappell’ would fall causing the ‘breckine of the roffe of the cloystyr and the tymbyr’. That it might break the cloister roof also shows that the cloister was lower than nave level, which also ensured that it did not encroach on the south aisle windows. While after 1562, the chapel occupied the eastern four bays of the south aisle, at the Reformation, it was probably located between the doorways to the cloister at either end of the aisle. Burials also took place in the chapel, requested by Thomas Westoun, rector of Liones c.1450, and by John Gogh in 1472, who furthermore bequested ‘to the works of the church and the canons there’ and ‘to the altar of the chapel of Holy Trinity, one Missal to remain there for ever’, appointing the chapel ‘masters and guardians’ to oversee it. By 1485, ‘it

66 Lodge, Peerage of Ireland (1754), i, 25; (1789), i, 82: Finlayson, Inscriptions, 103 (1 May 1461)
67 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), i, 311.
68 Registers, 57; Deeds, 291; Registers, 56; Deeds, 290; Register of wills and inventories of the diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregu~, and IF*alton 1457-1483, ed. H.F. Berry (Dublin: RSAI, 1898), 27-9 notes Glayn’s will made on 10 December 1475; 128-33 notes Higeley’s on 28 October 1476.
69 Registers, 79; Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 27-8 (nos. 49, 50); Deeds, 373.
70 Henry Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin gild of merchants, known as the gild of the Holy Trinity, 1438-1671’, R.S.A.I. Jr., xxx (1901), 44-68, at 49. Not five priests as noted by Robinson, Handbooks, ‘Annals’. Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 26-7 suggests that chantries such as this ‘would doubtless have had a musical dimension’ and from time to time hired civic musicians. See Barra Boydell, ‘Dublin city musicians in the late middle ages and renaissance to 1600’, D.H.R., 34:2 (1981), 42-53.
71 PA 1564-5, 41, 43 (December 1564); Berry, Register of wills, 38-40, 205.
73 Deeds, 886, presumably after the re-establishment of the guild in 1451.
74 Berry, Register of wills, 38-40, cited by Clarke, Dublin to 1610. See further details of the Trinity chapel, see H.F. Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin gild of merchants, known as the gild of the Holy Trinity, 1438-1671’, R.S.A.I. Jr., xxx (1900), 44-68, at 63.
was ordered that no man or woman should be interred there without licence of the masters and wardens of the gild. This order may have related to concerns that the south wall was being undermined, a fear borne out dramatically in 1562.

The last chapel to be established before the Reformation was the sole family chantry in the cathedral. Dedicated to St Mary, it was built in 1512 by the ‘Great’ Gerald (Gearóid Mór) Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Kildare, who was buried there the following year. Kildare was the most powerful ruler Ireland had seen for generations, serving as lord deputy from 1478-1513, a period of substantial independence from England. His demise was widely lamented among the ‘Foreigners and Gaeidhel of Erin’. His tentative plans for a ‘chantry college at Maynooth’, may have put in the shade his ‘far more modest chantry endowment in Christ Church’, but judging from illustrations from which a partial reconstruction has been drawn (figure 23-5), this chantry was for Ireland ‘by far the most elaborate piece of late Gothic art on record’. It can be compared with English stone chantries of similar date in the cathedrals of Winchester (Bishop Fox, 1528), Worcester (Prince Arthur’s Chantry, 1504) and Hereford cathedrals, and the chantry of archbishop of Dublin, William Rokeby (d.1521) at Kirk Sandal, Yorkshire. Hunt was undecided as to whether it was stone or wood, but the degree and type of detail suggest timber was more likely; the ‘string course ornamented with a running vine scroll’ on the Kildare chantry was universal in late medieval woodwork in England. The chantry bears comparison with early sixteenth-century screens displaying Renaissance influence, such as those in the Herbert chapel of St John’s church, Cardiff (figure 28). These are

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75 Berry, ‘Gild of merchants’, 63.
76 See chapter iv, pp 164-5.
77 Gillespie, ‘Coming of reform’, 156.
78 Donough Bryan, Gerald Fitzgerald. the great earl of Kildare (1456-1513) (Dublin & Cork: Talbot Press, 1933), ix with an admitted short intermission.
80 ALC, LC1513.7 [ii, 216-17], duplicated in AU, U1513.5 [iii, 507].
81 M.A. Lyons, Church and Society in County Kildare, c.1470-1547 (Dublin: FCP, 2000), 85 citing Registers, 69.
crowned by the same vine scrolls pattern, but vertical panels in their bases contain many of the same tracery motifs as found in the Kildare chantry (figure 27). There is no doubt that the ‘artistic background of the Kildare chapel warrants further investigation’, probably reflecting a wider deployment of perpendicular gothic work in Ireland than has survived, but it also shows the Kildares as well in tune with current artistic trends.

Annal entries locate Fitzgerald’s burial in his private chapel at the cathedral, specifically ‘sepultus in capella beate Marie infra ecclesiam Trinitatis Dublin’. However, no source exactly specifies the chantry’s location. Some clues help pinpoint its location. Maurice fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, fourth earl of Kildare (d.1390), the second Kildare earl buried in the cathedral, was interred in the chancel: ‘sepel: in cancell Ste Trinitat Dublin’. Second, the surviving illustrations of the chapel illustrate only two faces, suggesting that it occupied a corner location. This limited it to only two positions, the south-east corner behind the altar, or the north-east, the location of the later monument to the nineteenth earl before its destruction in a refurbishment after 1677, and most likely the chantry’s original position. It is unclear where Lodge got the phrase ‘near the altar’ for the chapel, but writing in the 1740s, he may have drawn on living memory of its destruction, which ‘caused no small public commotion’. The coincidence of two Marian dedications on either side of the same wall (the chantry chapel and the Lady chapel) raises the possibility that they were intended to be related. An arch linking the two spaces (plate 67, 87, 89, 94, 96-101), may have facilitated this. Alternatively, in the early nineteenth century, one could still go through ‘that queer little door on left side of Communion table, and up the broken stairs into St. Mary’s Chapel’ (plate 94), referred to...

89 AU, U1513.5 [iii, 507]; The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn ... and Thady Dowling ... ed. Richard Butler (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1849), [Dowling annals], 33, sub anno 1509 [recte 1513]. AFM incorrectly record his death in 1514.
90 Indeed, Mason located the chantry inaccurately on the ‘south side of the High Altar’ (TCD MS 10529, i, sub 1513), and was followed by Robinson, Handbook ‘annals’, 27 who notes ‘south side of the Choir’.
92 Stalley, ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 104-5, note 53.
93 Probably that of 1679-80, for which see chapter v, pp 207, 213.
94 Mason’s cathedral plan (plate 94, no. 8) marks the monument to the nineteenth earl of Kildare and not the chantry chapel near Stalley ‘Cathedral and priory buildings’, 105, note 54.
95 John Lodge, The peerage of Ireland; or, a genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom (4 vols., London, 1754, enlarged by Archdall, 7 vols, Dublin, 1789), [1754] i, 29; [1789], i, 86.
as 'the private way'. Whether through the arch or the spiral staircase, the Kildare chantry appears to have straddled two ecclesiastical spaces exposing the family chapel to double the number of masses, and double the benefit to their souls.

A further altar may have survived to the Reformation, a single or double altar, west of the rood screen, noted in 1335 when John de Grauntsete and Alice, his wife, requested a mass 'daily at the altar before the Holy Cross'. As this is noted prior to Archbishop John de St Paul's extension of the choir when the rood screen was established at the eastern crossing, the Holy Cross in this case was most likely above an earlier western screen. This would appear to tally with archaeological evidence uncovered in the 1870s of a stone screen 10 feet (about one bay) west of the crossing, but still east of the northern and south western entrances to the nave, probably the original position, as found in other foundations. The reason for the extension of the choir was most likely Archbishop John de St Paul's wish to leave a legacy, but it had practical advantages such as clearing of the crossing area and rendering the nave and transepts more accessible. Furthermore, the common cathedral east end extensions at this period, often provided an area for a shrine or feretory, allowed more scope for processions and answered the needs of the Augustinian canons, the congregation, and the liturgy. The question of when the screen was moved eastwards is assisted by a confirmation of the 1335 deed by Maurice Fitzgerald, fourth earl of Kildare, in an indenture of 1353, that the prior and canons 'and their successors for ever (my emphasis) should find one canon, a priest, to say mass daily on the altar before the cross in Holy Trinity'. The establishment of masses in perpetuity was common, but it is unlikely that such a confirmation would have occurred if it was known that the Holy Cross, or rood, and the screen below it, were soon to be moved. In 1352, Archbishop John de St Paul had held a council at the cathedral, which, just three years since his appointment, was hardly enough time for a major refurbishment. Confirmation of an eternal mass 'on the altar before the cross' suggests that, if nothing else, there was no plan afoot to move it or that plans were not

98 A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], 'Correspondence: Antiquarian rambles', Irish Builder, xxiii, 511 (1 April 1881), 110.
99 Butler, Christ Church, 74-7 gives a 'somewhat shortened translation from an ancient document' which is a far fuller version than the short note calendared in Deeds, 225.
100 Butler, Christ Church, 11.
102 Draper, Formation of English gothic, 213.
103 Allen's register, 208 (10 May 1353).
foreseen. A date near the end of the archbishop’s episcopacy in the late 1350s therefore seems most likely for the movement of the screen as part of his refurbishment.

This overview lists six, perhaps seven chapels in total, with seven, perhaps eight altars: dedicated to St Nicholas, St Edmund, St Mary (the Lady chapel and the Kildare chapel), St Laurence or the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Trinity which, at the Reformation, can roughly be located in the accompanying diagram, though the spaces allocated here may exceed those of the original chapels (figure 1), as well as an altar before the cross. A chapel of the guild of barber-surgeons appears to have occupied the eastern half of the north nave aisle, but is undocumented before the 1570s. Although the spatial hierarchy to the chapels reflected historical contingency, rank and wealth still brought privilege and a place near the altar. This was the case for the Anglo-Norman dedications, for merchant John Estrete’s rededicated Holy Ghost chapel, and the earl of Kildare’s chantry. Piety still counted however as the chapel to St Laurence O’Toole demonstrated, while latecomers, the wealthy guild of merchants made do with a free aisle in the nave.

Chapels were not the only internal subdivisions of space. The cathedral also housed a sacristy and a treasury whose locations have not yet been identified. A sacristy or vestry as it was known after the Reformation (a distinction preserved in Roman Catholic versus Anglican usage today) was a room usually close to the altar containing frontals, cloths and plate to dress it, and vestments, surplices, amices, albs and such for robing the clergy, and well as often storing church valuables. For example, a sacristy in Boyle abbey, Co. Roscommon was broken into in 1235, and ‘all its valuable things, and its mass-chalices and altar-cloths, were taken out of it.’ The earliest reference to a sacristy at Christ Church is indirect, to Christinus the sacristan noted c.1176. Then, as late as 1539, the new charter of the cathedral made provision for ‘a second clerk who shall be called sacrist, whose office it shall be to strike the bells at the proper hours, he shall be present day and night, at the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary every day for assisting the singers there, in like manner at the high mass … ‘ Another reference was distinctly unliturgical: in 1346 2d. was paid for ‘ale for the Prior, brother Thomas de Beuley, and John Rous...

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105 See chapter iv, 140.
106 ALC, LC1235.5 [i, 322-3].
107 Liam Howlett, ‘The Killester charter’, D.H.R., xxxii, 2 (March 1979), 69-71 & plate 8 (between 60-1); Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), i, 327. Possibly the same named rural dean c.1185-6 (Gwynn, ‘Cumin’, 307), and probably ‘Cristinus canonanus nostre’, obit 1 November (Obits, 48 [Registers, 77] or ‘Cristinus sacerdos et canonicus nostre’, obit 18 November (Obits, 51 [Registers, 79]).
108 TCD, MS 10529, sub ann 1539, calendared in Deeds, 431.
and others, in the sacristy, coming from the lord archbishop at Finglas'. The location of this sacristy or vestry has not been identified. One might expect, as is the case in one of only two Tudor plans of Augustinian monasteries to survive, that of Chedwode priory in Buckinghamshire, that the vestry be behind the altar. The same space at Christ Church had a similar function, as revealed in the 1461 account of the east window blowing in during a storm, causing falling stones to break ‘many chests containing jewels, relics, ornaments and vestments of the altar, and muniments’. If this was the sacristy, it also stored chests of archives, religious relics, as well as liturgical props.

The cathedral had always stored valuables. In 1311, the trial of Philip the clerk charged him with hiding in the cathedral at night and breaking into trunks and coffers. Their location is unfortunately unspecified. At the Reformation, the shifting of the altar and presumed destruction of the cathedral relics probably changed this space considerably. A 1564 reference locates the vestry door in the south choir aisle near the pillory, in an area either formerly occupied by a chapel (plate 87, 89, 97-9, no. 31), or more likely, further east in the relatively new extension to the south choir aisle established before 1485. One plausible explanation is that the 1461 damage forced the Augustinians to build a more secure sacristy south of the altar. This may have freed up space around the altar because, in 1512, it was possible to establish the Kildare chantry chapel in the northeast corner of the choir. Such an availability of space around the early sixteenth-century altar, may also have facilitated better public access to venerate the cathedral relics.

While this sacristry space west of the east window was used to store muniments up until 1461, it cannot be identified with the Irish treasury which existed at the cathedral at intervals from 1215 to 1316, as this space was not available until the late thirteenth or

109 Account roll, 116 (Saturday 7 October 1346).
111 Lawlor, 'Calendar', 56, no. 100; Todd, Otills, xix; Stat. Ire. Edu. IV, i, 241; Archdall, Monasticum Hibernicum (1873), ii, 10; Harris, Dublin, 286.
115 P.A 1564-5, 32 (9 November 1564), also cited by Clarke, Dublin to 1610, 23.
fourteenth century. Details of the treasury at Christ Church are limited to exchequer payments for locks and keys, or the repair of coffers or chests. These span 1293 to 1309, and after a hiatus, from 1309 to 1315, after which due to considerations of security, the treasury was no longer based at Holy Trinity; in 1316, the king commanded that 'the rolls and memoranda of the treasury should be kept in safe custody within the castle'. The use of a prestigious ecclesiastical venue for a treasury occurred also in England at Westminster Abbey, where the crypt beneath the octagonal chapterhouse was used as a state treasury. An audacious burglary of 1303 may have contributed to the crown’s decision to move the Dublin treasury to the castle. Large gable windows at the Christ Church chapter house provided little security, but looking to Westminster, the cathedral crypt is a much more likely defensible space to have housed the Irish treasury. Although no evidence for this survives, historically, treasure was often stored in such spaces in European cathedrals, such as Cologne in Germany, where it was partly under the sacristy, and numerous modern analogues can be found availing of the enclosed nature of such underground spaces.

The division of space within medieval churches would be unrecognisable however if it were not for its liturgical furnishings: an altar for the celebration of the mass, a piscina for washing the vessels, stalls where the clergy could kneel and sit, a cross or rood, often over a screen, a pulpit for preaching sermons, and a font for baptism. Christ Church had all of this as well as a dramatic line-impressed mosaic patterned paving with sentences of scripture in Lombardic script letters, probably laid down in the first quarter of the

117 Connolly, Exchequer, 27. The same reference is cited by Clarke, Dublin to 1610 for the king’s treasury. It is noted as a coffer rather than a chest in Cal. Doc. Ire., 1252-84, 288-91, at 291, no. 1497. See also Connolly, Exchequer, 150, 152, 156 and Cal. Doc. Ire., 1293-1301, 282-3, no. 589; 317-8, no. 660.
118 Connolly, Exchequer, 144, 148 and Cal. Doc. Ire., 1293-1301, 244-5, no. 548.
119 Connolly, Exchequer, 134, 135, 137, 157, 158, 161, 167, 169, 172, 174, 175, 190, 209, 609. See also Cal. Doc. Ire., 1293-1301, 149-50, no. 328; 169, no. 360; 183-4, no. 392; 335-6, no. 706; 345-6, no. 736.
120 Irish Exchequer payments, 1270-1446, ed Philomena Connolly, p. 235. Same reference cited by Clarke, Dublin to 1610 for king's treasury (Administration, 13, p. 23), gives c.1316.
121 Cal. close rolls 1313-18, 293 cited by Robinson, 'Dublin castle to 1684', 61.
124 For example, crypt treasuries at the cathedrals of St Paul's, London, Liverpool Metropolitan, Ripon, Canterbury, Gloucester, Lichfield, as well as York minster in England and Christ Church in Dublin.
fourteenth century (figure 15.6). The old choir extending into the crossing and a bay into the nave was elevated by one step above the nave and laid with encaustic tiles. Within the choir, unfortunately little is known about the high altar. Three round mats were bought for it for 3s. in 1542, but where exactly it was located is unclear, other than sufficiently far west from the east window before 1461 to allow a space for storage. However, the younger cathedral foundation narrative does note the archbishop’s response to his building work: ‘In memory of this he provided by his last will that his body should be buried beneath a marble stone with a statue in bronze, on the second step before the aforesaid altar’. A decree made by Archbishop John Cumin at Christ Church at a provincial synod of 1186 ordering the altars to be made of stone, was presumably obeyed at the cathedral, but whether this was the altar moved eastwards in Archbishop John de St Paul choir extension is unknown.

A glimpse of the choir interior is afforded by the 1430 obit of the sub-prior, Richard Tristi, who ornamented the tabernacles around the great altar and had the church newly whitewashed. The sacrament was reserved on the high altar in a silver box worth £12 12s. and weighing 33 ozs, stolen in 1466 and never recovered. South of the altar was a piscina, which possibly survived to the 1870s in its original position (plate 73). Its multi-cusped ogee-headed arch characterises it as late fourteenth-century sculpture, appropriate to the choir refurbishment of Archbishop John de St Paul. It was excluded from the restoration in the 1870s because Street regarded the ogee as debased, but he nevertheless recognised it as ‘the one ancient feature left either inside or outside this awkwardly enlarged and ugly choir’, and retained it in the crypt. It would formerly have contained a stone basin for the washing of vessels and hands. A loose stone surviving in the present chapel of St Laud has radially carved grooves directed to a central drainage hole (figure 17.6), which may have been part of a piscina, a similar

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125 ‘Tiles found during restoration of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 1872’ (RCB C6/1/27/8, p. 44; Eames & Fanning, Irish medieval tiles, 41.
126 Butler, Christ Church, 11.
127 PA 1542.
128 Appendix 4, B12.
129 Deeds, 5. See also Aubrey Gwynn (ed.), ‘Provincial and diocesan decrees of the diocese of Dublin during the Anglo-Norman period’, Archivium Hibernicum, 11 (1944), 31-117.
133 Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 92.
134 Illustrated in Butler, Christ Church, upper right plate opp. 17.
example of which was recorded in Grange ‘abbey’, Baldoyle (figure 17.b).\textsuperscript{136} A Lady chapel basin is recorded in the 1480 charter establishing the choir which stipulated that the priest ‘washes his hands at the wash-basin’, who was located as ‘standing thus by the end of the altar near the wash-basin’.\textsuperscript{137}

Further necessities for the Augustinian canons whose lives revolved around the monastic offices were choir stalls. No pre-Reformation references survive. The 1539 constitution ordering ‘that the archdeacon of Dublin shall have a stall in the choir’,\textsuperscript{138} is formulaic, but clearly implies pre-existing stalls. If the 12d. paid on Christmas day 1564 by the precentor for ‘candlyght for the Denis stalle 1 great lyght and for my stare a great lyght 3li 2 candyles and 14 candylles about the churche, as by old custom haw bene’,\textsuperscript{139} was an old custom stretching back prior to the Reformation, these same stalls were probably those occupied by their predecessors, the prior and sub-prior. The number of stalls was probably about twelve or fourteen to accommodate numeric variation, which divided on either side of the choir as customary in a monastic setting, yields six or seven stalls per side. These twelve Augustinian canons corresponded to the post-Reformation chapter of four dignitaries, and eight vicars choral, of which three were prebendaries.\textsuperscript{140} Comparison with other cathedral priories show that Christ Church was on the small side: Bath and Coventry had normally 20-5 members,\textsuperscript{141} whereas an English church ‘of the first rank’ often had 60 stalls.\textsuperscript{142} Where the Christ Church stalls were can be closely specified in the late medieval period. Where previous ‘archbishops had stopped’, Archbishop John de St Paul ‘built a chancel with the archbishops’s throne, and a great window at the east end behind the high altar, and three other windows between the great window and the archbishop’s throne he built on the south side’.\textsuperscript{143} The three easternmost southside windows are clearly identifiable additions, being smaller than the two to their west (plates

\textsuperscript{137} Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800 (Latin), 29-31; (English), appendix 1, 238-40 (15 April 1480). For this charter as the beginning of a choir school, see for example, M.V. Ronan, ‘Catholic schools of old Dublin’, D.H.R., xii, 3 (August 1951), 65-82, at 65-8.
\textsuperscript{138} Deeds 431.
\textsuperscript{139} PA 1564-5, 47 quoted also in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 79, no. 79.
\textsuperscript{140} Deeds 431. See also H.A. Boyd, ‘The history of the capitular constitution of the cathedral of the Holy Trinity (commonly called Christ Church) Dublin’, Christ Church Yearbook 1952, part i [n.p.]; Christ Church Yearbook 1953, part ii, [n.p.].
\textsuperscript{141} Joan Greatrex, ‘The cathedral monasteries in the later middle ages’ in Daniel Rees (ed.), Monks of England: Benedictines in England from Augustine to the present day (London, 1997), 118-34, 252, at 120.
\textsuperscript{142} Francis Bond, Wood carvings in English churches, i: Misericords; ii: 1, Stalls and tabernacle work; 2, Bishops’ thrones and chancel chairs (2 vols, London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: OUP, 1910), ii, 1, 23.
\textsuperscript{143} Appendix 4, B12.
18-19, 22). The archbishop's throne thus stood between the windows second and third from the west, a position that was largely maintained through later refurbishments to the 1830s (plates 22-3, 97-9, at H). If this position was the customary position of the archbishop’s cathedra on the choir south side as for example at St David's or Durham cathedrals, this locates the choir stalls as within the first two bays east of the crossing. This arrangement afforded ample room between throne, altar, and the space behind it.

If John de St Paul built an archbishop's throne, he may also have commissioned new choir stalls. Choir furniture was almost always timber, and quality carpentry work was expensive. New choir stalls at Wells cathedral in 1325 (now destroyed) cost about £20 each. The closest carpentry work in date to this choir work at Christ Church is 1337-46 and lists no work in excess of £1. There are however extant choir stalls of a similar period. Three English examples date to before the mid-fourteenth century of a form known as canopied stalls. Rochester is the earliest, dating to the early thirteenth century, while in the early fourteenth century the similar stalls of Winchester and Chichester survive. It is fairly certain that the stalls at Chichester were installed under Bishop John Langton (1305-37), probably c.1305-c.1320, and were derived from the Winchester stalls. Tracy describes the Chichester stalls as 'somewhat narrow (70cm) and shallow (33cm)', and made by a master carpenter either 'from London, or at any rate, an ambience cognisant with the latest styles of miniaturised architecture of the early 1290s'.

Although the medieval stalls at Christ Church do not survive, they may have been illustrated in the set of drawings of monuments in seventeenth-century Dublin churches in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ (figures 3.a-c). The manuscript includes monuments at Christ Church from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century as well as earlier views of interest to the artist. Three images are of particular interest, noted only once before, and are individually described as an 'Elaborate Gothic ?reading desk or stall with a great number of coats of arms apparently made of wood. Dem[olished]', and two entries

144 Appendix 6, H marks the archbishop's throne.
146 Bond, Wood carvings, ii, 11.
147 Mills, Account roll, passim.
148 Bond, Wood carvings in English churches, ii, 36.
150 See introduction, pp 21-2.
reading ‘Elaborate Gothic arches possibly part of the preceding structure’. Why these unidentified ‘elaborate Gothic arches’ relate to Christ Church requires explanation. First, there are seven bays illustrated, identical in form, differing only in their heraldic decoration, which correspond to the form of choir stalls. The elaborate nature of their cusped arches and heraldry seems inappropriate to a parish church or chapel, except perhaps that at Dublin castle, and more suited to one of Dublin’s cathedrals. It is difficult to see how such elaborate medieval stalls could have survived the closure of St Patrick’s at the Reformation until its reconstitution in 1555, which included the transfer of the law courts there in 1548 where they remained for six years. Most pertinently, the images illustrate ogee-headed multi-cusped arches of a developed Decorated Gothic form which date to the mid-fourteenth century, when Christ Church’s choir was being extended. Furthermore, they illustrate canopied choir stalls, and bear a striking resemblance to those of Chichester cathedral. Both consist of cinquefoil arches, richly decorated with crockets and subcusps although the spandrels are open at Chichester and blind at Dublin, filled with a heraldic shield on either side. Prior to his canonry at St Paul’s cathedral in London c.1349 and elevation to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1349-62, John de St Paul had, since 1336, been a prebendary of Brightling, Chichester. There is therefore a strong possibility that in extending his Dublin choir, the archbishop may have drawn on his experience of, perhaps even carpenters from, Chichester cathedral.

The illustrated heraldic shields attached to the stalls as well as beams and poles, pose a number of questions. Given the Decorated Gothic form of the stalls, was the heraldry applied at the time, or appended later? If the former, did this represent a form of sponsorship from those represented? Timber was a far more flexible medium than stone, potentially allowing heraldic shields to be incorporated later rather than being pre-planned. The sedilia at Holy Cross provides such an example, where a blank shield survives on its far right (figure 4.b), presumably to be filled at a later date. That nothing survives of the Dublin stalls also suggests they were wooden, in contrast to the enduring stone Holy Cross sedilia. If shields were added at the beginning in Dublin, they were

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most likely those limited to the arch spandrels, rather than the aesthetically more random assortment of shields hanging from various beams, possibly added later.\textsuperscript{154} Examples of such ecclesiastical heraldic decoration can be found not only in Dublin and Tipperary,\textsuperscript{155} but for example above the sedilia at St Mary’s Collegiate Church, Youghal.\textsuperscript{156}

Potential sponsors of the work at Christ Church, whether explicit or not, were the crown and the Irish earldoms. Archbishop St Paul was greatly supported by King Edward III, to the extent of depriving Armagh of the primacy,\textsuperscript{157} and two royal shields in the second and third spandrels of one of the choir stalls (figure 2.b=3.b=4.a), feature England and France ancient (figure 5.a-b), dating from Edward III’s assertion of his claim over France in 1340-67. Another stall, depicts the arms of the four main comital families: the Fitzgerald earls of Desmond and Kildare, the Butler earls of Ormond and the de Burgh earls of Ulster (figure 3.c). All these families had cathedral associations. Maurice Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond and justiciar of Ireland (d.1356) was noted in the cathedral martyrology.\textsuperscript{158} Thomas Fitzgerald, fourth earl of Kildare, donated land to the cathedral in 1353.\textsuperscript{159} The Butlers are represented by little other than an obit to ‘domina Johanna Botyler’, commemorated on 3 April,\textsuperscript{160} very probably Joan Butler née FitzThomas who died before 2 May 1320, a daughter of the first earl of Kildare, who married Edward Butler, father of the first earl of Ormond.\textsuperscript{161} However, James Butler, second earl of Ormond was a lord justice in 1359 during Archbishop St Paul’s episcopate, and was specifically asked to refer important matters to the archbishop.\textsuperscript{162} The de Burghs were represented by Joan (‘Johanneque de Burgo’) (d.1359), daughter of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and wife of Thomas, second earl of Kildare.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{154} See chapter iv, pp 147-8.
\textsuperscript{155} Stalley, \textit{Cistercian monasteries of Ireland}, 200, note 5.
\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Deeds} 241-2.
\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Register}, 51.
\textsuperscript{162} Connolly, ‘St Paul, John (d. 1362)’, \textit{DNB}.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Obits}, 57 [\textit{Register}, 84].
Whether or not these stalls were at Christ Church, their Dublin origin is beyond question, and as such may have influenced other Irish furnishings. Searching for wooden choir stalls elsewhere in medieval Ireland, the evidence tends to be later, such as those documented at Adare Franciscan friary founded in 1464 by Thomas Fitzgerald. St Mary’s cathedral, Limerick has the only surviving choir stalls in Ireland, consisting of elaborately carved misericords, 23 stalls in all, dated c.1480-1500, which bear comparison with the similarly dated examples at St George’s Windsor. The Dublin choir stall illustrations however may have influenced the wealthy Ormonde foundation of Holy Cross in Tipperary, where there survives a sedilia, described as ‘the finest pieces of church furnishing in medieval Ireland’. The sedilia, which has an elaborate hipped roof canopy, is reminiscent of fourteenth-century examples at Rochester and Southwark. It most likely dates to the time of the fourth ‘white’ earl of Ormond, a chief governor familiar with Christ Church where he was installed as justiciar, and commemorated in the obits in 1452; the Holy Cross cloister is also most likely based on a Dublin exemplar. By omitting the diapering below and the steep and elaborate canopy above for clarity of comparison, a close similarity between the design of the Holy Cross sedilia and the Dublin stalls is revealed (figure 4.a-b), which on more detailed examination reveal even the same range of comital shields, with the exception of the Fitzgerald Desmonds, whose arms are absent at Holy Cross. These rare illustrations in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ therefore shed light on our knowledge of the flow of artistic ideas in late medieval Ireland.

167 Stalley, Cistercian monasteries of Ireland, 200 and plate opp. See also P. ‘Tomb of the countess of Desmond’, Dublin Penny Journal, 42: 1 (13 April 1833), 329-31 which misattributes the sedilia as a tomb. This in turn appears to have influenced later furnishings with crocketed ogees at Callan Augustinian friary and Ennis abbey. See Conchubhar Ua Briain [Conor O’Brien], ‘County Kilkenny, Barony of Callan, Parish of Callan’ and ‘County Clare, Barony of Islands, Parish of Dromcliff’, Architectural & Topographical Record, i (1908), 69-83, at 81 and 141-168, at 157 respectively.
Enclosing these stalls to the west was a screen housing an entrance to the choir which kept the space secure; 'a key to the Quere dore' was purchased in 1542. The same accounts record a payment of 1d. for 'Ruches to the Rode Lofte'. Such rood lofts were typically over these choir entrances; the twelfth-century *Decreta Lanfranci* ordered that the rood be placed over the choir entrance in the greater churches. Once established at the eastern crossing during the long choir refurbishment, this screen appears to have survived unmoved until the 1870s (plate 51 & 53). Few stone and no timber medieval screens survive in Ireland, so it is important to establish what form the Christ Church screen took. Given stone foundations for the early screen discovered to the west, it is likely that the mid-fourteenth-century was also stone, attested by its strength to support the weight of substantial scaffolding placed on it in the 1560s, and in later years, an organ. Sloane confirmed that this 'rood loft was the original floor of the “State”, the western balcony pew for the lord lieutenant. In the arch above the rood loft, recorded in 1564, were 'peyntyd bords that was in the great arche oure the rode, wher the story of the passion was peyntyd, they was cott and maylyyd un the coupules [couples] undyr the arche or seat in the same plas agayn and ther they be unthe frame'. This describes the arch divided horizontally into two sections above the screen: an upper portion, perhaps as a form of tympanum, was occupied by a painted scene of the passion on timber boards, while a lower section, below the arch and between the two straight pillars of the eastern crossing, contained the rood or cross. The description of a painted passion of Christ is rare evidence of the painted visual culture of the medieval church in Ireland. A recent study cites only one example of the passion of Christ in Ireland, discovered during conservation work at Ardamullivnan castle in Co. Galway, but a crucifixion scene is also known on the wall of the south transept at Cashel.

170 PA 1542.
175 A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], 'Correspondence: Christ Church Cathedral &c.', *Irish Builder*, xxiii, 520 (August 1881), 245. See chapter v, 208-10.
177 Karena Morton, 'Aspects of image and meaning in Irish medieval wall paintings' in Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB & Salvador Ryan (ed.), *Art and devotion in late medieval Ireland* (Dublin: FCP, 2006), 51-71 does not note the Christ Church example.
In England, the chancel arch is frequently the location for religious painting such as the 'Doom' or 'Last Judgement' which so impressively survives at St Thomas’s church in Salisbury,\(^{179}\) and Holy Trinity, Coventry.\(^{180}\) However, this is depicted on the entire western face above the chancel arch, rather than as at Dublin 'in the great arch eure the rode'. Who erected or painted this scene is unknown, but it is reasonable to suggest that it was done as part of the patronage of Archbishop John de St Paul. The use of painted rather than carved images also indicates more limited resources available for art on Europe’s periphery, by contrast with more elaborate continental carving such as that commissioned for the rood screen of Lübeck cathedral in 1477.\(^{181}\)

The question of the rood or cross itself is likewise unresolved. The cross was highly venerated in the medieval period; in 1497 mayor and aldermen ordered that 'no pilgrymes that comyth in pilgrmyage to the Blissitt Trinity to the Holy Rode or baculus Jheus, or eny other ymage or releke within the said place, shall not be vexid, troublid, ne arrestid, comyng ne goyng, during his pilgrmyage',\(^{182}\) which followed on from royal legislation in 1492.\(^{183}\) The importance of relics as powerful as the Holy Cross on which Christ was crucified, is emphasised by Irish annal entries in 1492 which record that ‘Part of the wood of the Holy Cross was found buried in the earth at Rome’, and that ‘The head of the lance with which Longinus wounded the body of Christ was sent to Rome, in this year, by the sovereign of the Turks’.\(^{184}\) Furthermore, perhaps from the Benedictine heritage of the cathedral, the Augustinian canons observed days of the ‘Finding of the Holy Cross’ and of the ‘Exaltation of the Holy Cross’ (14 September 1346),\(^{185}\) observances found also in Lanfranc’s Monastic constitutions.

The second of the cathedral foundation narratives notes Dúnán’s building of the cathedral ‘et solium ymaginis crucifixi’, probably a crucifix associated with what has been variously defined as entrance\(^{186}\) or base.\(^{187}\) While this may imply the entrance to the

\(^{178}\) Personal communication, Professor Roger Stalley (May 2008).

\(^{179}\) Illustrated for example in Roy Strong, Lost treasures of Britain (London, 1990), 56-7.


\(^{182}\) This double negative seems unintentional and the meaning is clearly that the pilgrims be left alone.

\(^{183}\) CARD, i, 383; Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 29, no. 50. See also Myles V. Ronan, ‘St Patrick’s staff mad Christ Church’, D.H.R., v, 4 (June-August 1943), 121-29, at 127.


\(^{185}\) ALC, LC1492.3, AConn, 1492.3.

\(^{186}\) Account roll, 119 & 102.

\(^{187}\) Appendix 4, B9.
church, it might better apply to a cross above a screen entrance. This is probably the same ‘immoveable’ cross noted by Giraldus Cambrensis as bearing the ‘figure of the Crucified’, and described by Roger de Hovedene in 1197 as a crucifix ‘bearing engraved upon it a life-like image of Christ, which the Irish and all others held in the greatest veneration; this crucifix, which, with the other crosses, was laid upon the ground and surrounded by thorns’, a liturgical ceremony identified recently as a ‘clamour’.

Although the average rood would be not easily moved, these accounts do not tally, as an ‘immoveable’ cross cannot also be ‘laid upon the ground’. The tomb of Strongbow, probably located close to its original position in the nave due to its use in legal transactions from the early sixteenth century, was ‘within sight of the cross’, a description not inconsistent with a screen one bay west of the crossing.

A more practical religious furnishing for declaiming the word was the pulpit, which at the Reformation was that bequeathed in 1482 by Master Richard Fyche, on which an inscription survived, evidence of increasing literacy levels among the congregation.

The pulpit location was first recorded some time between 1595, when the author, the historian, Dr Meredith Hanmer was appointed the precentor’s vicar at Christ Church, and his death, probably of plague, in 1604. He located Strongbow’s tomb as lying ‘over against the Pulpit, in the body of the Church’, roughly half way along the nave south wall. The position of an heraldic shield to a member of the Fyche or Fich family high

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189 Roger Stalley (Personal communication).
189 Benjamin T. Hudson, ‘Dúnán [Donatus] (d. 1074)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004
193 Obits, 29 [Registers, 61]; The inscription is preserved in the notebooks of Sir James Ware in the Bodleian library, Oxford (Personal communication, Professor Raymond Gillespie).
195 CAB, 93. See also Alan Ford, ‘Hanmer, Meredith (1543-1604)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004
above this location on the south wall of the nave until the 1870s (plate 58, figure 12.a-b), suggests that the medieval pulpit was replaced in the same position following the rebuilding of the south wall after 1562. The fact that no evidence of a pulpit survives in later visual material (plates 58 & 71) suggests that it was wooden rather than a more durable material. Its central position would have made it the most appropriate place from which to address a large number of people, such as the preaching of Archbishop Octavian de Palatio of Armagh in support of the crusade against the Turks in 1477,197 or Bishop John Payne of Meath at the coronation of Lambert Simnel as King Edward VI of England and Ireland in 1487.198 In 1542, a pivotal moment of Reformation change, two records are of particular interest, payments of 4d. for ‘all syrmons the settinge & removinge of forms’ and 12d. to ‘a Carpender [for] one daie mendinge the bankis & formes of the Chyrche’.199 Moving forms, long backless benches, clearly placed a strain on the furnishings, but more importantly, these references demonstrate that the nave had no permanent seating in the medieval period. There would also have been no need to move seating had the sermons taken place in the choir. This implies that the medieval tradition of nave sermons may have continued for some decades after the Reformation.

The font, the venue for baptisms, may also have been affected by the 1562 collapse. Its original position is unknown, but may subsequently have been affected by restoration work or a desire for unimpeded processional and visual vistas. It was most likely positioned at the west end of the cathedral near the entrance, either axially aligned or, as recorded in the 1870s, on the west side of the western-most northside nave pillar.200 This font is a shallow octagonal-bowled font (91cm high, 72cm in diameter) and survives in the crypt (plates 56-7, 70, 103, figures 16.a-b).201 Sloane’s observation that ‘when the floor of the nave was raised after 1562 the portion at the font was left undisturbed, as we have seen it’,202 is hard to reconcile with surviving evidence, and better describes the column with an excavated base one bay east. Although the font has been dated roughly

199 PA 1542.
200 Draper, Formation of English gothic, 205.
201 William Butler, Measured drawings of Christ Church prior to the restoration (Dublin, 1874), drawing no iii.
202 A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118, 121, at 121. For font positions in the eighteenth-century, see chapter iv, pp 139.
to the fifteenth century. Sloane's observation suggests that the platform on which the font stood post-dates the nave reflooring of 1618, as may the font if not already renewed after 1562. A comparable font is at Arundel in Sussex, although it has a trefoiled-headed panel decoration on the faces of an octagonal bowl, but few English fonts match this Christ Church font in its simplicity, and such a lack of detail makes it difficult to date. Similar lack of embellishment at Brancaster and Pilton is enlivened by an elaborately carved wooden font cover, but no evidence survives for this at Christ Church. Little is known about fonts in Ireland; there is little surviving documentation and no satisfactory national survey has been undertaken. The one survey of Dublin fonts makes no mention of the Christ Church example.

Evidence of a medieval font at Christ Church however may survive in a sculpted octagonal base stored in the cathedral stone collection (figure 14.a). Each chamfered face is decorated with shallow relief carvings, similar to those of the Ormonde or O'Tunney ateliers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as is the stone used, 'a medium to dark grey limestone', similar to Kilkenny marble. It also bears a strong resemblance to the octagonal support for the bowl of a font dated to between 1461 and 1483 at Dunsany (figure 14.b). These two observations link Christ Church with the Ormondes and the Plunketts. The font at Rathmore, one of a triumvirate of Meath churches (Rathmore, Killeen and Dunsany), was probably by an Ossory artist, supporting the close contact between the Meath Plunketts and the Ormonde Butlers. Indeed the later example of a wayward cross erected by Margaret Butler to her husband Maurice


204 See also chapter iv, pp 138-9.

205 E. Tyrrell-Green, Baptismal fonts classified and illustrated (London: SPCK, 1928), 100-2, fig. 67.


207 J.H.S., 'Baptismal fonts', i, Irish Literary Gazette (Saturday 10 October 1857), 173-4 is a useful early overview and identifies similarities between the fonts of Christ Church, Dublin and Killaloe cathedrals. Helen M. Roe, Medieval fonts of Meath (Longford: Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1968) is the first modern work to address the subject, while H.K. Joan Pike, The medieval fonts of Ireland (n.p., 1989) begins the process of a national survey.

208 Sinéad Ni Ghabhláinn, 'The medieval fonts of Dublin, Glendalough and Kildare' (M.A. Dept of Archaeology, University College Dublin).

209 I am grateful to Danielle O'Donovan, Frances Narkiewicz and Jill Unkel for help examining the collection. Although the stone base was moved with the cathedral stone to St Werburgh's crypt, it has no number marked on it and does not appear in Rachel Moss, Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: Crypt stone project, a database of medieval carved stone (Unpublished report, Christ Church Cathedral Dublin & The Heritage Council, 1999).


211 HM. Roe, Medieval fonts of Meath (Longford: Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1968), 49-55, plates iv, xxxii & a & b

212 Rae, 'Irish sepulchral monuments: Ormond', 4-6. See also Roe, Medieval fonts of Meath, pls v, xxxvii-xxxx.
Fitzgerald of Lackagh c.1575, is another example of a marriage network transmitting artistic ideas, in this case, a Meath tradition transmitted to Kildare. The octagonal base from Christ Church consists of only five sides however, with a roughly straight edge running between points where the final three sides may be expected, possibly marking it as a piscina, similar to that at St Patrick’s, Trim, where an pillar piscina is built into the wall and serves this purpose. The faces of the Christ Church base consist of shallow carvings displaying leaves and intertwining branches (figure 15.a-c, 16.a-b), including a Tudor rose (figure 15.b), and one terminating in two grape or cone-like features and a thistle (figure 16.b). Similar motifs can be found elsewhere, such as rose-like features on the tombs of Butlers and Purcells in Kilkenny churches, while the common botanical theme of intertwining branches, common in sculpture of the period, finds a particularly close example in the Dunsany font (figure 14.b vs 15.c, 16.a-b), both examples of which reinforce links with Kilkenny and Meath. Other carved stone features in the cathedral also held water. Prior to the 1830s restoration, two niches survived on either side of the door into the north transept holding holy water stoups (plate 65), although these seem distinct from another carved stone which survives in the cathedral collection: a hollowed quarter-spherical stoup with nodes at the corners and centre of the rim (figure 19.a), similar to a holy water stoup, unfortunately undated, surviving in the Roman Catholic church in Leixlip (figure 19.b). This may be identifiable with a stone built into the west side of the nave north pier third from the west opposite the medieval entrance (plate 57). Although its surface was recorded as flat, it may have been filled in as such at a later date. A ‘Font stone’ is mentioned in 1557, but with no surviving documentary evidence of a font in the medieval period, little further can be said on the subject.

An ecclesiastical furnishing not bound to the fabric of the building, but nevertheless relatively immobile, was the lectern used for scriptural readings, which returns our focus to the choir. That featured holding the manuscript from which tonsured monks sing in the well known illumination from the de Derby psalter commissioned from Oxford is

214 Roe, Medieval fonts of Meath, 100-4; Pike, Medieval fonts of Ireland, 45.
215 Hunt, Irish medieval figure sculpture, ii, no. 282, 291, 308.
216 Thomas Bell, An essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture ... (Dublin, 1829), 137-150, at 141, noted also in Richard Mant, Church architecture considered, in the relation to the mind of the church since and before the Reformation ... (Belfast, 1843), 41-95, at 52.
217 Pike, Medieval fonts of Ireland, 50.
218 Butler, Christ Church, 10. The medieval arch was moved a bay west during the 1870s restoration.
219 Gilbert, Dublin, i, 113. It is just visible on the west side of the third bay from the east in plates 55-56. It survives detached on a stone ledge in the chapel of St Laud.
probably generic. Only a medieval brass lectern, rare in an Irish context, does survive at the cathedral (figure 20.a). An early reference to it is in 1542 when 6d. was paid for ‘the clenyng of the egle & second payr of Kandlestiks’. Only two authors have noted this eagle lectern, the first acknowledged similar examples at Coventry, Wrexham and Wiggenhall, and the second identified 30 examples in the British Isles attributing their manufacture to Norwich, Bury and in a few cases Belgium (Peterborough’s example, c.1480 was made in Tournai). All dated to c.1450-1500, and a closely similar example is found in the chapel of Corpus Christi college, Oxford. The earlier date may relate to the known importation to England of 18 lecterns in a single consignment in 1453 by Thomas Crowse, a merchant of the Hanse, most likely from the thriving Flemish brass industry. No documentary evidence for brass lecterns is known before 1425, suggesting that they quickly grew fashionable in the mid-fifteenth century, whether as less cumbersome versions of ambos or as works of art ideally suited for ostentatious patronage. A survey of 45 examples (excluding that at Christ Church) classified lecterns into three series of types, identifying the Christ Church example most closely with those in Coventry, Southwell, Newcastle and Urbino cathedrals, a series manufactured over at least forty years in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Lecterns often had chains for securing books, for which there is evidence at Christ Church, though not necessarily to the brass lectern, and this practice continued in many libraries until the eighteenth century. The city records refer in 1569 to a ‘Chayne Boke’ and the large bible, first set up publicly in the middle of the cathedral choir in 1566 which caused ‘a great Resort of People thither, on purpose to Read therein’, must have been secured in

221 Photographed by David Davidson in Stuart Kinsella, Visitor’s guide: Christ Church cathedral Dublin (Dublin: Christ Church Cathedral Publications, 2003), 16.
222 PA 1542.
225 W.R. Childs (ed.), The custom accounts of Hull 1453-1490, Yorkshire Record Series, cxliv (1986), 6, a member of the north European Hanseatic league.
228 Registers, 54.
229 C-ARD, ii, 53-4, at 54.
some way. Although the lectern was later restored, a ring survives on the tail of the eagle as evidence of books formerly chained to it, corroborated by the survival of a later padlock. The lectern itself was sufficiently heavy to discourage more ambitious thieves.

Of less financial value, but far greater spiritual potency, was the cathedral relic collection, which attracted pilgrims and their numismatic offerings from far and wide. In April 1538, a little over two years after coming to office, the Protestant reforming archbishop, George Browne, complained about ‘The Romish Reliques and Images of both my Cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity and of St. Patricks’, particularly that the ‘Prior and the Dean find them so sweet for their Gain’ and so requested ‘a Chide to them and their Canons, that they might be removed’, further asking that ‘the Order be, that the Chief Governours may assist me in it.’ The same year, the ‘Bachall-Isa’ or staff of Christ, was supposedly burnt. It was not only one of the most prized of the cathedral’s relics, given in the early 1170s by Strongbow with the consent of Robert FitzStephen, but proceeds from its veneration were sufficient to fund the singing boys of the choir, sweet indeed for the gain of the chapter. By 1541, George Browne had ‘caused all Superstitious Reliques and Images to be removed out of the two Cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the Churches within his Diocese’, he caused the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer and the Creed to be placed, being gilded and in Frames about the Altar in the Cathedral of Christchurch in Dublin, reflecting the Reformation shift from religious imagery to scriptural text. However, he denied burning the relics; a ‘Bachell of Jesus’ is referred to in a document of 1561 and a Catholic synod in Meath in 1686. The proctor’s accounts of 1542 suggest that the Augustinian cathedral priory did not openly embrace the new reforms, and refer to payments for bearing the ‘fertor’ or feretory on St Mark’s day, and Corpus Christi. Such veneration could be traced back to the cathedral’s foundation, when sixteen relics were initially

231 Ware, Antiquities and history of Ireland (1705), 148 (April 1538) citing ‘George Browne his complaint to the Lord Priye Seal of the unstedfastness of the then Irish Clergy’.
232 ALC, LC1538.6. See also AU, U1538.25; AFS, M1537.20 and AConn, 1538.6.
233 Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 29, 56; Allen’s register, 290-1; Obits, ix and Myles V. Ronan, ‘St Patrick’s staff and Christ Church’, D.H.R., v, 4 (June-August 1943), 121-9, at 125.
234 Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 17, Deeds 357.
These were added to from time to time, the staff of Christ being one example. Another was the shrine of St Cubius, stolen from Wales in 1404 and brought to the cathedral. The relics were translated by Gréine in the box or reliquary that contained them, into a shrine, which it has been suggested marked the centenary of the founding of the diocese or Dublin's elevation to an archbishopric. Towards the end of the period 1270-1350 during which the renewal of English shrines became popular, in 1344, brother John Savage was paid 'for carving and ornamenting 18 images for a shrine, 17s.', perhaps the outer decoration for the smaller mobile feretory. Although undoubtedly an impressive shrine, there were others, such as that in the chapel in Dublin castle, for which, in 1305, John le Decer, mayor of Dublin, was allowed 15s. to repair the shrine cover ('capsula'). Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to propose how close to the relics pilgrims could venture. The 1461 storm locates valuables behind the altar, the very position least accessible to pilgrims. While the south aisle extension may have afforded the public closer access to the relics, greater access may have been restricted to liturgical processions. The only surviving relic in the cathedral today is supposedly the heart reliquary of St Laurence O'Toole, and although some relics of St Laurence did return to the cathedral by 1253, the iron heart is probably of an individual buried in the cathedral's royal vault in the modern period. Although the association of this heart with the saint gained gradual acceptance among some cathedral historians, a more rigorous scholar concluded that 'The legend that his heart was buried in Christ Church seems to have no historical foundation, and it is at least extremely difficult to reconcile with the elaborate account of the disposal of his remains which may be read in

239 Ó Floinn, ‘Foundation relics of Christ Church’, 95.
240 Henry Marleburrough, ‘Chronicle of Ireland’ in The Historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors viz. Meredith Hammer Doctor in Divinitie; Edmund Campion sometime fellow of St John’s Colledge in Oxfor: and Edmund Spencer Esq. (Dublin: Printed for the Societie of Stationers, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1633), 207-223, at 216.
242 Ó Floinn, ‘Foundation relics of Christ Church’, 93.
246 Ó Riain, ‘Dublin’s oldest book?’, 55-6 and Registers, 39.
his Life.249 The royal vault where the heart was found, was not recorded as a burial space before 1713,250 (indeed the popularity of burial vaults peaked between c.1650-1850251) and the heart therefore probably dates, at earliest, to the eighteenth century.

Also removed at the Reformation were images and statues. In 1311, a thief ‘took from the images of S. Katherine a robe’, which may imply a number of statues.252 This may have been St Catherine of Alexandria, who was a patron of guilds. A Dublin guild of St Catherine had possessions in High Street on land belonging to the cathedral priory granted to it in 1395.253 A 1453 synod of Cashel also decreed that all churches should have at least three statues: Christ on the cross, the Virgin Mary and the patron saint.254 A response to this may have been the gift to the high altar of a gilt image of the Virgin Mary worth £10,255 donated by a mid-fifteenth century lady of Killeen, another example of Meath influence.256 Patronage could also be exercised through the provision of stained glass. The chapter house windows had two panes of coloured glass replaced in 1542,257 while in the Holy Ghost chapel in the choir south aisle in 1565, ‘Thomas frenche man, smythe’ was paid for iron bars ‘to stay to panes of glas wher at Sant Laurens is pyctor is in one of them in the southe syde. 16d.’258 An unidentified saint is recorded in a stained glass window illustrated in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ (figure 20.b),259 which may have been in the north choir aisle of the cathedral.260 A high value was put on glazing from an early period. Lanfranc’s constitutions written for Benedictine establishments required a


250 Registers, 101.


253 ‘St. Audoen’s church, Cornmarket: its history from its foundation to the present time: annals of St Audoen’s’, *Irish Builder* (15 December 1888), 304.


256 Both Joan Cusack and Joanna Bellew married lord Killeens named Christopher Plunkett who died 1451 and 1462 respectively.

257 PA 1542

258 *P.A* 1564-5, 48 (Thursday 4 January 1565).

259 NLI, GO MS 15, 118, DCA, Gilbert Collection, MS 201, 72.

260 Rolf Loeber, ‘Sculpted memorials to the dead in early seventeenth-century Ireland: a survey from *Monumenta Eblanae* and other sources’, *R.I.A. Proc.*, C, 81 (1981), 267-93, at 285 notes Roger Stalley’s suggestion that ‘this window may have been in the north aisle of the old long choir’ of Christ Church.
chamberlain to tend ‘to the glazing and repairing of the dormitory windows’. Early Dublin evidence of stained glass is known at Dublin castle in 1242, and glass is listed as an asset at the dissolution at the Dominican friary and hospital of St John, Newgate. At Christ Church, a note in the de Derby psalter: ‘1368 Vitrall’ dat’ iii die novembris anno regni regis Edwardi tertii xlii’, may represent the end of work on the long choir.

Another project was the new glazing of four Lady chapel windows, funded about 1379, by Thomas Smoth, most likely following a family tradition – his father, also a Thomas Smoth, keeper of the stores of Dublin castle in 1331, gave £10 to the ‘capelle beate Marie’ sometime after 1337, while in 1438, money bequeathed by John Morwyle saw the west gable glazed. At least two of these examples show that the provision of glass was an important area for lay patronage to contribute to both upkeep and adornment. The early Smoth grant showing Dublin castle links, was to become a recurrent theme.

Christ Church also had an array of liturgical items such as plate, books and vestments that reflected a wide range of patrons and cultural influences. The amount of plate and jewellery bequeathed to the priory for example testifies to lay participation, often merchants or citizens rather than nobility, wishing to associate themselves as closely as possible to worship. In 1335, John de Grauntsete and his wife Alice requested a mass to be celebrated ‘daft’ at the altar before the Holy Cross’ with a gold ring with a precious stone and silver chain suspended from the cross, while in 1438 John Morwyle left a good gilded chalice with his name, John, in the base, to be used at the great altar. Manuscripts also demonstrate lay patronage in action; the same of 1335 records that de

265 The year of Smoth’s will (Deeds, 250) and distribution of his property (Deeds, 736, 737, 741).
268 Registers, 73, the last date on which Smoth is not mentioned as ‘the son of Thomas Smoth’ (Deeds 609-10).
269 Obits, 34, 59 [Registers, 65, 86].
270 Registers, 44, 47, 56, 58, 72, Deeds, 360.
271 Butler, Christ Church, 74-7 gives a ‘somewhat shortened translation from an ancient document’ which is a far fuller version than the short note calendared in Deeds, 225.
272 Obits, 34, 57, 59 [Registers, 65, 84, 86].
Grauntsete and his wife, managed to have a note to pray for them inserted into all the mass books ‘in the margin near the Secreta’.273 The manuscripts and their maintenance also show the cultural influence of Oxford, as a centre of medieval learning. It was the source of an illuminated psalter purchased in the priorate of Stephen de Derby (1349-82),274 and of the education of the Augustinian canon, later sub-prior, Thomas Fich, who reorganised the cathedral archives in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.275

Flamboyantly colourful vestments were other means of artistic outlet and lay patronage. The politically colourful Archbishop Stephen of Fulburn of Tuam had a liturgical wardrobe to match. He owned ‘a chasuble of red samite, a great cross of pearls, 2 precious embroidered choir copes, and a clasp for a cope with an image of the deity, and precious stones, a gilt crest for the head of the cope with divers shields and precious stones, and an amice of pearls of varied work’.276 The Augustinians accrued vestments too, particularly in the decades around 1500. Both festive and proper to specific liturgical seasons, these included vestments and copes of purple and red velvet from John Savage, mayor of Dublin (1493-4) in 1499; Archdeacon Cornelius of Kildare in 1510, and Christopher Usher, former mayor (1516-17) in 1526.277 More splendid were the vestments ‘de panno aureo de tussi’, of gold cloth in lace (‘tussy’) given by the eighth earl of Kildare in 1506, and of gold and silver bequeathed by the earl’s associate, Thomas Plunkett of Dunsoghly in 1514.278 This contrasted with the more subdued garb of cloaks or almuces279 with grey fur outside and miniver inside required for solemn processions in 1421,280 or the traditional ‘calaber amices’ of the Augustinians brought back by Queen

277 Registers, 69, 85, 86, translated in Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), ii, 11; Registers, 55, 43.
278 Registers, 77, translated in Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), ii, 12; Registers, 69, 41.
279 Not to be confused with linen amices, for which see The Antiquary, xxxvii, 144 (December 1901), 382-3, a point silently corrected in Fletcher, ‘Liturgy in the late medieval cathedral priory’, 137.
280 Deeds 276, reproduced in Butler, Christ Church, 77 and Alan J. Fletcher, ‘Liturgy in the late medieval cathedral priory’ in Kenneth Milne (ed.), Christ Church cathedral, Dublin: a history (Dublin: FCP, 2000), 129-41, at 137 who cites RCB C6/1/6/2, p. 642. See also Butler, Christ Church, 49.
These vivid late medieval vestments can be compared with those found in the crypt of Christ Church cathedral, Waterford, of 'brocaded velvet on cloth-of-gold ground with pomegranate design in green or red silk pile' and of 'brilliant emerald green or ruby red on yellow gold ground', descriptions similar to the Dublin examples. The Waterford vestments of were Florentine velvet (c.1480) assembled in Flanders. They were recalled by the seneschal of the Ormonde estate in 1616 as having civilised Tipperary and Kilkenny a century earlier having 'brought out of Flanders, and other countries, divers artificers who were daily kept at work by them in their castle in Kilkenny, where they wrought and made diaper, tapisserie, Turkie carpets, cushions, and other like works'. Furthermore, Margaret's will obliged the purchase of Flanders vestments for £70 for Waterford cathedral. Margaret knew Christ Church in Dublin well, attending two hearings there defending the Ormonde earldom in 1515-16, and probably lived across the road in Carbery house. With her father and husband both chief governors of Ireland, Margaret Butler's role in the patronage of art and architecture in Ireland in this period should be further explored.

283 MacLeod, 'Fifteenth-century vestments in Waterford', 85-6; McEneaney, 'Politics and the art of devotion', 42.
286 David Finnegan, 'Butler, Piers, first earl of Ossory and eighth earl of Ormond (b. in or after 1467, d. 1539)', ODNB, OUP, 2004 [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/4199, accessed 5 April 2006]
287 'Historical Collections: Robert Rothe's Register or Pedigree of the house of Ormond, 1616' (TCD MS 842, ff 129-155 [old ff 137-166v], at f. 148 [old 156], a copy of which is quoted in J.T. Gilbert, 'MSS. of O'Conor Don, M.P., Clonalis, Castlerea' in Second report of the Royal Commission on historical manuscripts (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1871), 223-7, at 225. See also James Graves, 'Ancient tapestry of Kilkenny castle', Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, ii, 1 (1852), 3-9.
that the vestments donated to the cathedral by Dublin mayors and members of the Kildare elite, were probably Flemish.

Artistic patronage and cultural influence can also be found in surviving memorials to the dead, intended by their very nature to last preserving the memory of the deceased. At the Reformation, the cathedral interior, like that of many ecclesiastical establishments, was filled with monuments to clergy, aristocracy, judiciary and merchants. The collection of funerary monuments has gradually deteriorated over centuries, but an overview of the medieval monuments can be gleaned from surviving examples and archival evidence. A bull of Pope Urban III of 1186 confirmed to Holy Trinity church, at least in theory, ‘free burial in the Church to those who make provision therefore in their last will’\(^{291}\) to which can be added the condition that excepted people who were either excommunicated or under interdict to be excluded.\(^{292}\) Therefore the interior can easily be imagined as floored with multiple scattered commemorative floor slabs, such as can be extrapolated from plans of Canterbury (1655)\(^{293}\) and old cathedral of St Paul’s in London (1658),\(^{294}\) where monuments were notably fewer in the nave than further east. Some sense of this may be gained from the small collection of floor slabs in the north transept at Christ Church.\(^{295}\) A monument there dated broadly as fourteenth or fifteenth century, and decorated by a ‘fleur-de-lis’ type cross,\(^{296}\) is probably typical of the sort of commemorative slabs which have now disappeared. In general, the more prestigious the burial, the closer it was to the high-altar, a practice which may have started with Bishop Dúnán’s burial on the right side of the altar, according to a tradition known to Ussher,\(^{297}\) and continued with later Anglo-Norman archbishops. This may have prompted the idea that Murchad Ua Briain, king of Dublin, who died four years before Dúnán, was buried on the other side,\(^{298}\) and this relative position was indeed occupied by the Kildare chantry in 1512. A notable

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\(^{291}\) Lawlor, ‘Calendar’, 15-16 (2 July 1186).

\(^{292}\)\( Deeds\) 6 give the document as signed by a cardinal priest and chancellor named Alban in Verona, whereas Lawlor names him Albert in Vienna.\(^{290}\)\( Allen’s register, 15 contains a different version which does not mention burial rights.\)

\(^{293}\) Collinson, Ramsay & Sparks, \(A\) history of Canterbury cathedral, plan 4.


\(^{295}\) Assembled in the early nineteenth-century, for which see chapter vi, p. 263.


\(^{297}\) James Ussher, \(Veterum epistolarum hiberniarum syllog\) ... (Dublin, 1632), no. xxv, reprinted in James Ussher, \(The\) whole works of the Most Rev. J. Ussher ..., ed. C.R. Elrington (17 vols, Dublin, 1847-64), iv, 488.

\(^{298}\) Seán Duffy, ‘Christ Church & the politics of pre-Norman Dublin’, lecture given on Tuesday 20 October 1998, noted in Clarke, ‘Conversion’, 48, note 205.
medieval exception was the Strongbow monument, for which we have details of its original position, which was placed in full public view in the nave.

The clergy, especially bishops, were the most significant contributors to the development of the building and its internal furnishings. Culturally, the first four bishops of Dublin and first two archbishops were either Irish or Hiberno-Norse, but with the advent of the Anglo-Normans, the episcopate became English until the Reformation, with at least five archbishops having strong links with Oxford. One exception was the Anglo-Irish Walter FitzSimons (1484-1511), whose sympathy for the cause of Lambert Simnel and support for the earl of Kildare, did little to confound the expectations of the crown. Out of 31 bishops and archbishops of Dublin to modern times, fewer than half had Dublin burials, and of six buried in Christ Church, only one monument survives. One can see how episcopal monuments might have been disturbed; in 1545, a bishop’s tomb was revealed when ‘a part of Christ’s Church in Dublin was broken down for some purpose’. The body was reportedly whole and wearing ‘episcopal dress, with ten gold rings on his ten fingers, and a gold mass-chalice standing beside his neck’. A similar discovery was made during digging in the ruins of Tuam cathedral in 1718, which uncovered ‘the corpse of a prelate in his pontificals, uncorrupted’, thought to be Felix O’Ruadan, archbishop of Tuam (d.1238) who ‘was buried at the foot of the altar on the left hand side’. The sole surviving episcopal monument in Christ Church is a shallow relief ‘semi-effigial’ tomb slab of an archbishop in a local Carboniferous limestone, currently located in a niche on the north side of the chapel of St Laurence O’Toole (figure 6.a-b), and traditionally associated with the saint (d.1180) or John Cumin (d.1212). The roll moulding around its upper surface, and steep chamfer around the side is similar to that found on early Purbeck marble coffin-shaped slabs employed in thirteenth or early fourteenth century Ireland. An early thirteenth-century date assigned it on the basis of the ‘very low mitre of a continental form’, may be misplaced if the mitre is in fact

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299 A table of the burial places of Dublin prelates was first compiled in William Butler, ‘A chronological list of the bishops and archbishops of Dublin, with contemporary kings of Ireland and England, and popes’ in Butler, Measured drawings, [p. 9] and this should be supplemented by Lawlor, ‘Pre-Reformation archbishops’.

300 AFM, M1545.6, quoted in Gilbert, Dublin, i, 110-1; Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), ii, 14. See also B. Mac Giolla Phadraig, ‘Dublin and the Four Masters’, D.H.R., vi, 2 (March-May, 1944), 41-9, at 45.

301 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), i, 310.

302 Lawlor, ‘Pre-Reformation archbishops’ (1917), 110-11 citing John Joly, professor of geology at TCD.


304 Hunt, Irish medieval figure sculpture, i, 49, no. 26.
The slab also lacks the uniform profile characteristic of twelfth-century slabs such as that of Bishop Roger of Salisbury (d.1139), who ordained Gréine, later archbishop of Dublin (d.1162). Such characteristics make it less likely that the slab represents a twelfth-century archbishop such as Gréine (d.1162) or Laurence O'Toole (d.1180) unless retrospectively erected. However, the latter is a plausible hypothesis. Lawlor describes his ‘original’ effigy in the crypt at Eu as holding the cross with both hands (rather than one raised in the act of blessing), an unusual position possibly related to the same position adopted on the Christ Church slab. Coupled with its likely thirteenth-century date, it is possible this represents a tomb to the Irish archbishop retrospectively commissioned for a chapel dedicated to him after his canonisation. Local input is certainly suggested by the use of the more difficultly carved local Carboniferous limestone, rather than softer imported Dundry. Alternatively, its identity may be one of the thirteenth-century archbishops: John Cumin (d.1212) or Luke (d.1255) both buried in the same tomb at Christ Church. Where this happened at St Patrick’s cathedral with the two archbishops: brothers Fulk (d. 1271) and John (d. 1294) de Saundford, the tomb appears to have been refashioned by John in a style familiar to him, having been responsible for the tombs to Henry III and Queen Eleanor. This would assign the tomb to Luke at Christ Church, also the conclusion of Gwynn, who argued that the intervening archbishop, Henry of London (d.1228) would hardly have approved of a timber tomb for himself at Christ Church (in the chancel north side, of which nothing now remains), if his predecessor had a more durable stone tomb.

Identifying episcopal memorials from the fourteenth century is a simpler process. Two episcopal brasses were commissioned which deserve to be better known. The first was to Archbishop John de St Paul, illustrated c.1680 (figure 10.b), while the second was most likely to Archbishop Richard Northalis (d. 1397), part of the matrix of which survives in the north transept (figure 10.c). The horizontal indent at the slab’s base does not

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305 Brian & Moira Gittos 'Comments on the effigy usually attributed to John Comyn ob.1212 in Christ Church Dublin' (Unpublished document supplied by Amy Harris).
307 Lawlor, 'Pre-Reformation archbishops' (1990), 228-9; Gittos 'Comments on the effigy'.
308 Heather King, 'The pre-1700 memorials in St Patrick’s cathedral' in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Wicklow: Wordwell, 1998), 75-104, at 85-6; Lawlor, 'Pre-Reformation archbishops' (1917), 113 & plate x opp. 113.
311 First observed in King, ‘Memorial brasses’, 119.
terminate the figure,312 but not before noted, is a central support for a full length brass.313
It can be compared with brasses to a previous archbishop, Alexander Bicknor (d.1349),314 and subsequent archbishops, Robert Waldeby (1391-5) in Westminster abbey, Thomas Cranley (1397-1417) in New College, Oxford and Richard Talbot (1418-1449), a modern version of whose brass was reconstructed in St Patrick's cathedral (figures 10.a, 11.a-c).

The tradition of holding a cross-staff rather than a crozier would appear to be an Irish not an English tradition,315 but slabs complete with brasses were usually prepared in a workshop and then moved to their final resting place. Given the paucity of brasses in Dublin, it seems probable that the archbishops either issued instructions for the design of their tombs or purchased pre-existing designs subsequently brought to Dublin.316 The Black Death seriously affected English brass manufacture, but the style of St Paul's brass does not suggest it came from the continent, and a London or perhaps York source is likely.317 Archbishop St Paul may have had an input into its final form. The Latin text around the edge of the brass translates 'I, John of St Paul, former archbishop of Dublin, know that my redeemer liveth ...' from Job 19: 25-6, notably avoiding the graphic statement in verse 26 that 'worms destroy this body'.318 The most likely date for this brass was when he was engaged on the enlargement of the choir, probably some time after 1356 when ill health appears to have caused his replacement as lord chancellor, and his death in 1362.319 His will recorded his burial on the second step before the altar.320

Far less is known about monuments commemorating Augustinian canons and their location, although the choir, cloister and chapter house (as suggested for the prior), are

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312 Pace King, 'Memorial brasses', 133 (fig 1b), although John Page-Phillips, Macklin's monumental brasses (London et al: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), 23 does note known episcopal half-figures
313 Page-Phillips, Macklin's monumental brasses (1978), 17. I am grateful to Derrick Chivers, brasses consultant to the London Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches for highlighting this point.
314 Buried at St Patrick's and not Christ Church as stated by Loeber, 'Sculpted memorials', 283.
315 Lawlor, 'Pre-Reformation archbishops' (1917), 138.
316 Page-Phillips, Macklin's monumental brasses (1978), 17, 26 who notes only four brasses in Ireland (p. 79).
318 James Buckley, 'Monumenta sepulchralia', Journal of the Waterford & South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, xvi (1913), 36-9 at 37, which reproduces British Library Additional MSS 4783 (c. 1614-26); James Ware, De praesulisibus Hiberniae commentarius, a prima gentis Hiberniae ad fidem Christianum conversione, ad nostru usque tempora (Dublin: Johannis Crook & Samuelis Dancer, 1665), 112; J.R. Garstin, 'Extracts from the journal of Thomas Dinelye, or Dingley, esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II', R.S.A.I J. viii, xliii (1913), 275-309, at 291, fig. 12. from NLI MS 392.
320 See above p. 92.
more likely burial locations. An important exception to this relates to the ecclesiastical Fich family familiar in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Dublin. Master Richard Fyche left money for the provision of a pulpit in 1482, and Thomas Fyche (d.1516), was responsible for reorganising the archives. As noted above, a Fich memorial appears to have been located above the position of the pulpit, probably specifically commemorating Richard. Following the 1870s cathedral restoration, it was stored in the crypt, sketched in 1888 (figure 13.a), and recently conserved during work on the crypt. The first quarter of the shield depicts three birds in a tree, a motif that also occurs on the brass to the dean of St Patrick’s, Geoffrey Fich, probably Thomas’s brother (figure 13.b). It would therefore seem that Fich was heraldically synonymous with Finch, the birds illustrated.

Two further monumental fragments of interest survive in the north transept. The first appears to read 1544, if the figure 8 with a truncated base can be read as 4 (figure 29.b). This ‘method of figuring fours’ is unusual, but an example exists in the religious hospital of St Cross, near Winchester, and can be found in Europe in places such as southern Germany, for example, on the east wall of the north aisle of Ulm cathedral, and in St Martin’s church in Landshut, Bavaria. The date 1544 suggests that it might represent the tomb of Robert Castle or Painswick, the last prior and first dean of Christ Church. He was succeeded as dean by Thomas Lockwood by 6 December 1543, but may have survived until the following year. While there is no record of any burial in the cathedral in 1544, neither is there any record of Castle’s death. A monument fragment in the same style nearby retains the fragment ‘Hic iacet’ (figure 29.c), a common formulation visible also in Newman’s monument also (figure 29.a).

Of monuments to secular individuals, the earliest known is that erected to Richard de Clare ‘Strongbow’, leader of the Anglo-Normans, who was buried in the cathedral c.1176.

326 Deeds, 1192.
327 Of the proctors accounts for 1541-1668 (RCB C6/1/26/3), those for 1543-89 do not survive. Neither do the obits which are mostly dated for the sixteenth century, mention Castle or Painswick.
328 Bradley & King, ‘Urban archaeology survey’, [69].
Although the present monument, dating to 1330-40,\(^{329}\) is that of an unknown knight introduced by Henry Sidney in 1570, the original tomb probably occupied a similar position at the Reformation until damaged by the fall of the south wall in 1562.\(^{330}\) No further monuments to justiciars are known until the early sixteenth century, although numerous governors and their deputies are commemorated in the cathedral obits such as William le Petit,\(^{331}\) Archbishop Stephen of Fulburn,\(^{332}\) Roger Outlaw,\(^{333}\) Maurice Fitzgerald, first earl of Desmond,\(^{334}\) James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond,\(^{335}\) and Roland FitzEustace, lord Portlester.\(^{336}\) There is no doubt however, that the most important ruler of Ireland since Strongbow to have a tomb erected in the cathedral, was that of Gearóid Mór Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Kildare, who was both commemorated at the cathedral,\(^{337}\) and buried there in 1513 in the chantry chapel he erected the previous year. No image of his tomb survives, but there is good reason to suppose that it was designed by artists of the Ormond school (1500-1540s),\(^{338}\) or less likely, the O'Tunney atelier (1501-52).\(^{339}\) Both schools excelled at a particular form of tomb chest, which was lined on the sides with apostles, adorned with weeping angels and surmounted by a mensa showing the deceased, often accompanied by his wife.\(^{340}\) Good surviving examples are those tombs to the Ormonde Butlers in Kilkenny, the Plunketts of Meath and the Purcell family in St

\(^{329}\) Hunt, Medieval figure sculpture, i, 136, no. 32 gives c.1330. Claude Blair, 'Rowel spurs and the dating of the Cantwell effigy at Kilfname', Church Monuments Society Newsletter, 7:1 (Summer 1991), 4-6 citing Blanche Byrne [Ellis], The spurs of King Casimir III and some other fourteenth century spurs', Journal of the Arms and Armour Society, ii (1959-61), 106-51 gives the earliest date as c.1340 for this type of spur, while an addendum to Blair's article by Brian & Moira Gittos (6-7) highlights the similarities between the Cantwell and 'Strongbow' effigies, confirmed by Claude Blair, 'The Kilfane effigy again', Church Monuments Society Newsletter, 7:2 (Winter 1992), 37.

\(^{330}\) A portion of the original may be on display in Dublinia noted in Gittos & Gittos, Irish Purbeck, 5-14.

\(^{331}\) Registers, 82; Cosgrave, 'Principal officers', 470-1.


\(^{334}\) Obits, xiii-xliii and 61 (the entry was a memorandum in the martyrology rather than the obits); Robin Frame, 'Fitzgerald, Maurice fitz Thomas, first earl of Desmond (c.1293-1356)', ODNB, OUP, 2004 [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/9646, accessed 11 April 2007]


\(^{337}\) Registers, 69; PA 1542.

\(^{338}\) Rae, 'Irish sepulchral monuments: Ormond', 32-4.


Werburgh's, Dublin. Gearóid Mór’s daughter, Margaret, wife of Piers Butler, eighth earl of Ormond, was commemorated on a similar tomb chest, and Kildare's right hand man, mentioned in his own cathedral obit, was the Meath man, Thomas Plunkett, thus repeating the earlier-stated artistic and family links between Kilkenny, Meath and Dublin.

The suggestion that Kildare may have had a tomb chest was made on the basis of a surviving composite carving of an archbishop, for many years preserved within the old piscina arch on the south side of the long choir (figure 21.a-b), opposite the site of the old Kildare chantry chapel. The two separate individuals forming the composite figure strongly resemble those carved in multiple panels surrounding late fifteenth and early sixteenth century tomb chests. The archbishop figure is surmounted by a cusped ogee-headed arch with elaborately floreated, crocketed ogee-headed arches typical of late fifteenth-century England, found internally on the towers of York and Durham, dating to the 1470s and 1490s respectively, and on the tomb chest of a Fitzherbert (d.1483) in Norbury in Derby for example. The closest parallel of the floreated head of the Christ Church panel is a panel from a MacRichard Butler knight in Gowran, variously identified as a cenotaph to James MacEdmond MacRichard Butler (d.1487) or to the next generation, Sir Piers ‘Ruagh’ Butler himself (to whom there are already tombs), or as a monument to Walter MacEdmund MacRichard Butler, James’s brother (d.1506). The stone is black when wet and is probably Kilkenny marble, although variations in shading, for example on the face of the figure, suggest that it was probably originally painted. The two figures of the composite probably formed part of a formulaic series of twelve apostles ranging around the tomb chest sides, often in the same order, of which six at the front and three at each end would allow it to sit against the wall. This arrangement is similar to the tomb to Piers Butler and Margaret Fitzgerald in St Canice’s cathedral.

The most obvious evidence for composite nature of the figure is that the angle of the cross head is unrelated to that of the cross shaft. While the combination of the two sections is inelegant, it shows that the person who assembled the two pieces at some
unknown date, perhaps after the destruction of the chantry chapel, had an eye for the antique. Breaking the Christ Church figure into its component parts, two closely parallel features can be found on the Gowran tomb (figure 22.a, 23.c & 24.c). The upper portion shows an archbishop with a cross-staff, the prerogative of a metropolitan (figure 23.a-b) similar to the Gowran example (figure 23.c). The cathedral example is more refined in its execution, with an elaborately carved cross and cinquefoil cusping beneath the arch, reminiscent of the trefoil cusping on the tomb chest of Felim O’Connor in Roscommon friary, and of Bishop Mayhew (c.1504-16) in Hereford cathedral (figure 22.b). With the exception of the floriated ogee, the carving of the mitre is close to that of a figure on the east end of a tomb chest to an unknown woman in St Canice’s cathedral in Kilkenny. The bottom half may represent another archbishop (figure 23.a & 24.b), and there is a close resemblance between the fingers grasping the shaft of what is probably a crozier and similar details in the Gowran example of St Thomas holding a spear (figure 24.c); the Butlers claimed Thomas à Beckett as a ‘collateral ancestor’. Other close affinities are the treatment of the folds and the edges of the material of the alb, and the unusual presence of shoes, a feature unique to Ireland, only found on a few figures, such as the apostles on the Gowran tomb and a tomb in Ennis. Pedestals similar to that on which the Christ Church figure stands can be found in the cloisters of Bective abbey in Meath (figure 24.a), and Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny funded by Milo Baron (d.1550), a Fitzgerald prior of Inistioge and bishop of Ossory for 22 years. Features of an Ormond tomb at Gowran resembling the proposed Fitzgerald tomb at Christ Church again suggest links between Meath, Ossory and Dublin. More specifically, Rae has identified the Gowran tomb figures and the Rathmore font as within the first phase of the Ormond group of MacRichard Butlers (c.1500-c.1515), which matches well with a date for Fitzgerald’s tomb. These cathedral examples further define our knowledge of the first phase of the Ormond atelier. The stylistic and family connections shown by this sculpture demonstrate the Fitzgeralds’ centrality to this cultural milieu.

349 Hunt, Irish medieval figure sculpture, ii, no. 312.
350 Hunt & Harbison, Irish medieval figure sculpture, ii, plate 304.
353 Illustrated online at: http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/meath/bective07.JPG
355 Rae, ‘Irish sepulchral monuments: Ormond’, 8, 32.
Only a few monuments to secular figures survive prior to the late fifteenth century. One is the late thirteenth / early fourteenth-century tomb traditionally known as 'Strongbow's son'. Its identity, and indeed its gender has proved uncertain for scholars; the shoulders are sloped in a feminine manner, but the head is covered in chainmail. Its truncation may have been a result of damage from the 1562 roof collapse. Its identification as anything more precise than an anonymous member of the aristocracy is now difficult, although attempts have been made. Another memorial survives in a stone assemblage forming a makeshift altar in one of the crypt chapels probably erected after Street's restoration in the 1870s by Drew as a 'museum of Irish antiquities'. Embedded in its front near the base is a 'weeping' of a type often, but not exclusively, associated with tomb chests (figure 9.b). The figure is a winged angel with defaced head, holding an unidentified quartered shield, blank but for the nine-pointed estoile in the first quarter, which bears some similarity to the miniature six-pointed star illustrated in the left spandrel of the left bay of one of the proposed choir-stalls in 'Monumenta Eblanae' (figure 9.a). This may be a reduced version of the shield if size did not permit all nine rays to be drawn.

A defining characteristic of many of the late fifteenth / early sixteenth century memorials is that they represented Meath and Kildare families, often associated with the lord deputy, the eighth earl of Kildare, and his entourage. Sketches of arms in the 1564-5 proctor's accounts can be tentatively identified with the Cusacks and the Warrens both well known Pale families. Their location is unknown but, like Lewis's note of the Plunkett arms, they may have been in the choir. A likely candidate for the Cusack arms is Thomas, recorder of the city of Dublin, who in 1490 was elected a city juror along with the prior of Holy Trinity. Multiple commemorations of the Cusacks occur in the cathedral obits in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and a family association

536 Fitting within the chronological span of the monument is a knight hospitaller prior of St John of Jerusalem in Kilmarnham, Thomas de Hackwell (1292-3), commemorated in the cathedral obits under 13 August (Registers, 66-7; C.L. Falkiner, 'The hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland', R.I.A. Proc., xxvi, C (1906-7 [1907]), 275-317, at 316).
537 C.R. Panter, 'The figure beside Strongbow's monument', Irish Times (Wednesday 16 October 1889), 6 reprinted in Weekly Irish Times (Saturday 19 October 1889), 6; (Tuesday 22 October 1889), 6.
541 NLI GO MS 15, f. 45b.
542 TCD MS 575, 13r (Cusack; the shield tricking indicates Azure (blue) and Or (yellow) in the second quarter which are the colours of the Cusack arms); 20r (Warren), copied by James Mills in 1896, now NAI, MS M 6141, f. 45. I am grateful to Micheál Ó Comáin for his assistance in making these identifications.
544 Registers, 47, 48, 56, 60, 73, 78.
continued until at least 1571 when Chancellor Thomas Cusack left a bequest of £10 towards repairs. Warrens associated with Christ Church in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries included John Waren, a canon of St Patrick's, who was appointed an official general of Dublin diocese in 1482. John Waryng, who leased crypt cellars in 1423 and 1466, and left 10s. for the cathedral works is another possible candidate. Given the associations noted above between the FitzGeralds, Plunketts and Butlers, it is interesting to note an extant shield in Trim with same field chequy (its quartering reversed) as the proposed Warren shield, with the arms of Plunkett in the place of ermine. This reflects the close degree of intermarriage amongst the elite that ruled Dublin in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and is exemplified by a monument of c.1445 at Killeen church, which bears the Cusack-Plunkett arms of Christopher Plunkett and Joan Cusack, lady Killeen, but has also shields of the St Lawrence family and either Butlers or de Paors.

The only memorial to a judge that survived to the Reformation was that of Thomas Plunkett of Dunsoghly, chief justice of the common pleas, who had advanced his career through his close association with eighth earl of Kildare. His obit was noted in 1515, when he bequeathed £100 to the cathedral, which may have paid for a monument. In 1565, a storm broke the east window of the choir and 'caste doune Plunckets armys', perhaps part of a tomb, about which his grandson, also a chief justice, Sir John Plunkett, was greatly displeased. If the monument was close to the east window, then it was also deliberately close to both the altar, and the Kildare chantry chapel. Who created this Irish heraldic art of this period is little studied. Kildare was one of the few of the nobility known to have employed his own personal pursuivant of arms, who in 1509 attended the funeral of Henry VII and the coronation of Henry VIII. Given the close relationship

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365 Margaret Griffith, Calendar of inquisitions formerly in the office of the chief remembrancer of the exchequer prepared from the ms of the Irish Record Commission (Dublin: IMC, 1991), 204-212, at 212.
366 Deeds 1034; 886, 977; Obits, 22 [Registers, 54].
369 Walter Fitzgerald, 'Killeen Church Ruins', Journal of the Memorials of the Dead of Ireland, viii (1910-12), 401-18, at 411.
372 Obits, 6, [Registers, 41], given as iii Id. Januarius 1514 (10 January 1515) and Registers, 69.
373 Not son, pace Gillespie, PA 1564-5, 124; 105.
between Kildare and Plunkett, one possibility is that this pursuivant may have devised the heraldic memorial for Plunkett and perhaps other cathedral monuments at this time. The only other judge of whom a memorial of another kind is noted is John Estrete, a deputy chief baron of the Exchequer from 1487, who established a mass of the Holy Ghost in the old chapel of St Laurence O'Toole in 1488, and died in or after 1489.\(^{375}\) No other physical memorials survive of the judiciary other than in the obits, ranging from Walter St Laurence (d.1403), baron of the exchequer, to a chief justice of the king's bench, Philip Bermingham (d.1489),\(^{376}\) and beyond the Reformation to John Ryan, a Dublin alderman and chief justice of the exchequer (d. 1554).\(^{377}\)

This alderman recalls that, as the oldest institution in Dublin, the cathedral had a long relationship with the city that can be traced to the 1230s.\(^{378}\) Surprisingly, evidence for only one mayoral monument survives, to William Newman, 'quondam maior [ciuitatis] Dublin' (d.1539),\(^{379}\) noted as mayor in 1527, not in official records, but 'Taken from the Table in the Great Room of the Tholsel'.\(^{380}\) It was probably a wall mounted slab as it is described in a later manuscript as being on the 'South Side of the Seelinge of the roufe of ye Chancell of Christchurch Dublin', and was illustrated by Dineley, c.1680 (figure 29.a).\(^{381}\) It is possible that other memorials to Dublin mayors were erected, but were destroyed in later restorations. All that survive of their cathedral association is a note of their death in the obits. The earliest of these was mayor in 1367-8, and 33 mayors would be commemorated until Arland Usher, mayor in 1528 (d. 1557).\(^{382}\)

As the most powerful guild, the merchants supplied many of the mayors of Dublin, but little evidence survives for monuments to merchants alone. One that survived to the

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\(^{375}\) Deeds 1090; Registers, 84 (Obits, 57), Ball, Judges, i, 187.

\(^{376}\) Registers, 43. See also Obits, 12, 58 [Registers, 46, 85] and Deeds, 973. 1014, 1021.

\(^{377}\) Registers, 52 gives 'grossarij' probably a reading of 'justiciarii'. Also Register, 59 and Lennon, 'Obits', 180.

\(^{378}\) Deeds, 48, 50 notes how Philomena Connely redated the deed based on the presence of the mayor. For other examples of the city-cathedral relationship see Cal. Pat Rolls, Henry III, 1232-1247, p. 70; Cal Doc Ire., 1171-1251, p. 323, no. 2178; Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, ed. J.T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, London, 1870), 100 and Harris, Dublin, 238 quoted in Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum (1873), ii, 6.

\(^{379}\) Obits, 18-19; Registers, 52. It is stated twice, the first time including 'ciuitatis'.

\(^{380}\)'A Catalogue of the Names of the Chief Magistrates of the City of Dublin, under their different appellations of Provosts, Bailiffs, Mayors, Lord Mayors and Sheriffs, from the second Year of King Edward II. To this time. Taken from the Table in the Great Room of the Tholsel' in Walter Harris, The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin ... (Dublin, 1766, facsimile ed. Ballynahinch: Davidson Books, 1994), 498-509, at 503; Jacqueline Hill, 'Mayors and lord mayors of Dublin from 1229' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin & F.J. Byrne (ed.), New history of Ireland: i.e. maps, genealogies, lists: a companion to Irish history, part ii (Oxford: University Press, 1984), 547-64, at 554 & 560. The payment for twelve months mind for 'Mr Newman 0.0.6' (PA 1542; Registers, 89) possibly refers to William Newman.

\(^{381}\) BL, Lansdowne MS 418, f. 96 [was f.97]; NLI MS 392, f. 34; Garstin, 'Thomas Dineley' (1913), 291, which shows 'M.D. xxxii' i.e. 1532 not 1539, perhaps not representing the final stroke to form 'x'.

\(^{382}\) Registers, 78-9. Noted as 'Arlantor Usher' in Walter Harris, The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin ... (Dublin, 1766, facsimile ed. Ballynahinch: Davidson Books, 1994), 503; Registers, 42.
Reformation and beyond was to John Lumbard and his family, noted in the late nineteenth century as south of the altar in the old long choir.\textsuperscript{383} Like many of the monuments, it probably received a coat of paint during one of many post-Reformation refurbishments; this would account for the fact that Dineley took ‘no notice of the polyglot JON LVMBARD inscription in Lombardic lettering – the oldest and most interesting of them all.’\textsuperscript{384} The most accurate translation of the inscription notes: ‘John Lumbard, called \textit{le Germain}, of Parma, and Dame Rame Peris of San Salvador in Asturias, and all the\(\textit{ir}\) lineage that in this land have died lie here.’ and he may have been the John Lumbard active between 1274 and 1280, supplying wine to the Dublin government.\textsuperscript{385} J.R.D. Tyssen identified the inscription lettering as early fourteenth century,\textsuperscript{386} which would fit well thirty or forty years after Lumbard’s mercantile activity, but the inscription refers to ‘all the\(\textit{ir}\) lineage that in this land have died’, which suggests other generations may have expired before the erection of the monument.\textsuperscript{387} The Lombardic script covers a broad date range; lettering with the characteristic triple dotted ‘colons’ for example appears on the monument of Walter de Kirkham, bishop of Durham 1249-60 in Durham chapter house, and it is generally considered to have survived up until c.1360.\textsuperscript{388} McNeill suggested that as Lumbard’s lineage is mentioned the monument was erected by a descendant in the late fourteenth-century.\textsuperscript{389} Although the Lombardic-script continued in use in Ireland into the sixteenth century, it seems possible that the monument could have been erected in the position in which it survived to the 1870s restoration soon after the extension of the long choir in the late 1350s and early 1360s (figures 7-8).\textsuperscript{390} More evidence of the commemoration of the merchant classes survives in documentary than in monumental form, such as the undated obit of ‘Bonasi mercator’, or John Dowgan ‘mercator quondam ciuis Dublin’, who died after 1494. However, one other mercantile monument existed before the Reformation. A ‘William Donotw, citizen and merchant of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{383} RIA, R\textit{/Recess Case 2/G, Du Noyer sketches vii [1865], 57; William Butler, \textit{Measured drawings of Christ Church prior to the restoration} (Dublin, 1874), drawing iv.}
  \item \textsuperscript{384} Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290.
  \item \textsuperscript{386} Finlayson, \textit{Inscriptions} (1878), 94 followed by McNeill, ‘Lumbard inscription’, 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{387} McNeill, ‘Lumbard inscription’, 4-5. See a controversy over the dating, see ‘Proceedings at meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute: Annual meeting in Dublin, July 18th to July 25th, 1900’, \textit{Archaeological Journal}, lvi (1900), 326-43, at 337 & 341.
  \item \textsuperscript{388} Page-Phillips, \textit{Macklin’s monumental brasses} (1978), 97.
  \item \textsuperscript{389} McNeill, ‘Lumbard inscription’, 5 suggests the ‘latter part of the 14th century’.
  \item \textsuperscript{390} ‘Proceedings’, 338 and Thomas Drew, ‘Christ Church Cathedral: Church of the Holy Trinity [County Dublin]’, \textit{Journal of the Memorials of the Dead of Ireland}, v (1903), 39, plate opp. 39.
\end{itemize}
Dublin’ for whom the prior was one of his executors, bequeathed his body to be埋 'buried in the tomb of his ancestors in Holy Trinity church'.391

So little surviving evidence of monuments makes it difficult to generalise concerning commemorative trends at the cathedral. However, taking much of the preceding evidence together as a whole, one can point to a number of cultural influences affecting the medieval cathedral. After the the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, influences were clearly English such as the masons drawn from the West Country, while the choir stalls installed in the mid-fourteenth century choir extension probably looked to Chichester. Of the surviving brasses to Dublin archbishops, involving the production of an entire slab, they were almost certainly imported from England or perhaps further afield in Flanders or France. Indeed, two archbishops were familiar with the continent; Robert de Wikeford (1376-90) had visited Brabant, Flanders and the Flemish cities and Aquitaine, while Robert Waldeby (1391-5) was translated from Aire diocese in Gascony, France. 392

By the end of the medieval period patronage was exercised by a broad spectrum of society, but inevitably the more expensive commissions were limited to the nobility, which for England and Wales, also included the crown. 393 At Christ Church the closest figure to the crown was the lord deputy, and the extent of Geraldine influence in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century has been acknowledged.394 The degree of influence exercised at Christ Church however has not before been appreciated. For example, the eighth earl could order the prior to say a mass in 1486 for Henry Tudor’s marriage to Elizabeth of York.395 A number of furnishings and monuments make it clear that the cathedral was patronised by the most powerful class of society, exemplified by the elaborate chantry chapel which Kildare built, marking Christ Church out as a Kildare mausoleum, much as the Ormondes were doing at St Canice’s cathedral in Kilkenny. The Kildare Fitzgeralds emerged as major patrons of the late medieval period following a general slump which appears to have taken place in Irish medieval stone sculpture after

391 Registers, 45, 78; Deeds, 360; 419.
395 Lyons, ‘Sidelights on the Kildare ascendancy’, 81.
the black death in the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{396} A general lack of surviving evidence makes it difficult to establish whether this also applied to less hardy art forms such as carpentry, alabaster work and tapestry work. With the attainder of the earls of Ormond and Desmond in 1463 and 1468,\textsuperscript{397} the Kildares and their circle were best positioned in Ireland to wield artistic patronage. In the early sixteenth century, it is clear that the awakenings of the Renaissance were influencing them. The family had a substantial library reflecting an awareness of humanistic trends as much as it did an interest in the history of Ireland.\textsuperscript{398} The eighth earl enjoyed his reputed family links with the Italian Gheraldini, and signs of the Renaissance can be found in the tomb of his contemporary bishop of Kildare, Walter Wellesley (147?-1539), in that of another Kildare man, Walter Bermingham, and in the stone rent table made for his son, the ninth earl, Gearóid Óg in 1533.\textsuperscript{399} The style was not limited to areas of Kildare influence, the archbishop of Armagh, Octavian de Palatio (d.1513), admittedly a Florentine with first hand experience of Italy, may have commissioned the font, and certainly his own tomb, in St Peter's Drogheda, the latter of which was destroyed shortly afterwards.\textsuperscript{400} This reflects the Italian influence at the royal court where Henry VIII commissioned Pietro Torrigiani for the tomb of his parents at Westminster abbey in 1512-18.\textsuperscript{401} By the late sixteenth century, these trends would develop and appear at the cathedral, and were typical of artistic influence on Ireland: the dominance of English patronage, inspired by mainland Europe, which from the late sixteenth-century, was mainly Flemish.

From the above survey of the fabric, furnishings and commemorative elements of the cathedral priory before the Reformation, a picture emerges of a wealthy religious institution with considerable prestige attracting a broad spectrum of Irish society. Much of the cathedral's gravitas accumulated by association with the higher echelons of society.

\textsuperscript{400} Mario Sughì, 'The Italian connection: the great earl & Archbishop Octavian', \textit{History Ireland}, vii, 2 (Summer 1999), 17-21.  
With a view to the increased role played by the state in the life of the cathedral after the Reformation, it is important to note that the cathedral had always had links with royalty and nobility throughout its history. This began with the Hiberno-Norse kings of Dublin: Sitriuc’s founding of the cathedral and property accrued from the MacTorcaills. It continued with the visiting monarch Henry II, where the cathedral was most likely the only church grand enough to attend, when he stayed in Dublin for Christmas 1171. The prominent burial of Strongbow at the cathedral only added to its mystique. The later cathedral foundation narrative, unlike the earlier of the two, specifically associates the name of Strongbow with the rebuilding of the cathedral, although this would appear to have been myth-building. Similarly the story of Richard II knighting four Irish kings at Christ Church appears to be apocryphal, attributable to the fertile imagination of Froissart, but enough elements of the story are true to suggest that the association of the king and the cathedral during his visit to Ireland in 1394-5 had some truth to it. Whether true or not, the story bolstered the royal, and by now English, associations with the cathedral, and was probably the first time the chapel royal, in the form of a reduced band of personnel, rather than an architectural structure, was associated with Christ Church. This royal association was maintained by the swearings-in of governors as deputies to the crown in the fifteenth century. Nor did the doomed 1487 coronation of Lambert Simnel as Edward VI at the cathedral appear to detract from the institution’s prestige. The establishment at Christ Church of the chantry chapel of the eighth earl of Kildare, one of the longest serving lord deputes, only added to this allure, and by the Reformation the walls of the cathedral were lined with the heraldry of crown officials. Such a role call of commemorations and monuments of Ireland’s ruling class illustrates the contemporary political role played by the cathedral. Christ Church was the nearest distinguished ecclesiastical space to Dublin castle, and given the central role of Dublin as the island’s capital, it is no surprise to see Christ Church far exceeding its role as a provincial or diocesan cathedral. Although the concept of an architectural chapel royal was not to emerge until later in the sixteenth century, the support offered the cathedral by city and state when it shed its monastic role at the Reformation, meant the cathedral found itself perfectly poised in a state that could be described as a proto-chapel royal.


403 Appendix 4, B10.

404 Dorothy Johnston, ‘Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland’, I.H.S., xxii (1980), 1-20, at 1-2 regards Froissart’s story as apocryphal, showing the date (25 March 1395) and place as inaccurate, but does corroborate the knighting of O’Neill, O’Brien and O’Connor on different occasions.

CHAPTER IV - ‘ALL GORGIOUSLY WROUGHT’: THE ‘RENAISSANCE’ OF CHRIST CHURCH AS CHAPEL ROYAL, 1540-1660

If in 1660, a visitor to London were to stand at the foot of the hill west of St Paul’s cathedral, their gaze would have met an extraordinary sight (figure 1 & 2).¹ In so far as was possible with an extant medieval building, between 1633-40 the cathedral of St Paul’s had been transformed into a classical building by the surveyor of the king’s works, Inigo Jones. Internally, Romanesque portions were clad to yield a ‘quasi-Tuscan’ character, while the transept doorways were treated to the Ionic order. More than any other feature, a Corinthian portico, ten columns wide and 56 feet high ‘the only portico on such a scale north of the Alps’ represented the transformation of this medieval edifice into a temple of the Renaissance. Although, ‘Jones’s architecture was in no sense popular’, his vision of an architectural Renaissance in Britain, executed on the most publicly known building in London by the highest ranking member of the king’s works, was to set the tone of the architectural revolution which would take place after the fire of London in 1666, and Wren would retain his dramatic west façade in concept if not in fabric.²

In 1540, the mayor and aldermen of Dublin described Christ Church as standing in the middle of the city ‘in like maner as Paules Church is in London’,³ but how fair is it to compare the two diocesan cathedrals in terms of architecture and their respective cultural setting? This chapter sets Christ Church in the context of the cultural influences at work in England and contrasts them with Ireland during the period. It examines the changing use of space at the cathedral and its use for memorialisation. Surviving funerary monuments provide some of the little surviving evidence of this contemporary artistic and cultural milieu. The agents of change wielding these influences are also examined: the patrons and their motivations, the architects and craftsmen, allowing the formation of a picture of the evolution of the cathedral to the Restoration. This falls naturally into five periods beginning and ending with equally inauspicious periods of architecture in the

³ S.P. Henry VIII, ii, pt iii (1834), pp 545-6, no CCl. For date see Bradshaw, The dissolution of the Irish monasteries under Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1974), 118, note 2.
immediate post-Reformation period, and then during the Commonwealth. In between these however, were three phases of restoration. The first was undertaken by the lord deputy and the dean, initially Thomas Radcliffe and Thomas Lockwood, but later Henry Sidney and John Garvey, following the dramatic fall of the nave south wall in 1562. The second was in the early seventeenth century by Archbishop Thomas Jones, a lord justice, and Dean Jonas Wheeler dealing with unresolved fabric problems ensuing since that collapse, and the last was again by the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, who with Dean Tilson engaged in a full Laudian restoration of the choir. This chapter therefore offers an opportunity to fill the lacuna in our architectural knowledge of Christ Church between 1541-1660, and offers an opportunity to a greater degree than elsewhere in Ireland to see the growing influence of the Renaissance on a wealthy, English-controlled, Dublin cathedral whose links with the crown and Dublin castle were increasingly dominant.

The 'Renaissance' or rebirth refers to a rekindling of the embers of classical antiquity traditionally begun in fourteenth-century Tuscany in Italy. Through studying classical cultural expression, there was an increased interest in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, grammar, poetry, moral philosophy and history. Humanism, as it became known, placed emphasis on evidence and reasoning, and exalted the importance of the individual, a precursor to the celebration of genius that would see architect displace the master builder. These philosophical shifts led to a transformation in the balance between religious and secular, chronologically straddling the Reformation, and are pervasive themes in the transition to modernity, its commercialism, secularism and individualism. In practical terms, classical forms began to replace the medieval, though the change was gradual and not without some conscious revival of gothic in the Tudor era. For these influences to reach England and then Ireland, they had far to travel. The first transmission of this aesthetic revolution across the Alps to northern Europe is generally associated with the Italian campaign of King Charles VIII of France in 1494. The famous wrestling match between the youthful Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 was transformed in the 1540s into a mature joust between patrons, and saw the emphatic arrival of the Renaissance in England in the form of the now lost treasure of Nonsuch palace. Little of this influence affected the church, the screen of King's College chapel (1533-5) being an exception, a fact reinforced by the monastic dissolutions shortly afterwards, and the religious pendulum that swung back and forth for the initial post-Reformation years in

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the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. This had effects on the inner ordering of churches, but it was not until the accession of Elizabeth I that an equilibrium was reached, marked by a conservative tolerance that saw the retention of many medieval features where they had survived. Elizabeth had not her father's appetite for castles and palaces, and was considered a parsimonious queen who commissioned little new art or architecture. The prodigy houses of her era, such as Longleat, Wollaton Hall and Burghley House, all in England, were the product of her competitive subjects, built with the hope that the queen and her retinue might lodge there during a royal progress. Elizabeth's thrift avoided authentic materials such as marbles and fine stone, preferring the use of painting, patterning and plastering to illustrate and imitate, a deceit that mirrored Flemish mannerism of the time. This influence of the Low Countries increased markedly after 1565 with an influx of Flemish Protestants, particularly to England, following the persecuting edicts of the Habsburg king, Philip II of Spain. Despite such continental influence, an often sycophantic devotion by courtiers to Elizabeth, their 'virgin queen'; the profusion of colour in many ways continuing the tradition of medieval polychromy; and lineage hunters rich in the aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries, all combined as 'heraldry, pedigrees, elaborate tournaments, fireworks, and a chivalric cult concentrated on the queen', forming a movement peculiar to England at this time: a conscious revival of the medieval, and therefore of the gothic.

In contrast, James I, first king of both England and Scotland was extravagant, spending lavishly on artistic patronage and masques through which he discovered Inigo Jones, who had first hand experience of Italian classicism. Monochrome was the preferred aesthetic, and buildings erected by Jones as surveyor from 1615-43 were inspired by the works of Vitruvius and particularly Palladio. It is remarkable that a building of such classical sophistication as the Banqueting House in London was erected as early as 1619-22, and Jones's first ecclesiastical building, the Queen's chapel at St James's palace in London,

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6 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 50-74
was also strikingly classical, reminiscent of a Roman temple. Jones developed classical ideas from their early manifestation as superficial decorative Flemish strapwork to a spatial understanding, as he noted in a rare surviving comment: ‘in architecture ye outward ornaments oft [ought] to be solid, proportionable according to the rules, masculine and unaffected.’ The reign of Charles I continued these architectural trends, but is better remembered as a precursor to religious conflict culminating in the English Civil war. William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 until his execution in 1645 was a polarising influence in these developments. It was his insistence in 1634 that all English-born aliens conform to the Church of England that ended the religious tolerance offered by the Tudor empire which had been such a haven for the Dutch. Ironically, his Arminian ecclesiastical policies, were inspired by the Dutch theologian, Jacob Arminius or Harmenszoon (1560-1609), and included the returning of the altar to the east end and the wearing of colourful vestments, regarded by Puritans as a return to ‘Popish’ ways. Yet for Jones, who retained his position as surveyor, it was Laud who secured the finances to allow him to engage on cathedral works such as at St Paul’s in London (1633-40) or Winchester where he built a Corinthian pulpitum (1634-8). Laud was also a key ally of the lord deputy of Ireland, Thomas Wentworth, with whom he regularly corresponded. The court painter at the time, the Flemish Anthony Van Dyck, provides the best known portraits of all three men: Charles, Laud and Wentworth.

Finance ultimately was the key factor in the production of élite art and architecture. In northern Italy, much of this wealth was generated from trade routes to the Levant and the rise of rich city-states like Florence as international financial centres. The ‘golden age’ of the Low Countries was propelled by profits reaped from the New World. Elizabethan England was rich from the spoils of the dissolution of the monasteries and an expanding colonial empire. As the oldest and closest of these colonies, Ireland instead had its resources siphoned back to England, which slowed the progress of the Renaissance to Ireland, limiting its spatial distribution to areas associated with Tudor settlers (New English), as opposed to the descendants of the Cambro-Normans (Old English) or the

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13 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 122-4, 129; Gerald Cobb, *English cathedrals, the forgotten centuries: restoration and change from 1530 to the present day* (Hampshire, 1980), 134.
Irish themselves. In addition, the energies and resources that, elsewhere in Europe were
directed to the arts, was instead diverted into armed struggle for political control between
the Irish and the colonists, ultimately resulting in the confiscation of land from the Irish
through the seventeenth-century, a situation additionally polarised by a division between
reformed and counter-reformed religion.

The application of the term ‘Renaissance’ to Ireland between 1540 and 1660 has
traditionally been distrusted, ‘early modern’ being its more neutral equivalent. This is due
to so little evidence of an Irish élite material culture surviving, and the perception that
the medieval period lasted into the seventeenth century.\(^{15}\) The term ‘pre Georgian era’
was even used in an investigation of early classicism in Ireland, a defining characteristic
of the Renaissance.\(^{16}\) Such thinking applied the term ‘Renaissance’ to the prosperity of
the immediate post-Restoration period associated with the vice-regal appointment of the
head of an old Irish family, James, first duke of Ormonde, and with some justification.
Yet, recent research has asked: ‘If the term ‘Renaissance’ is good enough for the Swedes
and the Scots, then why not for the Irish?’\(^{17}\) The answer appears to be one of degree. It
was not that Renaissance influence was not felt in Ireland, but priorities lay elsewhere in
the war-torn country. The architecture of Ireland in the early modern period reflected an
incompletely colonised island. Rebellion brought forth palisades not palaces.

Yet this is not to say that ideas, beliefs, books, art and crafts were not slowly pervading
the country, and it is through these small-scale examples that the Renaissance crept into
Ireland. Much of course did not survive, such as soft furnishings, paintwork plaster
work, all rare in Ireland for this period, and given that these were probably cheaper than
furnishings and metalwork, have perhaps suffered most from loss.\(^{18}\) Similarly ephemeral
cultural material used at funerals survive solely in documentary material.\(^{19}\) However, what

\(^{15}\) Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin, 1952, revised London: Penguin, 1992), 3; Maurice Craig, *The
architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (Dublin: Lambay Books, 1982, revised 1989 & 1997), 138-40;
Clarke, *Dublin to 1610* is the chosen end point for the medieval period in the Irish Historic Towns Atlas.

\(^{16}\) Rolf Loebel, ‘Early classicism in Ireland: architecture before the Georgian era’, *Architectural History*, 22
(1979), 49-63, plates 1a-12b [numbered in text as 1-27]

\(^{17}\) Thomas Herron, ‘Introduction: a fragmented Renaissance’ in Thomas Herron & Michael Potterton (ed.),

\(^{18}\) For furnishings, see Jane Fenlon, *Goods & chattels: a survey of early household inventories in Ireland* (Kilkenny:
Heritage Council 2003); painting, see Karena Morton, ‘Irish medieval wall paintings’ in John Ludlow &
Noel Jameson (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: the Barryscourt lectures, i-x* (Kinsale, 2004), 313-49 and Christoph W.
Oldenbourg, ‘The Agard-Harrington Monument, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: Brief notes on the
initial inspection 29.06.2005’ (Unpublished report, July 2005); plaster, Jane Fenlon, ‘The decorative

\(^{19}\) NLI, GO 64-79. See also John Bradley, ‘Death, art and burial: St Canice’s cathedral, Kilkenny, in the
sixteenth century’, in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Irish art historical studies in honour of Peter Harbison* (Dublin:
FCP, 2004), 210-18.
survives is the 'small isolated decorations'; scrolls, decorative strapwork, obelisks, spheres, herms, terms, caryatids and a whole profusion of other objects, often undigested classicism of Flemish origin. Other examples are date and initial stones frequently signalling the patron and commencement year of a building. Small and cheap, they were far more common than previously realised, and a useful indicator of the penetration of European architectural ideas into Ireland. Elaborate articulation of the new style was often restricted to interiors or more manageable scales of ornamentation such as chimneypieces. Remarkably, a wooden example survives in Youghal, and a more sensible stone example can be found at Donegal castle (c.1610). An area highly suitable to the adoption of Renaissance motifs was funerary monuments, as previously noted for the early sixteenth century tombs of Archbishop de Palatio of Armagh and Bishop Wellesley and William Bermingham of Kildare. By the early seventeenth century, richly decorated classical mural monuments, replete with strapwork and heraldry, filled the Dublin parishes, and impressive local work could be found in Kilkenny throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, surviving in far greater quantities than in the capital. Public monuments are also known, such as the elaborate entablatured memorial on Athlone bridge in 1566-7. Larger external expressions of Renaissance detail in Ireland were often limited to richly ornate entranceways rather than entire facades, such as at Portumna castle, Co. Galway (1618) and Newtownards priory, Co. Down. The original entrance to Trinity College in Dublin, erected c.1592, was framed by caryatids carrying a strapwork-decorated entablature, long since vanished. None but the red-bricked and marble-columned 'freak' of Jigginstown house as Maurice Craig has described it, would have been sufficiently large to be described as a classical façade.

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20 Loeber, 'Early classicism', 52.
22 Loeber, 'Early classicism', plate 3b, 4a.
23 See chapter iii, p. 124.
25 Loeber, 'Early classicism', 52-5, plates 2 a & b, 3b & 4b.; Roland Budd, *The platforme of an universitie: All Hallows' priory to Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Particular Books, 2001), front cover and 14 from a map in Hatfield House (CPM 1/6)
Clearly therefore, the English had the power and wealth to introduce Renaissance splendour to Ireland where they saw fit, and did so within the strongholds of the Pale and plantations; see for example the prodigy houses of Arthur Chichester at Joymount, Carrickfergus in 1616. Autochthonous Irish examples however also existed, associated primarily with the wealthy old English families of Kildare and Ormond, who successfully negotiated their status to the Restoration and beyond. A rent table with Renaissance ornament was commissioned by the earl of Kildare in 1533 now at Kilkea castle. The English-educated 10th earl of Ormond installed a remarkable gallery at Carrick-on-Suir with an ornate chimney piece and lavish plasterwork which owed much to the Low Countries and England. Furthermore, the tomb he commissioned for St Canice's cathedral in Kilkenny was by none other than the young Dutch-trained English stone mason, Nicholas Stone, who was paid £100 for sculpting the monument and £130 for erecting it. In native Irish instances, fortified houses were as close an analogy to the sprawling English prodigy houses that could be made, including Kanturk castle of MacDonagh McCarthy in Co. Cork and the MacCoghlan residence at Kilcolgan More, Co. Offaly. It was simpler and cheaper however to modify the interior of a pre-existing vertically compact tower house; exemplified by the ornate plaster ceilings in various places in the castle of the O'Brien earls of Thomond at Bunratty.

New cultural influences were not just introduced to Ireland by the English, but directly by immigrants from the Low Countries, a fact long underestimated. A number of merchants exchanged one Pale for another when English-ruled Calais fell in 1558, settling instead in Dublin. Furthermore, Henry Sidney proudly wrote in his memoir that

29 Loeber, 'Early classicism', plate 5b.
31 Loeber, 'Early classicism', 52, plate 1a and Herron, 'Introduction: a fragmented Renaissance', 34.
35 [Sir Thomas Molyneux.] Extracted from the Memoranda Roll of the Exchequer of Ireland, of the 36th year of Elizabeth, memorandum 74, etc. (Evesham: privately printed, n.d. [1850]), copy in BL, Tab.436.a.5.(17). See also
in about 1570-1, he had planted 'about fourtie famelies of the reformed churches of the Low Countries' in the 'ruinous town called Swords'. The Dutch also raised the level of crafts in England and Ireland and Sidney was particularly taken with how 'diligently they wrought', re-edi(ying Swords castle, and making 'diaper and tickes for beddes, and other good stuf for man's use; as excellent good lether of deer skynnes, goate and shepe fells, as is made in Southwark.37 As a result not all of the Dutch, or aliens as they were often known, were welcome, particularly when they excelled at crafts already carried out by locals.38 In 1618, a Trinity guild merchant, William ffrain, was found to have dealt with the Dutchmen 'contrary to his oath and to the utter overthrow of many brethem of this house' for which he was imprisoned fined and disfranchised of his guild brotherhood.39 Nevertheless, culturally, the Dutch empathised far more with the English than the Irish. A Dutch account of c.1574 prescribed repression to keep 'wild Ireland' in submission; 'For these savages, conspiring, do to the English all the harm they can by stealing and robbing'.40 The level of education of the Dutch meant they could enter Dublin society at its highest echelons, punching far above their weight in terms of populus. Sir Thomas Molyneux, born in Calais, whose family was long associated with Christ Church, was appointed by Elizabeth I as chancellor of the exchequer in Dublin. He begat a generation of prominent figures such as Samuel Molyneux, clerk of the royal works in Ireland and Daniel Molyneux, Ulster king of arms, and the family was known to have an extensive library.41 Henry Sidney's secretary was one Edmund Molineux,42 while the name of herald, William Leverett, Athlone pursuivant in Ulster's office, also reflects continental origins. Jacques Wingfeld, appointed master of the ordnance and constable of Dublin


39 DCA, MS 78 (2. vols., MS 77-8, Charters and documents of the guild of Holy Trinity or Merchants' Guild, 1483-1824), f. 112.


castle in 1558 also spent much of his early life in Calais. Such access granted other privileges, and a number of Flemish Protestants were buried in Christ Church. Thomas Molyneux’s wife, Katherin (d.1597), daughter of Lodowite Slaboerte of Bruges in Flanders, was buried in the upper part of the cathedral chancel, while Abigail Hatfield (d.1656), wife of Ridgeley Hatfield, mayor of Dublin, and daughter of an Antwerp merchant, John Bollardt, was buried in St Mary’s chapel. The Dublin burial of ‘Nicolas Stainberger Sonne of Marcus or Marke, a Farmer’ (d. 1626) is another indicator of this Flemish influx a generation earlier. Adrian Slabaerte (d.1606) buried in Tallaght, well illustrates the Flemish as part of a cosmopolitan European diaspora. As a merchant of Bruges, he was presumably related to Katherin and Lodowite, and was married to Jane, daughter of Blance, a Bruges goldsmith, but his son Reginalde died in Lisbon, and his daughter, Hester was a ‘virgine living in London with their mother’.

Either altered or replaced after the Restoration, little physical evidence of this early modern cultural world survives for Dublin. Gone is the hall of the guild of carpenters, millers, masons and tilers built by 1576, or the hall of the Tholsel noted in 1607. Nor does anything remain of the 1628 Jesuit Kildare Hall in Back Lane and its fashionable European interior, or the transient St Werburgh’s theatre promoted by Wentworth in the 1630s. One of the longer survivors was the law courts established in the cathedral monastic buildings by the Bruges-born Samuel Molyneux in 1608, that survived in altered form until 1795 and beyond. These examples reinforce the importance of

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studying the few buildings that survived through this period, as a means to expand the benighted state of our knowledge of this period of Irish architecture and art history. Many of these trends can be found in a reborn Christ Church after the Reformation. Its status as a diocesan cathedral with those attendant ancillary functions seemed secure, but the use of its buildings was uncertain. At the expense of St Patrick’s, there were plans to establish at Christ Church the diocesan administrative headquarters or ‘intellectual centre for the Reformation in Ireland’; in 1547 indeed, it was referred to as the ‘Kinges Collage of Cristesteschurche’, perhaps hoping to avail of the former monastic buildings. However this never came to fruition, and in 1584, the lord deputy, John Perrot could still wryly note: ‘Here is in this little city two great cathedral churches, richly endowed, and too near together for any good they do’. Perrot regarded St Patrick’s as ‘superfluous’, and intended Christ Church ‘to receive the state of this government and city too’. Although St Patrick’s survived, and was indeed used for state ceremonies in 1584-5 because of building works at Christ Church, his statement highlights a recurring theme, that despite a chapel at Dublin castle, the crown’s preference was for Christ Church as chapel royal.

In fact, for a time the cathedral appeared attractive to all sections of the community. Monsieur Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, a French traveller visiting Dublin after the Restoration probably around 1666 described Christ Church succinctly:

This great church seems to me to have been some abbey; the cloisters are converted into shops of tradesmen, and the abbey-house serves for the court in which pleadings are held.
This outsider’s perspective also neatly summarises the post-Reformation trends in the use of the precinct buildings: the secularisation of the old monastic living quarters along with a gradual commercialisation, which dramatically accelerated with the installation of the law courts into the cloistral buildings. Initially, the chapter sought to preserve the cloister’s privacy. In 1580, Captain George Thornton of the ship ‘Hand Maid’ was ordered to ‘close the present cellar door within the church gate, and to make another, to the city pavement, outside said gate’.61 Colfabius within the precinct was leased to a joiner, John Brown, on the basis that he ‘have a door from the premises opening sideward into the city and not into the close’, while vicar choral, John Bullock, who leased a cellar under the dean’s kitchen including the eastern ‘Deanes Entrie’ was bound ‘to close upe the ester dore, and make a dore in the west Side’ (chapter ii, figure 12).62

Such was the commercial success of the cathedral liberty, beyond civic control, that the city warned the dean and chapter to maintain ‘no stranger or forrener to use or occupie eny facultie, sciens or trade within ther precinct, as shalbe hurtfull to eny free cittizens of this cittie’.63 The corollary of such profitability was the demise of conventual traditions such as common dining by the late sixteenth century.64 Increased activity in the precinct caused the dean and chapter to introduce new regulations in 1593 employing ‘Patrick Duffe to keepe the west gate cleane Swept, and to see the gate lockt, at 9 en of the Clock every nyght’.65 With the gradual replacement of clerical staff, the need for cloistral enclosure was ousted by financial considerations, and the establishment of the judiciary in the old cloister on a thousand-year lease was a particular coup for Dean Wheeler.66 By 1631, the precincts acted as such a legal and commercial hub for Dublin that the chapter were forced to agree a series of fourteen rules ‘for the government and well ordering of the precincts’.67 As late as 1718, a description of the courts offers insight into the conversion of the cloistral buildings noting that ‘there were several rooms, vaults, and cellars, under the said four chambers called the Four Courts, and there were ceilings over the said courts and cocklofts, garrets, or void rooms and spaces over those ceilings’.68

If Jouvin had commented on the northside of the cathedral drawn by Dineley (plate 2), he would have observed the tendrils of commerce firmly rooted beneath the building.

61 Deeds, 1354; CAB, 37-8 and RCB C6/1/26/5/2.
62 Deeds, 1357; CAB 38-9, 69.
64 CAB, 117 and Boydell, Music at Christ Church, no. 35. See chapter ii, pp 69.
65 CAB, 86.
67 CAB, 165-8.
68 Gilbert, Dublin, i, 136; TCD MS 10530, f. 103v.
The crypt thronged with taverns that extended level out onto St John's Lane through a series of makeshift 'outstalls', consisting of oak beams, lime mortar and roofs of either oak or slate. These stalls hemmed in the cathedral’s impressive north stairway rising from St John’s Lane to nave level (plate 5). Ironically, they are best recorded in the year that Wentworth, the lord deputy who attempted to ban them, arrived in Ireland. In 1632, St John's vestry records note four taverns consecutively arranged along St John’s Lane, which can roughly be mapped onto the crypt (figure 3): Patrick Mapas’s the Red Lyon (A); Christopher Coleman’s the Red Stag (B), a cellar called Hell (C) known as the ‘dragon sellar’ in 1626 and leased to Mr Kennedy, and Mr Malone’s ‘The Half-Moone’ (D). Citing the cathedral as ‘the principal church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and Council repair every Sunday’, Wentworth’s chief agent, John Bramhall, the cathedral treasurer, wrote to Archbishop Laud in 1633 complaining that ‘the Vaults, from one end of the Minster to the other, are made into tippling rooms, for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants’, sarcastically adding concerning the congregation that there was a risk ‘of poisoning them with the fumes’. Wentworth concurred likewise to Laud a few months later noting

divers Buildings erected upon the Fabrick of Christ-Church, and the Vaults underneath the Church itself turned all to Alehouses and Tobacco Shops, where they are pouring either in or out their Drink-Offerings and Incense

Although Wentworth ordered these removed, such carousing appears to have continued until 1678. Such a bustling commercial atmosphere inevitably affected the cathedral interior also, which William Brereton described in 1634:

Christ Church, a cathedral, where the Lord Deputy and State frequent; the chancel is only made use of, not the body of the church, wherein are very

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69 Deeds 1182, 1284, 1316, 1423, 1444 and C A B, 89-90, 102-3 for example detail outstalls for 1541-98; Deeds, 977, 1047, 1115, 1246 give the materials used.  
70 Deeds 1444.  
71 Space does not permit elaboration of the tavern positioning which is drawn from analysis of crypt cellar ownership from the first recorded in 1331-2 (PRI rep DK43, 43, 60) to the last in 1679 (Deeds, 1795, 1818).  
72 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), The vestry records of the parish of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1595-1658 (Dublin: FGP, 2002), 46-50 & 77-82, at 79 See also J.B. Leslie, 'An old Dublin [St John's] vestry book', R.S.I., xixii (1943), 40-9, at 46-7. See also H.F. Berry, 'House and shop signs in Dublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', R.S.I., xi (1910), 81-98, at 96, where the 'Star' and the 'Ship' are in fact in Winetavern Street (Gillespie, St John's, 46-50, at 48 & 55-59 at 57).  
great strong pillars, though very short; the chancel is but plain, and
ordinarily kept; the body of the church is a more stately building.\textsuperscript{75}

Services were restricted to the choir (Brereton’s ‘chancel’) in the seventeenth century, but
the nave had served religious purposes into the Elizabethan period. Nave sermons were
preached to a congregation seated on portable benches,\textsuperscript{76} from a pulpit half-way along
the south wall of the nave\textsuperscript{77}. The pulpit was also used for public penance; during the
sermon. In 1570, Bishop Richard Dixon had to go ‘with a white roddde in his hand \ldots
into another lower pulpitte sett there for the same purpose’,\textsuperscript{78} while in 1578, James
Bedlow of Dublin was made stand barefoot before the pulpit for denying the royal
supremacy.\textsuperscript{79} This furnishing may have been part of a reading desk for the saying of the
offices normally located in ‘the body of the church’,\textsuperscript{80} an arrangement which presaged the
three-decker pulpit: for preacher, officiant or reader and clerk, of which the first is
known in 1610 at Kedington, East Anglia.\textsuperscript{81} By 1634, the nave was no longer used for
sermons, but similar post-Reformation nave pulpits existed at Wells, Bath, Exeter,
Chichester, Beverly, Ely and Worcester. At Lichfield as late as 1795, the congregation
moved there for the sermon, a circumstance ‘attended with many inconveniences’,\textsuperscript{82}
while a pulpit survived in the nave of St Patrick’s cathedral in Dublin into the nineteenth
century (chapter vi, figure 19).

The only other liturgical furnishing associated with the nave is the octagonal font that
survived to the 1870s at the north aisle west end replaced some time after 1562.\textsuperscript{83} A nave

\textsuperscript{75} William Brereton, \textit{Travels in Holland the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland M.DC.XXXIV.–

\textsuperscript{76} See chapter iii, p. 101.

\textsuperscript{77} Meredith Hanmer, ‘Chronicle of Ireland’ in James Ware (ed.), \textit{The Historie of Ireland, collected by three learned
authors viz. Meredith Hanmer Doctor in Divinite: Edmund Campion sometime fellow of St John’s Colledge in Oxforde: and
observations respecting Christ Church cathedral, in Dublin, and its precincts; originally printed for the S.
Patrick’s Society in 1855, and now reprinted with a few alterations by John Jebb, D.D., Rector of
Peterstow, and Prebendary of Hereford.’, \textit{The Ecclesiologist}, cxxii (October 1862), 245-55, at 246 (in a note
not published in his 1855 article) observes this as ‘the only notice, as far as I am aware, of
this pulpit, which has long disappeared.’

\textsuperscript{78} Gilbert, \textit{Dublin}, i, 114.

\textsuperscript{79} Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform, 1558-1625’, at 175.

\textsuperscript{80} Addleshaw & Etchells, \textit{Architectural setting of Anglican worship}, 32-3.

\textsuperscript{81} George Yule, ‘James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms’ in Anthony Fletcher &
Peter Roberts ed., \textit{Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1994), 182-208 at 189-90, and 203.

\textsuperscript{82} Gerald Cobb, \textit{English cathedrals, the forgotten centuries: restoration and change from 1530 to the present day}
\textit{Gentleman’s magazine}, lxxv (1795), 998-9.

\textsuperscript{83} See chapter iii, pp 101-2.
position is implied in 1565 when fees were ‘payable on the font in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity’, a tradition later associated with the Strongbow monument. The baptism of the grandson of Oliver, and son of Henry Cromwell in 1656 at the cathedral was so well attended that ‘many were forced to pay their respect without the doors of the church’. These doors may have been the western entrance given the traditional liturgical positioning of fonts at the church entrance. Fonts were often placed there either centrally, as in the case originally (and since restored) at Durham cathedral, and at Salisbury according to a map dating before 1745, or peripherally in an aisle position as for example with the early English example at Lincoln cathedral, or the Irish cathedrals of St Canice’s, Kilkenny and Christ Church, Waterford around 1739. Although St Canice’s square font is depicted as free standing west of a pillar, both Waterford and Dublin examples adjoin a western nave pillar on its western side.

Some religious activity remained in the nave however in three aisle chapels: St Mary Magdalene and St Nicholas in the north aisle and a Trinity chapel on the south side. Two had firm links with guilds highlighting the fact that while guild and chantry chapels were abolished in England in 1548, they survived in Ireland; the tailors’ guild for example still had its altar in St John the Evangelist’s in 1627. The response of the Irish medieval guilds to the Reformation is still imperfectly understood. Many members remaining Catholics, the majority of guilds sided with the sodalities of imported Tridentine Catholicism, and continued to appointed chaplains to serve altars in the Elizabethan period. The transition to Protestantism appears to have been slow, but by 1607, ‘a competent number of the brotherin of the Trinitie Yealde’ was nominated with the masters of the corporations to ‘attend Mr. Maior in their gowns every Sabaoth daie to churche’, at a time when the cathedral chapter were reading books ‘characterised by their puritan and anti-Catholic tone’. The remaining Catholic aldermen appear to have

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81 Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, V0Z I (ed.) James Morrin (Dublin, 1861), 494.
82 CARD, rv, 92-3 (24 April 1656) citing a contemporary London account.
83 Draper, Formation of English gothic, 208, plate 224; 234, plate 240.
84 Ware, Works, i, plates between 396-7 and 524-5; Graves & Prim, St Canice’s, 76.
86 Draper, Formation of English gothic, 208, plate 224; 234, plate 240.
87 Addleshaw & Etchells, Architectural setting of Anglican worship, 25.
90 Gillespie, St John’s, 23, 51. See also H.F. Berry, ‘The merchant tailor’s guild: that of St John the Baptist, Dublin, 1418-1841’, R.S.A.I. Jr, xlviii (1918), 19-64.
91 McCafferty, Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland, 13.
92 CARD, ii, 484-5. See also Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 188.
been ousted after 1613, and in practice most guilds were probably Protestant by the second decade of the seventeenth century. Secularisation helped smooth the transition, as in the neutral mercantile guild of St Anne’s, and by 1650 even the Trinity guild had replaced the crucifix on its seal with the secular motif of a ship in sail.96

In the eastern three bays of the north aisle bounded by the north stairs to the west was the chapel of the guild of barbers dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, probably established at Christ Church in the 1570s. It lasted at least until 1595 when a payment was noted ‘For carrying Stones out of the Barbors Chapel’, possibly remnants of the thirteenth-century vault that collapsed in 1562; a nineteenth-century view by du Noyer (plate 52) shows truncated springers, similar to those in the north nave clerestory. The guild incorporated the surgeons in 1577, but how long it lasted in the cathedral is unclear. The chapel appears to have been converted into a choir or ‘little Vestry’ by February 1640. At the far end of the aisle, the two western bays appear to have been occupied in 1541 by a ‘long loft called St. Nicholas’ chapel situate over the cellar’, noted again as part of a two-storey lease of ‘a cellar and St. Nicolas chapel’ c.1580. If associated with a guild, this was the chapel of the ‘Sheermen and Dyers’. In the south aisle of the nave was the chapel of the merchants of Dublin, the Trinity guild, the wealthiest of the

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97 CARD, xi (1889-1944), appendix note its colours as purple, cherry and white.
102 Deeds, 1182; 1353.
103 CARD, xi, appendix notes their colours as blue and white.
medieval guilds with a firm hold on the mayoral and aldermanic positions of the city.\textsuperscript{104} Although a portion of the chapel was demolished for safety in 1564,\textsuperscript{105} from 1566-8, the guild accounts record expenses including the hiring of a priest, a contribution to the cathedral, and ‘hangings and deckings’,\textsuperscript{106} perhaps in the guild colours: blue and yellow.\textsuperscript{107} This chapel was regularly maintained in the early seventeenth century; part of a nearby wooden roof and its door lock were fixed in 1612-13,\textsuperscript{108} and the space was used by guild members in 1613, who accessed the cathedral via the south west gate.\textsuperscript{109} The ‘hookes and hinges’ of the room were mended during Tilson’s 1638-9 restoration, but by 1644, the Trinity chapel had ‘fallen into utter ruin’ and lay ‘open in the body of the Church whereby tis in Danger from Storms’. Stern missives were exchanged between the chapter and ‘Mast: & Wardens of the Trin: Guild’,\textsuperscript{110} over the repair of the chapel,\textsuperscript{111} and despite a complaint over the withholding of rights from the guild \textsuperscript{c.1648},\textsuperscript{112} it remained in residence in 1651, when the guild paid ‘for carriage of commodities’ to the cathedral.\textsuperscript{113} Given that the chapter did not take over the space for use as a new chapter house until 1699, and guild contributions made to the cathedral restoration of 1679,\textsuperscript{114} the chapel probably remained in the Trinity guild’s hands until the last decades of the seventeenth century. Religious activity in the nave dissipated however and it too became a centre for trade and commerce functioning much like a pillared exchange for merchants. The bishop of Salisbury described a similar trend at St Paul’s, London describing the nave as having a ‘noyse in it is like that of Bees, a strange humming or buzze, mixt of walking, tongues, and feet’ encompassing all manner of discourse and business.\textsuperscript{115} The payment of rent or fixing of leases at the Strongbow monument was well established by the sixteenth century, formalised annually by at least 1602 and extending to the late eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{104} Lennon, Lords of Dublin, chapter 4.  
\textsuperscript{105} PA 1564-5, 41, 43; Berry, Register of wills, 38-40, 205.  
\textsuperscript{107} C.A.R.D., xi, appendix.  
\textsuperscript{108} PA 1612-13, third page of extraordinary disbursements.  
\textsuperscript{109} DCA MS 68 (Monck Mason collection for history of Dublin, transcribed for Gilbert), 147.  
\textsuperscript{110} NLI MS 97, p. 34 (f. 17v) gives 1744, clearly a mistake for 1644.  
\textsuperscript{111} Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 205 citing BL Eg MS 1765, f. 29v, DCA, Gilbert MS 76, f. 117;  
C6/1/7/2, f. 62.  
\textsuperscript{112} Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 209 citing BL Eg MS 1765, ff 39v-40, 41v, 42, DCA, Gilbert MS 78, ff 119-20, 124, 126.  
\textsuperscript{113} DCA Gilbert MS 78 (Trinity Guild records, vol. 2 of 2 [MSS 77-8]), 124-7.  
\textsuperscript{114} Webb, Guilds, 153.  
\textsuperscript{115} John Earle, Micro-cosmographie, or, a a piece of the word discovere& in essays and characters (London: Printed by William Stansby for Edward Blount, 1628), 53. Pauls Walke.  
\textsuperscript{116} CAB, 113. The date of 1604 seems here to be a mistake for 1602. For later examples, see CAB, 118; Deeds, 1455; CAB, 120; Stat Papers Ire, 1625-32, no. 508, pp 180-1; E6/1/12/2 (Valentia MSS), Oxfordshire
tomb was the designated site for the trial in 1605 to determine the value of the Irish ‘harp’, debased in Elizabeth’s reign. In the deregulated post-dissolution commercial environment, similar practices could be found at York Minster, and the cathedrals of Norwich, Lichfield, Llandaff and Carlisle. The body of the cathedral was therefore closely integrated into the commercial life of the city. The bequest ‘for a lamp to hang in the body of the church’ made in the 1617 will of Nicholas Weston, an alderman and former mayor (1597-8), who was buried in the cathedral, may have been intended as much as a deterrent to pickpockets in ‘the Theeues Sanctuary, which robbe more safely in the Croud, then a wildernesse’ as to light members of the congregation to the choir. In 1621, Humphrey Farnham explained that his repaving work in the body of the church was ‘for the more care and convenient passage for the State’, and this refurbishment of a quasi-liturgical processional space again emphasises the degree to which the cathedral was being employed as a state chapel.

The choir however remained the cathedral’s liturgical heart. The oscillation of liturgical emphasis between sacrament and word were manifested physically in the altar and the pulpit. At Christ Church, Archbishop Browne ‘caused the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer and the Creed to be placed, being gilded and in Frames about the Altar’ probably as early as 1541, while in 1559, following Elizabethan injunctions, ‘orders wer sent to newe paynt the walls of Christ Church and St. Patricks and in sted of pictures & popish fancies to place passages or texts of Scripture on the walls’. If the reredos was anything like that of the neighbouring St John’s in the Laudian period, it consisted of ornamental embroidered cloths called dosetts, hung behind the altar, bearing an


118 M.E.C. Walcott, Traditions and customs of cathedrals (London, 1872), ii, 94-5. See also St Swithin, ‘Paying rent at a tomb in Church’, Notes & Queries, 9th series, viii (26 October 1901), 355.

119 Deeds 458. Though a monument to him was erected in St Audoen’s.

120 Earle, Micro-cosmographie, 53. Pauls Walke.

121 TCD MS 10530, f. 13v.

122 Ware, Antiquities & history of Ireland (Dublin, 1705), 148.

123 ‘The annals of Dudley Loftus’, ed. N.B. White, Analecta Hibernica, x, (1941), 223-38, at 235; Harris, Dublin, 312 and Ware, Antiquities & History of Ireland (Dublin, 1705), 3. See Yule, ‘James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms’, 188.
Certainly, the commandments were repainted and the altar was laid with stone and painted during the Wentworth-Tilson restoration. The position of the altar however varied between two positions: ‘altarwise’ (figure 4, A), oriented north-south lengthways against the east wall, or ‘tablewise’ (figure 4, T), centrally placed further west in the choir in an east-west, lengthways direction along the central aisle. The royal injunctions of 1552 and 1559 insisted on a tablewise altar for services, but implied an altarwise resting position, a position favoured by Laudians. This arrangement appears to have existed at Christ Church during the reign of James I as regular movement is implied by payment to a carpenter for ‘mending the Communion table that was loose in the joints’.[128] Some idea of the altar’s central position can be gleaned from Archbishop John de St Paul’s grave which was ‘under a marble stone with a brass figure on the second step of the altar’, which between 1614 and 1626 was located ‘under the Communion table’. This was probably the chancel west end, later marked out by altar rails, but without knowing the altar step location, it is difficult to be more specific. Bramhall noted on 10 August 1633 that at Christ Church ‘The table used for the administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices’. But by then, the Laudian reforms had begun; on 21 June 1633, Sir James Ware noted that the ‘communion table at Christ Church was set up after the manner of an altar, north and south’.[130] Communion rails, first introduced ‘close enough together to keep dogs out’ as early as c.1575 at Winchester,[132] are a good indicator of an altar’s eastern location, and the Wentworth-Tilson restoration paid a Robert Gilbart £9 for ‘makinge the pailes and other Carpenters worke aboute the Alter’.[133] Its eastern location was described in a Puritan eucharist at the Commonwealth, which was received sitting ‘for which purposes several tables ... were placed together in length from the

124 Gillespie, St John’s, 225, 126.
125 PA 1638-9.
126 The position of T for the tablewise altar is approximate, but was most likely east of the medieval stalls and west of the chancel.
128 PA 1612-13, extraordinary disbursements [p. 3].
129 Appendix 4, B12; James Buckley, ‘Monumenta sepulchralia’, Journal of the Waterford & South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, xvi (1913), 36-9, at 37 which reproduces part of BL, Additional MSS 4783.
131 Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 197 citing TCD MS 6404 [Diary of James Ware], f. 116v and PA 1634-5. See also Hadden, Works of ... John Bramhall, i, lxxix-lxxxii, paraphrased in Stat Papers Ire, 1633-47, 16-17, and DCA, Gilbert MS 169, 211.
133 PA 1638-9. These were probably balusters as at St John’s (Gillespie, St John’s, 84).
choir up to the altar'\textsuperscript{134} Puritan emphasis on the word on the other hand required a pulpit in the choir, either in addition to, or removed from, the nave. In 1608, the lord deputy, Arthur Chichester gave the cathedral a ‘rich cope of cloth of gold … for to make a cushion and pulpit cloth’,\textsuperscript{135} an unusually rich embellishment. This reflected the cathedral’s excellent reputation for preaching;\textsuperscript{136} in 1610, Barnaby Rich boasted that there was not a pulpit in London ‘Paul’s cross only excepted’ that was better supplied that that at Christ Church in Dublin’.\textsuperscript{137}

The choir seating arrangements were altered at the Commonwealth, but the arrangement whereby each side faced each other was a survival from the medieval cathedral. The archbishop’s ‘cathedra’ or throne remained at the east end of the south side, confirmed in 1554 by the burial of Alderman Patrick Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin ‘in the sowrthe syde of the quere a boue [above] the see of the byssopes’,\textsuperscript{138} and by Wentworth’s pedigree as earl of Strafford, a title acquired in 1640, located opposite the organ on the south side ‘over the seat of the Archbip~p of Dublin’.\textsuperscript{139} This was some form of gallery, confirmed by a later request by the ‘Hon. Dame Wentworth wife of Sir George’ for ‘half a seat (now divided) built in South Gallery by Late Lord: Depr, the Earl of Stafford’.\textsuperscript{140} Arrangements for the clergy and choir are described in 1633–4 when Wentworth ordered the ‘Dean, dignitaries and prebendaries’ to ‘keep their proper seats’ requiring ‘that all those Viccars who sitt on either side of the Quire sitt in Stalls contiguous together’.\textsuperscript{141} The precise appearance of these choir stalls is unknown, but as previously argued may correspond to the ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ stalls.\textsuperscript{142} The stalls in that manuscript show a number of Renaissance features which are clearly later additions: a series of three semi-circular arches depicted in the centre of one of the three-bay stalls, surmounted by two decorated blocks and seven balusters apparently forming a gate in the middle bay (figure 40 & chapter iii, figure 3.b). A note of fifteen long shrouds in 1638–9 may refer to canopies or

\textsuperscript{134} Gillespie, ‘The crisis of reform, 1625–60’, 214–16 citing Robert Ware, The hunting of the Romish fox (Dublin, 1683), 228 and PA 1662-4.

\textsuperscript{135} ‘William Farmer’s chronicle of Ireland from 1594 to 1613’ ed. C.L. Falkiner, E.H.R., xxii (1907), 539.


\textsuperscript{138} PA 1564-5, 87–8 gives ‘Sarswell’ which is closer to the Irish version Sáirseal, which Lennon, Lords of Dublin, 266 gives as Sarsfield. See also Tait, Death, burial and commemoration, 69.

\textsuperscript{139} Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290.

\textsuperscript{140} NLI MS 97, f.19r [p. 38] (14 December 1661).

\textsuperscript{141} Knowler, Strafforde’s letters, i, 172–3 and Cal. Stat. Papers Ire, 1633-47, 31–2; CAB, 204.

\textsuperscript{142} See chapter iii, pp 94–5.
covers protecting the choir stalls, thus indicating the number of seats, a number just over twice that in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’, possibly representing a single side illustrated.

From at least 1541, the choir contained an organ, initially a mobile ‘five-foot organ’, which some attempt was made to mend in 1612. In 1616, the organist, Thomas Bateson was authorised to spend £35 Sterling to ‘make, or cause to be made, a sufficient Instrument or organ’, suggesting that such a ‘portative wind instrument’ was becoming more financially accessible. In 1614, both ‘the Choristers dore’ and the ‘doore to the organs’ were on the north side of the choir. The organ required a blower, and appears to have been at ground level given, in 1635, ‘that the organs were hurte by the admittance of to[o] many to Sit behinde them’. As noted below, it may have been elevated into a loft during Wentworth’s restoration, and remained in use until the Commonwealth. The north aisle appears to have been in poor repair in the early seventeenth century; in 1613, the proctor paid ‘For filling the top of the wall with mortar on the N[orth] Side of the Chancel where the Crows, owls, & pidgeons used to be, while in 1621, Farnham ‘sett upp a newe roofe in the north end of the crosse Hand’, probably the north choir aisle, replacing the old one ‘redye to fall uppon everye storme of Winde’. General references to the aisles occur in 1633 and 1654-5, but its continuing poor condition is suggested by a contribution made for its repair in 1645. The south aisle was kept in much better condition as a portion, probably the easternmost part, was enclosed as a room used as a ‘large’ vestry, solely identifiable from reference to ‘the vestur dore’ in 1564 in the context of the pillory and the church yard. Unfortunately, Dean Tilson’s payments ‘for culloringe the Quier the South Ile [aisle]’ do not elucidate a division in the south aisle, if

143 PA 1638-9, f.4v.
144 PA 1542. For the organists duties see Deed 1201, quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 42. C.F. Abdy Williams, ‘The evolution of the choir organ’, Musical Times, 48: 767 (1 January 1907), 18-21; 48: 768 (1 February 1907), 89-91 explains the unfamiliar plural use of the term ‘organs’ for a single instrument.
146 C-AB, 138 quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 63, no 41. See also PA 1617.
148 PA 1614 quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 82, no. 84.
149 Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 65, no. 46; 70; 57; C-AB, 157.
150 PA 1636-41; RCB C6/1/7/2, f. 43v quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 76, no. 69.
151 PA 1613; TCD MS 10530, f. 13v.
152 Stat Papers Ire, 1633-47, 31-2 and C-AB, 202-3 (1633); NAI MS M2817, p. 84 (labelled f. 144 of A/85 References of Petitions and Orders); p. 23 (1654-5); Deeds, 1557 (1645).
153 In comparison with the ‘little’ choir vestry in the nave.
154 PA 1564-5, 32.
any, between vestry and choir. Clergy could enter from Christ Church yard and emerge robed for services through the door in the choir south side west of the altar.

Spatially therefore, the post-Reformation period saw within the choir few substantial changes to the religious life of the clergy. The real distinction between the medieval and early modern period at Christ Church was the degree of lay incursion into a space previously a preserve of the religious. This shift to the secular was emphasised by the cathedral’s role as a civic church and in its growing status as a chapel royal, indeed slowly eclipsing its civic role. Only four mayors for example were buried in the cathedral between 1589 and 1710. This binding of church and state resulted in striking visual changes. As in all established churches in England and Ireland, the sacred imagery of the rood was replaced by the royal arms, as in the 1559 injunctions of Elizabeth, and the early modern period would see the strengthening of this theme. The cathedral was established as a venue for the ceremony of state soon after the Reformation, a church-state bond which was strengthened by appointments of clergy being often on the advice of the lord deputy or lord lieutenant. It became the established pattern for the lord deputy to attend Christ Church on his arrival to Ireland. In 1556, Thomas Radcliffe was received ‘under a canopy at the church door’, then after various ceremonies ‘proceeded to the altar, where he kneeled a certain space, and offered a piece of gold’. By the early seventeenth century such ceremonies were elaborate; the clerk of the Crown of Chancery, Francis Edgeworth, had to go into a ‘withdrawing room to acquaint the Lord Falkland with the same’ in 1622. The ceremony involved delivering the king’s sword to Christ Church, then after a sermon, the reading of letters patent appointing the lord deputy, and his taking the oath of supremacy, the presentation of the sword of state to him by the lord justices at the communion table in the choir.

The cathedral was also used to reinforce allegiance to England and the crown through public pageantry both celebrating the patron saint of England, St George, and the chivalric theme of dubbing knights at the cathedral. Sidney’s installation of the arms of the Garter knights of St George was in evidence for his attendance at the cathedral on St George’s day, 23 April 1578, when the choir was ‘hanged with blewe brodeclothe, on on

155 PA 1638-9, ff 4, 6v.
157 Refaussé & Lennon, Registers, 26.
158 Yule, ‘James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms’, 188.
159 Cal Carew Misc., 1515-1574, 258 (Wednesday 28 May 1556).
160 For example, Cal. S.P. Ire. 1615-25, 345-6 for Lord Falkland at Christ Church (6 September 1622). Similar detail is recorded in Stat Papers Ire., 1615-25, no. 286, 134-5 citing Acta Regia Hibernica, P.R.O., Ireland.’ for Oliver St John at St Patrick’s (26 August 1616).
[sic] the same were the armes of the companyons of the most noble order of the garter all gorgius ly [sic] wrought in metall [with ther s. . . .s]. A French traveller, Monsieur de la Boullaye le Gouz, describing the viceroy’s attendance on 14 May 1644 noted: ‘In the choir are displayed the arms of the old English knights, with their devices’. This picture matches with the Garter arms, except their location was given as St Patrick’s cathedral. However, this may simply be the common error of visitors to Dublin mistaking the two medieval cathedrals. Christ Church was the accustomed place of worship for the lord deputy, who was sworn in there on 21 January 1644, and no similar arms are known at St Patrick’s cathedral until the foundation of the knights of St Patrick in 1783.

Numerous knights were dubbed at Christ Church between 1566 and 1608, including eight on the coronation day of James I, part of an expansion of Protestant chivalry. Whether this left any physical evidence is less certain. If the ‘Monumenta Eblanæ’ choir stall images represent Christ Church, then the choir stalls were used for heraldic display until at least the early seventeenth century, consisting of a number of smaller shields in many cases tied to beams supported on turned balusters (chapter iii, figure 3.a-c). The shields can be identified with local families with long associations with the cathedral such as the St Laurence family, whose 1572 arms of the 20th lord Howth and his wife Elizabeth Plunkett, can be compared with those represented in the manuscript (figure 14a-b). Without colour, it is not possible to make certain identifications, but of those knights dubbed at Christ Church, at least five appear to have shields represented in the illustrated choir stalls, and such an occurrence of such specific heraldic patterns lends

165 Appendix 5 lists knights dubbed in Christ Church.
167 Deed 417 note the rent of Sir Nicholas de St Laurence, lord of Howth reduced in 1526; Cal. Carew Papers 1589-1600, 62-3 record the barons of Delvin and Howth accompanying a William Nugent in 1592 when he came before commissioners at Christ Church.
169 These arms containing two swords in saltire between four roses occur also on a monument to Sir William Sparke, justice of the King’s Bench, who died 18 October 1625 and was buried in St Audoen’s. See Loeber, ‘Sculpted memorials’, 284, no 75 and Dublin Castle, Genealogical Office, Funeral Entries, v, 31.
weight to the argument that they represent the cathedral’s choir stalls. Identifiable in the shields are the families Harrington (chapter iii, figure 3a, right bay, left spandrel),

Barnwall (iii, 3b, right bay, right spandrel), Warren (iii, 3a, left bay, right spandrel), probably Percy, although a fess five rather than three diamonds (iii, 3b, top row, second from left), and Walsh (iii, 3b, middle bay, right spandrel).

Such state involvement required special provision for the lord deputy’s seat. Sidney’s seat was noted at the end of the stalls in 1567 ‘on the left syde of the Quoyer’, a position confirmed by a 1613 payment ‘for mending the timbere shrowd on the north side [of] the Church Chairs over against my Lord Deputies Seate’. In the 1590s the lord deputy paid the sexton 1s a month to keep it tidy. In 1633, to encourage better conduct at services, Wentworth banned the use of curtains before seats, notably excluding himself and his wife. Two or three lord justices governed in the absence of a lord deputy, who also had a separate pew; in 1622, for the installation of a lord deputy ‘the Lords Justices came down from their seats’, and these were maintained in 1597, payment was made to a ‘Joyner to mend the Lord Justice Seate’, and 1612-13; a plank was installed for ‘under the judges [justices] feet’. Two institutions also had pews: the city and the college. The mayor and aldermen had a pew from at least 1569, and in 1616, £4 14s. Sterling was spent ‘uppon the seat or pue wherein Mr. Maior and his bretherin do sitt in Chrystchurch’ with new cushions also supplied. Due to religious tension in 1596, the civic authorities threatened to move to St Audoen’s, yet relations were sufficiently good in 1607 for the mayor to attend accompanied by members of the Trinity guild. Rich denounced the civic officers as papists who would go to mass ‘then after that they wyll brynge the mayor to Christchurch & havyng put hym into hys pew they convey themselves to a taverne tyl


172 BL, Egerton MS 2642, f. 281 [was f. 261]; PA 1612-13, extraordinary disbursements [p. 4].

173 Raymond Gillespie, Thomas Howell and his friends: serving Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, 1570-1700 (Friends of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, 1997), 17 citing Northampton Record Office, Fitzwilliam of Milton Muniments, Irish nos 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41.


176 PA 1597, extraordinary disbursements; PA 1612-13, extraordinary disbursements [p. 3].


178 CARd, iii, 70-4, at 72 (October 1616). See also Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 188.


the sermon be done'. The practice of the mayor and aldermen maintaining pews in the cathedrals was common, although later opposed by Archbishop Laud, and examples occur in Ireland at Kilkenny and Waterford, and in England at St Paul’s in London, Chester, York, Durham, Salisbury and Canterbury. In Dublin, the rivalry of city and cathedral was complicated for a time by religious tension. In addition, in 1616, Trinity College maintained a seat for its students ‘in the eye of the state’, confirmed by 1633 reference to payment for ‘mending the Collegians window’.

Such institutional pew reservation encouraged the congregation to do likewise, marking out their rank in the social hierarchy, a trend soon to be found in the parishes. An early example in 1617 was a seat near the archbishop’s, that formerly belonged to Viscountess Valentia which was reserved for Ales Bulkeley and her family, her husband Archbishop Bulkeley ‘being now a constant resident in this city’. In 1624, ‘the Earle of Killdares Pew’ is noted, an unsurprising accommodation given that the Kildare chantry chapel was the traditional Fitzgerald burial place. The egalitarian Puritans, who addressed each other as brother and sister, also had congregational ‘pews in the east end of the Public-Meeting Place of Christ Church’ in July 1655, their name for the choir. In 1651, the congregation was mostly military, including the Dublin governor and other Cromwellian soldiers, and even it succumbed to jockeying for pews, perhaps because of its military,

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182 Ware, Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, ed. Walter Harris (3 vols in 2, Dublin, 1739-64), 420, 552.
185 RCB C6/1/26/13, no 4 is one Christ Church example.
187 T.C. Barnard, ‘Parishes, pews and parsons: lay people and the Church of Ireland, 1647-1780’ in Raymond Gillespie & W.G. Neely (ed.), The laty and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: all sorts and conditions (Dublin: FCP, 2002), 70-103, at 76-84.
188 RCB C6/1/7/2, 138; NLI MS 97, f. 17 [p. 33].
189 Walter Fitzgerald, ‘Some Funeral Entries of Ireland: from a manuscript volume in the British Museum’, Journal of the Association for the preservation of the memorials of the dead, Ireland, viii: 3 (1909), 115 from BL, Add Ms 4820. See also NLI, GO 68, 43 cited in Finlayson, Inscriptions, 72.
189 Gillespie, ‘Crisis of reform’, 214-5 citing Ware, Hunting of the Romish fox, 228.
190 NAI MS M2817, p. 57 (labelled f. 30 of A/16 References of Petitions). See also Leslie, ‘CC 1630-60’, CC Yearbook 1942-3
and hence inherently hierarchical, composition. Colonels Herbert and Markham oversaw seating allocation in 1655, the latter allocating a seat to his wife amongst others. 191

Curiously, another Independent congregation also occupied the cathedral in the old Lady chapel. Dr Samuel Winter, provost of Trinity College from 1652, ministered to a civilian congregation formerly in St Nicholas’s church, which by 1655 was ‘destitute of a convenient place to meet in for their weekly conference’. The congregation asked for the use of ‘the east end of the north side of Christ Church (being now void, and without use) ... being willing to repair and refit the same’, a request which was granted ‘provided that the passage of such as severally go that way to their pews in the east end of the Public-Meeting Place of Christ Church be not hindered’, probably referring to an archway connecting the Lady chapel and choir (plate 67, 87, 94, 100-1, 103). The congregation remained there for about five years. 192 In fact, the Lady chapel with its rich civic connections had lain largely unused, perhaps due to the redundancy of its Marian dedication after the Reformation, exemplified by Lewis’s workmen storing their equipment there for ‘sawyie [safety] in the Mary Chapell undyr locke’. 193 Nevertheless, although clearly the chapel’s purpose was uncertain being ‘void, and without use’, the chapter were happy to have an additional space for storage and indeed burials, and ensured its regular repair: in 1588 (a helier was paid for roofing tiles), and 1595. 194 The chapter concerned itself primarily with the chapel exterior rather than interior; in 1634, they gave a merchant permission for a ‘Penthouse for preservacon of meat from raine on the Market daies’ along the chapel north wall ‘provided that he neither annoy the wall, windowes nor street’. 195 Some commercial activity took place in the chapel: a lease made to Arland Usher in 1594 was ‘payable at the Mary Chapel’, 196 but its primary function was probably as a burial space, evidenced by a number of tombs and a wealth of records that survive from 1626-32 mentioning payments for the burial of the wives of Thomas ffield, Patrick Roe, 197 and Michael Cullen. Only two names are given out of fourteen later payments typically for ‘breaking the ground in the Mary Chappell’. 198

191 NAI MS M2817, p. 26, 28 (labelled f. 280, 282, 302 of A/5 General Orders).
193 PA 1564-5, 40 (2 December 1564)
194 PA 1588, 1595.
195 C-AB, 226
196 Deeds, 1417.
198 PA 1627-8, PA 1628-9, PA 1629-30, PA 1632-3 quoted in Registers, 91.
Over the centuries space had become scarce for burials. The chapter may also not have wished to interfere with the nave flagging installed in 1618. By 1627, the chapter were forced to declare that ‘no man or woman shall be buried in our Church by any clayme of right from their preadecessors therein buryed, under pretence of ancient benefactorship to ye Church’ unless they could produce documentation confirming such a right. Similar restrictions existed at St Patrick’s cathedral in Dublin, as well as London and Paris. The more fortunate families such as the Kildares who had cathedral pews, could afford to offer the facility to others; Lady Margaret MacDonnell (d.1624), daughter of the earl of Antrim for example, was buried ‘in the Earle of Killdares Pew’, perhaps because the Antrim earls did not convert to the Church of Ireland until 1730. However, the remarkable success of the Kildare family, which saw the chapel continue to be used to display the Fitzgerald arms in the early seventeenth century (figure 39-40), hides the fact that the post-Reformation cathedral was a centre, not for the Irish nor indeed the Old English, but for New English and to an extent, the immigrant Flemish. No Irish names are mentioned amongst the paltry records of cathedral burials which survive for the Tudor period before 1597, when the infant child of a merchant tailor, William Kelly, is noted.

With burials often came funerary monuments, and the establishment of memorials in large ecclesiastical establishments such as St Paul’s and Westminster in London or Christ Church in Dublin was occurring in ‘an increasingly open and apparently commercial market’ where the commemorated were drawn to the prestige of the building or its association with government, quite unlike the parish situation where such patterns were more traditionally focussed around the local noble family. This flexibility was particularly acute in Dublin given that many commemorated were English, often temporarily, or so they thought, in Dublin. With the exception of the re-erected Fich arms on the south nave wall, evidence for surviving memorials of the period are restricted to the choir. All are to the laity which again demonstrates the increased sway of the secular over the religious. Usefully, these monuments represent in miniature artistic trends often too expensive to execute as larger architectural features. The social and religious context of

199 CAB, 150.
200 Tait, Death, burial and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650, 61-2.
201 Walter Fitzgerald, ‘Some Funeral Entries of Ireland: from a manuscript volume in the British Museum’, Journal of the Association for the preservation of the memorials of the dead, Ireland, viii: 3 (1909), 115 from BL, Add Ms 4820. See also NLI, GO 68, 43 cited in Finlayson, Inscriptions, 72.
203 PA 1597-8. For Kelly, see Deeds, 1368 and Thrift, ‘Roll of freemen’.
the individual commemorated are all reflected in the characteristics of the monuments: architectural framework, sculptured figures or effigies and their costumes, heraldry, inscriptions and their language, as well as the location within the building. The use of medieval or classical forms was determined by cultural and religious distinctions also, with the Protestant New English adopting more progressive forms. In cases where memorials to Catholics used a classical entablature, often the iconography placed greater emphasis on symbols from Christ's Passion, than the heraldry seen on Protestant tombs. Authorship of the monuments and brasses is generally unknown apart from exceptional circumstances, however, an attempt can be made to identify the author of at least two of the more elaborate cathedral tombs, both of which appear to have been imported from London workshops to the latest English trends. The monuments can be divided chronologically either side of 1600, those commemorated before glorified the military, largely deceased Tudor adventurers or soldiers, while those after saw a less military cadre of lawyers and statesmen memorialised before their death, noting either prestigious events or appointments marking or elevating their rank. This contrast reflected an economic stability and colonial consolidation that followed the end of the nine years war reconquering Ireland with the 1603 defeat of Hugh O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Although few elaborate monuments other than those to Chichester and Wentworth were erected until the Restoration, an interesting trend is that earlier monuments appear to have survived better than others of the period, destroyed in subsequent restorations. Political motives no longer apparent may be considerations in the demise of some, but a growing Renaissance respect for antiquity may account for the survival of these older heroic Tudor monuments to the Restoration and beyond.

Sidney's choir restoration from 1566 saw both the refurbishment of the medieval and the introduction of new classical monuments. No visual remnant survives of the earliest to Captain Edward Randolf in 1566, but another extant monument survives to Edward Griffith shortly afterwards. His monument is traditionally dated to 1631, based on a misreading of the inscription: 'HENRI°31' (figure 20), and a confusion with another Welsh privy counsellor, William Griffith, who died on 12 March 1632, that is 1631 in old

208 G.N. Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin* (London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1821), 122. appears to have first made this error, but it has continued through to Loeber, 'Sculpted memorials', 283.
209 The greying out of the upper left portion of the '8' perpetuates the 1631 misdating.
However, Edward died in the time of Henry VIII, a point noted by only
one commentator on the monument, specifically on 12 March 1540 (Henry VIII,
regnal year 31). The monument was erected by Nicholas Bagenal who became wealthy
from his marriage to Griffith’s third daughter and heiress, Eleanor, acquiring a seat near
Bangor and estates in Wales. It probably dates between 1566, his appointment as
marshal of the army in Ireland under Sidney’s influence, then restoring the cathedral
choir, and 1573, the death of his wife, who would surely have wished to see her father’s
monument. It was renewed by his son Henry Bagenal (d.1598) as stated in the
inscription. Its classical entablature supported by female and male terms and an array of
mannerist strapwork (figure 18.a, 19.a-b) is typical of architectural books published
around 1570 (figure 18.b-c). A lion motif is repeated at the base of the monument and at
the midpoint of the terms, while two harnessed rabbits or hares sit on globes either side
of the pediment which in turn represents mortality with a skull, a bone and two snakes.
The elaborate crested shield includes an antlered deer skull above it, and on either side
two smaller shields with infants wearing togas and carrying undecipherable objects. It is
an eclectic mix typical of classical ideas being diffused from Italian art to northern
Europe and the Netherlands by such figures as Cornelis Floris, Hans Vredeman de Vries
and Hieronymous Cock. A monument of similar motifs and condition in Hereford
cathedral to Herbert Westfaling (d.1601) was drawn from the work of Lucas or Johannes
Duetecum (van Doetecum) after Vredeman de Vries, the same artists who illustrated a
book on caryatids, which may have inspired the Griffith monument. The monument is

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210 Loeber, ‘Sculpted memorials’, 283.
212 J.G. Crawford, Anglicizing the government of Ireland: the Irish Privy Council and the expansion of Tudor rule, 1556-
1578 (Dublin: IAP in association with the ILHS, 1993), 443-4; Ciaran Brady, The chief governors: the rise and fall of
Henry (c.1556-1598)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004 [http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/1035 & 1034 respectively,
214 Cornelis Floris, Veelderley veranderinghe van grotissen [Numerous varieties of grotesques], ed. Hieronymous
Cock (Antwerp, 1556); Veelderley nieuwe inventien van antycksche sepultueren [Numerous new designs for antique
sculpture], ed. Hieronymous Cock (Antwerp, 1557); Carl Van de Velde, ‘Floris’, Grove (Oxford) Art Online,
215 Henk Nalis, Ger Luijten & Christiana Schuckman (ed.), The new Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings,
engravings and woodcuts: 1450-1700: the Van Duetecum family (4 vols., Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive
with Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1998), ii, no. 321/ii, 325/ii; ii, no. 429-443/i, and iii,
672/i, 677/i, 678/i, 679/i, 679/i, 786/ii supplies illustrations of caryatids and terms drawn by the family
in the 1550-80s.
216 Anthony Wells-Cole, Art and decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the influence of continental prints,
1558-1625 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press & Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art,
1997), plates 97-8 reproducing the Westfaling monument and Clemens Perret, Exercitatio Alphabetica
(Antwerp, 1569), plate ix; and plate 107 reproducing Lucas or Johannes Duetecum after Jan Vredeman de
Vries, Caryatidum (Antwerp, c.1565), plate 11.

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certainly one of the earliest Irish classical mural monuments, whether it dates to 1566-73 or its renewal in the 1590s. The Cusack memorial at Treven, Meath, considered the earliest (1571) was erected after 1591.217

Another little known monument associated with Sidney’s restoration was that erected to Elizabeth Sidney in 1567. She died at Kilmainham and was buried in the cathedral. A small tomb with Sidney arms illustrated in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ and by Dineley is probably hers (figure 22.a-b), although the use of her father’s Garter arms rather than a lozenge-shape is heraldically incorrect.218 The small Sidney Garter arms extant in the south transept (figure 21.a) may be all that remains of this tomb, and can be compared with the Sidney arms of the same year on Athlone bridge (figure 21.b). On Sidney’s recall, he erected a more substantial, detailed shield of his arms containing the date 1577, presumably realising that this lord deputyship would be his last (figure 16.b). A Garter surround also appears on the surviving stone tablet commemorating the lord deputyship of Lord Grey of Wilton (1580-2) (figure 28.a-b), and is found also on an unidentified tablet above this (figure 17). As the surround did not come into use until the time of Henry VIII, the anonymous tablet may represent a former lord deputy such as Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex or Charles Blount, 8th Baron Mountjoy, but too little detail survives to confirm the identity. Like Sidney, Lord Grey lost infant children while in Dublin, who are commemorated on a highly unusual brass plaque of c.1582: an infant on the lid of a coffin and a chrisom (figure 26.a-b). The brass retains much of its enamel paintwork and, as his descendent Grey-Egerton described them, depicts forty ‘illustrious quarterings’.219 It is one of only ten surviving examples of early modern mural brasses in Ireland, of which seven are in Dublin, and has been well studied. Little is known of demand for brasses in Ireland, other than their association with wealthy Englishmen.220

Not fitting into any English scheme, Malcolm Norris considered it to have been locally

217 Hunt, Irish medieval figure sculpture, i, 122, 261-2; appendix on Tudor monuments by Peter Harbison; Elizabeth Hickey, ‘Monument to Sir Thomas Cusack’, Ríocht na Mícheál, v, 1 (1971), 75-91, at 82, 86.
218 I am grateful to Micheál Ó Comáin, herald of arms for pointing this out.
made, probably by a goldsmith. Political instability is likely to have led to the
destruction of much Irish metal work; at Waterford cathedral in the time of Cromwell,
numerous ‘brasses, eschucheons, and atchements’ were torn from ‘ancient tombes, many
of which were almost covered with brasse’. The monument to Francis Agard (d.1577) and Cecilia Harrington (d.1584) is one of the
finest of the few Irish Tudor monuments to survive. Unfortunately, its most important
chivalric signifiers, the three large heraldic shields on an open pediment above, do not
survive (figure 29-33.b). Its form is bipartite framed by three Corinthian columns in the
typical format of late sixteenth-century sculpted monuments, with figures facing each
other kneeling on faldstools. The primary figures are the father and daughter: on the left
side is Francis with his wife, Jacoba de la Brett, behind whom are two full size daughters,
and a diminutive figure holding a skull, a daughter that did not survive to adulthood. On
the right side is Cecilia on her own, her husband, Henry Harrington having erected the
monument afterwards, behind whom are two small figures, probably daughters that pre-
deceased her. The monument has had a chequered career: moved on more than one
occasion, it was reduced to a more compact rectangular form without the elaborate
heraldry above. This required repair work to the architrave and cornice which is gypsum
or plaster of Paris, as is also a replacement tassel, the inclined tops of the lecterns at
which they kneel, and Francis Agard’s collar. The monument originally radiated
polychromy; Agard’s armour was blue, his wife and one daughter’s dresses green, and his
daughter’s garb red. One test cross-section of paint work indicated six, possibly seven
painting schemes, the most elaborate of which included painted marbling on the three
columns, an economy for marble itself (figure 32). Indeed while the two outer columns
are of a black stone, a further cost cutting measure is that the centre column is timber.
Stylistically, the detailing of Agard’s armour is similar to that found on the tombs of Sir
Thomas and Lady Sondes (1584/92), the earls of both Rutland (1591) and Southampton
(1592), all by Garat Johnson. Known as Greenwich armour, ‘the only distinctive
English workshop known’, its features include ‘elbow-pieces with separate tendon

221 King, ‘Memorial brasses’, 125; Harris, ‘Tombs of the new English’, 30,36 and personal communication.
222 James Graves, ‘The ancient fabric, plate, and furniture of the cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford’,
Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, ii (1853), 75-83, at 78.
223 C.W. Oldenbourg, ‘The Agard-Harrington Monument, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: Brief notes on the
initial inspection 29.06.2005’ (Unpublished report, July 2005); ‘Investigation of polychromy 19. -
224 M.D. Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830 (Pelican Hist. of Art ser., Harmondsworth, 1964, 2nd ed.
protectors’, a ‘breast-plate with central ridge overlapping a waist-plate’ and ‘broad duck-billed toe-caps to the sabatons’. Flemish artisans were established outside London at Greenwich and Southwark, each specialising in armour and sculpture respectively, also accounting for the accuracy of sculpted armour. Henry Harrington’s older brother, John erected a monument to his father-in-law, Robert Kewlay, in Exton, Rutland (figure 35.a), also in the 1580s, on which are two figures very similar to those on the Agard-Harrington monument (figure 34.a-b vs 33.a-b). The monument is unattributed, but a series of known monuments by Garat Johnson exist in Bottesford church, Leicestershire just 25 miles from it, commissioned by the earls of Rutland who were well acquainted with the Harringtons. The earls of Rutland, the Harringtons and Johnson himself all had connections with Ireland. John Manners, fourth earl of Rutland was ‘a colonel of foot in the Irish wars’; the Harringtons’ cousin, also John, a courtier and writer, visited Ireland in 1586, and Johnson was responsible for the tomb in St George’s Windsor of Elizabeth Fitzgerald (d.1590), wife of Edward Clinton and daughter of the ninth earl of Kildare (figure 36.a). The monuments to Manners (figure 35.b & 36.b), Clinton (figure 36.a) and Kelway (figure 34.a-b & 35.a) are of a noticeably larger scale that the Agard-Harrington monument (figure 29-33.b) suggesting it as both cheaper and more easily transportable. However, details are similar, such as the knights’ armour whether kneeling (Francis Agard and John Harrington) or recumbent (Edward Clinton and John Manners). The swirl of Fitzgerald’s cape likewise is identical to that on the effigy of Elizabeth Charlton (d.1594), wife of John Manners (figure 36.a-b), while the Manners monument itself is crowned by three heraldic shields (figure 35.b) like that originally on the Agard-Harrington monument (figure 29-30). In searching for an attribution for the Dublin (and indeed Exton) monument therefore the most obvious suggestion, and


227 J.H. Baker, ‘Keilwey, Robert (1496/7-1581)’, ODNB, OUP, 2004


229 John Nichols, The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester (1795), ii, part I, 47.


231 Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 431, note 21; Bond, Monuments of St George’s, no. 72.
indeed one of the most prominent sculptors specifically of the mid-1580s, is to the school of Garat Johnston. A comparison close in scale and detail to the Dublin monument, complete with open-topped pediment and heraldic shield, two supporting Corinthian black pillars, and faldstool drapery, attributed to Johnston, is to Roger Alford (d.1580 and wife in St Mary’s church, Hitcham, Buckinghamshire (figure 37).233 If the Dublin attribution is correct, it serves to re-emphasise the importance of artistic influences from the Netherlands, in this case mediated through London. The century concluded with two military monuments known only from documentary sources: one erected to Maurice Kyffin, ‘Comptroller of the Musters’ in Ireland, a Welsh soldier-poet praised for his ‘honesty and conscientiousness’ who died in 1598,234 of which nothing is known other than its apparent survival to the 1870s.235 The other was to Richard Bingham, president of Connaught, who died in 1599. Dineley described it: ‘On the south side ye Chore hangeth this Table with ye Arms and Inscrip~con following ...though the body lietth at Westminster England’.236 The Dublin monument was a ‘plain rectangular shaped wall plaque filled with two coats of arms and a lengthy inscription’ (figure 41.a-b), while the Westminster monument was a ‘plain tablet’.237 A long inscription refers to his military career in Ireland, Scotland, Brittany, France, the Netherlands and Turkey.238 Evidence of memorials at the cathedral in the early seventeenth century is fragmentary; only three deceased individuals are noted: Arthur Chichester (d.1606), the infant son of the eponymous lord deputy; Sir Josias Bodley (d. 1617) and Christopher Wandesford (d.1640). Little is known of the latter two memorials. Bodley, Director-General of the Fortifications and Buildings in Ireland, the highest ranking architect of his day, had a tablet where he was buried on 26 August.239 Wandesford, master of the rolls and lord deputy for under a year before dying, had a mural tablet with a framed inscription (figure 46).240 Uniquely for an Englishman, the Irish ‘sett up their lamentable hone’ at his

233 I am grateful to Jon Bayliss and Amy Harris for this example.
236 Tait, Death, burial and commemoration, 119 reproduces part of the inscription.
237 Harris, ‘Tombs of the new English’, 30; Trowles, Westminster abbey, 28 (no. 85), 35.
239 NLI MS 392, f. 35; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290.
240 NLI 392, f. 31; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 289.
funeral. On the other hand, the monument erected by Lord Deputy Arthur Chichester to his son was a stylistic leap far beyond any other contemporary Dublin or Irish monuments. It featured two flanking cherubs drawing apart curtains to reveal the deceased infant as sleeping (figure 43.a-b). This ‘canopy bed’ was common in the early seventeenth century, though not in sculptural form in England until the 1620s. Its presence on sculptures of 1613 in Valladolid, Spain, and c.1620 on a Jesuit façade in Antwerp, reflecting a more passionate style found in the Counter-Reformation. The motif of such canopy beds could be found in late sixteenth-century engravings by the van Doetecum brothers for example, while parted curtains were ubiquitous in views of tents, triumphal arches, heraldry, tapestry and altar pieces throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The motif of two, often angelic, figures parting curtains to reveal the deceased can be traced to Italy in the early fifteenth-century, such as monuments by Donatello to Cardinal Baldassare Coscia in Florence (figure 42.a), Nanni de Bartolo to Brenzoni in S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona (figure 42.b), and Antonio Bregno to Doge Francesco Foscari in Venice, and earlier to late thirteenth-century curial tombs. A precocious use of this motif was used by Maximillian Colt in England prior to the 1620s, for whom swathes of sculpted stone were something of a trademark, evident in monuments attributed to him such as Robert Chamberlayne (d.1615) in St Bartholomew the Great in London (where Colt’s daughter Abigail (d.1628/9) was buried, and Sir

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242 Harris, 'Tombs of the new English', 30. Betham's 'Monumenta Eblanae', 70 is a very poor copy.


246 Nalis et al., Van Doetecum family, i, no. 45; ii, 174/1; 183; 462; iii.,622/i-ii, 625/i-ii, 626/i-ii, 628/i-ii, 778/i, 779/i, 781/i, 783/i.


248 Loeber, 'Sculpted memorials', 274; Charles Seymour Jr, Sculpture in Italy 1400 to 1500 (Penguin, 1966), plates 26, 40 & 138; Bialostocki, Spätmittelalter und Beginnende Neuzeit, plate 271.


Anthony Mildmay and his wife in St Leonard’s, Apethorpe, Northamptonshire. The depiction of a child at Christ Church is also exceptional, and one of few similar tombs is Princess Sophia, daughter of James I in Westminster abbey (figure 44), erected for £140 in 1606, the year the infant Chichester died. Indeed the treatment of the cloth cover of both cradles is very similar. Colt was a Frenchman who arrived in England via Utrecht, rose to become the royal sculptor in 1608 and carved the tomb of Queen Elizabeth I. What’s more, the little documentary evidence of the monument, links the commission to the king: Chichester took leave of the king in London on 11 July 1614, and arrived in Howth on 26 July. In August, there was ‘a fair monument of Alabaster set up in the high Quire’ of the cathedral to his son. Erecting a sculpture eight years after the death of his only son and heir indicates that it was of great importance to him, and therefore can be expected to be an expensive and high quality piece. His recent audience with the king suggests the royal sculptor as one likely author. Finally, this also confirms the London manufacture of the monument and its transport to Ireland, and is another case of English-mediated continental influence on Ireland.

Later monuments appear to cluster around the time of Archbishop Jones’s restoration of the building in the mid 1610s. A memorial of the benefactions of Jones, renewed by Dean John Parry (1666–77) was ‘for a time preserved by a writing on the Walls of Christ-Church, since defaced’. Another was to Sir John Denham, chief justice of the King’s Bench, marking the height of his career as a brief lord justice in 1616 (figure 45). It consisted of a framed inscription, like Wandesford’s, and was one of those ‘obliterated and obscur’d’ by post-Restoration refurbishments. He was the first member of the judiciary to have a monument since Thomas Plunkett c.1515, and his status as lord justice reflects the close ties between the church, state and judiciary, as well as denoting the visible shift in the dominance of the profession from the Old to the New English. A memorial to Oliver St John, of probably similar type, was positioned ‘Over the Quire

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251 White, ‘Biographical dictionary’, 31-2; Kemp, English church monuments, 91.  
252 Loeber, ‘Sculpted memorials’, 274.  
254 Amy Harris, ‘The funeral monuments of Ireland, 1560-1660 AD’ (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 2005), has suggested William Wright, but he would not have been held in nearly as high esteem as Colt (White, ‘Biographical dictionary’, 29-30, 144).  
256 Ware, Works, 3, 355 noted by Bell, Essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, 149.  
257 Ball, Judges, 3, 526.  
Door of this Church', and noted his installation as lord deputy at the cathedral whereby he 'tooke the sword of State and Government of this Kingdom into his hands august 30 1616. The St John family invested heavily in monuments and had a wooden triptych of their family tree erected in 1615-16 in their Wiltshire church, much like Wentworth's later pedigree erected in the cathedral.

An explanation is required, however, as to how a number of simple ledger slabs surviving in a broken and disarrayed collection in the north transept, clearly ex-situ, relate to this early seventeenth-century panoply of statesmen and nobility. These include slabs to Edward and Margery Gough (Goffe) (1607), Richard Browne and his wife (1615), two unidentified slabs, one to William Wood (1650), to which can be added the documented tomb slab of Colonel Robert Hill. The answer is that they appear to have been moved there from the Lady chapel in the 1830s. The presence of Richard Browne’s monument in the north transept proves the move, as Dineley noted c.1680 that 'St. Mary’s Chappell, Christchurch, hath a fair Tombestone of Richard Brown sheriff of Dublin'. Hill’s tomb was notable for the fact that Alderman Mark Quin, a former lord mayor (1667-8), cut his throat on it in the Lady chapel on Friday 13 November 1674 between 9 and 10 in the morning, which at the very least gives a terminus ante quem for the creation of the tomb as probably pre-Restoration. The tomb to William Wood is the only tomb known from the Commonwealth period and, appropriately for the egalitarian times, is the only monument to a servant of the cathedral (figure 47). Employed by the cathedral from at least 1645 he was buried ‘with his four daughters who deceased in the year 1650', probably from the plague that swept through Dublin that summer.

259 NLI MS 392, f. 25; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 284-5.
260 Borlase, Reduccion of Ireland, 210; NLI MS 392, f. 25; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 284-6.
261 Llewellyn, ‘Claims to status through visual codes’, 146.
262 See chapter vi, 263.
263 NLI MS 392, f. 36; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290.
264 The verdict of the jury who held an inquest upon the death of Ald. Mark Quinn, when he cut his throat in St Mary’s Chapel, 13 Nov. 1674.’ (RCB C6/1/26/14/33); Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont (2 vols, London, 1905-9), ii, 35. NLI MS 392, f. 26, while f. 59 notes ‘Mark Quinne’ as lord mayor in MDCLXVII (1667) in a lesser known list of mayors. See also Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290, 293, note 1; Raymond Gillespie, ‘Rev. Dr John Yarner’s notebook: religion in Restoration Dublin’ in Archivium Hibernicum, li (1998), 30-41. A monument to Quin’s grandson, Chief Justice William Whitshed, whom Swift lampooned (Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 293), survives in storage at Christ Church.
265 Fitzgerald 1908, 298 & 309.
266 Gillespie, ‘Crisis of reform’, 208. Harris, ‘Tombs of the new English’, 32. King, ‘Memorial brasses’, 113-14 suggests an indent in the slab may have held a brass, but Derrick Chivers informs me that the space is too shallow and neither is there any sign of rivets to hold such a brass in place.
Of the four substantial floor slabs surviving, two are unidentified, but both are of similar dimensions to the Gough and Browne slabs. The slab to Edward and Margery Gough dates to 1608 and has a mostly legible inscription, a motto, a skull and crossbones and the Gough arms (figure 48.a), displaying the initials E.G. on the undamaged dexter half of the shield (figure 49.a). Edward was the son of Alderman Patrick Gough of Dublin, who leased a cellar in the crypt in 1570. The family were almost certainly Catholics highlighting the difficulty in reconciling these merchant tombs alongside the ruling class. The tomb slab of Richard Browne and his wife, dated 1615, originally in the Lady chapel, is similar in style and survives in the best condition of the four. A full inscription notes that ‘his wife Margret Staples’ commissioned the monument for their posterity, which includes their initials ‘R.B.’ and ‘M.S.’ (figure 49.b), monograms: ‘I.H.S.’, ‘ECCE’ and ‘HOMO’, the same crudely carved skull and cross bones, and a cross with a calvary stepped base (figure 48.b). Brown was sheriff of Dublin in 1605 and as suggested by the religious symbols on his tomb, like Gough, was probably a Catholic. If these slabs were all from the Lady chapel, it may have functioned as a form of Catholic enclave to continue an older burial tradition, particularly given civic associations there from 1314, and at the very least indicate a continuity in contemporary Dublin sculpting. What appears to be the most plausible explanation for the presence of at least Browne’s tomb, is that he was never buried in Christ Church in the first place. A funeral entry records ‘Richard Browne sometime Shiriffe of Dublin deceased ye vith of July 1615. [in a different hand] buried in St. John’s’, and illustrates the same shield as the monument: a two-headed bird on the dexter side for Browne and triangularly splayed daggers on the sinister side for Staples (figure 49.b), although the manuscript gives Norton. This monument’s migration to the Lady chapel between 1615 and 1674 may be due to the restoration of St John’s in the 1630s under its prebendary, John Atherton, an excellent administrator who was also sub-dean of the cathedral and its proctor (1633-5). The St...
John's accounts note payment to '3 Massons for laying the tyles & removing the great stonnes in the Chancell' of St John's church in 1635-6. As a sheriff, Browne could be expected to take pride of place in St John's chancel. Rather than disposing of the tomb slabs (stone was a valuable commodity, especially if substantial and decorated), and given that relatives may have still been associated with the parish, the restorers of St John’s, facilitated by Atherton, may have resolved to move the 'great stonnes' to the Lady chapel across the narrow laneway, thus accounting for the presence of Browne's tomb, perhaps others, at Christ Church. Ironically, these simple monuments to Catholic merchants outlived the more elaborate memorials to contemporary governing Protestants.

Atherton provides a good example of clergy-led intervention to the fabric, but during this period the cathedral was chiefly moulded by the state through particular lord deputies, a point not clearly articulated before. The motivating factor for refurbishment in two cases was a desire to keep abreast of fashion, but in another, was forced by necessity. As a chapel of the state, many of those undertaking the more significant building alterations were doing so effectively as agents of the crown. A rarely specified hierarchy existed which as a chapel attended by the chief governor, ran from the level of lord deputies and lords justice, to senior cathedral clergy, to the overseer of works, to the craftsmen. The Renaissance term architect appears not to have been used, yet the transition to more sophisticated architecture becomes evident.

The three restorations noted in the Tudor, Stuart and Carolean periods under governors Radcliffe-Sidney, Archbishop Jones and Wentworth respectively are now examined, but it is worth first setting the scene of the contemporary Dublin architectural milieu with which the cathedral had close contact through its property holdings, congregation and state links. William Foster is one such over looked connection. Listed in 1563 as a Dublin merchant, he leased a crypt ‘syller in the Weyn tavern street’, along with St Nicholas’s chapel above it, but appears also to have been the William Foster who was paid substantial amounts of money in 1566-8, for 'having charge of the building of Dublin Castle'. Similarly, Jacques Wingfeld, with whom Foster worked on Sidney's refurbishment of the castle, was described as 'Master of H.M. Ordnance' in a cathedral lease of land in Stillorgan in 1578. Pertinent to the involvement of members of the

275 Gillespie, St John’s, 100.
276 PA 1564-5, 19; Deeds 1286, 1353.
277 C.L. Kingsford (ed.), Report on the manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place, i (London: HMC, 1925), 364-440, at 398-9, 402, 404-5. See also DCA, MS 82, ff 33-4.
278 Deeds, 1348. See also Cal Carew Mss, 1515-1574, 279.
Irish royal works with the cathedral, was Randal Beckett, Commonwealth overseer of the public (as opposed to royal) works (1653-60), who held a crypt cellar in 1665. Similarly, John Westley, who practised as an examiner with rooms under the court of Chancery in the old cathedral cloister, was a gentleman-architect, who may have had access to the drawing collection of his father-in-law, John Webb, partly inherited from Inigo Jones. Webb’s reference to Westley’s daughter in his 1672 will shows the family were close. Not all connections with architects were through property. Thomas Roper, first Viscount Baltinglass, regarded as Ireland’s first gentleman-architect after a military career in the Low Countries, France and Portugal, was son-in-law of Henry Harrington, both of whom were knighted in the cathedral. He attended St John’s church north of the cathedral, and in 1627-8, paid for his child’s burial in the cathedral, shortly afterwards paying ‘for breaking the ground in the Mary Chappell’. Requirement for raw materials also introduced the cathedral to foreign influences. Alderman Thomas Fitzsimon leased a cellar ‘in consideration of a gift of white Flanders stone to repair the pillars or “jawmes” of the church’ in 1562. These associations therefore suggest a great number of personal contacts by which new architectural ideas could arrive.

Career details of three cathedral overseers or builders: Peter Lewis and Humphrey Farnham from England, and James Browne from the Low Countries, provide direct evidence of the transmission of these cultural and ecclesiastical innovations to Ireland. The names of cathedral craftsmen or tenants or both also show a variety of nationalities, each influencing both the style and standard of the work. From the continent, there was a smith, Thomas known in 1564-5 as the ‘frenchman’. James Vanderbeck, a goldsmith and ‘native of Lower Germany’ that is the Netherlands, became a denizen in 1639, and built and leased a house in the old cathedral dormitory in 1630. Other names were English such as carpenter, Nicholas Lynsyse [Lindsay] in 1564-5, or the smith, John Mylles of Dublin, who contributed to the steeple’s repair in 1591, and perhaps Nicholas

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279 Doods 1600, 1703; Loeber, Dictionary, 19-20, [116].
280 Doods 1676.
282 Appendix 5.
283 PA 1627-8, 1629-30; Loeber, Dictionary, 97-9.
284 Doods 1284.
285 PA 1654-5, 24, 31, and under index entries.
286 Shaw, Letters of denization, 336 citing Patent Roll, 14, Car. I, 4th part, f.m.56; CAB, 157; Boydell, Music before 1800, p. 65, no. 47, mentioned again in 1632 (Doods, 1509).
287 William Arthur, An etymological dictionary of family and Christian names with an essay on their derivation and import (New York, 1857) notes it as from Essex, but better known from its widespread Scottish distribution.
Daniell, a tenant and glazier /1604-8. Maintenance seems to have been done by those with Irish names: John Ketmg [Keating], Tady Convey and John Brenagh all worked for Lewis in 1564-5. The carpenter employed to set up a new five bay roof over the chancel or choir was a Richard Enos (a name possibly deriving from the town of Ennis). These men also provided continuity to building maintenance allowing the training of apprentices. One helier or tiler, Dermot Cooley or Cowley was discharged in 1626 after working on the cathedral for 37 years. Locked in learned trades, craftsmen rather than overseers or architects were therefore the perpetuaters of 'gothic survival'. Methods of employment at Christ Church also followed medieval tradition, referred to as 'task work', that is payment was received on completion of the task. The term was used for glazing work on the south choir aisle in 1565 and at Dublin castle in 1567 when Wingfeld was paid £260 for 'certain task work', giving some insight into Dublin employment practice for building projects.

One of the biggest such projects must have been the rebuilding work after the collapse of the south wall and nave roof in 1562. The origin of the collapse has been attributed to the vault weight rotating the nave walls outwards, for which the north wall still provides evidence. Although the extant truncated stone springers may have continued upwards as timber, a wooden vault is unlikely to have been sufficiently heavy to push the north wall out of plumb or strong enough to have supported the weight of slates stored by masons on the south transept vault in 1565. Another explanation often mooted is that of unsound boggy foundations, but this appears to be a misinterpretation of peat-like

288 PA 1564-5, 42, Deeds 1395, 1419.
290 Gillespie, Thomas Howell and his friends, 21 gives him as Quilly Dermot, but the reverse name order seems more likely. RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 5; CAB, 149, footnote 182 notes he worked on other churches in Dublin such as St Werburgh's. Gillespie, Thomas Howell, 26, note 80 citing RCB C6/1/26/3, no. 28 shows that payments continuing to Cooley until at least 1640. RCB C6/1/15/1, no. 13 lists his apprentices.
292 Shelby, 'Master mason in English building', 397; see also Fenlon, 'Early seventeenth-century building accounts', 88.
293 PA 1564-5, 48 (3 January 1565); C.L. Kingsford (ed.), Report on the manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place, i (London: HMC, 1925), 'xi- Irish accounts', 364-440, at 402.
294 PA 1564-5, 93-4. Stalley, '1562 collapse', 218, note 1 highlights that the question of whether the nave vault was wooden or stone is still unconfirmed. M.F. Hearn & Malcolm Thurlby, 'Previously undetected wooden ribbed vaults in medieval Britain', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, cl (1997), 48-58, plates xii-xvii lists a number of reassessed examples, but did not include Christ Church.
295 PA 1564-5, 93-4, noted by Stalley, '1562 collapse of the nave and its aftermath', 223 refers to the southern vault of the transept prior to the tower being rebuilt in the early seventeenth century.
Viking occupation layers, and crypt excavations have confirmed that the cathedral is built directly on boulder clay. A more practical explanation has been overlooked. The Trinity guild had burial rights within the south aisle; in 1485, no one was allowed to be interred there without guild permission. A direct comparison of the north wall with the rebuilt south wall shows that the main damage from the 1562 collapse was limited to the eastern portion (figures 5 & 6). As guild members are likely to have shared the universal preference for burial close to the eastern altar, it is plausible that ill-advised burials detrimental to the stability of the south wall foundations contributed to its collapse.

The 1560s cathedral rebuilding, halfway between those of the Anglo-Normans and the Victorians, was unfortunately also half as competent. The lack of symmetry of the south wall and its design, if any (figure 5), was clearly due to necessity and haste rather than an attempt to emulate its stately northern counterpart (plate 12, 22, 27, 51, 58 & 71), if indeed this would have been possible at the time. Such haste is recorded in a monument commemorating the wall’s rebuilding that states that it was rebuilt in one year, 1562, attributing the work to Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex. The first chief governor to so visibly assist the cathedral, the collapse dramatically accelerated a process of state intervention begun prior to the Reformation. Additional portions of the text discovered may refer to Dean Lockwood, while two nineteenth-century observers noted another text: ‘W®H MÄSÖ’, which may represent craftsmen involved in rebuilding work. The standard of architecture was poor; one author viewed the wall as ‘graceless pieces of masonry’, but marked it out as ‘the only substantial piece of Elizabethan work in any

297 See chapter iii, pp 85-6.
298 Walter Fitzgerald, ‘Dublin: Christ Church Cathedral’, *Journal of the Memorials of the Dead of Ireland*, vii (1908 [1907-9]), 297-310, at 298 is the most accurate published rendering of the text of the monument.
300 Thomas Bell, *An essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture ...* (Dublin, 1829), 137-50, at 144 and ‘Antiquities: Christ Church Cathedral’, *Dublin Builder* (1 April 1859), 38-9.
301 W.H. Rylands compares it with ‘Heindricks or Henrick of Flanders, the foreman employed at the building of the first Royal Exchange in London, by Sir Thomas Gresham, 1566-1570’ (Berry, ‘Sir Peter Lewys: ecclesiastic, cathedral and bridge builder’, 20, 22).
British cathedral. The only stylistic clues are the crossing pillars and the open arches on the nave south side whose plain moulded bases and imposts duplicate in simplified architectural language the octagonal piers of the early English nave arcade, although some of this work may date to the 1610s. In either case, octagonal piers were consistent with ecclesiastical buildings, viz. the late medieval western towers of King's College, Cambridge and the internal pillars of St Columb's cathedral, Derry (1628) or St John's, Leeds in 1632-3. If there was any decoration, such as the classical fluting painted on the plain octagonal pillars of Kedington church in Suffolk, no evidence survives.

The man responsible for the rebuilding work was Peter Lewis, appointed precentor of Christ Church 1561. He came to Ireland with Sir Anthony St Leger from his household in Leeds castle, Kent. Berry suggested he may have been an unemployed English monk after the dissolution of the monasteries. A Latin variant of name, Ludovicke, noted as vicar of St Catherine's, may allude to this. Although ordained, Lewis's chief talents lay in administration and particularly construction, a reputation for which he acquired in Ireland. There is no evidence as to who began the building work just over two months after the collapse, but Lewis is the most likely individual. His richly detailed accounts of rebuilding work in 1564-5 while proctor are the fullest extant sources for building work in sixteenth-century Ireland. He was also involved in the rebuilding of the castles of Limerick, Carlingford in Louth, Greencastle in Down, as well as unspecified works in Drogheda. His speciality was bridge building, being responsible for those in Ballinasloe.

304 Berry, 'Sir Peter Lewys, ecclesiastical, cathedral and bridge builder', 6.
305 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 177.
307 Berry, 'Sir Peter Lewys, ecclesiastical, cathedral and bridge builder', 21.
308 James Ware, The antiquities and history of Ireland (London, 1705), 6.
309 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), The proctor's accounts of Peter Lewis 1565-1565 (Dublin: FCP, 1996) from TCD MS 575, based on transcript by James Mills prior to 1896 (National Archives of Ireland, MS M 6141) and an unpublished edition in Michael Ashworth, 'The journal of Sir Peter Lewis, 1564-5' (B.A. thesis, Department of Medieval History, Trinity College Dublin, 1984).
and Carlow and two nine-arch bridges, one in Athlone, built in one year, 1567,\(^{310}\) the other at Kilmainham.\(^{311}\) Lewis, who was steward of the Sidney household from 1569, was clearly an experienced Elizabethan builder. The entablatured monument complete with scallop-surmounted niche erected by him on Athlone bridge illustrated in Thomas Phillips’ 1685 prospect, also demonstrates his familiarity with a classical vocabulary, yet there is no evidence that Lewis introduced such language at the cathedral.\(^{312}\)

As proctor, accounting for finance was his prime concern, but Lewis also took some responsibility for raising funds. His accounts show a wide variety of donors from a remarkable cross-section of Dublin society including William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of wars.\(^{313}\) With the nave south wall reconstructed, his work covered minor repairs to the choir and the roofing of the nave, whose timber beamed roof reused some salvaged old roof timbers,\(^{314}\) and survived until the 1870s (plate 51, 54, 56-8). Repairs continued between 1569-72,\(^{315}\) but two leases of 1573 and 1574 each contributing 4000 slates,\(^{316}\) suggest that if ‘the major task of re-roofing was over by 1565’ these were either leases made long after the slates were given, or that work on the roof was ongoing in the early 1570s.\(^{317}\) The main problem was the risk of the tower collapsing; in 1562, the dean and chapter were concerned that property might be damaged ‘by reason of the church walls or steeple bruising or knocking them’.\(^{318}\) Surviving evidence notes Lewis’s process of shoring it up. He was particularly proud of reinforcement of the crypt north crossing arch by candlelight, bringing ‘all the corrystores to see the making of the fondacion’, each bringing a stone, although it jars with the contemporary readers that he ‘bett them all that they myght ber in remembrance of the makyng of the work’.\(^{319}\)

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310 Gillespie, ‘Introduction’ in \(PA\) 1564-5, 12-13; Bradley, ‘Sidney’s bridge at Athlone’, 190-2.
311 Berry, ‘Sir Peter Lewys, ecclesiastic, cathedral and bridge builder’, 13; Bradley, ‘Sidney’s bridge at Athlone’, 190-2; Harris, \(Dublin\), 319; W.G. Strickland, ‘Oil picture, a view of Dublin, 1690’, \(R.S.A.I.\) [ir], liv (1926), 92-4; Frederick O’Dwyer & Vivien Igoe, ‘Early views of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham’, \(Irish\) \(Arts\) \(Review\) \(Yearbook\), 17 (2001), 78-106, at 84 incorrectly refer to the bridge being replaced by Phillip rather than Henry Sidney. Strickland, ‘Oil picture, a view of Dublin, 1690’, opp. 92, and Crookshank and Glin, \(The\) \(painters\) \(of\) \(Ireland\) c.1660-1920 (London, 1978), 31 [2002, 65] illustrating an early oil painting by Thomas Bate, c.1695. The bridge was lost in a flood in 1787.
312 Bradley, ‘Sidney’s bridge at Athlone’, 178.
313 \(PA\) 1564-5, 22.
314 \(PA\) 1564-5, 65. Christopher Kitching, ‘Re-roofing old St Paul’s cathedral, 1561-66’, \(London\) \(Journal\), 12 (1980), 123-33, at 124 notes a similar situation; when lightning struck St Paul’s, a ‘mayoral proclamation was needed to appeal to looters to restore goods in the panic of the fire from houses near the cathedral’.
315 Deeds 1311; 1317; 1318, 1325; Margaret Griffith, \(Calendar\) \(of\) \(inquisitions\) \(formerly\) \(in\) \(the\) \(office\) \(of\) \(the\) \(chief\) \(remembrancer\) \(of\) \(the\) \(exchequer\) (Dublin: IMC, 1991), 204-12, at 212.
316 Deeds, 1326; 1338.
318 Deeds 1284 (6 December 1562).
319 \(PA\) 1564-5, 75. Probably ‘testor’, an Irish shilling ‘worth 5½d. or 5 1/3d. depending on the scale of the payment’ (Gillespie, \(Proctor’s\) \(accounts\) \(of\) \(Peter\) \(Lewis\), 17).
architectural space noticeably diminished after the collapse, rendered more so by the blocking or reinforcement of arches near the tower. The archways to the north transept from the north nave and choir aisles were reduced in size at this time (plate 52-4, 87), and the 1577 monument to Henry Sidney (figure 16.b) erected on the eastern arch (plate 63) confirms their reinforcement as prior to this date. The arch from the south nave aisle to the transept was blocked up completely (plate 53). With the building of a bare and unarcaded south nave wall, a four-bay room was formed in its eastern portion which also rendered redundant any surviving fragments of the cloister alley doorways.

Having seen the initial work on the nave rebuilding complete, Thomas Lockwood, dean for 22 years, died in 1565. His replacement, John Garvey, would remain dean, for most of the Elizabethan period, acquiring episcopal positions at Kilmore in 1585 and Armagh in 1595.320 A good administrator and conscientious restorer of monuments and churches including Armagh cathedral,321 he must have welcomed state intervention given the cathedral's condition, and this was forthcoming from another figure appointed that year, Lord Deputy Henry Sidney. As Radcliffe’s brother-in-law and under-treasurer, who effectively alternated with him as a second in command in his absence, he was well apprised of the situation.322 Initial interventions both liturgical and decorative were in the choir. Sidney’s chaplain was the evangelical, Christopher Goodman, whose brief term in Autumn 1566 almost succeeded in bringing John Knox to Ireland.323 He had much in common with the zealous Archbishop Loftus, appointed in 1567, who intended to bring Ireland into line with the reformed churches of ‘Germany, Savoy, and Scotland’.324 At St Patrick’s, Loftus moved the altar nearer the pulpit,325 ostensibly due to overcrowding,326 but a case brought against him in 1568 by the chapters of both Christ Church and St Patrick’s, suggests that such innovations were not welcomed by either cathedral.327

325 Loftus to Cecil, 25 Jan 1568 (PRO SP63/23/18), transcribed by Professor Raymond Gillespie. I am grateful to Michael O’Neill for this reference.
327 BL, Add. 21152, f. 2. See also Michael O’Neill, ‘Architecture: from the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century’ in John Crawford & Raymond Gillespie (ed.), A history of St Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin
Sidney’s own interventions marked a new departure in self-aggrandisement and colonial propaganda, for which he became well known.\(^{328}\) In his restoration of the medieval, encouragement of the classical, and general refurbishments, he associated himself with Renaissance sophistication; aspects of all of which are reflected in Campion’s 1571 description of his work at the cathedral:

> Strongbowes tumbe, spoiled by fall of the rouffe, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputie, restoreth at this present, who hath also given a sightly countenance to the quyer by doing cost upon the Erle of Kildares chapell, over agaynst the which he hath left a monument of Captayne Randolfe, late coronel of Ulster.\(^{329}\)

Through his refurbishment of the chantry of Gearóid Mór Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Kildare, one of the most prominent and popular recent deputies, and the restoration of the tomb of Strongbow, the first colonial governor, Sidney also associated himself with distinctive governors. The restoration of the Strongbow tomb was a long process for which Peter Lewis was paid £104 17s. in 1576,\(^{330}\) presumably to obtain the replacement that the present fourteenth-century monument represents.\(^{331}\) The amount paid and a mural tablet surviving in the south aisle recording Sidney’s involvement in re-erecting the tomb (figure 23), demonstrate its importance to him.\(^{332}\) Beside the tomb was placed a smaller tomb of late thirteenth or early-fourteenth century date (figure 24).\(^{333}\) An implausible story inscribed on a brass on this smaller companion suggests that the monument’s truncated nature represented a wound inflicted by Strongbow on his son (figure 25).\(^{334}\) Of unclear origin, this story has been recounted innumerable times, often

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\(^{329}\) Edmund Campion, ‘Historie of Ireland’ in James Ware (ed.), *The Historie qfIreland, collected by three learned authors viz. Meredith Hanmer Doctor in Divinite: Edmund Campion sometime fellow of 31 John’s Collage in Oxford: and Edmund Spencer Esq.* (Dublin: Printed for the Societie of Stationers, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1633), bk 2, cap. iii, p. 78 [1809 ed. in 2 vols., ii, 114].


\(^{332}\) For the monument’s date, see chapter iii, pp 115-16.


\(^{334}\) Anthony Sinnott, ‘[History of Strongbow]’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, lxxxi, 1 (January 1801), 19-20, at 20 is the sole source for the inscription being on a brass. The story is translated from Latin in Hanmer, *Chronicle of Ireland*, 147; McVitie, *Details*, 86 and by Canon Leeper in Finlayson, *Inscriptions*, 93.
unquestioningly, since first written by Stanihurst in 1584, but is not known before this date, and appears to be fictitious. The dean and chapter can hardly have approved of the inscription, and it may well have begun as a joke. Nevertheless, like an early modern colonial equivalent of a medieval relic, for visitors, it only enhanced the reputation of Strongbow, the English and hence, its restorer, Sidney.

No note of Sidney’s dramatic embellishment of the choir with the arms of knights of the order of the Garter336 is made by Campion, or indeed the order’s historians.337 The Garter knights are associated with St George through the Windsor chapel, and so the establishment of a similar Irish chapel is a clear invocation of England’s patron saint. The promotion of knightly arms was a deliberate revival of the medieval, acknowledging the feudal crown, and is similar to the only other competing chivalric order, the French knights of the Golden Fleece (instituted in 1445), who display their thirty-four arms on either side of the choir of St Bavo’s cathedral, Ghent.358 The order continues to have medieval associations, and even in 1675-84, the remodelling of Windsor castle by Hugh May retained Gothic elements to emphasise the medieval.339 The eighth earl of Kildare may also have been recalled; a brotherhood of St George established by Edward IV in 1466 effectively became his private army until abolished by parliament in 1494.340 Garter knights were regarded as ‘of equal rank, be they peers or commoners,’341 so it must have added greatly to Sidney’s prestige, to say nothing of stoking his ego, to be invested in 1564 (figures 15.a-b), not only with Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford, but with Charles, king of France. With the investiture of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximillian II in 1567, Sidney was placed in the highest echelons of European aristocracy,342 which that year included three monarchs, four dukes, two marquises, ten earls, one viscount

336 ‘Roll of Knights of the Garter, as set up in Christ Church, Dublin, Sir Henry Sydney being Lord Deputy of Ireland; 1567’ (BL, Egerton MS 2642, (No. 26) f. 281-2 [was f. 261-2]), noted by C.L. Falkiner, ‘The parliament of Ireland under the Tudor sovereigns: with some notices of the speakers of the Irish House of Commons’, R.I.A. Proc., xxv C (1904-5), 508-66, at 556. The list follows directly after a ‘Roll of Knights of the Garter, as set up at Windsor: 1528’ ((No. 27) f. 280v [was f. 260v]).
and four lords. The manuscript recording the plates to the Garter knights at Christ Church was compiled by Sidney's chaplain, Robert Commaundre, who as a recognised expert in heraldry, may have advised on the project. So may have Nicholas Narbon, Ulster king of arms and highest ranking herald in Ireland from 1566 to 1588, who accompanied Sidney on a tour around Ireland in 1569. Unfortunately, little is known about what the stall plates would have looked like. For whatever reason, the arms of the Garter knights are not depicted on the stalls drawn in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’, a fact which continues to raise questions as to the illustration’s identity. Garter stall plates at Windsor still remain, and a representative example is Sidney’s plate measuring 21 cm by 16.5 cm (figure 16.a). It seems unlikely these arms would have been made in Ireland; the surviving rectangular brasses found in St Patrick’s cathedral to Deans Robert Sutton (1528) and Geoffrey Fyche (1537) came from a London school, and the only other rectangular brass of the period was of a Canon Robert Honywode (1522) of St George’s chapel Windsor. While certainly possible for other English workshops to have produced the brasses, a London school supplying the regular requirements of the Garter chapel at Windsor is a more likely source for similar Garter plates. Sidney’s promotion of Christ Church as a Dublin Garter chapel must also be seen in the context of the 1567 statement by Queen Elizabeth that the Garter feast need not be held at Windsor, and it is possible that Sidney sought to entice the ‘virgin queen’ on a royal visitation to Ireland.

In contrast to the plush heraldic veneer of the refitted interior, in 1575, the cathedral was reported to be ‘in great ruin and decay’. Sidney appears to have ordered the dismantling

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347 I am grateful to Enid Davies, Assistant Archivist, St George’s, Windsor for these measurements.
348 Norris, Monumental brasses, 168.
of the tower probably in 1577-8 before his recall in September 1578. By 1580, the city was 'helpinge the building of the steaple of the said church nowe abringing downe', a lengthy process. Work on the tower would stretch from the 1560s to the 1610s in an eventful and disheartening cycle of rebuilding and collapse. Three attempts were made in total: 1583-8, 1588-97 and 1611-18. A c.1575 woodcut therefore may record the tower as it was originally rebuilt c.1330 (plate 1), and shows a continuity of design correctly depicting the tower's southwest stairwell corner as larger. Another precentor and proctor, James Walshe, known in 1580 as ‘M[ast]re of churche workes’, continued work on the tower and, in 1586, on 'ye body of ye Churche'. Commissioned to collect funds for the work, he was so 'occupied in superintending the artificers and masons', that a vicar choral, Peter Calf, was appointed in 1583 instead, 'all donors being requested to write in his book their names and the amount of their contributions'. In 1584, Archbishop Loftus described the cathedral as 'altogether ruinous and decayed', but contributions towards the 'reparacon of the decaied steple' continued from leases, and fines of vicars choral who did not 'kepe house and Comons'. Progress was meagre; Walsh quit the realm without the Queen's licence in 1587, and in September 1588, 'the left of the steeple cracked' bringing Dean Garvey's sermon to a dramatic conclusion after which the 'steeple was obliged to be taken down'. A second attempt was made, and further gifts of donations, labour, and timber were gladly accepted, but the necessary focus may have been difficult to maintain under an ageing dean and varying lord deputies. Jonas

532 CARD, ii, 146; CAB, 35-6, CARD, ii, 165-8, 169-70, at 168.
533 John Derricke, The image of Ireland with a discoverie of woodkarne (1581, repr. Edinburgh 1883), plate 6, and from the Edinburgh edition, reproduced in CARD, ii, plate II.
534 CAB, 36, 53-4.
535 Gilbert, Dublin, i, 114, and 432 which refers to it as 'Commissio Concessa a Decano et Capitule S. Trin. Petro Calf, pro colligendis eleemosynis Fidelium in usum fabricæ ecclesiarum sui vetustate collapsae et pene dirute', which is most likely the same document as 'An account of the contribution in money, gold rings etc for the making of ye Hede of ye Stepyll of ffuture of Christe Chorche' etc with the benefactors names'. (RCB C6/1/26/2/3-4). See also Deeds, 454. For reservations concerning Gilbert's scholarship see Toby Barnard, 'Sir John Gilbert and Irish historiography' in Mary Clark, Yvonne Desmond & Nodlaig P. Hardiman (ed.), Sir John T. Gilbert 1829-1898: historian, archivist and librarian. Papers and letters delivered during the centenary year, 1998 (Dublin: FCP in association with Dublin Corporation Public Libraries and Dublin City Archives, 1999), 92-110.
536 PRO SP 63/110/33 cited in Gillespie 'Shaping of reform', 180. The relevant calendar entry seems to be Cal. S. P. Irr. 1574-85, 529, from which the letter can be dated between 4 and 7 October 1584.
538 CAB, S6 reproduced in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 55, and PA 1589.
539 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 1151.
540 TCD MS 10529, sub anno 1588; PA 1589; Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 29-31.
541 PA 1589; Deeds, 1392, 1395, 1417; CAB, 67-8; CARD, ii, 220-1; Deeds, 1405.
Wheeler succeeded Garvey as dean in 1595, but any momentum this may have had in moving along the tower project was thwarted by the unexpected explosion of 144 barrels of gun powder on 11 March 1597 at Wood Quay killing 126 people, an estimated 1% of the city's population. If the end of the medieval period for the cathedral was physically marked in 1562, then for the city, it was 1597. The explosion destroyed 'upwards of fifty houses', damage extending as far as High Street and Dublin castle, estimated at £14,000, and still visible in the streetscape gaps of Speed's map surveyed in March 1606. The cathedral fabric was also affected, described in 1603 as having 'fallen into great dilapidations by reason of a mischance in firing of powder'. Furthermore, the cathedral had to be reroofed in 1597-8 the attachment of '33000 of slades' to '3000 lath' using '5000 pinnes' and accounting for the largest payments that year.

So by the early seventeenth century, the fabric of the cathedral required substantial renewal to resolve long-standing problems, restoration work which appears to have taken place between 1611 and 1618. Ironically, a parliamentary act passed in 1611 failed to find Christ Church sufficiently ruinous to restore, categorising it amongst cathedrals 'standing and not ruined' in the larger Anglicised cities. Some restoration work took place in 1613-14, but the main work was probably carried out after 1615 when a House of Commons committee was established, reversing the previous policy, to see how funding for Christ Church might be raised. These essential structural repairs, rather than decorative restoration, were proprietorially undertaken by Archbishop Thomas Jones (1605-19) who 'repaired ... a great part of Christ-Church, which fell in his time' (the first archbishop to be credited since John de St Paul), as well as 'the Steeple, being decayed, and ready to fall, on which he placed three Fans or Weather Cocks'.

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363 'Contemporary Accounts of explosion of gunpowder at Dublin, on 11th of March 1596/7', CARD, ii, 561-7, at 574, appendix V. Colm Lennon, 'The great explosion in Dublin, 1597', D.H.R., xlii, 1 (December 1988), 7-20, abbreviated in Colm Lennon, 'Dublin's great explosion of 1597', History Ireland, iii, 3 (Autumn 1995), 29-34. See also Gilbert, Dublin, i, 'Old Law Courts'.
367 Stat Pap Ire, 1603-6, p. 99, and RCB C6/1/26/1, ff 19, 23.
368 CAB, 103, PA 1597-8.
369 RCB C6/1/26/12, no. 1; Gillespie, 'Shaping of reform', 191.
372 James Ware, The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved ..., ed. Walter Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1764), i, 355, paraphrased Gilbert, Dublin, i, 116, and noted by Thomas Bell, An essay on the
was also lord chancellor, but his powers of patronage were at their height between 1613 and 1615 when he was twice lord justice in the absence of the lord deputy.\textsuperscript{73} He was assisted by the competent administration of Dean Wheeler (1595-1618), who took a significant part in the ‘repair or embellishment of the Church’,\textsuperscript{74} and although appointed bishop of Ossory in 1613, remained dean until 1618 when the work appears to have concluded.\textsuperscript{375} Brereton’s description of the choir as ‘but plain, and ordinarily kept’, suggests that the restoration was without frills and of Puritan aesthetic.

Humphrey Farnham was almost certainly the main contractor for the Jones and Wheeler restoration. Presumably a relative of Humphrey Farnham (1558-1619/20) of Nether Hall near Leicester,\textsuperscript{376} similar to John Westley he acquired an Irish ‘office of Summonister of the Exchequer’ in 1615, the first reference to him in Ireland. In 1622, ‘Humphry Farnham of Dublin’ was granted the wardships of Thomas Delahoid and James Peirce, probably as apprentices, while he last appears as a commissioner for escheated lands in Cavan in 1623.\textsuperscript{377} Farnham’s significance on the Dublin building scene is far more substantial than previously realised, second only to Samuel Molyneux, the clerk of the Irish royal works. Although buried in Christ Church, no Dublin works are known by the director general, Josias Bodley, while contributions from the second clerk of works, Tristam Gawen, and comptroller of works, Francis Annesley, Viscount Valentia (whose wife had a cathedral pew), appear to have been minimal.\textsuperscript{378} Farnham’s 1621 petition seeking payment for his Christ Church work is clearly sought from the lord deputy,\textsuperscript{379} and his entree to working for the crown was probably due to his early collaboration with Molyneux on the Bridewell jail in 1616. The cathedral job may have resulted from Molyneux’s contacts having converted the old cathedral priory buildings into the law

\textsuperscript{374} TCD MS 10529, sub anno 1615.
\textsuperscript{375} Leslie, ‘Fasti’, 61; Leslie, Osso\-ry clergy, 16; Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 1169. See also Mervyn Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, ed. Patrick F. Moran (2 vols, Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1873), ii, 15, ‘A List of Deans of Christ Church’ and C-AB, 140.
\textsuperscript{376} W.G. Dimock Fletcher, Leicestershire pedigrees and royal descents (Clarke & Hodgson, 1887). Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office: The Herrick Manuscripts, DG 9/2269 records Humphrey and Adrian Farnham accused of ‘non payment of taxes for musters’ in 1617.
\textsuperscript{377} Irish patent rolls of James I, 292 (8 February 1615); 548 (22 July 1622); Cal. state papers Ireland, 1615-25, 439 (1623). See also Peter Manning, Index of persons to Irish patent rolls of James I (1603-1625) (1987).
\textsuperscript{378} Loecher, Dictionary, 13-14, 24, 55, [116].
\textsuperscript{379} Marsh’s Library, MS Z3.2.6, nos. 48-50 (Catalogue of the manuscripts remaining in Marsh’s Library, Dublin, compiled by John Russell Scott, B.A., and edited by Newport J. D. White, D.D. (Dublin: A. Thom and Co., n.d.) p. 49, no. 48) and RCB C6/1/26/2, no. 13, transcribed in TCD MS 10530; ff 13-14.
courts, his own profile-raising position at the Exchequer there, and the royal nature of the cathedral, given that he was also employed on the new vice-regal residence in the Phoenix park and nearby Dublin castle. The architectural style of his twin towers of the castle gate house was 'medieval in character and devoid of architectural decoration' (figure 9). At Christ Church, he worked on the tower and transepts, concluding by flooring the nave. Inside, Farnham is the most obvious person to have remodelled the crossing arches, as in later images of the tower crossing (plate 53-4), there is no sign of the double order noted by Lewis in 1565. Externally, the belfry entrance arch (figure 7.b) accessed from the roof, and the surviving south transept roof timbers, both date to the early seventeenth century, portions of the building for which Farnham is the prime candidate. Street noted 'Old timber roofs to be retained', which feature 'decorated pendants and double curved braces', of which one pendant survives, designed to be viewed from below (plate 74). This implies that the south transept vault noted in 1565 was dismantled by this time, perhaps with earlier work on the tower or affected by portions of the cathedral that fell in Archbishop Jones’s time. The crow or corbie stepping of this transept gable (plate 12 & 22-3) may also date to Farnham’s restoration.

The bells can pin-point some of the tower work. Three cracked bells were recast for £30 in 1608, although it is unclear where they were housed if the tower was dismantled; or who recast them; no Dublin bell founders are known at this time. In December 1613, a payment was made to ‘the bell founder for raising the bells’. However only in May 1614 are payments made ‘for makinge a pullye’, for ‘the tan and taryne the frame of the bells’, presumably as a wood preservative, and ‘for makynge a new frame to the bell, the olde
beynge rotten'. Despite the bells being apparently raised before the new frame was made, this vignette provides evidence of a common practice of refurbishment which reflecting ‘the rise of change ringing in the first decades of the seventeenth century’, a tradition associated with England and her colonies. Chronologically, the above references confirm that the tower was nearing completion by December 1613, and the bell frame, or at least a part of it, was replaced separately by May 1614. The vergers or sextons undertook the civic role of tolling the Bow bell at 4am and 9pm, winter and summer, referred to in 1625 as the ‘ancient custom of ringing the great bell’. The earliest city record of ringing however notes a sexton unpaid for the three years, dating this tradition (or its re-establishment) to 1618, the year Farnham’s restoration was concluding. This is apparent from ‘The expense of flagging at Christ Church, 1618’ at a cost £125, probably part funded by a disbursement of £107 from Lord Deputy Oliver St John, lord Grandison in 1617. It also raised the floor level higher than the original nave pillar bases (plate 56-7, 62, figure 8), and may well have covered memorial slabs not already damaged by the fall of the roof in 1562. Farnham described ‘layinge Eights hundred foote of Pempirke [Pembroke] paviinge stone out of the bodye of the Church to the quire doore’, identifying his stone source as Welsh, readily transportable to Dublin by ship.

The installation of ‘three Fans or Weather Cocks’ on the steeple, literally crowned the restoration. The weather vane is not recorded contemporaneously, but its renewed form by Dean John Parry in 1672 (plates 2-3, 5-7, figure 7.a) took an appropriately Trinitarian form: a single axis surrounded by three elements (hence the plural description of vanes or fanses). From its base it consisted of a globe, decorative intertwining heart element, and a crown surmounted by a cross, the whole recalling the royal symbols of crown, orb and sceptre. Two smaller crosses in subordinate orbiting positions reflected the post-Reformation dominion of crown over church. How innovative this was is unknown as Irish weathervanes are little studied. Neighbouring St John’s church had a vane installed by a smith in 1633, and gilded by a painter called Cotton, and by 1739, six other Irish cathedrals had weather vanes, probably installed after the Restoration such

389 PA 1612-13, extraordinary disbursements [p. 4] (8 December 1612); (25 May 1614).
390 Paul Cattermole, Church bells and bell-ringing: a Norfolk profile (Woodbridge, 1990), 20.
391 CARD, iii, 133-4 (20 January 1621); 186 (29 April 1625); 231.
392 RCB C6/1/26/12, no. 1; Gillespie, ‘Shaping of reform’, 191.
393 RCB C6/1/26/6, no. 38.
394 TCD MS 10530, f. 13v.
395 James Ware, The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved ..., ed. Walter Harris (3 vols, Dublin, 1739-64), 1, 355; Thomas Bell, An essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, 149.
396 Gillespie, St John’s, 84.
as at Killaloe (1682). English examples are better documented, Westminster abbey in 1066, and Canterbury cathedral a century later. Although few medieval examples survive, near contemporary vanes are found at York minster, made from an earlier brass inscription of 1597, and Chichester cathedral, installed in 1638. Christ Church's 'Weather Cocks' of the mid-1610s were a favourite medieval theme, but other forms existed; a dragon was made for St Mary-le-Bow in London in 1680. In Dublin, weather vanes provided conspicuous positions for symbolic representation, in this case by Archbishop Jones, but its visibility, Tantalus-like, only marked the cathedral out further to the Catholic citizenry as colonially and religiously inaccessible.

The last cathedral restoration of the early modern period in 1638-9, carried out under Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth, was reminiscent of Henry Sidney's 1560s restoration, unsurprising, given that Wentworth held his predecessor in high regard, preserving an inscription to him (c.1585) when restoring Dublin castle in 1633. The proctor for the restoration was the dean, Henry Tilson, whose high church allegiances were indicated by his insistence that his Rochdale parishioners in Lancashire kneel to receive communion, and he owed subsequent career advancement to the bishopric of Elphin to Wentworth. Wentworth spearheaded the policies of Charles II and Archbishop Laud of Canterbury throughout the Church of Ireland using Christ Church as the epicentre of this new high-church movement. From this hub, 'the Irish St Paul's' spread innovations in liturgy and refurbishment; chapter members, Atherton, Tilson and Bramhall were all bishops during or shortly after refurbishments of Lismore, Elphin and Derry cathedrals.

Wentworth was also one of the most active governors of Ireland in exploiting the arts, using portraiture, architecture and culture to promote his own self-image and the crown, aims

397 Ware, Whole works of Sir James Ware, 17, 315, 419, 525, 550 551 574, 618 (Armagh, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, Lismore and Killaloe).
398 Albert Needham, English weather vanes: their stories and legends from medieval to modern times (Haywards Heath: Charles Clarke, 1953); Patricia & Philip Mockridge, Weather vanes of Great Britain (London: Hale, 1990).
404 McCafferty, Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland, 117-127; C.L. Berry, 'Henry Tilson, bishop of Elphin, and his ministry during the suppression of the Church', Church Quarterly Review, 132:263 (1941), 54-68.
405 McCafferty, Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland, 223, 130-1, and 136-7 citing Bramhall to Wentworth, 13 January 1637 (Sheffield City Libraries, Str P 8, pp 409-12).
mutually beneficial to both.\textsuperscript{406} With no major Irish classical colossus peering over his
shoulder, Wentworth could afford some architectural pretensions. In 1634, writing for
money to improve Dublin Castle, he had the temerity to state ‘Without offence to Mr.
Jones, I take myself to be a very pretty Architect too’.\textsuperscript{407} Indeed Inigo Jones probably
sought black Irish marble for St Paul’s in 1637 through Wentworth’s offices.\textsuperscript{408} As the
architect of the cathedral choir restoration remains unclear, neither has the authorship of
Wentworth’s palatial Jigginstown house built in 1637 been confirmed. John Allen or
John Johnson are mentioned, and writing in 1726, Edward Lovett Pearce stated it was
‘said to be directed by Inigo Jones’,\textsuperscript{409} but it is possible that Wentworth had far more of a
direct hand in the design of his building projects.

The scale of the choir restoration can be gauged from letters of Laud and Wentworth
and the accounts of 1638-9 which registered roughly three times more expenditure than
other years.\textsuperscript{410} The dean and chapter sought funds in 1635,\textsuperscript{411} perhaps relating to the loan
of £150 from Wentworth that year.\textsuperscript{412} In 1636, they petitioned the lord deputy and
council to appoint ‘the estate of the late Sir Tho. Hibbot’ to cathedral repairs,\textsuperscript{413} while in
1637, Bramhall assigned the cathedral £1,300.\textsuperscript{414} Wentworth also wrote to Laud of the
‘Ruinousness of Christ-Church in Dublin’, and in August 1637, Laud even suggested if
he ‘would be content another Cathedral should be thought on’ agreeing to abide by
Wentworth’s judgement’. In April 1638, referring to ‘the Building of Christ-Church’
Wentworth wrote that ‘I neither sleep nor forget it’. Laud replied that he was ‘very glad
to hear that Christ-Church goes on’.\textsuperscript{415} Ambitions to rebuild the cathedral shows the
extent of the contemporary drive for the ‘beauty of holiness’, but inevitably restoration

\textsuperscript{406} C.V. Wedgwood, ‘The earl of Strafford and the arts’, \textit{History Today}, 11:10 (1961), 659-64; Dougal Shaw,
\textsuperscript{407} Knowler, \textit{Strafforde’s letters}, i, 348.
\textsuperscript{408} Sheffield City Libraries, Wentworth Woodhouse (WWM) Collection, Str P 133 noted in Julia Merritt
(ed.), \textit{Crown servants, series one: the papers of Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641, from Sheffield City
Libraries (Marlborough, 1994), 36. The granite steps of old St Paul’s were from Donegal. I am grateful to
Dr Jane Fenlon for this information from the Wentworth papers.
\textsuperscript{409} Loeber, \textit{Dictionary}, 13, 62-3; Edward McParland, ‘Edward Lovett Pearce and the Parliament House in
Dublin’, \textit{Burlington Magazine}, 131: 1031 (February 1989), 91-100, at 99 citing a manuscript letter in an album
with five drawings by Pearce of Jigginstown, Co, Kildare, at Chatsworth in Derbyshire.
\textsuperscript{410} William Laud, \textit{The works of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud}, ed. W. Scott (1-ii) & James Bliss
(ii-vii) (7 vols, Oxford, 1847-60), vi, 502, 522; vii, 368, 383, 425, 447-8, 465; PA 1638-9 both also cited in
\textsuperscript{411} TCD MS 10530, f. 128v.
\textsuperscript{412} Gillespie, ‘Crisis of reform’, 200 citing Cheshire Record Office, Chester, DLT/B43, 2.
\textsuperscript{413} RCB C6/1/26/2, no. 28.
\textsuperscript{414} John McCafferty, \textit{The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641}
citing Bramhall to Wentworth, 13 January 1637, Sheffield City Libraries, Str P 8, pp 409-12.
was more economically viable. Contact with the Netherlands by Wentworth, or through immigration made it unsurprising that one of the craftsmen was Dutch, although concealed by an anglicised name. James Browne, a native of ‘Zeland, now residing in Dublin’, received letters of denizenship in 1622, and was known as a Dublin mason and bricklayer who lived in the St Catharine and St James’s parish from 1635. With Robert Pavier, he worked on buildings in Trinity College in 1640 and by 1656 was a member of the Corporation of Carpenters. He may also have been the James Browne who with Jacques Chamois shared the duties of churchwarden and proctor during the restoration of St John’s in 1630-1. At Christ Church he was responsible ‘for layeinge the high Alter wth Stone’, the largest single outlay (£21 2s. 2d.) in the 1638-9 accounts year. Laudian influence is evident in the emphasis on the altar and illustrated by related payments for ‘Joyntrs worke’, ‘two dozen of Choice Dales’ (imported pine), as well as metalwork: ‘three Brases and pinns for the warke [work] of the Alter’ and ‘a bolte and Staples for the Alter’. The accounts suggest that there was a clear aesthetic in mind, and numerous craftsmen were employed to achieve this end. Whose mind is a good question. There was no clear overseer for the work, although one craftsman, Thomas Woods, was paid £18 for the rather generic task of ‘repaireinge the Church’, probably the same named carpenter who was paid 4s. ‘for making boxes in the quire for each viccar to putt his bookes in’ in 1632-3. However, Tilson’s precise accounting is more in the spirit of the former proctors and ‘masters of church works’ of Precentors Lewis and Walsh, and indeed Brown at St John’s. Rich detail survivies for work on the cathedral choir. New glass and iron bands were fitted to windows including the east window, and the roof was releaded and reslated. Dutch tiles noted were presumably used for decorative internal use. Richard Gilbert was paid for ‘plastermge and culloringe the seelmge in the Quier’, and a variety of colours are listed in the accounts of paint and plaster, noted as ‘cullorine’ and liming: ‘Spanish whiteinge’, ‘Russett’, red lead and ‘verdigrease’ (green

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416 Knowler, Strafforde’s letters, ii, 183 for example is from William Boswell in the Hague.
419 Loeb, Dictionary, 30.
420 Gillespie, St John’s, 61-2, 64.
421 PA 1638-9, f. 6v; PA 1632-3; RCB C6/1/4, ‘Book of Benefactions’[p. 171-] lists a ‘Woods ye Carpenter’, paid £17 17s. 6d. for work on the west end of the choir in 1668, who may have been a relative. For ‘Book of Benefactions’, see chapter v, pp 198-222.
oxidised-copper). The work can fruitfully be compared with the 1630-1 restoration of St John's. Mr Cotton was paid 'for painting the high Alter and the Comandements', very likely the Ralph Cotton who painted and gilded at St John's.

There is some suggestion that a small gallery may have been erected at the cathedral. The organ located on the north side of the choir in 1614, was subject in 1635 to incursions by members of the congregation, damaging the pipes. Following the Wentworth-Tilson restoration, in 1655 the mayor referred to an 'organ-loft', a description and position (if simply elevated) that agrees with Dineley's note of 'the Organ Gallery of the King's Chappel' opposite the archbishop's seat on the south side of the cathedral. This was not an innovation for Dublin; in 1634, Brereton noted that St Nicholas Without, located in the north transept of St Patrick's cathedral had 'capacious galleries round about, wherein is abundance of seats placed one above another, with great advantage of room.'

Similarly, the Jesuit Kildare Hall, known to Atherton who, as proctor, had sought rent there, was two storeys consisting of a first floor gallery with banisters surrounding three sides of the chapel. Likewise, cathedrals such as Wells and Bristol had galleries. St Giles in Edinburgh however was perhaps more representative, having its galleries removed in 1634. Laud despised galleries saying that 'they utterly deface the grave beauty and decency of those sacred places', and it was the same crown policy to improve cathedrals by removing galleries as it was to remove shops from their exterior walls. The organ loft probably pertained specifically to the musical instrument, but as already noted, Wentworth's pedigree was located in at least one other gallery on the south side.

422 Gillespie, St John's, 63-73.
423 PA 1638-9, f. 6v; Gillespie, St John's, 63-73.
424 PA 1614 quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, p. 82, no. 84.
425 RCB C6/1/7/2, f. 12v quoted in Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, p. 70, no. 57.
426 NA1 MS M2817, p. 23.
427 Garstin, 'Thomas Dineley', 289.
429 Deeds, 1314; CAB, 186.
430 Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall', 251 & 257.
433 See above, pp 144, 160.
One architectural puzzle remains. During the gothic-revival restoration of the cathedral in the 1830s, a round-headed window with tracery consisting of two round-headed lights crowned by a circle, was installed in the façade of the south transept (figure 10.b). Quite out of context, it most likely pre-existed elsewhere in the cathedral, being salvaged by Matthew Price during his conversion of the Lady chapel to administrative purposes. The eighteenth-century depictions of the windows on the north side of the Lady chapel are also round-headed with a deeply coved outer splay to the window (figure 11.a-b), but are simple switch-line tracery. Where then was this more elaborate tracery? One possibility is that, as in the case with many churches where the windows above the altar are more elaborate, this tracery may have occupied the east window. This is allowed by Mason’s map of c.1818 (plate 94) which represents a single mullion in all the chapel windows. More significantly, the early seventeenth-century ‘Monumenta Eblaneae’, known to record views within the cathedral, depicts the same tracery pattern (figure 10.a). Moreover, it is placed above what appears to be an altar beneath it and a chimney flue to its left, for which there is evidence at the east end of the Mary chapel. It is therefore plausible, though not beyond doubt that the manuscript illustrates the Lady chapel east window. This tracery was ubiquitous in the late seventeenth-century Ireland, but when it was first introduced has not been noted. It originated on the continent, probably from an earlier geometric Gothic form. Its round-headed, uncusped form is similar to those expressed in the Palazzo Medici in Florence begun in 1444. A smooth rounded form can be found in the mid-sixteenth century tracery of St Eustache in Paris (figure 13.a), and by the early seventeenth century it was present in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam, built by Hendrik de Keyser (1565-1621), whose tower was completed in 1638 (figure 12.a-b). The tracery pattern was also known in Oxford colleges of the period, such as the mildly cusped version at Oriel built c.1644 (figure 13.b). With a Zeland mason working on the choir in the 1630s, it is not hard to make the leap that the design of such tracery may have come directly from the Low Countries, representing a short cutting of the Renaissance’s arrival to Ireland, little mediated by England. If located in the Lady chapel, it may have been inserted in the 1610s during what Farnham later referred to as

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434 See chapter vi, p. 267.
436 BL Add 18850, f. 554v illustrated in Coldstream, Masons and sculptors, 6 and back cover.
437 Pevsner, Outline of European history, 141, fig. 58.
'what Mr. Deane had begun in Sainte Marye Chappell', but documented Dutch influence in the 1638-9 restoration represents a more likely opportunity.

The physical adaptation of Christ Church from the Reformation to the Restoration took place in a time of religious and political change that allowed small scope for Renaissance culture to flourish in a troubled island, exploited financially by England, from which Christ Church was noticeably excused. Underlying many of these changes was a shift in ideology from the religion of the medieval period to a more secular, individualist and commercial era, exemplified by the cathedral's transition from a monastic to secular status to form an accessible and thriving centre of commercial and legal activity in the precincts. Furthermore, in addition to its status as diocesan and metropolitical status, the cathedral acquired de facto status as royal chapel due to a change in crown policy which used the cathedral in the heart of the colonial capital more often. Ceremonies using the sword of state either for transfer to new governors or for dubbing knights, all set within a space with an seat for the lord deputy or the lord justices amongst the arms of the knights of the Garter, and monuments to Tudor soldiers, all emphasised this new regime.

The agents of change were mainly New English informed by the Netherlands, although the Old English and Irish also had impact. A direct consequence of the cathedral's effective royal status was that it was the state, in the form of the lord deputies and their stand-ins, the lord justices, who were the main promotors of renovation. The most prominent were Henry Sidney and his political embellishments of the choir with Garter arms; Thomas Wentworth, who made ample use of the cathedral to reinforce both political and religious policy; and Archbishop Thomas Jones who repaired the cathedral during his lord justiceship. Their wishes were executed by senior clergy, often accounting for work themselves as proctors. The influence of the Low Countries was significant, whether through the impact of educated immigrants to Ireland occupying positions of gravitas, such as Jacques Wingfeld or the Molyneux family, or as a source of new artistic and cultural styles and ideas. The aforementioned sculptor, Nicholas Stone, for example, studied under Hendrick de Keysar, marrying his daughter and setting up as a London mason. Similarly, well-travelled soldiers filtered experiences of European architecture back to Dublin. Thomas Roper is a case in point, as is Richard Bingham, whose monumental inscription attests to his travels. Two others were successive directors general of fortifications and buildings: Josias Bodley (1613-17) was educated in Geneva.

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440 TCD MS 10530, ff 13-14 (1621), referring presumably to Dean Jonas Wheeler (1595-1618) rather than his successor, Randolph Barlow (1618-34).
and Danzig, and Francis Bacon asked Mr Jones (probably Inigo) for an introduction. His successor Nicholas Pynnar (1618–14) (with Sir Thomas Rotherham from 1618–34), travelled to Italy and was employed as an engineer during a stay in Venice from 1606-8.

Yet remarkably little physical evidence of this Renaissance period survives, other than in small-scale funerary monuments boasting classical entablatures with decorative Flemish strapwork such as the Griffith and Agard-Harrington monuments, and in a few large scale architectural interventions; Wentworth’s internal refurbishment of the choir introduced a new colour and plaster aesthetic to the space, along with the craft of a Dutch mason for the altar. In Ireland, the Chichester monument marked a significant sophistication in funerary sculpture in the early seventeenth century. A recurring pattern is a discrepancy between local and international craftsmen, the latter having the benefit of wider experience and a greater cultural awareness. Design and innovation was left to English or Dutch craftsmen who either exported their work or worked in Ireland as immigrants, often based on published pattern books or classical sources. Irish craftsmen in contrast represented the medieval crafts and continued the gothic tradition in which they were trained, being ideally suited to repair and maintenance; as late as 1610 a pointed arch was built at Dunmore house in Kilkenny. Lewis’s knowledge of some classical vocabulary raises the question of whether he chose to restore Christ Church in a gothic style, therefore qualifying his work as ‘gothic revival’. St Columb’s cathedral, Derry and St John’s, Leeds have been cited as late examples of ecclesiastical gothic. Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold, built in support of the monarchy in a deliberately gothic form in 1653 was even later. This proves little more than that the association of gothic lasted far longer with ecclesiastical buildings than with other building types. Although not as fully fledged as wealthier European countries, the Renaissance influenced early modern Ireland. The difference was one of scale. Wentworth’s refurbishment of the choir pales in comparison to Inigo Jones’s refurbishment of St Paul’s; both executed under similar political and religious influences. Likewise, a little known choir refurbishment that would survive much of the long eighteenth-century at Christ Church was no match for the rebuilt St Paul’s after the 1666 fire by the English surveyor-general, Christopher Wren. One parallel can be drawn however, as argued in the next chapter, that the Christ Church restoration was undertaken by the Irish surveyor general, William Robinson.

441 Loeber, Dictionary, 23.
442 Loeber, ‘Irish country houses and castles’, 51.
443 Loeber, ‘Early classicism’, 53.
445 Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 158.
CHAPTER V - WAINSCOT, FRINGE AND FLEAS: THE DECLINE OF
CHRIST CHURCH AS CHAPEL ROYAL, 1660-1830

In 1821, the Revd George Newenham Wright, a Dublin-born graduate of Trinity
College, described the exterior of Christ Church as ruinous and
so disfigured by buttresses built against the walls in various places that
there are only sufficient remains to indicate its former stateliness. It fails
any longer to excite our admiration as a specimen of architecture. ¹

Furthermore, the opening of a small Gothic-revival chapel at Dublin castle by Francis
Johnston in 1814, ² brought to an end the chapel royal claims of the cathedral. Yet this
was the building that King Charles II had described in a letter of 14 June 1672 to the lord
lieutenant, as 'our said cathedral church and royal chapel'. ³ The question of how an
institution so clearly bound to the crown at the Restoration could fall so dramatically
from grace by the early nineteenth-century has until now remained unanswered. This
chapter argues that changes to the cathedral architecture reflected its gradual dissociation
from chapel royal status to 1814. This decline continued physically until Price’s
restorations, and reflected a wider decline in the Church of Ireland’s status with the
Catholic Emancipation (1829) and Irish Church Temporalities (1833) acts. A number of
factors caused this: the unsustainability of the initial Restoration boom and, as it turned
out, the supply of lords lieutenant from the Irish aristocracy. Later, arguments between
the dean and archbishop lessened the cathedral’s standing, while the replacement of the
surveyor general with a Barrack Board also had an impact. The shift in civic locus from
the medieval city further rendered the cathedral’s location unfashionable, as did the fact
that its royal status was no longer exclusive and applied to other ecclesiastical venues.
This process can be traced through alterations to the fabric, furnishings and funerary
monuments, and was effected by crown and church patrons, as well as architects and
craftsmen. The cathedral also offers an opportunity to witness the response of largely
classically-trained architects to the gothic-revival, in their reintroduction of gothic
elements to a partially classicised gothic cathedral.

¹ Wright, Historical guide (1821) 127, 112; (1825), 59, 54.
² H.G. Leask, Caiteach Bhaisle Aitha Chath: Dublin castle, a short descriptive and historical guide for the use of visitors
³ Milne, ‘Restoration’, 259, note 30 citing Charles II to Arthur Capell, 1st earl of Essex, 14 June 1672
(London, PRO, SP 63/331/89).
The period under examination began with the flourishing of classical architecture in the era of political stability following the Restoration, spurred by rebuilding after the 1666 fire of London. This architecture was built on principles introduced by Inigo Jones and accepted through the works of Christopher Wren and his rebuilding of St Paul's cathedral. English Baroque flowered, but in a more tempered form than its ebullient Mediterranean counterparts. Yet, an English architectural penchant for the past encouraged retrospective interests, notably in the works of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh who looked back to medieval themes. This tendency was perhaps a lasting effect of the traumatic dissolution and consequent destruction of so many gothic monasteries, a wound reopened by religious vandalism in the Commonwealth period. Thus alongside classicism grew an English movement that encouraged sham ruins in rambling landscapes associated with emerging movements of romanticism and the asymmetrical picturesque that fuelled the Gothic revival. At first this was playful and inaccurately reproduced; so called Georgian or rococo 'gothick'. Greater archaeological analysis, however produced a Gothic ultimately laboured by its own precision but, like its neo-classical and Greek revival contemporaries, it was ultimately of romantic origin.\(^4\) Francis Grose was aware of Gothic's continental origins,\(^5\) but Anglo-Irish consideration ranged from suggesting the pointed arch to be derived from an inversion of Noah's ark,\(^6\) or 'triangular-headed apertures of Ireland's round towers'.\(^7\)

Architectural movements were conditioned by the flux of human migration. Influence was felt from France from the late seventeenth-century court's former exile there, and the immigration of Protestant Huguenots fleing the 1685 Edict of Nantes, from the Netherlands from three Anglo-Dutch wars, and from England itself through which many continental or English immigrants came to Dublin often from London, the cultural, intellectual and material mecca to which the Irish ascendancy turned. Precentor Peter Drelincourt (1681-1722), was a minister of the Reformed church in France,\(^8\) Richard Cassels (d.1751), who succeeded to Pearce's architectural practice was probably from

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\(^7\) Bell, *Essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture*, 88.
Kassel in Germany; while the mid-eighteenth century sculpture and plasterwork was dominated respectively by John Van Nost the younger, son of a Dutch immigrant who settled in London, and the Swiss-Italian Lafranchini brothers.

Irish post-Restoration prosperity was ushered in by James, first duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant (1662-9, 1677-85). Not only were numerous Irish cathedrals restored during this period, but Ormond harnessed the resultant building boom for the cultural and architectural enhancement of Dublin, producing the Royal Hospital in Kilmainham (1680-1705), inspired by Les Invalides in Paris. This together with the later St Mary’s church (1700-4) are attributed to the surveyor general, William Robinson, Ireland’s main Restoration architect. The period saw the restoration of Dublin castle, Christ Church (twice) and St Michan’s church, and the erection of new churches in the 1710s: St Ann’s by Isaac Wills and St Werburgh’s by Thomas Burgh, many of which survive only as drawings. An economic recovery in the 1730s coupled with Edward Lovett Pearce’s talent as surveyor general produced outstanding buildings such as the parliament house. Early signs of Ireland’s Gothic revival can be found in the 1730s and 1740s at the castles of Cabra (Cavan) and Leixlip (Dublin). By c.1750, Gothic was becoming increasingly fashionable. Thus St Canice’s cathedral, Kilkenny was ‘a noble pile of Gothic’ in 1748, and Christ Church could be described at least until 1796 as ‘a venerable gothic


11 Dromore (1661), Connor (1664), St Patrick’s in Dublin (1668 & 1681-5), Lismore (1679) and Kildare (1686) noted in Architectural setting of Anglican worship, 197; Stat Papers Ire., 1663-1665, 432, 454-6; Loeber, Dictionary, 69, 95, 97.


15 Such as the vignettes included around the borders the map by Charles Brooking, A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin (Dublin & London: Bowles, 1728).


structure'. The sin of the time was 'the bastard breed', the mix of classical and gothic. Richard Pococke concurred, noting at Christ Church cathedral, Waterford: 'The Quire has lately been much ornamented if intermixture of Grecian with Gothick Architecture be call'd an ornament by a Corinthian Altar piece'. A renowned traveller and later bishop of Ossory (1756-65), he sought the advice of Sanderson Miller and Charles Lyttelton for a Gothic-revival restoration of St Canice's, which would have been Ireland's 'first example of the application of the Gothic revival style to ecclesiastical architecture'. As archdeacon of Dublin (1746-57), he was a member of the chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, who were fortunate to be able to draw on such nuanced architectural experience. Georgian Dublin expanded dramatically in the later eighteenth century affecting both domestic and institutional architecture, which was propelled by English architects such as William Chambers, Thomas Cooley and James Gandon, and introduced impressive college and Liffey facades and the neo-classical buildings of the Casino at Marino and the Royal Exchange. Irish architects such as Thomas Ivory were the exception. Throughout this period, the decisions of the Wide Streets Commission, facilitated a shift of the city from the medieval core to the suburbs.

Having established the architectural context in which the cathedral was set during this period, the following section gives a detailed analysis of the fabric and topography of the cathedral exterior and interior around 1830, against which changes can be assessed. One problem is that the emptied precincts of c.1830 were unlike those of the 1790s, when the cathedral was 'almost entirely surrounded with houses'. Early nineteenth-century clearances by the Wide Streets Commissioners widened Skinner's Row, removed most clearances by the Wide Streets Commissioners widened Skinner's Row, removed most

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houses on its north side, and in general sanitised the grounds for the 1821 visit of King George IV. Following the removal of the Four Courts to the quays in 1796, little survived of the thriving bustle of business, beer and bawdry that existed around them. However, reminiscing on his youth, a fifty-year-old captured a little of the atmosphere. He ascribed the elusive location of ‘Hell’ to the whole of the precincts, noting over an unidentified arched entrance ‘the very image of the devil, carved in oak’. Hell was a delight to a child, filled with ‘shops where toys, and fireworks, and kites, and all the play things that engage the youthful fancy, were exposed for sale’, but also ‘to bearded men: for here were comfortable lodgings for single men, ... and sundry taverns and snuggeries. This memory largely coincides with Reading’s 1761 map of the liberties (plate 87). The courts also supported nearby coffee houses and publishers in Fishamble Street, Christ Church Lane and Skinners’ Row. Taverns included the London Stone, the Bull’s Head abutting St Mary’s chapel to the east, the Cross Keys which survived until at least 1785, and the Bear, both in Christ Church Yard. The space was densely occupied, many buildings being let and sub-let by chapter members, but there was a sharp socio-economic divide between the occupants of the spacious and wealthy Christ Church Yard and the cramped and impoverished ‘Christ Church liberties’. Little wonder that the courts’ departure saw the gradual demise of the vacated buildings (plates 12-13, 15-16, 18-23, 26-7, 94, 96), lending little gravitas to the cathedral’s royal status. By 1800, the ‘handsome chamber’ of the former court of chancery was ‘degraded to a temporary music-room’ (probably relating to the choir school house refurbishments.

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26 Viator, *Letters to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, relating to the improvement of “The district of the metropolis,” and principally the Earl of Meath’s liberties; by making therein wide and convenient streets* (Dublin, 1816), 22-3.
27 Milne, ‘Restoration’, 296. See also RCB C6/1/7/10, 144-7 (August 1821) and DCA MS 62, ‘Collections made by William Monck Mason for a history of Dublin transcribed in 1867 for J.T. Gilbert, Vol. I. Part I, Page 1 to page 233 [recte 234]’, f. 11.
28 [Anonymous,] ‘Description of the Inside of the Four new Courts of Law, which have lately been opened for public business in Dublin’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, lvi, 2 (December 1796), 993-4.
29 See also chapter ii, pp 45-7.
31 The legend to the map is included as appendix 6.
32 Gilbert, *Dublin*, i, 63, 146, 172-7, 181-2
33 RCB C6/1/8/5, 93-4 (Monday 3 December 1733); PA 1732-3.
36 *CABD*, vi, 575-81; R.A. Butlin, ‘The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century’, *Irish Geography*, v, 2 (1965), 51-66, table v (p. 61) and table vi (p. 62) should be treated with caution.
37 Jack Prancer, '[Four Courts in Dublin]', *Gentleman’s Magazine*, lxx, 2 (July 1800), 621; RCB C6/1/7/8, 260-3.
recorded in 1799), 'and sometimes a paltry dancing-school' before being 'consigned to
dilapidation and ruin'. By 1802, the court roofs and timbers were dismantled 'to prevent
accidents', and the next year its 'Old Walls and Materials remaining' were auctioned off.38
Nevertheless, elements of the courts survived until the mid-nineteenth century.39

The strikingly large courts, just taller than the transepts, overshadowed all surrounding
buildings bar the cathedral (plate 23), a scale matched by the court entrance, consisting of
two pilasters rising to consoles supporting a salient entablature, 'one of the finest
baroque doorways in the country' (plate 21 & 23).40 This grandeur was due to William
Robinson's 1695 rebuilding of the courts at a cost of more than £3,400.41 The interior
was 'a moderately precocious classical scheme' showing a form of internal rustication in
Dublin for the first time (plate 13).42 The central space was covered by an octagonal
domed cupola, just visible in Place's 1698 view (plate 3),43 a form also found in the half-
octagonal dome of the surviving Jacobean tabernacle in the crypt (figure 10). The hall of
the courts was 'long and narrow', but Robinson's levelling of the courts allowed them to
open naturally onto it.44 A consequence of his work was that 'part of the Dean's House
was removed to enlarge the passage leading into the Courts'.45 The surveyor general was
to remain associated with the courts until at least the 1740s. First was Robinson's
successor, Thomas Burgh, who was paid for working there in 1705-6. It is in a collection
containing surveys by Michael Wills, a draughtsman who worked for him in the 1720s,
that the earliest surviving court plan 'originated in the surveyor-general's office' and
dated c.1730, can be found (plate 83).46 In 1744, another surveyor-general was appointed,

38 PA 1799-1800; Prancer, 'Four Courts', 621; RCB C6/1/7/8, 152 (26 July 1800), also cited in Milne,
'Restoration', 291; RCB C6/1/7&8/8, 210-12 (Thursday 15 April 1802); 221-2 (Thursday 1 July 1802);
260-3 (Tuesday 3 May 1803).
39 See chapter vi, 269.
40 McParland, Public architecture, 116. McParland, 'Four courts', 29, figures 7a-b shows that Edward
Murphy's original lithograph was printed in reverse.
41 McParland, 'Four courts', 27 citing Charles McNell, 'Harris: Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis', Anales
Hiberniae, 6 (November 1934), 248-450 at 396; Gilbert, Dublin, i, 136-7.
42 McParland, Public architecture, 116. View east of interior of Four Courts 'from the clock near the great gate
of entrance' illustrated in J. Prancer, '[Observatory belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, described]',
Gentleman's Magazine, livi, 1 (April 1788), 291-4 & plate 1 (fig. 3)
43 Rolf Loeber, 'An unpublished view of Dublin in 1698 by Francis Place', Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish
Francis Place's visit, 1698-99' in Adele M. Dalsimer (ed.), Visualizing Ireland: national identity and the pictorial
tradition (London & Boston: Faber & Faber, 1993), 99-117 and John Maher, 'Francis Place in Dublin',
R.S.A.I. Jn, bdiv (1932), 1-14.
44 See chapter ii, 39.
45 Gilbert, Dublin, i, 136-7.
46 Loeber, Dictionary, 35-6 citing PRO, W.O. 55/1984 and DCA, Gilbert Collection, MS 205, f.68 (Ireland
privy council papers); Christine Casey, 'De architectura': an eighteenth-century gloss', Architectural
History, 37 (1994), 80-95, at 87-8; McParland, 'Four courts', 27. The collection is that of Lady Sheelagh
Davis-Goff, Lissen Hall, Swords; a copy exists as IAA (Inventory No. 57/32 Pl + N, Neg. no. C7/203).
Arthur Jones Nevill, who that year advised that ‘the Exchequer Chamber and the Grand and Petty Jury rooms ... were in a ruinous condition, supported by props and likely to fall’, and that garrets over the chamber and courts were occupied by spinners. The Exchequer chamber, bordering on Skinners’s row (plate 90-3), was formerly a court ‘till the floor fell in’. As a result a ‘considerable sum’ was spent rebuilding that year overseen by Jones Nevill. The shambolic state of the buildings given in this account suggests that despite refurbishment fifty years earlier, these medieval buildings were no longer suitable to house the country’s courts.

Like the courts, the chapter house stood for most of this period, but by 1833 was razed (plate 26). At the Restoration, when still used for chapter meetings, it was an elegant vaulted space with a plastered interior, fitted with frames and casements for doors and windows and floored with deal boards, and probably the location for ‘a presse to keepe ye churches Records’. Robinson’s refurbishments of the Four Courts towering over the chapter house may partially explain why in 1699 the chapter moved their meetings to the former Trinity chapel in the south aisle, leasing out the old chapter house. Part of it was occupied by a toy-shop, a situation which Archbishop King deplored in 1725, while an exchange was located in its eastern half (plate 87) until moved to Cooley’s building in the late 1770s. In 1794, the chapter considered ‘enlarging the yard and making a decent and convenient approach to the cathedral’, ordering the cathedral architect, Edward Parke, to take down that part of the old chapter room that projects beyond the range of the east wall of the south cross aisle of the cathedral ... and make a new entrance under the arch thereof’. This entrance is depicted as narrow in 1761 (plate 87), but large both in 1780 (plate 11) and, after its 1794 truncation, about 1818 (plate 94). In 1815, one visitor found her mind drawn ‘irresistibly to the stupendous ruins of ancient Egypt’ observing it.

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50 PA 1661-2 (13 March & 25 May 1661); PA 1678-9; PA 1666-7 (May 1667).

51 RCB C6/1/7/3, 108-9 (Tuesday 2 November 1699); 111 (Monday 20 November 1699).


53 An exchange was close to the cathedral from the early seventeenth-century onwards, and up to 1829, the chapter house was remembered as the ‘old exchange’. See Gillespie, *St John’s*, 57; Gilbert, *Dublin, i*, 143, 157; Thomas Drew, ‘The ancient chapter-house of the priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin’, *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, 20 (1890-1), 36-43, at 43; A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’, *Irish Builder, xxiii*, 512 (15 April 1881), 118.

54 RCB C6/1/7/8, 14 (Saturday 1 March 1794); 18-19 (Saturday 8 March 1794).

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as an archway 40-50 feet long but now 'so earthed up within, that little more than the vaulted roof remains above-ground.'\textsuperscript{35} The chapter house vault survived until the early 1820s (plate 18-20, 94), probably being finally removed in 1826 when the building was demolished,\textsuperscript{36} and the Wide Streets Commissioners asked to remove demolition debris.\textsuperscript{37}

The shaded corner north of the chapter house between the transept and choir provides something of a puzzle. The arch in the transept east wall appears to have alternated a number of times between being an internal chapel entrance and an external cathedral entrance. The corner was the location of the 'Bocardo' or prison, still in use in 1664,\textsuperscript{38} which is where the stocks were situated. These were used to imprison a man in 1742 for panicking the congregation by 'crying out, That the Church was falling down',\textsuperscript{39} and this was their position in 1761 (plate 87, 97-9), 1794,\textsuperscript{40} and c.1818 (plate 94, no. 18). Sloane also recalls that they were outside the transept east door and 'rarely without a tenant'.\textsuperscript{41}

However, the embellishment of the archway in the east wall suggests that it originally opened into a chapel. There is little evidence of a post-Reformation chapel, and only the stocks and the prebendary of St Michan's property are recorded there in 1761 (plate 87, 97-9).\textsuperscript{42} However, in 1780, the admittedly unreliable Bigari, illustrated in this place a chapel canted north-east to the south choir aisle (plate 11), which agrees with an elevation displaying a south transept chapel with a round-headed window, though this drawing may only be a proposal (plate 63). A minor arc on a 1791 map (plate 88), seems more representative of an entrance step than a chapel, and an entrance was what the space became in the early nineteenth century, perhaps as early as 1805 when a monument was removed 'out of the entrance of the south transept'.\textsuperscript{43} Described as 'formerly the most frequented entrance into the church',\textsuperscript{44} and marked on Mason's c.1818 plan (plate 94), in 1821, it was noted as opened 'A few years since' (plate 18-20). By 1825 it was amongst those 'now seldom used',\textsuperscript{45} and by 1838, was blocked up (plate 96), a point evident from later ground plans (plates 100-1, 103). The archway was still visible in 1846.
(plate 34, 36). Surface damage to the north-east face of the northern pier reflects external exposure, but the extent of wear and tear may be from its proximity to the pillory, or the fact that it functioned as an entrance for a longer period earlier than its relatively brief nineteenth-century exposure.

Opposite this transept archway at the eastern end of Christ Church Yard, there was no confusion over the entrance to the precincts, which was through a ‘miserable archway in Fishamble-street’. In 1664, the chapter forbade ‘carts carrs and carriages’ in the yard without their permission, but it still became the main carriage entranceway. For the 1788 Handel commemorations, sedan chairs of ladies who ‘laid aside their hats, feathers, and hoops’ were ‘admitted by the door of the church in Christ-Church-yard’, while musicians used the Christ Church Lane entrance. Attempts were made to enlarge the east entrance in 1730-1, 1752, and 1776, but none succeeded due to the gatehouse above it being released. This last attempt was ‘to make a more convenient and open Avenue and Passage from Fishamble Street to the Church’, much within the spirit of the Wide Streets Commission and a minor representative of a wider eighteenth-century urban renaissance placing greater spatial emphasis on convenience and leisure. In considering the matter again in 1801, contrastingly the emphasis was on status rather than aesthetics. The chapter wished to prevent any impediment to the lord lieutenant attending from the castle, stating anxiously that the cathedral was ‘the Royal Chapel and the Church where the Government of this Kingdom attend divine Service on all public occasions’. To accelerate the commission’s improvements to the streets linking the two institutions, the chapter ceased renewing leases in that area. As early as 1779, the chapter cooperated with the commission, which affected their leasing of land in 1784. By 1791, the chapter was aware of the commission’s intention ‘to open Skinner Row’, and in 1801, both parties had their respective surveyors, Brownrigg and Sherrard, prepare a general map of cathedral property. In 1816, plans for ‘proposed improvements on every side of Christ Church’ were suggested to ‘be materially imperfect without the proposed widening of...
Skinner-row.73 No doubt aware of such criticism, in 1817, the commissioners made a substantial proposal to the chapter to purchase ‘Houses in Skinner Row[‚] Fishamble Street and Christ Church Yard’,74 illustrated by a map of the precincts with the proposed removals by John Longfield (plate 91-3). In 1818, commentators lamented that the cathedral features were ‘disfigured and disgraced by the mean habitations and piles of disgusting ruins that not only environ, but press against it on the east and south’, but looked forward, with the widening of Skinner’s Row to seeing these ‘speedily removed’.75

Unaffected by such disfigurement, the west front provided the ‘grand entrance’ (plate 15-17, 24), but according to Street ‘There was nothing to respect’, describing it as ‘entirely modernised’ with a ‘poor modern doorway, and a still meaner window’ that ‘did not even reach the level of carpenter’s Gothic’.76 Beranger’s 1778 view (plate 8-9) shows the west front as restored in 1745 by the surveyor-general, Jones Nevill,77 featuring a round-headed west door surmounted by a tympanum enclosing a decorated square tablet, above which was a round-headed west window with switchline tracery. Following demolition work around the cathedral, the chapter reported the west end carriage approach as dangerous. In 1815, this surface was levelled and shingled by the commissioners.78

Around the corner on the cathedral’s north side, despite Ormond’s 1678 issue of an ‘Ordinance against the vaults being used as taverns’,79 entrances to the crypt were still evident (plates 17, 24, 31-3, 35, 37, 48, 64). Many cellars were surrendered and regranted shortly afterwards with one mason, Patrick Hanrahan, being paid £3 18s. ‘for Walling ye Cellars up’.80 William Scriven was one of those who retained his plot in crypt west bay (plate 78), and his ‘Tenements Arches & Vault Contiguous to the Church’ can be traced from 1707 to 1738 when it was held by Martha Scriven.81 The holding was leased again in 1750 with the condition: ‘No Timber to be lodged in the Church Wall, nor any Passage

73 Viator, Letters to the Right Honorable Robert Peel, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, relating to the improvement of “The district of the metropolis,” and principally the Earl of Meath’s liberties; by making therein wide and convenient streets (Dublin, 1816), 3-5, 22-3.
74 RCB C6/1/7-8/9, 378- (Thursday 23 October 1817).
76 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 112; (1825), 54; Street & Seymour, Christ Church (1882), 69, 117, reprinted Stalley, George Edmund Street, 83, 140.
77 RCB C6/1/8/6, 27 (28 March 1745).
78 Milne, ‘Restoration’, 296 citing DCA, WSC, 27, ff 140-1.
79 Gilbert, Dublin, i, 124 is a complete and unique transcription. No other evidence of this 1678 proclamation survives according to the English Short Title Catalogue (3rd ed, British Library), and the catalogues of the NLI and National Archives of Ireland. I owe part of this information to James Kelly and James McGuire. See also RCB C6/3/1/3 (plate 78).
80 Deeds, 1795, 1818; PA 1678-9.
81 RCB C6/1/8/4, 15 (Thursday 20 March 1707); 34 (Thursday 3 March 1709) [probably also RCB C6/1/8/4, 72 (Saturday 15 May 1714)]; and RCB C6/1/8/5, 149-50 (Wednesday 27 October 1738).
to be into the Vaults', a sensible precaution given that the crypt was by then used for burials. By the end of the century, the vaults on St John’s Lane were no longer used commercially. One memory of c.1800 noted that the neighbourhood boys ‘had a vault opposite Winetavern-street, which they kept cleanly swept to play in, and a builder had given them some timber and a door to close up the front to Cock-hill’.

Above crypt level rose the cathedral’s north face, crowned by a crenellated battlement containing six pointed aisle windows, some of which were blocked. The nave north wall above this included a range of five tripartite clerestory windows of graduated lancets. The eighteenth-century building history of this north side however is unclear. Of five images surviving (plates 2-3, 5, 7, 10, 64), only the latest of these, an elevation by Edward Parke, is both detailed and reliable. In images of 1766 (plate 7) and 1780 (plate 10), the first removes the north stair, while the second adds crenellations to the north aisle, and removes dormer windows in the north choir aisle. The derivative nature of these images suggests caution in their interpretation. Neither of them depict the alteration from two switchline windows in the north choir clerestory to one, noted by Parke (plates 5, 64, 67), which does not necessarily mean that it had not taken place by 1780. Also as noted previously, the single blocked western clerestory window is ignored in a respacing of the remaining openings by Lodge (plate 10) contrary to Parke’s evidence (plate 64). The documentary evidence is also littered with ambiguities; when the northwest buttress was built, for example, remains uncertain. In 1730, a few months before Pearce’s involvement with the cathedral, concern over the stability of the north wall led the chapter to have it examined ‘by Skilful Artists and Workmen’ to report on its condition. Jones Nevill’s 1745 west end rebuilding must also have necessitated some work to the adjoining northwest corner. More convincing is that this work took place in 1753 when the removal of some sheds in John’s Lane found the cathedral’s north side ‘to be in such a State of Decay that, a Strong battery wall was built to prevent its falling’. In 1793, a report on the north wall found that it overhung St John’s Lane by 1ft 8in, but that the wall had not altered its position since erected within the ‘last fifty years’, a deviation still

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82 RCB C6/1/8/6, 69 (Tuesday 20 November 1750).
83 A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 511 (1 April 1881), 102-3, at 102.
84 See chapter i, p. 17.
85 RCB C6/1/8/5, 52-3 (Monday 7 December 1730)
86 Mason, ‘History of Christ Church’ (TCD MS 10529, 198v) citing Faulkner’s Journal. See also RCB C6/1/8/6, 93-5 (Monday 30 April-Thursday 3 May 1753).
87 RCB C6/1/7&8/8, 7 (Thursday 5 December 1793).
evident in 1829. This generalised date could refer to the 1745 rebuilding of the west end, but could conceivably be stretched eight years later. Notably, none of this appears in the reused images (plates 7 & 10). Furthermore, in 1761 the chapter hired ‘Workmen to enclose the Vaults and present Entrance into the Vaults of this Church’ and make a new entrance, the location of which is unfortunately unspecified. It may be that this new entrance was located in the corner between the transept and north aisle, noted in 1761 as ‘Ground formerly in Shops, since taken into the Church’ (plate 87). Edward Parke’s elevation depicts a small twin pinnacled Gothic-revival doorway there (plate 64), visible in other views from the northwest (plates 17, 31, 33, 35). Comparing maps of 1812 and 1817 (plate 90-1), the doorway appears only in the 1817 version, identifying it as Parke’s work, similar in style to his near contemporary St Michael’s church (plate 15-16).

The tower, which was reconstructed in the early seventeenth-century can, on the other hand, be regarded as an example of gothic survival, and remained largely unchanged until the 1840s. There were two-light traceried openings in each tower face, surmounted by the square dial for a clock. From the 1760s onwards there is no sign of the weather vane earlier noted (plate 2-3, 5-7). By 1799, the stonework, either naturally or smoke stained, exhibited ‘a black appearance’. The tower housed a ring of bells, six installed in 1670 by the Purdues and Coveys, and eight in 1739 by Abel Rudhall of Gloucester, the latter being when Street thought that the tower ‘windows and arches’ may have been altered. However, he was unaware of an incident of 9 June that year that indicates that the bells were raised at the crossing. A newspaper account reported how one bell ‘fell through the trap, tearing part of the gallery at the lord lieutenant’s seat’, cutting a man’s leg off. A rope also hung in the crossing to ring for smaller services leading George Montague to refer disparagingly to the cathedral in 1761 as ‘mean, modern buildings with a small hand-bell hung up to call the servants to dinner’. A clock and chimes had been

88 RCB C6/1/7&8/11, 140 (Saturday 4 April 1829) noted in Stalley, ‘Confronting the past’, 76.
89 RCB C6/1/8/6, 146-8 (Friday 1 May 1761); See appendix 6, no. 46.
90 Dineley depicts the face as round (plate 2), but this was probably on a square background (plate 3, 5-7), given that there is also no record of the dials being remade between 1680 and 1703. See below pp 228, 233.
91 See chapter iv, pp 176-7.
93 RCB C6/1/8/5, 138-9 (Monday 5 December 1737); PA 1737-8.
94 Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 70, reproduced in Stalley, George Edmund Street and the restoration, 84.
95 Dublin Newsletter (9-12 June 1739).
added in 1679-80, consisting of dials that were regularly regilded and repaired, as was the clock, which was maintained by a chapter-appointed keeper. The cathedral architect was also responsible for buildings beyond the precinct: prebendal churches and residences, the study of which expands our knowledge of his architectural repertoire. An important example was the Fishamble Street deanery, ‘an extensive and handsome brick building, with stone architraves round the windows’, innovatively concealing three houses behind a single façade for the dean, precentor and chancellor (figure 31.a-b). Designed and begun in 1731 by the surveyor-general, Edward Lovett Pearce, it was rarely used by subsequent deans, and leased to an apothecary in 1759. Attempts to build new accommodation for the clergy around 1792 and 1804-9 failed. By the 1830s, the dean, whose main residence was Glasnevin House, was the only chapter member with lodgings in the precinct (in the old west range). In 1738, the prebendary of St Michan’s, Dr John Antrobus, built a residence, coach house and stable ‘in Bowe Street near St Michan’s Church Yard’, where he remained until his death in 1761 (figure 32.b). Whoever was the original architect, these buildings were maintained later by cathedral architects: George Ensor, who provided iron pallisade railings for the residence in 1765, and Thomas Ivory. The prebendal churches were also tended by the cathedral architect. Hugh Kinder, a builder-architect who worked on the Lady chapel, rebuilt St Michael’s with Thomas Moneyfield for £500 between 1676-80. This simple building with artisan detailing included a door with an open-topped segmental pediment, and a pedimented window above with supporting consoles (figure 32.a). Around 1766-9, Ensor rebuilt St John’s, Fishamble Street for just over £1,170; a robust Palladian two-
storey elevation of three bays with four engaged columns supporting a portico (figures 33.a-b). Edward Parke, then rebuilt St Michael’s between 1810-15 at a cost of over £4000 (plates 15-16).

The cathedral’s main activity however took place in the interior, and it is there that one must turn to find more continuous evidence of architectural development. Its general condition by the 1830s was poor. The nave, the largest space, was described as ‘neither venerable nor imposing’ in 1821, its south side being ‘comparatively of modern date’; while in 1827, it was noted as having ‘long been in a state of decay’, with walls that had ‘lost their perpendicularity’, supported by buttresses and wooden frame work.

Farnham’s 1618 flagging raised the floor by almost 18 inches destroying ‘the grandeur of the ancient pillars by concealing their bases’, although one pillar was ‘left uncovered as a specimen of their original beauty and proportion’, suggesting that the author appreciated the nave’s original quality (plate 62). Although the grandeur had faded, the eighteenth-century chapter had the nave regularly swept and whitewashed by a plasterer, which left a caking of whitewash on walls and monuments. In 1693, 27s. had been spent on gold leaf to gild the inscription over Strongbow’s monument for the first visit of a lord lieutenant. How long this survived is unclear, but Strongbow’s sculptural assemblage probably succumbed to a century of whitewashing. One visitor in 1780 complained that ‘The antique appearance of these figures is totally ruined by white paint’, while in 1800 it was noted as having a ‘coat of blue paint’. Nevertheless, this was the cathedral’s best known landmark, and the place where, in 1783, the chapter ordered the verger to ‘open Strongbow’s cold ordinary’ every day at 3pm to ‘where all poor objects may, if they please, partake of a solid meal’, ordinary here meaning standard

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109 The architect is often given inaccurately as John Taylor who built the Roman Catholic St Michael and St John’s church from the old Theatre Royal at Smock Alley simultaneously in 1811-13 (Casey, Dubh’n, 347).

110 Neither is St Michael’s attributed to Edward Parke in Rowan, [Biographical/index. See also Crawford, ‘Some extinct churches’, 46-54; Wheeler, ‘St. Michael’s Parish’, 103; Wheeler & Craig, Dublin city churches, 27.

111 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 112 (1825), 54.

112 For example, RCB C6/1/8/4, 54 (Thursday 7 June 1711); C6/1/8/5, 9-10 (Tuesday 5 April 1726).

113 PA 1692-3; Simms, ‘Principal officers of the central government in Ireland, 1172-1922’, 490.

114 [Edward Lloyd], A month’s tour in North Wales, Dublin and its environs, with observations upon their manners and police in the year 1780 (London, 1781), 56.

115 Σ, [Strongbow monument], Gentleman’s Magazine, lxx, (September 1800), 818 & plate I opp. 817 (fig. 6).
fare, a tradition dating back at least to the 1680s. The renown of these monuments from an early date meant that with the popularisation of travel and antiquarianism, they were among the first cathedral antiquities to attract scholarly enquiry. These and other monuments decorated the unarcaded south wall behind which, hidden from view, lay the south aisle, used since 1699 as the chapter house. It consisted of five spaces from east to west c.1818: a library, a stove-warmed chapter house where clergy robed, an ante-room, a small hall to the nave, and the vicars' robing room (plates 87, 94). Carpentry work was carried out in 1668 when it was still the Trinity chapel, followed by plastering in 1676-7 and possibly wainscoting. The latter was cleaned in 1709 by which time the space had been converted into the chapter house. As early as 1696, the chapter consulted 'with workmen for fitting that Roome heretofore called Trinity Chappel now to be made a Chapter House'. Oddly, tenants adjoining the aisle, perhaps bound by legal formulae, continued to refer to it as the Trinity chapel as late as 1761. The chapter house was also used, along with St Mary's chapel, for the Church of Ireland's convocation meetings in 1713. In 1707, a reorganisation of nave space saw 'a Vestry made for the Choir to put on their Habitts in the passage to the Chapter House', an arrangement retained until c.1870 (plate 103).

116 Volunteer's Journal (16 October 1783); NLI MS 392, f. 27; Garstin, 'Thomas Dineley', 286 likened 'to have dined with Strongbowe' with the expression 'to dine with Duke Humphrey' a meaning which Francis Grose et al., Dictionary of the vulgar tongue (London: C. Chappel, 1811), sub nomine Duke Humphrey, confirms as to go without dinner, named after an aisle called Duke Humphrey's walk in old St Paul's cathedral where one would go while others dined. This however would appear to be the opposite of the generosity of the Christ Church chapter in 1783.

117 117 ' [Strongbow monument]', 818 & plate I, fig. 6; Anthony Sinnot, '[History of Strongbow]', Gentleman's Magazine, lxxi, 1 (January 1801), 19-20; D.H., '[Longueville Tomb]', Gentleman's Magazine, lxxii, 2 (July 1807), 625-6 & plate II opp. 625; [Anonymous], 'Anecdote of Strongbow and his son', Dubin Penny Journal, i, 18 (27 October 1832), 160; J.R. Planché, 'On the earls of Strigul and lords of Chepstow', British Archaeological Journal, x (October 1854), 265-74. [John], [Clarke], [Fortisclaire], 'Arms of Strongbow', Gentleman's magazine and historical review, i (1864), 362; James Graves, 'Armorial bearings of Strongbow', Gentleman's magazine and historical review, ccxxvi, 1 (March 1864), 362-3; James Graves, 'On the arms of de Clare', Gentleman's magazine and historical review, ccxxvii, 1 (April 1865), 403-8; ccxxviii, 2 (July 1865), 3-11; ccxxix, 2 (August 1865), 207-8; ccxxx, 2 (November 1865), 551-63.; and a series of letters by C.R. Panter and others in the Irish Times (16, 17, 22, 28 October & 26, 29 November 1889).

118 Weight, Historical guide (1821), 113-114; (1825), 55; PA 1766-7.

119 RCB C6/1/4, 'Book of Benefactions' [p. 173]. This manuscript is largely unpaginated, with a expanse of blank pages in the middle. The few page numbers have been extended silently to apply to the whole manuscript, with the volume resuming towards the end at p. 168. The pages which precede the initial page numbers are given as folio numbers. PA 1676-7; RCB C6/1/8/4, f. 36 (29 July 1709).

120 RCB C6/1/8/3, 86 (Wednesday 2 December 1696).

121 RCB C6/1/8/5, 119-21 (Monday 19 April 1736); 122 (Monday 3 May 1736); 146-8 (Friday 1 May 1761).

122 RCB C6/1/8/4, 68 (Tuesday 24 November 1713).

123 RCB C6/1/8/4, 13 (Thursday 6 March 1707)
The chapter house held archives and reference works close to hand for the chapter. A covering was purchased in 1706 to put ‘over the Records to preserve them from Dust’. It was refurbished c.1745, and systematised in 1763 when a request was made ‘for fixing up Alphabets and Presses convenient for holding and keeping with safety Leases Papers and other things’. In 1774, the chapter ordered the statues and acts of parliament, important sources of information on the acts of the Wide Streets Commissioners of relevance to cathedral property. The chapter house also stored other valuables; in 1710, a wooden chest stored the chapter seal, and an iron one held the cathedral’s silver plate. In 1777, security was increased when a vault with an iron door was set up in what was formerly a cellar in the library (plate 87, 94), though ironically the cathedral plate was stolen five months later. Appropriate to the cathedral’s chapel royal status, the London goldsmiths, ‘Messrs Pickett & Rundell’, from whom the new plate was purchased, were later appointed as royal goldsmiths.

The north aisle in comparison was largely deserted and in poor repair by the 1830s. A portion of its eastern half served as a vestry or vestries from the Restoration to the early eighteenth century. Part of a crypt cellar leased in 1666 located ‘east from the north stairs of the church’ was ‘situate under the vestry’, and continued to be leased to the family of Randal Beckett, former overseer of the Irish public works. As part of the 1707 reorganisation, the chapter ordered that ‘the old Vestrys be made into One for a convenient place for the Seneschall Court’. Given that at least one of these vestries had just been vacated by the choir, part at least can be identified with the ‘little Vestry’ noted in 1640. The introduction of a court into the cathedral body was not unusual. Similar examples could be found in the ecclesiastical consistory courts which existed at other cathedrals. These included St Patrick’s, Dublin where it was located in a building off the south aisle, St Canice’s, Kilkenny, where it was situated at the east end of the south.

124 RCB C6/1/8/4, 7 (Saturday 20 April 1706).
125 RCB C6/1/8/4, 49 (Friday 15 December 1710); RCB C6/1/8/5, 138-9 (Monday 5 December 1737).
126 RCB C6/1/8/4, 48 (Saturday 30 September 1710).
127 Deeds 1600 (21 November 1665); 1703 (3 August 1666); Loeb, Dictionary, 19.20, [116].
128 RCB C6/1/8/4, 13 (Thursday 6 March 1707). Mills, Account roll, 143 notes the seneschal as ‘the land agent and judge of the manor courts of the possessions of the Priory’.
transept chapel, and Christ Church, Waterford where St Saviour’s chapel in the nave southwest corner doubled as the bishop’s consistory court. This appears to be the space Archbishop King complained about in 1725 when the chapter ‘allowed a room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand-jury room, & now for a robe-room for the judges’.

The transepts remained largely empty providing little more than processional space before the choir screen. However, renovations were made in 1794, when Edward Parke was asked ‘to ciel the north and south cross ailes and the steeple’. This neo-gothic vaulting is apparent in a surviving cross-section (plate 63) and in a late nineteenth-century photograph (plate 61). Three facts suggest that the cross-section was idealised rather than actual, most likely representing a proposal by Robert Parke in 1791-2 when the organ was moved to the screen: first, the ornate ‘ice-cream-cone’-like springers do not extend to the string-course level; second, the organ screen does not agree with later drawings (plate 51), and third, the gap between the triforium and clerestory is larger than is actually the case. The springers nevertheless are a good indicator of this juvenile development stage of the gothic revival. They mimic stiff leaf capitals, but in two layers one over the another, characteristic of the gothic revival, yet are supported by a shaft composed of a spiral of rolls superficially reminiscent of examples found in English Romanesque, but related to neither. Interest in the transept and the ‘portal, now shut up’ in John’s Lane in the 1820s however, owed to their being ‘Saxon’ as Romanesque was then known.

One of the most impressive aspects of the nave was the screen, surmounted by the organ from 1791, which filled the entire eastern crossing arch and separated the nave and choir. Placing the organ there was the third major alteration to the screen since 1668, when an elaborate portal or western gate was installed in this position. For at least a decade after, this displayed the arms of the subscribers to Dean Parry’s 1668 restoration ‘on the

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133 Marsh’s Library, Dublin, ‘Map of the liberty of St Patrick’s cathedral, 1754, by Roger Kendrick’ reproduced in Clarke, Dublin to 1610, map 9; Ware, Works, i, 420, 552.
134 A great archbishop of Dublin: William King, 246 citing letter from King to F. Annesley (5 February 1724).
135 RCB C6/1/7/8, 18-19 (Saturday 8 March 1794).
Choyre Doore in Xchurch. A second innovation was the installation of a grand double staircase during Dean Moreton’s 1679-80 restoration, first noted in minor expenses of ‘painting the Great Stairs, little Stairs, & Altar rays’, which were lined with wainscot. Dineley stated, c.1680 that ‘the setting up [of] the new staircase over the Quire door leading to the Lord Lieutenants seat, hath, with ye late beautifying this Church obliterated and obscur’d several Inscriptions and monuments of ancient date’, confirming the recent construction of the stairs. In 1698, Dunton noted: ‘Hither the government come to church as the King’s Chapel Royal, they sit over the Great Door of the choir and the ascent to it from the aisle is by two large staircases’. What may be a Swiftian parody in 1733 helpfully noted: ‘We came til twa great stairs, and get under them, what was a door ganging in’, and Loveday in July that year noted ‘A spacious double Stair-Case in ye Body, leads to ye State-Galleries just ower (sic) ye Choir-Entrance’. When the stairs were removed is unknown, but the 1790s restoration is a likely time, as they do not appear in the crossing elevation of c.1791 (plate 63).

The staircase probably absorbed a large slice of the 1679-80 restoration’s considerable carpentry bill; indeed most English internal staircases were wooden until the mid-eighteenth century. Given the procession of choir and clergy into the choir, one can imagine that the stairs were placed either side of the choir entrance. An idea of its appearance can be suggested from contemporary Irish staircases, which were of square or rectangular plan with a series of small landings as at Eyrecourt, Galway, built after the Restoration (figure 4.a). Further examples include the Royal Hospital Kilmainham of 1680-4 (figure 4.b) and Marsh’s library, 1701-3 (though rebuilt) both by William

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138 RCB C6/1/4, pasted on f. 2v headed ‘The charge repayng adorning ye church’ (11 November 1668); [p. 173] (19 November 1668).
139 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 26]; C6/1/8/4, f. 36 (29 July 1709) notes Margaret Shirt’s employment to clean it.
Robinson, and the staircases at the west end of the old library in Trinity College by Thomas Burgh (1712-33). A convincing English comparison, with Irish links, is the fine contemporary 1677-80 staircase by Grinling Gibbons at Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire (figure 5).

On passing beneath the stairs into the choir, one met with a long and narrow space with both galleries and a sequence of three pews on either side, no more than ten feet apart, an arrangement that changed little throughout the eighteenth century. However, as artistic tastes evolved, opinion of the choir diminished. By 1821, the choir was scathingly referred to as ‘devoid of architectural ornament’, with plaster walls ‘painted in the style of the interior of a private residence’, while admittedly the concave ceiling had a ‘fashionable cornice’. Wright’s 1825 edition toned down the language replacing the private residence reference with ‘painted in oil colours’, but the cornice was no longer then ‘fashionable’, but ‘modern’, comments which demonstrate well the application of contemporary modes to internal ecclesiastical decoration. By the early nineteenth-century, the intended transformation of the choir from classical to Gothic had stalled, producing an aesthetically disturbing view of architectural genres jarringly juxtaposed. Antiquarian and archaeologist, R.C. Hoare, noted this first in 1807 describing the choir as ‘a sad medley of Gothic and Italian architecture combined in the most unnatural manner’, a comment elaborated upon by Wright in 1821 as ‘a most extraordinary and tasteless medley of Gothic, Grecian and Italian architecture’, though he reverted to Colt’s ‘Gothic and Italian architecture’ in his second edition. MacGregor added a variant in 1821: ‘The throne and stalls are of varnished oak in the Gothic style, neatly carved; while, by a strange perversion of taste, the galleries are supported by Corinthian and Ionic columns’, while in 1827, a paraphrasing anonymous visitor softened ‘perversion’ to


148 Loveday, Diary of a tour in 1732, 53-4 citing John Stevens, Monasticon hibernicum (London 1722), 5; Mark Elstob, A trip to Kilkenny from Durham by way of Whitehaven and Dublin in the year MDCCCLXXVI (Dublin & London, 1779), 82, paraphrased in Philip Luckombe, Tour through Ireland; wherein the present state of the kingdom is considered; and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings, loughs; &c. described ... (2nd ed., London, 1783), 5.

149 J.J. MacGregor, New picture of Dublin (Dublin, 1821), 85; Notes of a journey in the north of Ireland, in the summer of 1827 ... (London, 1828), 132.

150 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 121-2; (1825), 58.


152 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 121; (1825), 58.

153 MacGregor, New picture of Dublin (1821), 85.
In 1829, Bell noted the choir as 'a confused jumble of styles ... with little pretensions to the taste and correctness of either the Gothic or the Grecian style'. J.S. Sloane chimed in with such criticism, although at a greater chronological remove, writing in 1881. Reacting to regrets over Price's repairs of the 1830s, he argued that 'this should not be the case. An immense lot of rubbish of old wainscot, and cloth, fringe, fleas, painting, and gilding was judiciously got rid of ...'. On the positive side, all agreed that the cathedral was kept impeccably clean due to the fastidiousness of Bishop Lindsay, dean from 1804 until his death in 1846, and the chapter. The interior evinced their 'unceasing attention ... every part is kept in good repair and is neat and clean, a circumstance not universally attended to in places of worship' and was 'in good order, and neatly arranged within, owing to the exertions' of the dean and chapter.

North of the choir was an aisle used as little more than a passageway providing access either to the galleries or the Lady chapel (plates 87, 94). The southern aisle however continued to function as a cathedral entrance; a 1664 document notes for example 'the door from the churchyard towards the choir or chancel'. Reading and Jebb (plate 87, 97-9) show the south aisle divided in two halves, the eastern portion as a staired hallway to access the southern choir galleries, and the western half as a vestibule to the south transept from which one could proceed to the west end of the choir. In 1754, the old cathedral south entrance was reportedly 'thrown down and a grand one is rebuilding in a uniform handsome manner'. The architect is unattributed, but ongoing work in this area was probably responsible for the 1759 discovery of an episcopal tomb in the 'Opening of an arch in the walls', perhaps the unidentified archbishop (chapter iii, figures 6.a-b) which, c.1818, was located in the north-west corner of the nave (plate 94). With such a grand staircase, it is unsurprising that the choir galleries were 'mostly appropriated to the purpose of a Chapel Royal'. Each closet was 'separated from one another by partitions of

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154 *Notes of a journey in the north of Ireland, in the summer of 1827 ...* (London, 1828), 132.
155 Thomas Bell, *An essay on the origin and progress of Gothic architecture* (Dublin, 1829), 137-50 at 148.
156 A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], 'Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin', *Irish Builder*, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118, 121, at 121.
157 Warburton, Whitehall & Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin* (1818), i, 497. Lindsay's meticulous eye to detail can be see in the chapter order book (RCB C6/1/12/1).
158 Wright, *Historical guide* (1821), 127 (1825), 59.
159 RCB C6/1/26/5, no. 99.
160 Falkiner's *Dublin Journal* (17-20 August 1754) given in Irish Architectural Archive catalogue.
162 Wright, *Historical guide* (1825), 55 notes 'In the corner, near these statues [of Charles I and II in the north aisle], is the coffin and tomb of Archbishop O'Toole'.
elaborately carved open wood-work’, and accessed via a number of staircases (figure 1. K, L, N, O, P, Q, plate 94). The cathedral sensibly insured against fire, given that in the early nineteenth century, these wooden galleries were heated by stove fires.

The first direct record of a gallery being erected appears to be 1663, a structure enhanced in the restorations of 1668 and 1679-80. Little thought was given to the Romanesque arches in the westernmost part of the choir which ‘were either plastered over, or, as seems more probable, had been cut away’. Similar damage was caused at St Patrick’s (chapter vi, figure 19). Although Street deftly repaired this damage in the 1870s, there is lamentably little surviving evidence of the galleries. In 1821, Wright described them as ‘of modern date … supported by Corinthian and Ionic columns’. Jebb disagreed noting that ‘a gallery extended each side, supported by wooden pillars of what is called by courtesy the Doric or Tuscan Order’. No visual evidence survives to confirm which was correct. Mason’s plan suggests the columns were circular (plate 94), the form they also took at nearby St Mary’s, built c.1700-4 by William Robinson and completed by Thomas Burgh. There they are fluted and Ionic, while at St Werburgh’s, refurbished by Joseph Jarratt after a fire in 1754, they are Doric. The pillars also light the choir, providing ‘brass brackets and sconces, holding wax candles’. Mason’s plan (plate 94) depicts a feature unnoted by Jebb; the west end appears to have been elevated into another gallery, perhaps to accommodate the organ. A similar feature survives in St Werburgh’s. In the narrow choir of Christ Church, this must have created a cramped vertiginous scene not unlike the exclusive multi-deckered box stalls at opera houses for which Dublin was famed in the late eighteenth century. Indeed Sloane conjures just such a theatrical atmosphere remembering himself as a boy confined in the Lady Mayoress’s (Lady Nugent’s) closet, full of immense bonnets, gigot sleeves, a large amount of poor “human nature,” and Dei Croi’ choicest

163 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
164 RCB C6/1/7/or8/8, 13 (January-March 1794).
165 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [13] (before Christmas 1819).
166 Loeber, Dictionary, 56 citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, Carte Ms 52, f. 260v.
167 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
168 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 122; (1825), 58.
169 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
170 Casey, Dublin, 89-90, 343.
171 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 12 [28]; (1862), 252.
The operatic analogy stretches with little difficulty. Prior to 1791, a curved projection from the northern gallery which Jebb noted was ‘probably for the Anthem singers’, can indeed be confirmed as such. Referring to the organ loft, Luckcombe noted that ‘The choristers go up into this when the anthem is sung.’ On the organ’s removal to the west end, ‘the space in front was appropriated to the verse singers of the anthem, who, on Sunday mornings, came up to the loft for this purpose only’. Jebb referred to this as ‘the old custom of the Chapel Royal in London, and of St Patrick’s cathedral, where indeed Sunday evensong was unabashedly referred to as ‘Paddy’s opera’.

Placed on the screen, the organ formed an integral part of the cathedral architecture, dominating the spaces either side of it (plate 51, 59-60, 63). Only two images of the eighteenth-century organ survive, which vary in detail, and none survive for the north gallery. The first is an elevation, probably idealised (plate 63), whereas the second from the *Dublin Penny Journal* provides a more realistic view (plate 51). This was the John Byfield organ installed in 1752 in the east end of the north gallery of the choir, but moved to the screen in 1791 by W.C. Hollister, part of a cathedral organ building dynasty. Mobile instruments served temporarily after the Restoration until an organ was built by Lancelot Pease in 1667. Contact was made with the sub-dean of the chapel royal in England in 1694 ‘for an organ to be brought out of England’, but when the London organ builder Bernard Smith reneged on his contract, in 1697 fellow Londoner, Renatus Harris appositely erected an organ in Christ Church which had been the losing entry in the ‘battle of the organs’ against Smith at the Temple Church in 1688. The organ

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173 A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the County of Dublin’, *Irish Builder*, xxii, 512 (15 April 1881), 121.
174 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 11 [27]; (1862), 251.
175 Philip Luckombe, *Tour through Ireland: wherein the present state of the kingdom is considered; and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings, towns, &c. described...* (2nd ed., London, 1783), 5.
176 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
178 Poe’s *Occurrences* (23 Oct. 1752) noted in Mason, ‘History of Christ Church’ (TCD MS 10529, f. 198v).
179 Brian Boydell, ‘Hollister’, *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, viii, 651-2; Barra Boydell, *History of music at Christ Church*, 85, 114-116. Lover of cathedrals, ‘Description of the cathedrals in Ireland’, 1020-2 writing on 13 November 1799 outdatedly described the west gallery as the state pew, modishly noting ‘whether [is] the organ usually stands in cathedrals’, but was quickly corrected by Jack Prancer, ‘[St. Patrick’s Cathedral]’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, lxx, 1 (March 1800), 219-20, who stated: ‘It is now 10 or 12 years since the organ of Christ church in that city has been removed to the West-end of the choir, and fixed in place of the seat before then allotted to the chief governors of Ireland'.

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— later sold to St John’s church, Wolverhampton (figure 7.b)\textsuperscript{180} — can be compared with his instruments in Salisbury and at St Patrick’s cathedrals (figures 7.a & 37-8).\textsuperscript{181} It featured cherubs at impost level and ornate carving, with clusters of pipes capped with a classical cornice, mirroring the surrounding furnishings. In 1750, the chapter turned again to London, asking Byfield for a new instrument. Aside from aesthetic reasons of symmetry, moving the organ to the screen may also have been to accommodate a future expansion of the instrument. In the 1690s, Cuvillie noted ‘the narrow Compass of the place, where the Organ stands’, and a bricklayer and a plasterer was paid for work on an ‘organ room’, probably behind the instrument, as exists today at St Patrick’s.\textsuperscript{182}

Like opera-goers, those in the galleries often attended to be seen, particularly clergy fishing for ecclesiastical promotion. On the bishop of Dromore’s death in 1683, the lord deputy recommended the bishop of Cloyne to succeed, describing how ‘there were no less then ten Deans at Christ Church on Sunday to put in for this bishopric, but I thank God the gallery is clear of them, now they know my mind’.\textsuperscript{183} The social status of seating arrangements clearly mattered a great deal.\textsuperscript{184} Most cathedral pews can be identified in this period, but direction-heavy contemporary descriptions often produce errors or contradictory evidence difficult to interpret.\textsuperscript{185} From west to east, the north gallery consisted of pews for the peers, the Kildares, the city, the peeresses and one unassigned. The peers’ seats (figure 1.B) had other seats behind them, and panelling at the back of the gallery painted with ‘the arms of all the English Sovereigns and Queens Consort, since the time of Henry II., inclusive.’ Dineley also noted, c.1680, painted escutcheons which ‘sett forth the descent of the Crown of England up on the King of Scots’,\textsuperscript{186} incidentally also confirming the royal arms as erected by the reign of James I (1603-25). The duke of Leinster’s seat east of this (figure 1.C), had the Tudor monument to Edward Griffith and the Kildare family arms at the back of it, the latter of which was moved

\textsuperscript{180} Barra Boydell, History of music at Christ Church, 114-116; E.P. Hickman, A history of the Renatus Harris organ in St John’s church Wolverhampton (Wolverhampton: St John’s Church, revised ed., 2003).

\textsuperscript{181} Dotted Crotchet, ‘Salisbury Cathedral’, Musical Times, 44:720 (1 February 1903), 81-9, at 85.

\textsuperscript{182} Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 167-9, no. 362 (November 1699); PA 1696-7.


\textsuperscript{184} T.C. Barnard, ‘Parishes, pews and parsons: lay people and the Church of Ireland, 1647-1780’ in Raymond Gillespie & W.G. Neely (ed.), The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: all sorts and conditions (Dublin: FCP, 2002), 70-103, at 83, fig. 3 illustrates a good example in a 1693 plan of the now demolished St Peter’s church in Aungier Street.

\textsuperscript{185} See for example, the archbishop’s seat, p. 208.

\textsuperscript{186} Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250; Garstin, ‘Thomas Dineley’, 290, shows that Jebb’s suggest that this panelling was originally at the back of the western state closet prior to 1791, is untrue.
down to the Kildare pew following Price's restoration. The pew had a brass plate declaring ownership by 'John, Earl of Kildare, and his family, for ever; being conveyed to him by the Deane and Chapter', dated 17 November 1696, perhaps a recompense for the demise of their Kildare chantry chapel.

East of this was the seat for ‘the family of the Lord Mayor (or of those of the Corporation of Dublin)’ which corresponds on Jebb’s map to that marked as the Lady mayoress’s closet (figure 1.D). Jebb also noted that ‘a Corporation seat was on the north, beyond the Stalls’ in the cathedral below, which accounts for Wright’s description of the Corporation pew as ‘Beneath the gallery, and on the side opposite to his Excellency’s seat’, which were ‘appropriated to them, for particular days in the year’. In 1680, Denton noted seats of ‘the lord mair & aldermen near the arch[bishop]’, probably those opposite each other according to Jebb’s plan (figure 1.D & G). Behind the city gallery seats was unusual panelling ‘painted, in heraldic colours and devices, the symbols of the twelve tribes of Israel’. They were noted by Dineley as ‘escutcheons of the twelve tribes’, which suggests that, like those of the crown, they were unaltered since c.1680. Jebb believed that the symbols, including heraldic representations of water for Reuben and of cruelty (two swords saltirewise) for Simeon ‘were not uncommon decorations of churches in the seventeenth century’, emphasising the strong role played by religion in the world of civic politics. The city council of mayors and ‘elder’ or aldermen mirrored a Jewish administrative structure that could be traced to the twelve tribes. Based around the number twelve, the model applied to Dublin’s corporation with its 24 jurés (the legal title of aldermen), 48 demi-jurés and 96 ‘numbers’. The concept was familiar at the time, and the tribes’ symbols reproduced (figure 9). In 1710, permission was given to the lord mayor ‘to inlarge the Seat in the Gallary wherein the Lady Mayoress usually sits’ by taking in the seat between it and the organ loft on

187 Wright, *Historical guide* (1821), 122; (1825), 58; Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
189 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 12 [28]; (1862), 252; Wright, *Historical guide* (1821), 122; (1825), 58.
191 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
193 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 11 [27]; (1862), 251.
condition ‘that the singing boys shall have full and free liberty to go into the said Seat to sing’. Later reference to a ‘Freemans Gallery’ is probably a synonym for aldermen. Beyond this pew was the peeresses’ seat (figure 1.E). Jebb suspected that prior to the 1791 move of the organ the state pew was ‘probably also occupied by the peeresses’, which if true would mean the peeresses and the musicians were the only group that had made a straight swap in position during that refurbishment. The north gallery position included a space behind forming ‘a Vestibule to the Peeresses’ Seat, and a Chamber for the Sextoness’, a chamber that most likely equated with the ‘organ room’ fitted out for the Harris-Cuvillie organ in 1698-9. The lock and staircase of the gallery were still being maintained in 1819. The gallery and stairs east of this pew (figure 1.K) facilitated the descent of communicants to the altar rails below.

Pews in the south gallery from west to east were unassigned, the archbishop’s closet, the lord lieutenant’s, the archbishop’s, and unassigned respectively. The first of these opposite the peer’s pew (figure 1.EE) also depicted the descent of the crown and was often occupied by House of Commons members or crown officers. The next pew to it was set aside ‘for the Archbishop of Dublin’s family’ (figure 1.F). A note that the ‘Archbishop of Dublin’s seat’ was on the north side in 1685 was either a temporary location or a pew at his disposal as was the case in the mid-nineteenth century, given that all other plans locate it on the south side. The lord lieutenant’s pew was next (figure 1.G) featuring ‘Ionic pillars supporting a flat canopy, not corresponding to any other part of the choir’, whereas Jebb described it as ‘separated into three partitions, with a canopy supported by Grecian pillars, each partition being enclosed on three sides, and lined with satin and velvet’; similar canopies survived at St Patrick’s (figure 37). It was ‘purposely fitted up’ for the ‘chief governors of Ireland’, but cannot have dominated as much as when it was on the screen ‘anciently called the State’, which extended into the

197 RCB C6/1/8/4, 45 [Saturday 1 April 1710].
198 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [12v] (16 October 1819); f. [25] (1 December 1828).
199 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250.
200 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 17 [32]; (1862), 255.
201 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [7v] (between 9 and 14 February 1819, and 25 February 1819).
203 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 80; Registers, 121, note 216. See also NLI, GO MS 75, 89; MS 77, 256 and Lodge, Peerage, iv, 63 (28 January 1665).
204 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 122; (1825), 58.
205 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 11 [27]; (1862), 251.
207 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10 [26]; (1862), 250; A Fingalian [John S. Sloane], ‘Correspondence: Christ Church Cathedral &c.’, Irish Builder, xxxiii, 520 (August 1881), 245.
crossing (plate 94) and was damaged by a falling bell in 1739. This was its position in 1680, when Thomas Denton observed that 'the lord deputy & king's counsell have seats in a gallery'. The new double staircase also added to the vice-regal ceremony; two Dublin lord mayors were knighted in 1684 and 1686 by successive chief governors in 'Christ Church at the foot of the stairs'. In 1699, John Dunton described the way the government went via 'the great Isle ... to the foot of the Stairs by which they ascend to the Place where they sit', and noted a long list of soldiers, pursuivants, maces, chaplains, gentlemen, pages and footmen attending. The military presence was to guard the gallery stairs against 'disorders and indecencies' whereby individuals 'that belong not to the state' entered the vice-regal pew. This had occurred in 1711, 1713, 1715, and 1717, in which year was noted the layout of the government pew: the 'Lords & others of the Privy Council, the Nobility and their Sons' took 'the Fore Seats of the said Gallery', whereas heralds, military personell and other gentlemen of the court sat 'in the back Seats'. Such a description does not preclude the 'Fore Seats' from having extended north and south of the gallery, including the peers' seat and the unassigned pew opposite. In 1733, the government closet contained 'ye Ld. Lieutenant's Seat, on his Rt. hand ye Ld. Primate's, on his left ye Ld. Chancellor's'. Dineley records a monument commemorating Ormond's third term as lord lieutenant following the 1679-80 restoration described as 'in a Compartment of Gold', perhaps a gilded background (figure 14), which would have been appropriate to the state pew. Superceding the lord lieutenant however, was the king himself. A surviving unidentified framed portrait in profile survives above the present crypt entrance, its flaking brown paint identifying it as from the old long choir (figure 12, 13.a). Its lack of inscription suggests a figure of importance, as do the laurel leaves Caesar-like in the voluminous Restoration style hair. This Roman motif was used by the monarch, as illustrated in the Dublin bricklayers charter of 1670, up until the time of George IV. Given donations of £100 by the king.

208 See p. 195 above.
209 Denton, Perambulation of Cumberland 1687 8; incl. ... Ireland, 534; Winchester, 'Dublin in the 1680s', 49.
210 Appendix 5.
213 NLI, MS GO 6, 'Duke of Bolton's Order for Christ Church, 1717', 65-7.
214 Loveday, Diary of a tour in 1732, 53-4.
216 For which see chapter vi, pp 277-8.
217 Loeber, 'Early classicism', 61, note 4 citing BL, Add. Ms 11,268, f. 98.
to both choir restorations, it is possible that the profiled Roman, similar in reverse to the head on coins of the day, depicts King Charles II (figure 13.b). A set of carved and painted royal arms of the house of Stuart (1603-89), which were regularly repaired and varnished (figure 8.a), may also have fronted the state pew, as is still the case in St Werburgh’s church (figure 8.b). A separate unassigned gallery existed east of the archbishop’s throne (figure 1.l), which Jebb derisorily called a ‘large and unsightly gallery, or rather pewed scaffolding’. It is probable that this gallery was the one associated with the earl of Strafford, located opposite the old organ. The association was remembered in 1720, when a complainant wrote to Archbishop King concerning a space on the south wall stated ‘tho’ Mr Wentworth may have right to the southside chancel he has no right to this …?’ The ‘Prebendary’s seat in the Gallery’ noted by John Rowley, may relate to unassigned gallery seats (figure 1.EE, I, K).

Beneath the galleries Jebb noted ‘was properly the Cathedral’ where the ‘stalls of the Choir ranged on each side’. This notes them as facing into the central aisle, an unusual arrangement for galleried parish churches such as near contemporaries, St Mary’s, St Werburgh’s and St Ann’s, but an inherited arrangement for the former cathedral priory, which could find analogues in the chapel at Trinity College. Surprisingly, Jebb notes the choir stalls as of limited length prior to Price’s 1830s restoration, only ‘extending to about the middle of the second, or larger southern arch’. They were ‘of varnished oak, apparently not ancient, but in a tolerable Gothic style, with ogee canopies, and pannelled and mitred standards in front’. The latter were probably ‘ancient’. The only earlier note is from 1733 when Loveday observed: ‘There are no Titles over ye Stalls.’ The archbishop’s throne likewise was of oak ‘and in the Gothic style’, varnished and ‘neatly carved’, almost certainly replacing classical versions, probably something like the throne built for Archbishop Boyle’s Blessington chapel in the 1670s, described later as ‘built after a very elegant Manner, with a Mitre of exquisite Carv’d-work. On each Side are Seats covered with crimson Silk Curtains, and Cushions of the same Colour, trimmed

218 PA 1667-8; RCB C6/1/4, [p. 26] (1679-80); RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [5v] (2 December 1816).
219 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 11 [27]; (1862), 251.
220 See chapter iv, pp 144, 180.
222 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [17v] (28 July 1822).
223 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 10-12 [6-8]; (1862), 251-2.
224 Loveday, Diary of a tour in 1732, 53-4.
225 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 122; (1825), 58; Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 12 [28]; (1862), 252.
226 MacGregor, New picture of Dublin (1821), 82-6.
with Gold Lace'. Gothicisation had clearly taken place at Christ Church before 1807 when Hoare noted a 'sad medley' of styles. Thomas Cooley is an obvious possibility given his design of a gothic-revival episcopal throne for St Patrick's about 1775 (figure 36-9). More likely is that this formed part of a restoration by Robert Parke in 1791. The thin and banded clusters of four shafts supporting the screen (plate 63, 94) for example, are similar to those depicted on the archiepiscopal throne that survived to the 1870s (plate 73; chapter vi, figure 18), and may imply that the Parke restoration was not limited to the organ and governmental seat, but extended to the choir furnishings.

Jebb described the southern decanal side as containing the stalls of the dean, the archdeacon of Dublin, the prebendary of St Michan's, unappropriated stalls and ending with those of the chancellor. On the northern cantoris side was the precentor, prebendaries of St Michael and St John's, unappropriated stalls and the treasurers, an arrangement which would remain unchanged, although more spread due to the removal of galleries following Price's restoration (plate 103, chapter vi, figure 1). To these can be added the seats of the choir, the vicars choral, whether clerical or lay. Indeed the laity also required seating. This probably included 'dark seats which looked into the choir through openings in the panels' behind lateral stalls under the westernmost arches, an arrangement also found at Limerick cathedral, and hardly sufficiently accessible to be clerical seating. Reserved seating for congregation members was a tradition that continued at the Restoration. Sergeant at arms, Phillip Carpenter, obtained 'for his wife and attendants' half a small seat to the right of the choir's 'south gate' entrance, due to Mr Horoman's inattendance, while a 'Nott: Foulkes' also ordered a small seat. In English cathedrals, the laity were often left 'as strained spectators in the nave', but the small scale of Irish cathedrals had some levelling effect bringing a range of social classes within parochially close proximity.

The choir furnishings included a pulpit and the familiar eagle lectern. This medieval lectern was noted as a reading desk 'supported by a brazen eagle, with expanded wings', but considered by Wright 'a specimen of the worst possible taste'. Jebb described this as the 'Eagle Bible Desk', which was close to the Precentor's Vicar. A 'low, unenclosed

227 W.R. Chetwood, A tour through Ireland in several entertaining letters wherein the present state of that kingdom is considered... (Dublin, 1746), 243. See also Brian de Breffny, 'The building of the mansion at Blessington, 1672', [GPA] Irish Arts Review Yearbook, v (1988), 73-7.
229 Jebb, 'Observations' (1855), 11-12 [27-8]; (1862), 252.
230 RCB C6/1/8/2, 184 (23 January 1661); NLI 97, p. 38 (f. 19v).
232 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 122; (1825), 58.
desk’ nearby facing east was used by the priest vicar for chanting the litany. The pulpit required regular maintenance, including carpentry repairs, provision of cushions and velvet, and the replacement of stair carpets and rods. It stood ‘near the Holy Table, in the centre of the Choir … facing westwards’, and was originally moveable, wheeled in for the sermon and away after it. In an amusing 1733 account the observer noted: ‘the pulpit was gan: how it came or what it went I could nae find out’. Such a mobile pulpit is pictured in an 1817 view of the choir of St Patrick’s (figure 38).

In contrast, the formerly mobile altar or ‘communion table’ in the chancel was a permanent fixture around which carved wooden altar rails were installed after the Restoration. Since the 1668 refurbishment the chancel was floored with black and white marble tiles, renewed at intervals afterwards, a pattern followed by St John’s church in 1680 where French white stone was laid, and still extant at St Werburgh’s. In 1855, Jebb recalled the east end of the pre-1830s choir as ‘decorated with wood work in the post-restoration style, as represented in an old picture now in the Chapter Room. In the central compartment was a panelling of crimson velvet, with the sacred Monogram and a Glory in the midst. Although this picture of a wainscotted altar, and embroidered glory, is lost, it appears to have differed little from the altar established in 1679-80, and maintained later. In 1705, ‘a new Velvet Carpet’ was requested ‘for the Communion Table’, specified to be bought in London. In 1734, ‘gold lace for the Altar cloth’ was purchased to ‘be set round the Carpet of the Communion Table in the Stead of the Lace lately Stolen’. The glory sounds much like that at St Canice’s cathedral in Kilkenny, where there were ‘Rays of the Sun, painted over the Communion Table’ in 1748, a theme retained in the the classical restoration by Bishop Pockocke in 1763 when he covered the altar ‘with purple velvet, richly embroidered with gold lace, and placed

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233 PA 1668-9; 1671-2; RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [6] (12 February 1817), f. [11v-12] (June-August 1819); f. [12] (9 August 1819).
234 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 12 [28], (1862), 252.
235 J.S., North-country-man’s description (1733).
236 PA 1662-4; See Gillespie, ‘Crisis of reform’, 215.
239 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 12 [28]
240 RCB C6/1/8/4, f. 36 (29 July 1709).
241 PA 1773-4 (29 June 1774) notes 41 2s. 6d. paid to William Davis ‘for Lace and Embroidery of Glory’.
242 RCB C6/1/8/4, 2 (Tuesday 27 November 1705).
243 PA 1733-4, RCB C6/1/8/5, 96-7 (Tuesday 12 February 1734).
over it the painting of a Glory brought by him from Italy'. Similarly, Waterford's Church of Ireland cathedral had a Corinthian Altar piece installed at a cost of £200 for which Joseph Tudor painted 'A Heavenly Vision' altar piece in 1751. The same monogram appeared on a 'rich crimson velvet cloth' used on the 'Holy Table' on Sundays and festivals. Such visual richness indicated the cathedral's high-church nature, indeed marginally higher than the Church of England, exemplified by two gilt candlesticks on a 'raised ledge at the back' of the altar being lit 'whenever the Service was performed by candlelight'. One of the most familiar features of the chancel from 1512 onwards was the Gothic chantry chapel of the Kildare family. It appears to have survived Dean Parry's restoration of 1668, but not that by Dean Moreton in 1679-80. It is likely this represented an aesthetic intolerance: Gothic discarded for classical, but it probably also took up considerable room interfering with restoration plans. In addition, Moreton is described as having 'the arms of Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare defaced', which suggests a more malevolent, perhaps political, motivation for the chantry's removal in an Ormonde funded restoration. Writing in 1833, the Ulster King of Arms noted that the removal of the monument to the Kildare family that is the chantry chapel, which featured numerous heraldic shields (chapter iv, figure 38-9), 'caused no small public commotion'. By 1712, it was possible for Lieutenant General Ingoldsby, one of the lords justice to be 'Interred in ye Quire on ye North side of ye Alter with out ye Railes', a space formerly occupied by the chantry, which confirms the space as by then void, while the Kildare family continued to be buried 'in ye Quire on ye North side'.

To the north of the choir lay the Lady chapel, 'a small building 60 feet long, and 28 broad'. External views show the chapel with a pitched roof a little lower than that of the long choir (plate 18-19), and round-headed windows (plate 5). Regular maintenance

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244 W.R. Chetwood & Philip Luckombe, A tour through Ireland by two English gentlemen (London & Dublin, 1748), 175-8; James Graves & J.G.A. Prim, The history, architecture and antiquities of the cathedral church of St Canice, Kilkenny (Dublin, 1857), 36-8.
246 Strickland, Dictionary, ii, 462-5.
248 Not to be confused with Kildare hall in Back Lane, also referred to as 'Kildare chapel', which by the Restoration used as a hospital (Deeds 1638, 1646-7, 1663; PA 1678-9; Richard. C. Caulfield, 'The buildings of Trinity College, Dublin: New college and Kildare Hall', Notes and Queries, 4th ser., vi (27 August 1870), 173; Loebel & Stouthamer-Loebel, 'Kildare Hall', 242-65).
249 McVittie, Details, 141-2 gives 1677, but 1679-80 is more likely, as Moreton was appointed in Dec. 1677.
251 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 51; Registers, 101. Lodge, Peerage of Ireland (1789), iii, 79 incorrectly suggests an earlier burial in this location in 1686, but corrects itself with an errata slip.
252 Wright, Historical guide (1825), 59, but confuses its foundation with that of the Kildare chantry chapel.
included in 1733, the external fixing of ‘Trunks or Water Spouts leading from the Roof’ of the chapel, while a committee enquired ‘into the repairs necessary to be made in the Roofs &c of Saint Marys Chapel and this Cathedral’ in 1790. Internally, it was kept in good condition, following a substantial classical restoration by architect-carpenter, Hugh Kinder in 1694. In 1695, Robert Pierce plastered the chapel walls and and ‘seeling’, also adding colour to the ‘cornish’ or cornice, an explicit reference to its classical interior, although it apparently had ‘nothing in it but some tomb stones’ in 1698. ‘Pews and Seats’ existed there in 1733, and Jebb later described the chapel as ‘plainly fitted up with seats, desks, Holy Table, &c.’ An arch between the chapel and the choir, illustrated solely in a late nineteenth-century elevation (plate 67), seems most likely to have been blocked up either during work by Moreton in 1679-80 or Kinder in the 1690s. Evidence for this blocking can be found in the mid-eighteenth century when the burial is recorded in St Mary’s chapel in 1758 of Mrs Mary Barry ‘under’ and in 1771, Lady Dowager Farnham ‘near’ to ‘the South Wall on the left hand side of the old Passage’, a phrase which probably represents this archway. Having restored St Michael’s parish church in 1815, Edward Parke afterwards refurbished the vacated Lady chapel employing a carpenter in 1824 to prepare ‘St. Mary’s Chapel for Divine Service as quickly as possible’, a process which required ‘persons to clear away the rubbish, and to clean it’, and candles purchased thereafter. After Kinder’s restoration, morning prayer was established in the chapel at least before 1698 when Walker Atkins was appointed ‘to Read Six O’Clock prayers in St Mary’s Chappell in the place of Mr Walsh’. A century later, it was still used for ‘early Morning prayers, read every day by one of the Vicars Choral’. Such early services rendered it often free which is why it was thought ‘only remarkable for the neatness and repair in which it has always been preserved by the Dean and Chapter’. However, it was also used for a Church of Ireland convocation meeting in 1713, and for housing the St Michael’s parishioners from 1782, when their church

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253 RCB C6/1/8/5, 85-7 (Friday 4 April 1733); 87-9 (Monday 21 May 1733).
254 RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 151-151v (Saturday 31 July 1790).
255 See below, pp 232-3.
256 RCB C6/1/8/3, 97 (Thursday 24 March 1698).
257 RCB C6/1/8/5, 85-7 (Friday 4 April 1733); 87-9 (Monday 21 May 1733).
258 Jebb, ‘Observations’, (1855), 13 [29]; (1862), 252.
259 Register, 103 (13 November 1758); 104 (9 April 1771).
261 RCB C6/1/8/3, 97 (Thursday 24 March 1698).
262 Jebb, ‘Observations’, (1855), 13 [29]; (1862), 252.
263 Wright, Historical guide (1825), 59.
threatened to fall until Parke’s 1815 replacement. It was the chapel’s relative disuse however that preserved in it the cathedral’s best groups of early modern monuments.

Given the numbers of burials noted in the cathedral register, it is unfortunate that only a few cenotaph memorials survive to vouch for the continued memorialising role of the cathedral as necropolis. As one might expect of a chapel royal, the nobility are well represented, exemplified by Cheere’s monumental masterpiece to the nineteenth earl of Kildare. Records of the less privileged also survive; in 1818, the cathedral paid for ‘a Coffin for a poor Person now lying dead in Christ Church Yard Her Friends having no Means of purchasing the same.’ Burials had a strict hierarchy and space was prioritised from most expensive to cheapest in the areas: within the communion rails, elsewhere in the choir, the Lady chapel and the Trinity chapel. The crypt was also soon used for burials, the earliest of which was in 1685, when Anna Hyde, first wife of James, earl of Ossory and later second duke of Ormonde, was buried ‘in the vault on the north side, under the Lord Archbishop of Dublin’s seat.’ Records for the period are patchy but early entries in the first cathedral register (1710-1848), note burials in the crypt or ‘vault’. In 1713, Lady Mary Bellew was ‘laide in ye Vault of Christ Church’, as was Thomas Phipps, son of Constantine Phipps, lord chancellor of Ireland. Contemporary emphasis on social rank meant that by 1753, one vault had been designated as ‘royal’, located in the central eastern crypt chapel. Its corollary, the ‘common’ vault noted in 1777, equally shows a gradual democratisation of burial space to all ranks. In 1793, the common vault was ‘under the south Cross Nave’ and in 1814 on ‘the Right hand side near the Entrance’, which locates it beneath the south transept, and confirms the present crypt entrance, as that used in the early nineteenth century. Both Christopher Wren and John Vanbrugh ‘condemned intramural burials in London churches as long ago as 1711’, but in Ireland an act ‘to prevent burying dead Bodies in Churches’ was not legislated until 1772, introduced by a former dean, Archbishop Robinson of Armagh. Nevertheless,

264 RCB C6/1/8/4, 68 (Tuesday 24 November 1713); Wright, Historical guide (1821), 126-7; Nicholas Carlisle, A topographical dictionary of Ireland (London, 1810) [n.p] under Dublin.
265 See chapter iv, pp 160-2.
266 RCB C6/1/12/1), f.[7r] (19 January 1818)
267 RCB C6/1/8/2, 211 (19 March 1661); 259 (Monday 16 March 1663); 264 (Monday 18 May 1663).
268 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 80; Registers, 121, note 216. See NLI, GO MS 75, 89; MS 77, 256 and Lodge, Peerage iv, 63 (28 January 1665).
269 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 51; Registers, 101 (15 January 1713 and 18 February 1714 respectively).
270 Registers, 102 (11 April 1753) and 105 (2 December 1777), 106 (29 October 1793; 4 November 1814)
271 A.P.W. Malcomson, Primate Robinson 1709-94: ‘a very tough incumbent in fine preservation’ (Ulster Historical Foundation, 2003), footnote 56.
after this the chapter were quite prepared to have a £10 'Funeral Fee paid for Burying Mrs Jackson late Wife to the Dean in the Church Contrary to Act of Parliament'.

The surviving monuments of the period can be grouped in three categories: a miscellany of robust slabs from 1666-1709 with one Baroque exception; then after a long hiatus, a series of grand aristocratic monuments sculpted from the mid-eighteenth century on, and towards the turn of the century, monuments of a broader social spectrum, increasingly militaristic, but diminished in size and flamboyance. Of the tombs known from the first group: Robert Griffith (d.1666), Christopher Kerdiffe (c.1675), possibly Archbishop James Margetson (c.1678), John Preston (d.1686), William (d.1661) and Ambrose Cadogan (d.1693) and Gilbert Nicholson (d.1709) and his wife (figure 15, 17-20.b), only those originally erected in the Lady chapel survived: Kerdiffe (now in the north transept), Cadogan, and Nicholson, (both now in the crypt), suggesting that this was a less volatile venue for the survival of funerary art. Stylistically, two are of interest. The first is an episcopal slab with mitre and crozier drawn by Dineley, but no longer extant (figure 18.b). Of nine archbishops buried in Christ Church; five were medieval and are accounted for, three were Restoration and one Victorian. James Margetson, dean of Christ Church (1639) until his elevation to Dublin (1661) and Armagh (1663), was the only Restoration archbishop to be buried in the choir (30 August 1678) before Dineley's visit, and this slab is therefore likely his. Perhaps Dineley recorded it because of its novelty. It mimicked the cathedral's extant fourteenth-century episcopal slabs, though if brass inlay was used this was extremely rare for the late seventeenth century. The banded surround with dentil-like marks, and refined corner rosettes, hint at the classical tradition despite the traditional poise and garb of the figure. They are consistent with the style of the period 1660-89 when this form was typical of bishops' tombs, recalling the

272 Malcomson, Primate Robinson 1709-94, 14 citing Act 11 & 12 Geo. III, c. 22; PA 1774-5.
276 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 972 & 910.
278 M.D. Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830 (Pelican Hist. of Art ser., Harmondsworth, 1964, 2nd ed. revised by John Physick, London: Penguin, 1988), for example, gives no cases. I am also grateful to William Lack, an editor of the County Series, A series of fully illustrated guides to the monumental brasses of the British Isles, for his advice (Personal communication, 6 February 2006).
medieval and Laudian church. The second is the Cadogan monument which has a similar, but longer inscription to that to William Cadogan erected in Trim, which suggests that it may have been re-erected for Ambrose. William had been Wentworth’s secretary and as a loyal royalist was glad to die ‘having first witnessed what he so earnestly desired – the safe return of His Most Gracious Majesty Charles II. From his unjust exile.’ Rupert Gunnis suggested the sculptor was a Stanton, which for 1693, would identify the sculptor as William (1639-1705), ‘far and away the best sculptor of the family’, a suggestion that would once again highlight the importance placed on procuring the best available English talent. Crowned by a shield over an Ionic aedicule with swan necked pediment, it is supported by pillars on a scallop-like base on consoles, all balanced on two supporting cherubs, and is similar to other work attributed to the Stantons in Hainton and Belton in Lincolnshire (figures 16a-b). It is not clear why more monuments were not erected at the cathedral between 1709 and 1746, as burials of numerous high ranking individuals took place. Skilled sculptors and architects were also available in the form of William Kidwell and Edward Lovett Pearce respectively. The unedifying legal battle between archbishop and dean must also have affected the wider reputation of the cathedral, but this had concluded in 1724.

What re-ignited the tradition, was the death of the nineteenth earl of Kildare in 1743. Three years later, the chapter let the Countess Dowager of Kildare erect a monument to him ‘upon the North Side of the Communion Table in the Choir’ specifying it to be 2ft 6inches from the east wall, not more than 10ft 6inches in length, nor 4ft in depth. This filled the position formerly occupied by Gearóid Mór’s chantry chapel, and bolstered the aristocratic pretensions of both cathedral as chapel royal and Fitzgerald family whose

280 Alexander Jacob, A complete English Peerage: containing a genealogical, biographical, and historical account of the Peers of this realm ... (2 vols, London, 1766-7); Finlayson, Inscriptions, 17-18, 76, note 1.
281 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 96-7; Butler, Christ Church (1901), 54-5.
282 Rupert Gunnis to Desmond Guinness, 8 April 1961 (Crookshank-Gilm Archive, TRIARC).
285 Finlayson, Inscriptions, 52-4.
287 See pp 233-4 below.
288 Lodge, Peerage of Ireland, ed. Mervyn Archdall (7 vols, Dublin, 1789), i, 111.
289 RCB C6/1/8/6, 38 (Friday 28 November 1746).
fortunes had wavered in preceding years. The sculptor was Henry Cheere, who had recently erected a monument to Archbishop Boulter of Armagh (d.1742) in Westminster abbey. The work is of such high quality that it was probably carved by Cheere himself (figure 21.a-b), and Gunnis doubted whether he ‘ever produced a finer, more human and touching memorial than the group of Lord Kildare’s family gathered round his dead body’. Significantly, the monument lacked the usual ‘rococo designs in white marble, such as swags of flowers, lamps and cockleshells’ which often made his monuments look like ‘a rather hard and elaborate wedding cake’. Unusually the earl is depicted lying flat, with the family wearing contemporary garb; ‘all in their proper dresses’ as Twiss exclaimed.

From thence until the early nineteenth century, with the exception of a inscribed mural tablet erected to Bishop Fletcher (d.1761) in the choir (figure 22.b), the finest cathedral monuments were erected along the blank unarcaded nave south wall, an excellent publicly accessible exhibition space for a collection thought in the 1780s to be finer if fewer than that of St Patrick’s cathedral. Against this wall two monuments by John Van Nost the younger were erected. The first was to Thomas Prior (d.1751) erected ‘by direction from the Dublin Society’ in 1756 and permitted by the chapter to be erected ‘in the arch between Stangbows [sic] Tomb and the Entrance into the Chapter House’.

Noted in 1791 as ‘superb’, it was crowned by a bust of Prior himself, one of Van Nost’s specialities, a version of which he was paid to carve for the Dublin Society in 1751. Below it was a ‘bass-relief [sic] of Minerva, leading the Arts towards Hibernia’, a Latin inscription by the philosopher bishop, George Berkeley, and two cherubs standing either side, the left of whom carried a now lost scroll with an English inscription by Bishop


292 Philip Luckombe, Tour through Ireland; wherein the present state of the kingdom is considered; and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings,’s described.. (2nd ed., London, 1783), 5.


294 C.T. Bowden, A tour through Ireland by Charles Topham Bowden, Esq. (Dublin: W. Corbet, No. 57, Great Britain-Street, 1791), 40-1; John Turpin, A school of art in Dublin since the eighteenth century: a history of the National College of Art and Design (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1995), 53 (25 April 1751).
Henry Maule of Meath which stated ‘Sculptured by J. Van Nost, in 1756’ (figure 22.a).295 For the other monument to Lord Chancellor Bowes (d.1767), Van Nost received £500. It featured the figure of justice sitting with a sword and scales, holding a bas relief of Bowes’ head said to be ‘an excellent likeness’ (figure 23.a-b).296 Now in the crypt in two sections, the monument comprises a ‘Carrara marble box surmounted by a sarcophagus in Kilkenny limestone’ complemented by a central red Kilkenny marble pilaster.297 Notably the mason, Henry Darley who in 1775 completed Van Nost’s monument to Archbishop Smyth at St Patrick’s, was also active at Christ Church from 1766-79.298 Cheere and Van Nost marked a high point in the scale and standard of mid-eighteenth century sculpted monuments at the cathedral for the commemoration of the Anglo-Irish gentry which waned thereafter as did the status of the cathedral.

Later monuments moved from the more florid manner of Cheere to a generally smaller, more monochrome neo-classical style influenced by spatial and financial constraints. A monument to another lord chancellor, James Hewitt, lord Lifford (d.1789), who died of a ‘malignant sore throat’ was a plain marble table ‘laid on a slab of variegated marble, of pyramidal shape, on the summit of which are placed the arms of the family’.299 Dismissed as a ‘fireplace decoration’, it was typical of a trend reducing monuments to more modest sizes (figure 25.a-b).300 So is the belated monument to a former dean, Bishop Welbore Ellis (d.1734), his wife and family, erected in 1791 by his namesake and only surviving heir (figure 26). It was ‘sent ready prepared from England’, almost certainly by Joseph Nollekens, ‘the leading portrait sculptor of his day’ whom the family patronised.301 Another trend was the democratisation of memorials covering a broader social spectrum antithetical to royal status. The slab to Margaretta Jackson (d.1775), buried south ‘of the Communion Rails under the Monument of Bishop Fletcher’ (figure 24.a), not only

296 Twiss, Tour in Ireland in 1773, 13; Wright, Historical guide (1825), 57.
298 Strickland, Dictionary, ii, 484; Potterton, Irish church monuments, 42, 86; PA 1766-79.
300 TRIARC, Notes on Christ Church monuments by Anne Crookshank (Uncatalogued); Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 286.
marked her position as daughter of a former dean, but as the first memorial solely to a woman to survive since the thirteenth-century, reflected a greater appreciation of women in society. The tomb to the organist, Richard Woodward (d.1777) with 'the singularity of a musical epitaph' (figure 24.b), and indeed a crude crypt slab to the dean's vicar, Robert Shenton (d.1798) reflect the emergence of a middle class. This trend is also marked in unexecuted monuments to John Cutts of Gowran (d.1707) for which Walpole wrote an epitaph in 1762; a General Preston (unidentified) in 1790; the antiquary, Francis Grose (d.1791) designed by his friend Gandon; and a verger, James Hewitt (d. 1806). After the act of union church sculpture was increasingly militarised, moulded by the Napoleonic wars, a trend begun at St Paul's cathedral, London, often characterised by a greater sense of public spirit. Slabs survive to Emily Frayer (d.1814), 'wife of Captain Frayer of the 4th, or Queen's Own Dragoons' and to 'Lieut. George Goodman, of the 4th Dragoons' (d.1815). Two military monuments are attributed, the larger by an Irish sculptor, Thomas Kirk, whom Edward Parke knew from the Dublin drawing schools. It commemorates Samuel Auchmuty, a lieutenant-general in charge of 'His Majesty's Forces in Ireland', who fought in South America and the East Indies. Above Auchmuty's bust stood 'a figure of Victory, four feet high, in Alto Relievo, having at the back a Grecian Tablet, adorned with the lotus at the edges of the frame' (figure 27). The smaller, no longer extant, was reputedly by William Whitelaw of London, and commemorated a 20-year-old ensign and lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards, Samuel Ongley (d.1826). Strikingly, these neo-classical monuments exhibited a growing stylistic asynchronicity at the cathedral and beyond, with their increasingly gothicised setting.

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302 Registers, 104 (29 July 1775); Finlayson, Inscriptions, 29; Butler, Christ Church, 36.
306 RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 151-151v (Saturday 31 July 1790).
308 Saunders Newsletter (9 May 1806); RCB C6/1/7&8/8, 452-3 (Tuesday 26 April 1808).
309 Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 362.
310 Nicholas Penny, 'Amor publicus posuit': monuments for the people and of the people', Burlington Magazine, cxxxix, 1017 (December 1987), 793-800.
311 Finlayson, Inscription (1878), 32-3; Butler, Christ Church (1901), 39.
312 Turpin, A school of art in Dublin, 123.
313 Wright, Historical guide (1825), 55.
314 Gunnis, Dictionary, 431; Potterton, Irish church monuments, 87.
While this reflected contemporary cultural tides, it is important to identify more local agents influencing these architectural and artistic changes. These included patrons such as lord deputies, or archbishops and deans entrusted with the churches. Indeed in this period the clergy ‘exerted a disproportionate influence over the reception of classical architecture into Ireland’. Those who carried out maintenance or restoration work should also be noted. This included overseers who, at this time, could unambiguously be recognised as architects in the modern sense of the word. With chapel royal status, men of the highest calibre were employed, usually drawn from the Irish royal works, often the surveyor general himself. The architectural field widened somewhat following the legal termination of his post in 1763, but cathedral architects continued to be establishment figures who had either served apprenticeships in the Irish royal works or were significant Dublin architects in their own right. Plentiful evidence of their craftsmen also survives. They were often from families associated with the cathedral for generations, often also leasing its property. This was mutually beneficial for a chapter who desired reliable tenants and had available land, and for the tenants who then had a vested interest in providing reliable work. Chapter loyalty to these families often redressed the expected gender imbalance of the time, employing spouses or offspring of deceased craftsmen. These artisans can be shown to have worked together over periods as small portable bands, reflecting a wider pattern in Ireland, not limited to the cathedral.

In 1661, following the Restoration and Robert Mossom’s appointment as dean, there was considerable refurbishment to do. Altar rails and font were restored, a portable organ installed, and ‘the Singing mens Seates’ fixed. The main task appears to have been the provision of a new gallery in 1663 by a carpenter, John Greene, for which he was paid £83 1s. He may be the Lieutenant Greene who in 1661 part-supervised the building of the earl of Orrery’s house, Charleville in Cork, and a man of this name was also working on Oxmantown school in 1669-73. The master carpenter of Ireland, John Mills, appears to have acted in an official capacity as cathedral architect or overseer. ‘John Mills, joiner’, a tenant of a holding in Trinity Lane near Cock hill in 1660, was in 1667 asked by the chapter to check tenant encroachments and to examine the condition of

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317 Compare with the sixteenth-century bands of Irish-named craftsmen, chapter iv, p. 164.
319 PA 1660-4. See also Gillespie, ‘Crisis of reform’, 216.
320 Loeber, Dictionary, 56 (citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, Carte Ms 52, f. 260v) and 1, 19, 28.
walls in the precincts, tasks carried out by later cathedral architects. In 1663, he was to make repair ‘in those particulars which he certified to be ruinous by his estimate’.

Trusted at Christ Church, he was probably the same ‘Mr Mills’ who oversaw rebuilding work on the halls of the vicars choral at St Patrick’s (1663-6). Given his master carpenter status and his work at Christ Church, this may account for unspecified work for which he was paid £51 4s. by the Treasury shortly after the Restoration. Mossom’s only other large-scale works were re-roofing the cathedral, paid for by his predecessor, Margetson, now at Armagh, and installing a permanent organ by George Harris for £80.

Educated in Dublin and Oxford, John Parry, had a long association with the cathedral, and had been the duke of Ormond’s chaplain. On being appointed dean in 1666, he had the loyalty and connections to engage in a spirited restoration from 1667-8. His first addition was a ‘chair’ or choir organ forming a ‘double’ organ with Harris’s instrument. This, the case and ‘Joiners worke and Carvers worke’ was undertaken by the Cambridge organ builder, Lancelot Pease in 1667. Pease had already built organs at King’s College, Cambridge and Canterbury cathedral, and while in Ireland built organs at St Audoen’s, St Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin, and Cloyne cathedral, where he was paid ‘for drawing the King’s Arms and colouring the organ loft and pulpit’. However, the main restoration work took place in 1668. A little known manuscript called the ‘Book of Benefactions’ documents the benefactors and the repairs. King Charles II headed the list with a gift of £100, followed by the lord deputy, Ormond’s son, Thomas, earl of Ossory with £40 and Archbishop Margetson of Armagh with £30. For the artistically

321 RCB C6/1/26/9, no. 10 (1660); C6/1/8/2, 359 (Wednesday 6 February 1667); 360 (Wednesday 13 March 1667).
322 Milne, ‘Restoration’, 268 citing RCB C6/1/7/2, f. 115. See also RCB C6/1/8/2, ff. 262-3.
323 Loeber, Dictionary, 72 citing St Patrick’s cathedral chapter minutes, 1660-70, 300, 342; NAI Corporation Records, Becheches XIII; NLI, Ms 2700, f. 441.
324 RCB C6/1/8/2, 347 (Saturday 24 March 1666); PA 1664-5 (26 October 1664).
326 Boydell, ‘Flourishing’, 305. See also Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, nos 274, 356.
327 RCB C6/1/26/12/5, no. 115; Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 159-61, no. 356; RCB C6/1/26/13/34.
330 R[schard][Caulfield], ‘The expenses of repairing the cathedral of Cloyne in 1640, 1641, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, and 1667, &c.’, Notes and Queries, 5th ser., v (4 March 1876), 181-3, at 183.
331 RCB C6/1/4, noted in ‘In Dublin’s two cathedrals’, Church of Ireland Gazette (12 August 1955), 7-8, reproduced as ‘Christ Church Cathedral: Dean Parry’s memorial volume 1688 [recte 1668]’, Friends Newsletter, xi, 3 (December 1992), 8 and see footnote 120 above.
refined OssolT, his contributions to the cathedral renovations, as elsewhere in Dublin, Kilkenny, Dunmore and Clonmel, architecturally enhanced his family’s status. Smaller donations were made by nobility, judges, aldermen and others, both male and female, including those ‘Given by a conciald person’. The chapter contributed just over half of the donations out of £549. Parry summarised the tasks as:

Whitening and Plaistring this whole Church for altering the West Gate for securing the Roofe of this Choyre and for Seelmg it, for Organs, &
guilding of the same, for Flagging the Choyre and for adorneing the same The main focus was the choir and its roof. Slating was undertaken by a ‘Mr Harrison’, probably the slator, John Harrison who in return for the ‘gift of a mace or “verge”’ in 1660, leased property ‘under the stairs leading to the Four Courts’. The bulk of the restoration’s cost, £250, was paid to Isaac Chalke who, while also paid ‘for repairing [and] securing ye Roofe’, was primarily responsible ‘for all ye Playsterers work for seeling ye Choyre for Whiteing ye & Playstering ye whole church’. Chalke (or Chocke) came to dominate Dublin plasterwork. He was admitted a freeman in 1654, and later worked on the Blue Coat School, Oxmantown in 1669-73, St Werburgh’s church through 1671, the Tholsel in the 1680s (where in 1687 he petitioned for payment ‘for guilding, painting and plaisterers worke’), and Dublin castle in 1705.

Half of the king’s donation was for ‘Adomeing the East End’, carried out by a mason, Robert Gardner, who was paid ‘for working and setting ye black & white marble and other stones within ye rayl at ye East End, and for Laying the grial stones from ye Pulpet upward’ forming a ‘great glory in ye chancel’. The altar itself was probably marble as the verger cleaned the communion table with oil. The carpenter, Thomas Kennedy was paid for ‘Rayles’, possibly for the altar, as well as for work in the belfry and Trinity chapel. Another donation from ‘Several Ladies and Gentle Women’ was ‘to flag ye

334 RCB C6/1/4, f. 3 entitled index and [p. 7].
335 RCB C6/1/4, pasted on f. 2v; Deeds, 1582.
336 PA 1667-8; RCB C6/1/4, [p. 172] (19 November 1668); ‘In Dublin’s two cathedral’s, 7-8 states that the choir ceiling was ‘painted and gilded’.
337 Curran, Dublin decorative plasterwork (1967),100; ‘W.M. Mason collection for history of Dublin transcribed for Gilbert’ (DCA MS 69, 375-86); RCB P.0326/27/53-7; C4RD, v, 432; Loeber, Dictionary, 19, 33-4, 54.
338 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 1].
340 David Murphy, ‘Late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century ritual practices in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’ in Pages: arts postgraduate research in progress (Dublin, UCD, 1996), iii, 21-30 citing PA 1670.
passage up to ye Lady Majoret her Seat’. Fabrics and furnishings were also elaborate. At the east end, ‘Gold & Purple Silk String for ye Altar Cloath & Comunion Table’ were supplied by silkweaver, Edward Lord, and matched by ‘crimson and Purple velvet for ye East End & Comunion table’. The duchess of Ormond gave ‘a faire Pulpett Cloath of Rich Crimson Velvet and a Canopy of the same with a Gold and Silver Fringe’, as well as ‘Two fair Silver Flaggons richly Guilt’. The seats were elaborately decorated. A Mr Gold was paid for ‘Green Bayes for ye Seates’, while ‘ye Upholdster Edward Ffen’ was paid ‘for his work & in Lining & cleaning & turning ye Seates & for Green cloth’, while Lord was paid for fringes. Ecclesiastical soft furnishings appear to have mirrored the domestic. After 1684, the closet of the second duchess of Ormonde in Kilkenny was refurbished with similar colours and fabrics: ‘crimson and white damask fringed with silk and silver green silk and velvet’. Carpenter, Thomas Miller was paid for work ‘over ye dignitaries seats’, and in 1669, the city paid for its seats to be embellished. Another carpenter, Thomas Grandford was paid for ‘worke done in the organ loft & the seates neare’. Timber merchant, Robert Brady supplied ‘Timbr & dales’. John Sargeant supplied ‘deal Boards’, but complained in 1668 of being unable to build for the ‘troublesomenesse’ of the times and scarcity of material. The total spent on ‘Paynting & Guildmg all ye Seats in ye Choyre’ was £86. Gilding the organ was carried out by ‘Mr. Kerny Harald at Armis’. This was Richard Carney, principal Irish herald (1651-60) and Athlone Pursuivant (1661-), whose family had lived in the precincts since the 1630s. A founding member of Dublin’s painter-stainers, he decorated the privy council chamber; did ‘gilding, staining & varnishing’ at St Werburgh’s in 1671-2; and gilded seven dials in St John’s church in 1681, gilding its statue of St John. Next to Chalke, Richard Carney, was the highest paid craftsmen, earning £79 1 ls. 6d. in total ‘for Guilding ye organs & ye

341 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 8]; ‘ye’ is repeated unnecessarily in the original.
346 DCA, MS 62, f. 11.
347 Deeds, 1714.
348 RCB C6/1/4, pasted on f. 2v; [p. 172] (19 November 1668); PA 1667-8.
349 RCB C6/1/8/2, 156, 206, C/1/7/2, 345; Deeds, 1517, 1583, 1601 show that he lived in the eastern gatehouse from 1661. RCB C6/1/26/10, no. 37 shows that he petitioned for the gatehouse again in 1670.
L: Lieutenant & Lady Duchess her seat[,] for paynting all ye whole choyre' and, availing of his heraldic skills, for making and erecting the arms of the donors on the choir door.  

The other £50 of the king's donation was for the west end towards adorning 'the Seat of the Right Honoble: his Majtis Lieuentant and Privy Councell of this Kingdome and of the Seat of the Chiefe Governors Lady', in this case the lord deputy’s mother, the duchess of Ormond. The joiner, Robert Massey, who also worked on the Blue Coat School with plasterers, Isaac Chalk and William Robinson, was paid for work done ‘to my Lady Dutchess her seat for making a Canopy over it & wendscott at ye end’ which also took heed of ‘an Architrave’ [architrave], one of the few incontrovertible references to the restoration being classical. To this pew it would have been most appropriate to append the king’s arms, which were carved by a joiner, William Scriven, and gilded by a Mr Spenser. Scriven was paid for altering the pulpit twice the following year, and was also a tenant of a crypt cellar (plate 78). Thomas Spenser was a gilder-plasterer-painter, who after this restoration was paid, along with a ‘Mr Suras’, £104 for further ‘wanscoting Carving Painting & Guilding the East ends of the Church’. He plastered the north aisle in 1674, the Trinity chapel in 1676, and in 1672 was employed at St Patrick’s cathedral plastering the nave, chapter house and choir vaults, and in 1674 in ‘altering new making and painting all the seats and galleries in the quire ... And for making, painting and gilding a new altar piece ...’. Spenser was clearly one of the more important craftsmen in Restoration Dublin. Like John Mills, Spencer demonstrates that craftsmen could work at both cathedrals, which would also explain how, within a year of each other, both buildings embellished their western choir entrance or portal. A carpenter named Woods was paid ‘for setting back my Lords Seat & for ye Portall’; the mason, Gardner was paid for ‘worke at ye West gate’; while ‘Mr Lucas’ was paid ‘for ye Gates’ themselves a total of £35 being accounted for on the west gate. This was probably Thomas Lucas, who designed a ‘Portall’ at St Patrick’s, as well as repairing the chapter house, the cathedral’s east side and dismantling the decaying roof there in 1669. The glaziers are not named, but Richard Wilson, a tenant at ‘Dean’s Grange’ in 1669, was

351 RCB C6/1/4, pasted on f. 2v (11 November 1668); [p. 172] (19 November 1668).  
352 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 1]  
353 Loeber, Dictionary, 19.  
354 PA 1667-9; Robinson, Handbook, 8; Deeds, 1795; 1820.  
355 PA 1671-2.  
357 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 173] (19 November 1668); PA 1667-8; RCB C6/1/4, pasted on f. 2v (11 November 1668); [p. 174] (19 November 1668).  
358 Loeber, Dictionary, 69 citing St Patrick’s minutes, 1660-70, ff, 1671-7 ff.
paid 'for glazing work at Christ Church' in 1673. Mr Mills', paid just £4 10s., may have been John Mills, the only member of the Irish royal works represented, and with John Paine, the only employees of the Irish works prior to William Robinson's 1670 appointment. Credit for the restoration should go to Chalke given the considerable fee he was paid, out of the total disbursed. Parry also noted £200 for 'Both ye Organs', which must have accounted for work by Pease and Carney.

The cathedrals also co-operated over the installation of a peal of bells. First considered in 1668, in 1670 it was agreed that for £176, bell founders, William and Roger Purdue and William and Tobias Covey would supply the cathedrals with a 'tunable ring of Six Bells, together with a large audible Clocke & Chimes'. Combinations of the brothers also cast bells for St Werburgh's, and at St Canice's, Kilkenny in 1674, following Parry's additional appointment as bishop of Ossory. Tobias Covey also recast the damaged tenor bell in 1687, and remarkably, was asked to recast the bell again, when he was living in Galway in 1733. The bell casting process was a complex one which involved building a furnace house, probably the 'Bell-house' with which Robert Brady supplied timber, making moulds, breaking up the old guns and 'useless and unserviceable metal' provided by Charles II, and using 'block Tinn Copper' to refine the metal, as well as building the frames, supplied to both cathedrals by timber merchant, Thomas Cross. Contributions towards the work came from varied sources including architect, John Westley, and the city, who considered bells a 'great ornament of Cityes'. The Coveys were also paid for carpentry work and for hanging the bells. A smith, John Knight, supplied 'all the Clappers & other Iron Work' for the bells. Total expenditure
was remarkably high for the time, totalling £787 5s. 22d. While the scaffolding was up, the weather vanes were restored, erected by William Covey, and gilded again by ‘Mr Kreny’ [Carney]. Clocks and chimes would have to wait for a later restoration.

This was not long in coming. In the months before Parry’s death, the choir was re-roofed. Considerable finances were expended: £230 5s. on carpentry by John Bailey; £89 17s on slating by Thomas Heatley; £40 on masonry by Patrick Hanrahan, a tenant who in 1674 lived on School House or Ram Lane; while ‘Mr Spense’, probably Thomas Spenser, was paid £48 ‘for ceiling the new works of ye Quire’. Pease was also paid to protect and ultimately repair the organ. The same men still worked at the cathedral in 1677-8; Heatley was paid the most (over £46) and in March 1681 was bound for ten years as cathedral slator. He had also slated Blessington house for Archbishop Michael Boyle of Dublin (1663-79). This contained one of the ‘finest best finished Chappell in the Kingdom’, which can be compared with the sumptuous surviving carved timber and plasterwork in the chapel of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, of which Boyle was a governor, a near contemporary of the cathedral choir. The use of Heatley on at least two projects supports the suggestion of a small coterie of Dublin craftsmen producing high quality work.

Parry died on 21 December 1677 leaving over £700 received for cathedral repairs, while William Moreton took over work in progress three days later. Although born in Cheshire, his career was similar to Parry. Both were from clerical families, Oxford educated and former chaplains to the duke of Ormond. Their churchmanship was high given their support of such lavish refurbishment; indeed Moreton was a nephew by marriage of Archbishop William Laud. With Ormond as lord lieutenant again, for what would be an eight year period, one could expect a high standard of architectural patronage. Not only was Ormond a devout church member – indeed the reverse was true too; at least one cleric, the dean, Bishop Moreton, appears to have assembled materials devoted to a biography of Ormond – but his restoration of the choir would follow in the footsteps of

374 RCB C6/1/4, [pp 30-1].
375 PA 1671-2; Ware, Works, i, 355.
376 Deeds 1772; PA 1676-7.
377 Deeds, 1832
378 de Breffiny, ‘Mansion at Blessington, 1672’, 75; McParland, Public architecture in Ireland, 66. See also W.R. [herwood], A tour through Ireland in several entertaining letters (Dublin, 1746), 243-4.
of a predecessor whom he adeptly emulated: Thomas Wentworth. Moreton’s ‘repairing & beautifying the Quire’ occurred in 1679-80, and suggested that the previous restoration was inadequate, and far more contributions were acquired than for Parry, perhaps reflecting Morton’s talents. King Charles II again gave £100, matched only by the dean and chapter. However, he also received £20 each from the duke of Ormond, Archbishop Boyle, now of Armagh, and £10 each from the earls of Strafford, Orrery, Arran (Ormond’s son) and Ranelagh, and the bishops of Killala, Limerick and Clogher. Judges, lords, merchants, academics and soldiers also figured. A separate page was reserved for contributions from women, including £30 from the duchess of Ormond out-donating her husband and matching the Ormonde contribution to Parry’s restoration, £11 10s. from the countess of Longford, with smaller amounts from the countess of Arran, two viscountesses, five ladies and other married women. The city gave £45 for the ‘walls and body of the church’ as well as the seats of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons and their spouses, probably including £30 given by the Trinity guild ‘towards the repairing and beautifying of the King’s Chapel in Christ Church and the erecting of a seat fit for the grandeur of the Chief Magistrate and officers of Dublin’. Receipts were £669 9s.; disbursements £887 15s. 8d., and the dean paid the balance: £218 6s. 8d.

But what was there to do so soon after Parry’s restoration? Details survive of the works but not the craftsmen, but it is highly likely they were some of those already noted. In 1678-9, for example, cathedral craftsmen included slator, Thomas Heatley; mason, Patrick Hanrahan; plumber, Samuel Hawkshaw; plasterer, Richard West; paver, John Cotterell; carpenter, John Bailey, upholsterer, Mr Blund and stone and lime supplier, Mr Franklin. In 1679-80 they included bricklayer, Richard Mills, and painter-plasterer-gilder, Thomas Spenser, who was paid £79 ‘for Whiteing the Church at Christmas’. Externally, work was uncomplicated. The clock and chimes cost £120 and it cost £48 to have the four dials painted. Additional costs were for carpentry, scaffolding, a smith, freight of the clock and brass work on the dials. No craftsmen are listed. Internally, small jobs included breaking down an arch and ‘gitting it for the Organ’. Subsequent work

382 CARD, v, 179-80; 215-16; ‘W.M. Mason collection for history of Dublin, transcribed for Gilbert’ (DCA MS 67, 31).
384 RCB C6/1/4, [pp 36-40].
385 PA 1678-9.
386 Loeber, Dictionary, 72-3; PA 1679-80.
387 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 26].
in moving the organ perhaps recessed it further in its position. Other work was purely superficial such as ‘gilding the Gallery Candlisticks’ or ‘carving the King’s Armes & Shields’. Upholstering work applied ‘Serge to lyne some the Seats’. A note of ‘plaistering under the Gallery’ also helps describe the space better. The main work however was clearly in three items: ‘Carpenter’s Work’ totalling £503 9s., ‘marbling the Altar, Columns, & Organ’ for £100, and ‘painting the Cedar=colour & gilding the Quire’ at a total of £83, for which the gold itself cost £43 2s.. This indicates that the restoration was mainly the work of a carpenter and a painter-gilder, although a further, £37 12s. was expended on ‘Silver & Gold fringe, Gilde for Curtaines &c’ in 1679-80. Some of this work may have looked like the chancel in St Patrick’s cathedral restored in 1686, decorated with blue paint and gilded stars. This refurbishment to a plan by John Barlow was probably a response to work at Christ Church and included, as well as the same new monochrome marble floor, a new roof, painted and gilded altar, organ, choir pews, and archbishop’s throne of Danzig oak. A more impressive comparison is with the sumptuous carving in Kilmainham hospital chapel for which the Huguenot carver, Jacques Tabary was paid only £250 (figure 28-9), half what was spent on carpentry at Christ Church.

The carpentry work included the grand double staircase and, given the expense, must have been high calibre work, perhaps comparable with Grinling Gibbons’ Cassiobury work. The architect there was Hugh May, known for his remodelling of Windsor Castle for Charles II where he also employed Gibbons. Of note is that May was employed by two successive chief governors of Ireland, first at Cassiobury for his cousin, Arthur Capel, first earl of Essex, lord lieutenant of Ireland (1672-7), and second in 1681, when he was consulted for work on Kilkenny castle for the duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant, 1677-85. Gibbons also submitted a design for Ormond for an iron gate at Kilkenny castle in 1681, was to execute carvings for the earl of Kildare in 1683, and executed a

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388 PA 1679-80.
monument to Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (d.1713) at St Patrick's cathedral. He and his colleague Arnold Quellin worked together for a number of Anglo-Irish patrons.

Quellin’s wife Frances was also involved in the Dublin castle chapel refurbishment of 1686-7. In the absence of named craftsmen, it is therefore not far fetched to suggest links with craftsmen beyond the Dublin clique, active both in royal circles and in Ireland.

From a number of clues, the evidence suggests that the architect of this important restoration, that survived largely until 1830, was the surveyor-general, William Robinson. The book of benefactions records the payment of £40 ‘For the Surveyor in Plate’, almost certainly the surveyor-general. Indeed, in 1678, churchwardens at St Catherine’s referred to him as ‘Mr Robinson ye Surveyor’. Such payments were not uncommon: in 1674, Hugh May was paid £300 worth of table silver for his Cassiobury work, while in 1709, Henry Lee received plate worth £10 for overseeing works on Dublin’s goldsmiths’ hall.

Although the first in Ireland with the title, surveyor-general, his involvement simply continued a cathedral policy of employing a member of the Irish royal works, which would also continue after him. Robinson’s association with Ormond and Moreton also supports his identification as cathedral architect. A relationship between the state ruler and state architect is usually assumed, and Robinson could be found working on the lord lieutenant’s family seat at Kilkenny castle in 1682, his Dublin residence at Chapelizold house in 1684 and his court at Dublin castle after the 1684 fire. If all these, then why not his chapel royal? Indeed, surviving designs for Dublin castle reputedly in Robinson’s hand at the time include ‘a new grand staircase’, which may have reflected work at the cathedral. Ormond also played a role in promoting Kilmainham hospital, designed by

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395 Calendar of treasury books 1685-89 preserved in the Public Record Office, viii, pt iii, ed. W.A. Shaw (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1923), 1257; [Henry Guy,] Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II. and James II. from 30thMarch, 1679, to 25th December, 1688, ed. J.Y Akerman (Camden Society 1851), 160-2; See also notes of Professor Anne Crookshank in TRIARC archive.

396 RCB C6/1/4, [p. 26]; Loebcr, Dictionary, 96.


399 Loebcr, Dictionary, 94; British Library, St. Pancras Map Library; Maps K.Top.53.19.h.
Robinson, which copies closely the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. Emphasising common architectural influences exerted at the time, the round-arched windows in the north elevation of Kilmainham are similar to those used by May at Windsor castle, and Loeber has suggested that both architects may have been inspired by the designs of Dutch architect, Hendrik de Keyser and his *Architectura Moderna*. Robinson's relationship to Moreton was also close. Appointed bishop of Kildare in 1681 *in commendam* with the Christ Church deanery, Moreton began a restoration of St Brigid's cathedral in 1683. The rebuilding of the Kildare choir in 1686 is attributed to Robinson, and the same year Moreton acted as an executor to Robinson's will. A prebendal church of Christ Church, St Michan's, is also attributed to Robinson, completed in 1686, while he repaired St Bride's between the two cathedrals in 1684. Documentation, tradition and relationships therefore all support Robinson's identification as cathedral architect at this time.

In his position and his architectural production, William Robinson was to Dublin in miniature what Christopher Wren was to London. Both were surveyors-general of the respective royal works in England (1669-1718), and in Ireland (1671-1700), and both appear to have visited Paris to broaden their architectural perspectives, Wren in 1665-6, and Robinson, judging from his Kilmainham work, probably some time before October 1677. Restoration work at Christ Church may strengthen the suggestion of Robinson's Parisian visit. The cathedral's heart-shaped tower tracery resembles that of St Eustache (figure 3.a-b), and the concept of a double staircase leading up to a screen, can be found in the delicately carved mid-sixteenth century rood screen at St Étienne du Mont (figure 6). Ormond's exile and his companion, Drelincourt, his grandson's tutor, his chaplain and from 1681 precentor of Christ Church, provided other channels of potential French influences.

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400 McParland, 'Royal Hospital, Kilmainham', 1261.
401 Loeber, *Dictionary*, 94-7; 'Early classicism', 58 citing Hendrick de Keyser's Zuiderkerk, Amsterdam.
408 See above, p. 185.
The cathedral’s architectural response to papal appointments such as Alexius Stafford as dean in 1686 is unknown.409 While money was being lavished on Dublin castle chapel, in 1688, a Mr. Sisson was paid £11 17s. ‘for finishing the altar-piece’ at Christ Church.410 The events of 1688-90 exerted a toll on the furnishings. When restored to the dean and chapter in 1689, the cathedral was described as ‘much out of order’,411 requiring ‘new Seates in the Quire and other work’, by joiner, John Sisson in 1690.412 Whether the 1688 reference to Sisson was to John,413 or the painter, Richard, is impossible to tell. Both may have been employed given the cathedral’s pattern of employing families of craftsmen. Richard Sisson was admitted to the freedom of the Corporation of Painter-Stayners and Cutlers (the Guild of St Luke) in 1686, warden by 1704, but gone from guild lists after 1707.414 The only remnant of James II’s reign thought to survive is the tabernacle and candlesticks displayed in the crypt probably used under Stafford (figure 10).415

The cathedral’s royal status enabled the assistance of the surveyor general to be sought in 1688, when William Molyneaux (joint surveyor with William Robinson from 1684-96), was asked to reroof St Mary’s chapel and repair the choir.416 Planned as early as 1684,417 no activity took place until June 1693 when Hugh Kinder, a carpenter from Ballington, Cheshire,418 was ordered to go to the Sheelagh woods, property of the earl of Strafford,419 to cut and square 40 tonnes of timber for the Lady chapel roof,420 which was transported to Arklow by Kinder and a Richard Maddox, presumably for transport to Dublin by

410 PA 1688.
412 RCB C6/1/8/3, 16 (Tuesday 14 October 1690).
413 Judge, ‘State of architecture in Ireland 1716’, 63 also notes a joiner, John Sisson.
414 Strickland, Dictionary, ii, 355;
416 Loeber, Dictionary, 75-7, [117], but 97, following Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 42, incorrectly attributes a rebuilding of St Mary’s to Robinson; RCB C6/1/8/3, 9.
417 Deeds, 1856 (1684).
419 RCB C6/1/8/3, 59-60.
420 RCB C6/1/8/3, 52 and TCD MS 10530, f. 123.
sea. The woods also supplied the timber for roof of St Patrick’s cathedral. Kinder was a carpenter-architect who could provide his own plan to the chapter as a ‘proposall in the paper’. The slator who covered the roof was an Abraham Heatley, probably a relative of the slator, Thomas Heatley, to whom the chapter agreed to pay an annual salary of £12 in 1703. Continuing work on the chapel between 1693-6, damaged the Half-Moon tavern to the east, but the chapter’s priority was to refurbish the interior. Nathaniel Derry was appointed to glaze the chapel annually ‘with good fair square glass and good firme Strong Lead’, and simultaneously renewed a lease of cathedral property in Finglas, while Robert Pierce (Pearse / Piers), was employed to plaster the chapel walls, ceiling, and colour the cornice. To the chapter’s credit, on his death they employed not James Smith, a plasterer at Trinity College from 1684-6 who applied for the job, but Pierce’s wife, Alice, to keep the church ‘in repair as to Whitening and Plaistering in the same manner as her late husband was obliged to do’. A similar familial pattern was followed in 1703, when a carpenter, John Kinder, probably a relative of Hugh, made four replacement dial plates of ‘Dansick Oak’, fixing them ‘on the steeple where the antient dials stood’. As with Hugh Kinder, architectural ingenuity was required. Indeed like Florence’s Brunelleschi 300 years before, he was obliged ‘to find all Iron Worke and to make Engines to raise and fix them up’. The painter-stainer, John Godfrey, was asked to make the dial ‘figures of Goold 18 inches long and perportionable breadth’, while clockmaker, Thomas Newman, made the clock ‘four new Brass hands and Iron Rods’. Godfrey’s gilding did not weather well and was replaced in 1704 by that of George Spenser, who was required to treat the dials with ‘such mixture as shall be good and lasting’. Similarly, Newman had to make ‘four brass hands for the dials with spindals’.

Little maintenance took place during the two-decade stand-off between two successive deans against Archbishop King concerning his visitation rights. When ‘the contempt was purged’ on October 1724, King ‘proceeded without any harshness or reflection’, but

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421 PA 1693-4.
423 RCB C6/1/7/8/3, 62 (Saturday 21 April 1694), not Henry Kinch pace Milne, ‘Restoration’, 268.
424 PA 1692-3; RCB C6/1/8/3, 137 (Friday 2 April 1703).
425 Deeds, 1904, 1917; RCB C6/1/8/3, 68.
426 RCB C6/1/8/3, 75 (Friday 28 June 1695).
427 RCB C6/1/8/3, 67 (Tuesday 18 December 1694); 73 (Tuesday 4 June 1695).
428 Loeber, ‘Irish country houses and castles’, 55 citing TCD, shelf B4, Flat Box 9, Drawer 91; RCB C6/1/8/3, 98 (Thursday 5 May 1698); 101 (Thursday 27 October 1698)
430 RCB C6/1/8/3, 139 (Monday 3 May 1703).
431 RCB C6/1/8/3, 162 (Friday 21 July 1704); 163 (Saturday 22 July 1704).
noted the cathedral as ‘in a pitiful condition’. Ensuing maintenance saw over £89 paid to Edward Johnson for painting and plasterwork, while in 1723-4, Agnes Heatley was paid ‘for slating work over the great ile and government seat’, demonstrating again the importance of women to craft families. In 1725, a more ambitious restoration ordered that the Altar of the Communion Table in the Choir of this Church be Enlarged & new Rails be provided, and the Altar to be new gilt ... and that the Floor of the Choir be new flagged with White and black Square, and that a piece of crimson Velvet with Gold lace be provided for the middle Pannell over the Communion Table, and that the West Window over the West Door of this Church be new Glazed.

The black and white flags identify this as a typical early eighteenth-century arrangement. The chapter additionally asked ‘that a new Light on the North side of the West Window over the West Door be opened to make it more Decent regular and Ornamental’, a description which suggests a classical arrangement. A gothic window however is depicted by Beranger at the west end of the north aisle in 1772 (plates 8-9), which can hardly date to this period. Even in England, gothic revival works of William Kent, deputy surveyor of the king’s works (1735-48), were not carried out until the 1740s at Gloucester cathedral and York minster. The fact that the mason John Hendy was instead paid for ‘shutting up the smale window of the west end of ye church’, suggests instead that the instability of the north and west walls prevented any work being done, and that the arch was an earlier gothic feature. Beranger’s drawing of a crude pointed arch supported by block-like jambs may well have accurately reflected the state of the architecture; French visitor, Aubrey de La Mottraye, noted in 1732 that the architectural style of the Dublin cathedrals was ‘not of so good Gothick’ as London or Paris. Hendy, master mason on the equestrian statue of George I in 1722, was the main employee, and was paid over £60 for stone cutting work on the west window, laying new flags, taking up old ones, and

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433 PA 1723-4.
434 RCB C6/1/8/5, 3 (Wednesday 30 June 1725); 4 (Monday 9 August 1725).
436 PA 1724-5.
437 Aubrey de la Mottraye, Voyages en anglais et en francais d'A. de La Motraye, en diverses provinces et places de la Prusse ducal et Royale, de la Bavière, de la Pologne &c ... ([Hague], 1732), 475-6 also regarded St Patrick’s although larger as ‘not of a better Gothick’ than Christ Church.
tile work. Colin Hendy, probably a relative, was paid for the 'new floor of the choir' and work around the altar. The altar piece was gilded by Oboney Beriff for £45, while the old rails were later given to Caragh church.439 Timothy Turner made iron work for the choir windows including the 'Easter' window and 'new window over the south door'. The majority of activity was at the west end where scaffolding was erected for the work of iron monger, Robert Greenway and glazier, Daniel Reynolds. Carpenter, Obanay Devinal, who refloored the belfry also worked at the west end, and was probably related to another cathedral carpenter, Thomas Devinal. During this work, verger and sexton, Thomas Corbet, and under-sexton, Robert Shirt were paid 'for their trouble in lying in the church while the west window was open'.440 Archbishop King also took an interest in the repairs, and received reports from a Revd Robert Howard who on 1 August stated 'They have stripped that great aisle [nave] and are now slating it'.441 Mrs Delany was unimpressed by repairs; 'I cannot say they have much reason to brag of the architecture of it, but they have good voices and a very sweet organ'.442

Could the cathedral as chapel royal always expect to engage the head of the Irish royal works – the state architect for the state church? Apparently so in 1731, whether in a state or personal capacity, when the chapter employed ‘Capt Edward Pearce Surveyor General’ to produce a plan for new residences for the dean, precentor and chancellor in Fishamble Street for which he was to ‘Employ Artificers and Workmen for the carrying on and finishing the said Buildings’.443 In producing plans for ‘Gates and Front Ornaments to the new Buildings in Fishamble Street’, ‘Patterns’ for the ‘Locks for the Doors of the Rooms and Chambers … and likewise Kitchen-Grates and other Grates proper to be fixt’, his attention to detail was impressive.444 After his death in 1733, Lady Pearce was paid £57 10s., but work on the deanery, dean’s stables and porter’s lodge continued under another architect, many of the craftsmen being already involved in work on the cathedral. This is an important point, because it is difficult to imagine the same craftsmen working for one architect at the deanery, and another at the cathedral. The accounts note

439 RCB C6/1/8/5, 36-7 (Monday 2 June 1729).
440 PA 1724-5. See also PA 1726-7 for references to Thomas Devinal.
441 J.T. Gilbert reporting on Correspondence and papers of William King, archbishop of Dublin submitted by Robert D. Lyons, Esq., M.D., Dublin., in appendix to Second report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1874) 235; TCD MSS 1995-2008/2152; 2158 (Howard to King, 2 July 1726; 1 August 1726) calendared in Lyons collection of the correspondence of William King.
444 RCB C6/1/8/5, 79-80 (Friday 24 November 1732).
vigorous restoration work on the cathedral roofs in 1733-4. George Stewart was paid over £143 for ‘repairing the roof of the great Isle & choir’, while Timothy Turner was paid over £32 for ‘Iron work about the roof’. Other costs were for ‘Slates & tiles for the choir’, and for rendering and plastering work in the ‘Great Isle’ and, reflecting its established classical interior, to the roof of the choir. Continuing work on the roof the following year involved a payment of over £190 to Stewart, as well as fees to a plumber, Cave; plasterer, White; smith, Turner and slators, Ellis and Healy. Stewart, Turner and White had all worked on the dean’s stables which were a continuation of Pearce’s work.

It appears then that, whether or not explicitly stated in the chapter acts, Pearce was not just employed by the chapter as overseer of the new deanery building, but effectively as cathedral architect, the first surveyor-general since Molyneux to be consulted. A short time after Pearce’s burial on 10 December 1733, Isaac Wills took over. In April 1735, Wills was retrospectively paid £10 for his supervisory work and appointed ‘as Overseer of the Repairs of this Church during the Pleasure of this Chapter’, backdated from 25 March 1734. With the deanery mostly completed, and work on the cathedral taking precedence, his appointment may have emphasised ‘this Church’, but it seems clear that Wills was succeeding Pearce in a wider sense of cathedral architect with responsibility for its ancillary buildings, a task also carried out by later cathedral architects. Wills was a carpenter who had emerged from the surveyor-general’s office, as a trusted employee of Pearce’s predecessor, Thomas Burgh. He worked on Kilmainham and Dr Steven’s hospitals, on the library and anatomy building at Trinity College, and on the churches of St Werburgh’s where he carved oak pews and was responsible for ‘framing and flouring’ the galleries, and St Ann’s for which he is credited. He was an elderly man by 1737 when the new library and bells were installed, and in April 1738, was discharged from ‘Overseeing the Buildings of this Church’, a phrase embracing all the cathedral’s buildings, whose catholicity lends support to a wider remit for Pearce.

A year after the appointment of the ambitious George Stone as dean in 1743, the new surveyor-general, Jones Nevill was working on the Four Courts. By 1745, he was at the cathedral; the chapter ordered ‘the West End of this Church to be Propt [propped], and

445 PA 1734-8
447 RCB C6/1/8/5, 108 (Monday 14 April 1735).
448 RCB P.0326/27/117 (15 October 1717); 118 (16 October 1717); 119 (17 October 1717); Wheeler & Craig, Dublin city churches, 10; McParland, Public architecture, 84,146.
449 RCB C6/1/8/5, 144-5 (Monday 10 April 1738)
when done that the same be pulled down, in order to be rebuilt, and that Mr Nevil Jones be applied to for a Plan for the same'. This was the last casualty of the 1562 collapse, but few details of it are known other than that workmen were employed 'to Clean paint and white wash the cathedral', and to newly line, cushion and curtain the chapter seats. Jones Nevill, also availed of cathedral land, leasing property in Rathmore until 1766 when he leased two of the chancellor’s houses in the southeast corner of Christ Church Yard (plate 90-3). Given the classical choir, Jones Nevill’s work on the gothic nave is accommodating for the time, shown through his adherence to switchline tracery in the west window, an early revival of gothic by a classically-trained architect. The panelled doorway with semi-circular arc above is reminiscent however of a Georgian fanlight, and reflects his classical preference as reflected in his commissions, the royal charter school, Clontarf (1748) and the Bedford tower at Dublin castle (1749-50). Thereafter, the cathedral relied on its own resources for maintenance using a ‘Master Bricklayer and Carpenter’ in 1753 and a ‘directing and overseeing’ choir member in 1757. The late 1750s and early 1760s were a period of flux in the administration of Irish public architecture. Christ Church, like the Royal Hospital Kilmainham which had enjoyed the surveyor general as its architect since the days of William Robinson, found itself, with the increasing fragmentation of architectural lineages, relying on architects who were not part of the establishment. This pattern increased in Irish architecture; neither Gandon nor Wyatt, two of Ireland’s best known late eighteenth-century architects were members of the Irish ‘works’. This process began when the Barrack Board was established in 1759, and subsequently suppressed the office of surveyor-general then held by Thomas Eyre (1752-63). Therefore, following the appointment of Dean Richard Robinson (1761-4), a practical careerist cleric supportive of architectural endeavour, George Ensor was

450 RCB C6/1/8/6, 27 (28 March 1745); 28 (Tuesday 25 June 1745); 29 (Friday 28 June 1745).
451 RCB C6/1/8/6, 27 (Saturday 27 April 1745); 52 (Tuesday 15 November 1748); 56 (Monday 22 May 1749); 175 (Thursday 13 March 1764); 181 (Monday 18 June 1764); 187-90 (Monday 14 January 1765); 205 (Monday 7 April 1766).
452 Toby Barnard, Improving Ireland? projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786 (Dublin: FCP, 2008), plate 5 depicts St Patrick’s cathedral’s west end drawn by ‘Jonas Blaymires’, which shows similar adjustments to the Gothic west door.
454 Unfortunately unidentified. See above pp 194-5.
455 RCB C6/1/8/6, 94 (Monday 30 April 1753); 115 (Monday 18 April 1757). See also Boydell, History of music at Christ Church, 123; Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, 169.
458 His career mirrored that of his predecessor, George Stone (1743-5), in many ways, down to the brevity of his deanship of Christ Church. For his career, see Malcomson, Primate Robinson 1709-94.
engaged as cathedral ‘Surveyor of the Works’ beginning in June 1761, a brief covering prebendal churches and residences such as St Michan’s.\textsuperscript{459} As clerk of works to former surveyor-general, Jones Nevill, a post Ensor held until 1751, he is likely to have worked on the courts and the cathedral previously thus offering some architectural continuity.\textsuperscript{460} Ensor’s character was dubious having been ‘sacked for taking a bribe’ and been charged, with Jones Nevill, for financial malpractices,\textsuperscript{461} but he was a competent architect who, with his better known brother John, was responsible for houses in Kildare Place in the mid-1750s and in Merrion Square in 1767.\textsuperscript{462} Another practical request Robinson made was for a survey of the cathedral precincts and estates to be executed in ‘one large and general Map’,\textsuperscript{463} of which the former was completed by cathedral surveyor, Thomas Reading in October 1761 (plate 87).\textsuperscript{464}

Architecturally more significant was the proposal in 1764 by the dean and three chapter members for removing ‘the Closet, in which the Government Sit at Christ Church from the West end of the said Church where it now Stands to the North Gallery’, arguing that this would be attended by numerous conveniences. Marking a shift in governmental policy from the days of the surveyor-general, the Barrack Board proposed that the chapter should instead ‘take upon themselves the expense’ given that the alterations proposed were ‘Calculated for the Conveniency of the Cathedral only’.\textsuperscript{465} The eventual design of the organ, when moved from the north gallery to the screen in the 1790s, was gothic, but whether this style was intended for the earlier attempts is unknown. Gothic revival was then a recherché field in Ireland, affecting only two churches in the 1760s: St Patrick’s, Glenarm (1763-4), attributed to Christopher Myers, though planned a decade earlier, and St Malachy’s, Hillsborough (1760-72) of unknown authorship, although Sanderson Miller was recommended.\textsuperscript{466} Had a government architect been involved, the task would have fallen not to the largely absentee architect of the Barrack Board, Henry Keene (1762-6), a noted gothic revivalist in England,\textsuperscript{467} but to Joseph Jarret who, under

\textsuperscript{459} RCB C6/1/8/6, 151 (Monday 18 May 1761); 157 (Thursday 25 March 1762).
\textsuperscript{462} Casey, \textit{Dublin}, 529, 36-37, 584.
\textsuperscript{463} RCB C6/1/8/6, 145-6 (Thursday 16 April 1761).
\textsuperscript{464} Not 1764 pace Clarke, \textit{Dublin to 1610}, plate no 8.
\textsuperscript{465} RCB C6/1/8/6, 182-6 (Monday 3 December 1764).
\textsuperscript{466} O’Dwyer, ‘Christopher Myers, 69-71, 80-2.
\textsuperscript{467} Colvin, \textit{Dictionary}, 571-4.
Eyre, Keene and Myers, served as deputy (1752-76). Neither Jarrett nor Ensor were known for their gothic. Indeed, apart from building St John’s church, Ensor oversaw little as cathedral architect other than a minor restoration of 1767 that saw George Box reglaze the west window and George Robinson paint and gild the clock dials. In 1769, for whatever reason, the chapter consulted another architect, and in December they recorded Ensor an honourable retreat stating that his ‘necessary Avocations in the Country render it inconvenient for him to Discharge the Duty of his Office here’.

The alternative architect was Thomas Cooley, and the question was whether the cathedral should have a spire. St Patrick’s had one since George Semple’s addition to the Minot tower in 1749, and in 1769, Archbishop Arthur Smyth made a generous gift of £1000 ‘to Erect a Spire upon the Bell Tower of this Church’, perhaps mindful of his predecessor’s assertion that Dublin, with its spireless churches, looked ‘like a Cow without horns’. The Irish seem to be terribly afraid of thunder’, quipped another visitor. Ensor declared the tower ‘insufficient for that purpose’, possibly the reason a second opinion was sought from Cooley, who was paid for a survey of the Vaults & Bell Tower. His substantial report is a rare and detailed glimpse into the physical condition of the cathedral. Cooley agreed with Ensor and also opined on the differing age of parts of the building, suggesting ‘the Tower to have been built long since the walls of the Nave and Choir’, and noting ‘the different Style of Building in the Nave’. More practically, he argued that there was no provision made for the addition of a spire citing that the stones were ‘laid at Random’, the whole being dependent on the ‘Strength of the Grouting or Cement of the Walls’. He recommended repointing the tower and curing the crypt of its ‘foul damp air’ which he blamed for ‘a decay of the Mortar and Cement’ in ‘auxiliary Arches’, later being paid ‘for Superintending the Repairs of the Vaults’ himself. The archbishop was thanked for his ‘Munificent Intentions for the Ornament of this Church’, but the project was abandoned. It should be noted that the aspiration for a spire was restricted to the Protestant ascendancy. The Catholic Relief Act of 1782 was forbidden to

469 PA 1767-8.
470 RCB C6/1/8/6, 261 (Monday 18 December 1769). PA 1770-1 records a payment of £5 to him as an ‘Arrear of Salary due to him as Supervisor of the Works’.
472 Elstob, A trip to Kilkenny (1779), 83, or rather the effect of lightning strikes on spires.
473 RCB C6/1/8/6, 253-5 (Tuesday 10 October 1769); PA 1768-9.
apply to any Catholic 'church or chapel with a steeple or bell'.

Out of 30 churches, by 1797 there were still just two 'miserable bell-towers': St Patrick’s and St Werburgh’s. 

Ironically, the spire erected by Cooley at St Patrick’s cathedral, Armagh in 1782-3 was later taken down. Although Cooley’s building expertise was clearly classical, he also designed a number of plans for gothic-revival parish churches in 1773-4, ‘pattern-book churches’ which ‘mark a coming of age of the Gothic revival in Ireland’. It is no surprise then to find Cooley designing a gothic-revival episcopal throne in 1775, with his characteristic trefoil-ornamented Gothic cornice, as part of a refurbishment at St Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin (figure 36). His pupil, Francis Johnston, had an even broader palette: deft in Doric, neo-Palladian and gothic. One overblown description of Johnston put him ‘in the eye of a theoretical or ideological hurricane’, but his chapel royal at Dublin castle does mark a pivotal point in the gothic revival in Ireland.

However, the day Ensor resigned, it was another Thomas, Ivory in this case, who was appointed ‘Surveyor of the Works’ in his stead. Why Ivory was chosen over Cooley is not clear, but was perhaps based on his decade of seniority. He outstripped his master in draughtsmanship, a ‘Mr Bell Mires’ probably Jonas Blaymire, and became a well respected architect. From 1764, he was the first master of the Dublin Society’s architectural drawing school, and is best known for the Newcomen bank and Blue Coat school. Ensor can have borne Ivory little grudge, as he gave an Ionic polychrome


478 O’Dwyer, ‘Christopher Myers’, 109 citing Armagh, Robinson Library, Z XXI 33. These elevations for Armagh diocese are amongst a body of extant Cooley drawings including, for example, one of Kells church in the Irish Architectural Archive noted in Joseph O’Donnell, ‘Stone, stucco and papier mâché: fan vaulting from Henry VIII’s chapel, Westminster abbey, to Monkstown parish church’ in McCarthy & O’Neill, Gothic revival, 1-20, at 15, note 29; and sketches he made in what is known as the ‘Caledon album’ from Caledon, Co. Tyrone noted in McParland, Public architecture, 225, note 3.


482 RCB C6/1/8/6, 261 (Sunday 18 December 1769).

483 ‘History of the fine arts in Ireland: Mr. Thomas Ivory’, Anthologia Hibernica: or, monthly collections of science, belles lettres, and history (May, 1793), 334-5; Harry Sirr, ‘Thomas Ivory’, The Architectural Review: with which is
marble chimney piece for the board room of the Bluecoat school in 1780. Like his predecessors, Ivory was responsible for cathedral buildings outside the precinct. For St Michan’s, he prepared ‘a Plan of a pair of Piers and Gates’ for the street front leading to the yard of the prebendal house. ⁴⁸⁴ He appears also to have attempted to systematise cathedral maintenance procedures. In 1771, cathedral slator, James Elliott, was given a 14 year contract for slating at £26 per year for which the work was specified in details, and also for plumbing at £11-7-6 per year. ⁴⁸⁵ Ivory attempted some restoration work in 1772, judging from a doubling of expenditure from the previous year. Those employed included glaziers, carpenters, a ‘tinman’, bricklayers and masons, a carver and gilder and an ironmonger. The painters and plasterers, included a Mrs Boyce (probably Jane, the administrator of the painter and plasterer, William Boyce, who was alive the previous year). The established stone cutter family of Darleys was also represented. More detail is available from the drapers; payments were made to Thomas Gladwell ‘for Crimson Mantua Silk’ and Mr Hutchinson ‘for Scarlet Cloth’, and in the 1773-4 accounts for ‘Genoa Velvet’, ‘Lace and Embroidery of Glory’, ‘Stuff for Curtain’ and payments to Mrs McEvoy, Embroiderer’.

In 1773, Cooley was again called upon to report ‘on the intended Removal of the Organ & alteration of the upper Gallery in the Church’, ⁴⁸⁶ perhaps to conclude Ivory’s work. Why he was consulted is unclear, but may have been due to Ivory’s known poor health or his heavy commitments elsewhere; that year Waterford Corporation consulted him on the rebuilding of the Church of Ireland cathedral. ⁴⁸⁷ Although provincial cathedrals were being rebuilt as classical buildings at this time, such as Oliver Grace’s Cashel cathedral (1778-83), ⁴⁸⁸ ironically for Waterford, the revival of gothic cathedrals was soon to start, for example at Down (1790-1818). ⁴⁸⁹ If Ivory was indeed that busy, it was logical that the

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⁴⁸⁴ Casey, Dublin, 254; RCB C6/1/7/7, 11-11v (Tuesday 22 October 1771). Edward Ledwich would rise to be dean of Kildare (1772-82), but it was his nephew who was the eponymous antiquary, and author of The antiquities of Ireland (Dublin, 1790).

⁴⁸⁵ RCB C6/1/7/7, 11-11v (Tuesday 22 October 1771).

⁴⁸⁶ PA 1770-4.

⁴⁸⁷ McParland, Thomas Ivory, 7; Graves, ‘The ancient fabric, plate and furniture of the cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford’, 82-3. The job went to John Roberts who, unusually, also built the R.C. cathedral.


⁴⁸⁹ Craig, Architecture of Ireland, 215 possibly by Charles Lilly of Dublin.
extra £4 earned by cathedral servants in 1772 for ‘the extraordinary Trouble they were put to by the Repairs carrying on in this Church during the last Summer’,\textsuperscript{490} should evolve into a more stable arrangement. In 1775, the verger, James Hewitt, was employed to pay ‘sundry Disbursements to the Tradesmen &c employed in the Works of this Church’.\textsuperscript{491} In 1775, most of the cathedral craftsmen could be found working on the prebendal house of St Michan, with little intervention from Ivory, given that it was minor work such as repairing ‘Sash Frames and Sashes’ and glazing work.\textsuperscript{492} In 1786, the choir was more intensively restored, such that the organ was ‘damaged during the repair of the Church’, requiring it to be repaired and cleaned by the organ builder, William Hollister.\textsuperscript{493} In June, Ivory had the chapter close the cathedral for repairs.\textsuperscript{494} Reasserting their role as chapel royal, the chapter reported to the Board of Works that ‘the Cathedral is now repairing and the Seats to be New Lined’, and requested that ‘Such of them as belong to Government and are for the Accommodation of their Officers be repaired and New Lined as has always been the Custom at the expense of Government’.\textsuperscript{495} The verger’s role in ‘Attending the different Workmen’ working on the ‘late great Repairs’,\textsuperscript{496} was clearly necessary, because by the end of December, the ailing Thomas Ivory had died, aged 54.

The chapter lost no time in appointing a successor. On 4 January 1787, Robert Parke, an able man fully acquainted with the architectural establishment, was appointed ‘Supervisor of Works & Comptroller of Tradesmens Bills to this Church’, the latter a role formerly undertaken by the verger.\textsuperscript{497} He may have been the ‘Mr. Parke’ who competed in 1772 against Ivory for the Blue Coat School. As was Ensor to Jones Nevill, Parke was a former clerk of works to a former cathedral architect, in this case Cooley, under whom he worked on the first stages of the Four Courts. Parke appears to have partially filled the void left by Cooley’s death in 1784. He succeeded to his position as architect of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham,\textsuperscript{498} and by the mid-1780s was involved with numerous other institutions including the Wide Streets Commissioners and the Linen board, as well as

\textsuperscript{490} RCB C6/1/7/7, 23v (Monday 7 December 1772)
\textsuperscript{491} RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 39-39v (Monday 24 April 1775)
\textsuperscript{492} RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 40v (Monday 12 June 1775); PA 1774-6; Rachel Moss, ‘Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: Crypt stone project, a database of medieval carved stone (Unpublished report, Christ Church Cathedral Dublin & The Heritage Council, 1999), E1207 records a reused stone in the cathedral on which painter Patrick Brislau, probably one of the cathedral craftsmen at the time, inscribed his name, occupation and a date (figure 11).
\textsuperscript{493} RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 114-114v (Monday 4 December 1786).
\textsuperscript{494} RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 115 (Thursday 4 January 1787)
\textsuperscript{495} O’Dwyer, ‘Building empires’, 132.
superintending Gandon’s additions to Pearce’s parliament house. He was also the Dublin Society’s architect by 1784, whose drawing school trained Dublin’s architects. He may have been ‘of no consequence as an architect’ in comparison to Gandon, or indeed to James Wyatt, a contemporary who revived gothic at Lichfield, Salisbury, Hereford, Durham and Ely cathedrals and Westminster abbey, but Parke fulfilled an important role in Dublin succeeding to numerous architectural vacancies.

Parke inherited a decrepit cathedral where, in 1789, the verger was asked ‘to cause the windows of this Church and Choir to be opened daily in order to prevent Dampness’. A new dean, George Lewis Jones took stock in 1790 directing both ‘Mr Park Supervisor of Works and Mr Byron Surveyor to this Church’ to survey and value the cathedral estate down to the state of repair of holdings. Once more, moving the government closet, first raised in 1764, was proposed. The intention remained that the western state pew and the north gallery organ should change positions. The motive for quoting a 26-year-old chapter act suggests that it had remained on someone’s mind. It is possible that as it was proposed by the treasurer, Richard Allott, an Armagh chapter member from 1774-95, the influence came from Richard Robinson, now archbishop of Armagh, whose diocesan architect, Cooley, had re-examined the Christ Church proposal in 1773. In July 1791, Jones waited upon the lord lieutenant to inform him of ‘the alteration proposed to be made in the Church by the removal of his Excellency’s Seat and the Organ’. The appeal was successful and in December, there was a bill from W.C. Hollister ‘for Removing and repairing the Organ’ which ‘Mr Parks [Parke] Comptroller of Tradesmens Bills’ inspected. In April 1792, the proctor was ‘requested to cause a Seat in the Church to be fitted up for the accomodation [sic] of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and his suit, with Closets for their Graces the Lord Primate and Lord [sic] Chancellor agreeable to a plan proposed by the Proctor this day’. The crossing and transepts elevation depicting the organ over the screen, with gothic detailing (plate 63) probably relates to this restoration, and may be one of the drawings paid for by the chapter in December 1792. The involvement of a Mr Thorpe, most likely Charles, the well known stuccodor and

500 Turpin, A school of art in Dublin, 62. The 1810 reference to him (p. 121) is to Edward not Robert.
502 Colvin, Dictionary, 1107-21, at 1113.
503 RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 143v-144v (Monday 15 June 1789)
504 RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 153v-154 (Monday 6 December 1790).
505 RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 160-161v (Tuesday 21 July 1791); ff 164-164v (Monday 12 December 1791).
506 RCB C6/1/7/7, ff 167-167v (Thursday 26 April 1792); ff 175-176 (Monday 10 December 1792).
painter, permits some insight into the decorative plaster work, but what work he carried out is unknown.\textsuperscript{507} Visible gothicisation appears in the Gothic panelling on the organ screen. The arrangement is much like John Hobcraft's 1768 scheme at Audley End in Essex (figure 34), or James Wyatt's 1798 gothic-revival rebuilding of Kilbixy, church Co. Westmeath (figure 35).\textsuperscript{508} The restoration was short-lived, but if the surviving elevation records his intentions, then it is the earliest evidence for large scale revival of gothic at the cathedral. Dean Jones wrote that the chapter corporately and individually had spent £2000 'to support a repair & additional improvements', and estimated this would run to 'upwards of £7000', but continued: 'Here we pause ... we flatter ourselves that we shall be able to resume our work in the course of a year or two.\textsuperscript{509} After shutting for cleaning between August to September 1792, Parke died that December.\textsuperscript{510}

The choice of Edward Parke as architect, the son succeeding the father, was a familiar motif at the cathedral and in Dublin more generally, where he became architect to the Dublin Society, Pearce's parliament house, and the linen board. His youth meant that in 1793, when asked 'to view the walls of the north side of the church', he was assisted by the architect, Richard Johnston (brother of Francis), who built the assembly rooms at the Rotunda hospital and Aldborough House, and a surveyor, Thomas Brownrigg who would gain the position of chapter surveyor in 1794.\textsuperscript{511} Parke's juniority was reflected in the order of precedence of signatures to the report: Johnston, a builder named John Mack and 'Edward Park, architect'.\textsuperscript{512} Referred to as the 'surveyor of works', Parke was to report regularly on the 'state of the North Wall and Transit (sic) Nave',\textsuperscript{513} the standard fare of his long term as cathedral architect until about 1829,\textsuperscript{514} but reflected little of his ability, which can be gleaned from his other buildings. His role involved the practicalities of cathedral maintenance, balancing his aspirations to restore the cathedral with the dismantling of the precincts. In 1794, he briefly carried out both when he was ordered to dismantle the old chapter house removing its eastern bay, but also to 'ciel the north and

\textsuperscript{507} RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 174v (Monday 3 December 1792) notes a gripe that his account was unjustly taxed. See Conor Lucey, 'Decoration and property speculation: newspaper advertisements from Michael Stapleton and Charles Thorp', \textit{I.A.D.S.}, x (2007), 264-9 and Curran, \textit{Dublin decorative plasterwork} (1967), 111.


\textsuperscript{509} Malcomson, \textit{Archbishop Charles Agar}, 314 and Rankin, \textit{Down cathedral}, 110-11, n. 5 noting PRONI, D 607/B/343 & 340 (George Lewis Jones to Lord Downshire, 20 March 1792).

\textsuperscript{510} RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 171v (Saturday 7 July 1792); ff 175-6 (Monday 10 December 1792).


\textsuperscript{512} Papworth, 'Parke, Robert' gives Park and Parks as variants, but Parke is here used for consistency.

\textsuperscript{513} RCB C6/1/7/8, 12 (Monday 9 December 1793). Transit is probably a homologue for transept.

\textsuperscript{514} \textit{Wilson's Dublin Directory for the year} 1829 (Dublin, 1829), 187.
south cross aisles and the steeple of the cathedral', perhaps fulfilling his father's plans – neo-gothic vaulting is depicted in the crossing elevation (plate 63). Cathedral finances had reputedly been so reduced by a series of 'misfortunes and of wretched management' that the chapter could do little but 'keep the church, if possible, from ruin'. The grounds were so dishevelled that the chapter acknowledged: 'the probability of regaining residiency Houses for Mr Dean and the other Members is distant'. Shortly after this, the roof was taken off a ruined house of the dean's adjoining the old courts, while in 1809, Parke ordered houses nos. 7 & 8 on Christ Church Lane to be 'Immediately taken down', but required nos. 9-12 to be kept 'as a temporary support ... mutually supporting each other'. Parke's other chores included making a temporary footpath out of 'Lime and Brick rubbish' from the 'north side of the Church by the Western Front, to Skinner row,' and repairing the dean's lodgings in the west range. It was a dismal scene of architectural decay, which is captured well by Grattan and Mason (plates 15-16, 94).

In the light of the cathedral's traditional royal status, restoration work was always being considered. One commentator in 1800 described Christ Church as 'in a very confined place, and makes no figure' suggesting that it be 'taken down, and a new one erected in the centre of St. Stephen's green', though the act of Union that year, uniting also the established churches of England and Ireland, may have fuelled public speculation more than usual. After the arrival of a new lord lieutenant, Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, who had an interest in the reform of the Irish military and civil works, a response to the state of the established church's fabric came in 1801 when Gandon was asked to design a new chapel royal. This must have been known at Christ Church, because in 1802, the chapter sought funding from the lord lieutenant for restoration work at the cathedral. The tone of the letter is remarkable in its humility, and the dean and chapter were forced to itemise the cathedral's status as a royal chapel. A blow by blow memorandum argued that the government had always attended on public occasions, as had the House of Lords prior to the act of Union; that seats were erected there for the lord lieutenant and 'the great Officers of State and the Peers of the Realm'; that it held a similar function to

515 RCB C6/1/7/8, 18-19 (Saturday 8 March 1794); Stalley, '1562 collapse of the nave', 235.
516 Malcomson, Archbishop Charles Agar, 314 citing Bishop Charles Lindsay to Archbishop Charles Agar, 21 January 1806 (PRONI, T/3719/C/40/3).
517 RCB C6/1/7/8, 449 (Monday 25 April 1808).
518 RCB C6/1/7/8, 456-7 (Wednesday 22 June 1808); C6/1/8/9, 7-8 (Wednesday 20 September 1809).
520 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [22] (7 December 1825).
522 O'Dwyer, 'Building empires', 135-6.
Westminster abbey; that the Board of Works defrayed expenses for the accommodation of the lord lieutenant and his household, and finally that it was hoped ‘thoroughly to repair and beautify the said Cathedral so as to make it suitable to the reception of his Majesty’s Government’, implicitly acknowledging their concern that this was no longer the case. Pointedly, they reported: ‘drawings and Estimates have been prepared for such Alterations and Improvements’ and cited St Margaret’s, Westminster, ‘being the Church of the House of Commons’, as having received a grant of £4,000.\(^{523}\) The chapter clearly regarded the cathedral’s royal status as inherent to its identity. It is possible that, in 1805, no decision had been made as to where the chapel royal should rest, as both cathedrals engaged Parke for architectural survey work. At Christ Church he was ‘to make drawings and sections of the entire of the Church and precincts both Interior and Exterior’.\(^{524}\) Three days later, after the lord lieutenant visited St Patrick’s, he was asked ‘to make a plan and estimate for building a cathedral on the same site and in the same style of architecture’. His report suggested that even temporary repairs would require £16,000, a useful estimate if the lord lieutenant was considering moving the chapel royal there.\(^{525}\) Such work must have given Parke ample opportunity to ponder designs for rebuilding cathedrals. By 1807, the foundation stone of Johnston’s new chapel royal at Dublin castle was laid,\(^{526}\) scuppering any hope of Christ Church retaining the role or of St Patrick’s and its knights acquiring it. This did not stop Parke from stating in 1821 that Christ Church was ‘in a state of so much decay that although it will be safe for the present re[s]ort after no long time it must be rebuilt or fall into utter ruin’.\(^{527}\) The chapter harboured similar hopes in 1828 when they told the Wide Streets Commissioners that leasing nearby land was ‘detrimental to the object of the rebuilding of this cathedral’.\(^{528}\)

The request that Parke estimate the cost of rebuilding St Patrick’s in ‘the same style of architecture’ is unexpected because he was best known, not for gothic, but classical buildings such as the Commercial Buildings, Dame Street (1796-9) and the Royal College of Surgeons (1806-10). About 1812, Parke’s patron, John Foster, gave him a commission

\(^{523}\) RCB C6/1/7/8, 235-8 (Saturday 6 November 1802).
\(^{524}\) RCB C6/1/7/8, 341-2 (Saturday 28 September 1805).
\(^{525}\) Mason, *St Patrick’s*, 463-4; Bernard, *St Patrick’s*, 16-17; [Anonymous,] ‘Re-opening of St Patrick’s cathedral’, *Irish Times* (Saturday 25 February 1865), 3.
\(^{527}\) RCB C6/1/7/10, 144-5 (31 July 1821).
\(^{528}\) RCB C6/1/7/11, 106, 109-20 noted in Milne, ‘Restoration’, 297.
to design farm offices at his house at Collon, Co. Louth and influenced his choice as architect of Dundalk court house, a Greek-revival design. Although Parke’s replacement by John Bowden in 1813 after he and Foster quarrelled raises some doubts over who designed the building, Craig felt it ‘to be essentially Park’s’. As a classical architect concerned with the building of cathedrals, one cannot help but wonder whether he considered building a classical cathedral. The question of who designed the metropolitan chapel of St Mary’s, later known as the Pro-Cathedral, has long tantalised scholars. McCarthy went so far as to propose that ‘P’, the anonymous signator of the plans, was ‘Pontifex’, suggesting Archbishop Troy as the priest in question, but given that Parke’s ecclesiastical work has only recently been noted, few have considered that his might be the name to which the cryptic ‘P’ applies; not of a well read priest, but of a frustrated Dublin cathedral architect. Casey’s question: ‘Might ‘P’ have played a part in the genesis of Dundalk Courthouse?’ comes closest to this suggestion, but made no further link.

In 1821, Wright recorded that the design was ‘sent to this country by an amateur artist residing in Paris, who intrusted it to the care of Dr. Murray’, noting that the design was ‘not taken from St. Maria Maggiore at Rome, St. Philip du Roux at Paris, or any other building in existence: those churches are in the Roman, whereas the Metropolitan Chapel is in the Grecian style’. While one could readily agree over St Maria Maggiore, the interior of the metropolitan chapel, later known as the pro-cathedral, bears a striking resemblance to Chalgrin’s neo-classical Parisian basilica of St Philippe du Roule (1764-84). The designs sent by the amateur artist were likely Chalgrin’s architectural drawings of the church published around 1785 and therefore theoretically available to architects.

The commentator also correctly noted the Greek-revival style of St Mary’s, of which the façade is a strict example, and this recalls that the portico is an imitation of the temple of Theseus in Athens, as is Dundalk court house. Parke could trace his own architectural lineage through his father to Cooley, who trained under Robert Mylne when he was...

529 Papworth, ‘Parke, Robert’; Craig, Architecture of Ireland, 272.
531 For example, Stalley, ‘Confronting the past’, 76.
532 Casey, Dublin, 56n.
533 Wright, Historical guide (1821), 175.
editing the plates for the 1768 volume, *The ruins of Paestum*,
*a vital early publication of the most influential Greek precedents for the baseless Doric order*. While the Parisian plans were off-the-shelf, circumstantially, it is hard to deny the coincidence that the metropolitan chapel competition was won in 1814, the year after Parke ceased work on the Dundalk courthouse. As to why ‘P’ has remained anonymous for so long (despite the survival of the building accounts), one obvious suggestion is that it would have been inappropriate in an Ireland before Catholic Emancipation for the designer of the new Catholic cathedral to have been an architect involved with the Church of Ireland, let alone the other Dublin cathedrals. In effect, ‘P’ may as well have stood for Protestant.

In some ways then, the decline of Christ Church as the Irish chapel royal reflected a decline in the established church, correspondingly manifested in changes to the building and its monuments. Socially, there was a sharp distinction between the Restoration viceregalty of the duke of Ormonde, who as one of the last of Ireland’s nobility to hold power, was clearly invested in the Dublin cathedral, and those who followed. After the reign of James II, no further Irish lord lieutenants were appointed for almost a century, and those that attended the cathedral were unpopular. Also, lords lieutenant did not reside in Ireland until the early 1770s. By the 1800 act of union, the lieutenantship was in a slow but terminal decline. Such an atmosphere generated little sense of governmental propriety over the upkeep of Christ Church. Even the fact that several deans were chaplains to lords lieutenant made little impact; hence the slow move of the cathedral’s government seat proposed in 1764 and 1773, but that only occurred in 1791. Monuments and burials also reflected this shift from an elitist to a more democratic representation. In terms of the architects overseeing the building, from the Restoration onwards this is associated with the Irish royal works often specifically as the surveyor-general, a largely unaccountable position subject to viceregal patronage. As has been shown this included individuals such as the master carpenter, John Mills, or the carpenter-architect, Isaac Wills. At its peak this included, as has been argued, surveyors general, William Robinson

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and Edward Lovett Pearce, and certainly William Molyneaux and Arthur Jones Nevill. The bureaucratisation and modernisation of the administration of the Irish royal works in the mid-eighteenth century with the establishment of the Barrack board made it more difficult for Christ Church to seek the direct intervention of the Irish royal architect, as this role had been subsumed amongst the board’s clerks and inspectors of civil buildings, of which Thomas Cooley was one (1776-84). It was important that the cathedral architect have some entree into the considerable intricacies of the Barrack board, hence the employment of Dublin architects familiar with that milieu. All were of relatively high rank in Irish terms, and included a role call of George Ensor, Thomas Ivory, Robert and Edward Parke and briefly, Thomas Cooley and Richard Johnston.

It was their task to maintain the cathedral in the face of a gradual decline in its fabric and surroundings. From a classical peak in the 1680s following two separate refurbishments which resulted in an impressive galleried choir, perhaps something like a cross between the chancel of Robinson’s Kilmainham chapel (figure 28-9) and a narrower version of the galleried St Mary’s church (figure 30), such as the nineteenth-century choir of St Canice’s, Kilkenny (chapter vi, figure 22), over time, the cathedral’s internal fittings had dated. Piece-meal alterations in the late eighteenth century added elements of Gothic revival, and the architectural style grew incoherent. Although there was sympathy for the Gothic movement, perhaps by Jones Nevill, certainly by Cooley and the Parkes, funds were insufficient for a full restoration. As an aesthetic mongrel of remnant classical and early gothic revival styles, no wonder the government wished to start afresh with a new Gothic-revival chapel at Dublin castle, beaching Christ Church’s hybrid hulk in favour of a sleeker model noted as the ‘most flamboyant and luxurious Dublin interior of its era’.

Neither could Christ Church make sole claim to chapel royal status. Viable alternatives existed for some time including Dublin castle chapel itself, St Patrick’s cathedral and even St Werburgh’s church. There was little question of the cathedral’s status at the Restoration when Richard St George, Chichester king of arms offered advice on the state’s ‘Order of proceeding to Christ Church’ in 1661, which reached a peak with King Charles II’s letter of 1672, and Moreton’s 1679-80 restoration. In 1722, John Stevens regarded Christ Church as having ‘been ever since [the Reformation] in the nature of a Royal Chapel’, noting ambiguously that ‘The Cathedral of St. Patrick is now

539 O’Dwyer, ‘Building empires’, 141.
540 Casey, Dublin, 358.
541 McParland, Public architecture, chapter 2, note 1 citing NLI, MS GO 6, p. 63.
542 Milne, ‘Restoration’, 259, note 30 citing P.R.O., SP 63/331/89.
only looked upon as such [my emphasis], being much larger and more beautiful than the
other. Yet even with its competitors, it could still be acknowledged in 1789 that Christ
Church was where ‘the lord-lieutenant and lords-justices always go in state, on solemn
occasions, though there is a chapel belonging to the castle’. While proximity to the
castle may have prioritised Christ Church, the need for scale was the advantage of St
Patrick’s, and probably the reason that the consecration of two archbishops and twelve
bishops took place there in 1661. A century of precedence suggested this would
normally have occurred at Christ Church, but nevertheless in the words of an anthem
sung at the service: ‘now that the Lord hath readvanced the crown’, it did reinforce the
association of the crown with cathedrals and their respective royal and ecclesiastical
hierarchies. More permanent arrangements were made to accommodate the state at St
Patrick’s, because in 1686, stalls for the lord primate, lord chancellor and lord lieutenant
were noted. Scale and the dedication to the national saint made the cathedral the
natural chapel for the order of St Patrick, founded in 1783. Increased levels of state
ceremony there however had the subtle distinction of being more chivalric than royal.
Nearer the castle, was St Werburgh’s parish church, known in the late eighteenth-century
as ‘one of the most fashionable in Dublin … regularly attended by the Lord Lieutenant
and his suite’, evident in the surviving vice-regal pew. That the church played the part of
a chapel royal appears from its attempts to ‘mirror the ritual of the castle’ erecting a flag
on its steeple, and in the fact that the architect of its 1759 restoration was Joseph Jarratt,
clerk and inspector of civil buildings, and the last deputy to a surveyor general. Dublin
castle also maintained a chapel and continued to do so after the 1684 explosion there.

Although James II attended Christ Church at least once, considerable money was spent

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543 John Stevens, *Monasticon Hibernicum: or, the monastical history of Ireland* (London, 1722), 5-6; Loveday, *Diary of a tour in 1732*, 53-4 Loveday read this as confirming that Christ Church was ‘in ye nature of a Royal Chappell’, but that ‘the Cathedral of St Patrick’s is now look’d upon as Such’.

544 G.A. Walpole (ed.), *The new British traveller; or, a complete modern universal display of Great-Britain and Ireland* (London, 1784), 515.


546 Michael O’Neill, ‘Architecture: from the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century’ in John Crawford & Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *A history of St Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin: FCP, forthcoming) citing Book of Leases (11 January 1685-6). Only the ‘Lord Lieutenant’s Lady’s Seat’ is noted, but her presence would have assumed his presence.


during his reign on the castle chapel employing royal craftsmen of the highest calibre.\(^{549}\)

It was not physical form however, but liturgical content that drew the chapel royal title back to the castle in the early eighteenth century. Friction between the dean of Christ Church and the archbishop made the chapel the preferred venue for most episcopal consecrations, all of which were of course crown appointments.\(^{550}\)

By 1810, the problem of governmental recognition for Christ Church had disimproved. The chapter wanted the crown to acknowledge that it normally contributed to expenses for ‘making this Cathedral fit for the reception of the Lord Lieutenant.’ Although the chapter said that ‘they conceive it to be a matter of such notoriety that is needless to go into any proofs that the Cathedral of Christ Church is the place of worship to which the Government of Ireland resort on all public Occasions’, they felt obliged ‘to refer to authentic Proof’ that on extraordinary and ordinary occasions, the government had paid for expenses. In a humiliating end to the letter, the chapter referred to ‘the Accounts kept by the Board of Works and in the Taylors Office’, giving the example of ironmongery between 1795 and 1801, none exceeding more than £20 per year. The chapter’s modest hope was to be repaid a bill of £52 12s. 9d. to enable them to proceed with ‘painting the Choir and furnishing the Seats appropriated to Government’ fit for when the lord lieutenant ‘shall think proper to attend Divine Service’.\(^{551}\)

With the opening of the chapel royal at Dublin castle in 1814, arrayed with the coats of arms of the previous viceroys, the cathedral’s claim to royal status was hopeless. Although queried, Francis Johnston overran his budget from £9,533 to £42,350, emphasising both a remarkable inefficiency on the part of the Board of Works, yet the clear political will to complete the new chapel royal.\(^{552}\) With the new chapel royal complete and the prospect of Catholic Emancipation approaching, the last thing to concern the board of works was to prop up the ecclesiastical fabric of the ancien régime. With little further royal status to lose, it remained for a new architect, Matthew Price, to boost the cathedral’s reputation by completing the gothic-revival of the cathedral begun by the Parkes. Compared to the mature gothic of Johnston however, it was too little, too late.

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\(^{551}\) RCB C6/1/7/9, 83-5 (Wednesday 12 July 1810).

\(^{552}\) O’Dwyer, ‘Building empires’, 138.
CHAPTER VI – CAULIFLOWERS, SNAILS AND BARBARISMS: PRICE’S GOTHIC REVIVAL RESTORATION OF CHRIST CHURCH, 1831-70

Curiously, it took the superintendent of lighthouse works in Ireland to redress the reputation of the cathedral’s early nineteenth-century restoration when, in 1881, he defended Price for his removal of flea-ridden soft-furnishings and toning down unfashionably gaudy gilding, transforming a choir of mixed, though originally classical, style, into a more unified Gothic aesthetic.¹ The commentator was John S. Sloane, a civil engineer, architect and antiquary,² familiar with Christ Church from childhood, and the repairs were part of a choir restoration in 1831-3 by the newly appointed cathedral architect, Matthew Price. It was completed in a second phase in 1842-6 which dealt with the nave, tower and remainder of the exterior. A number of issues immediately present themselves. First, why in the 1880s was Price’s restoration regretted? How had opinion changed so much over the intervening time? Second, why did the obscure figure of Price get the job? Who else was competing for it? Once appointed, did he have any clear vision for the restoration ushering in structural changes, or was he following orders in making minimal cosmetic changes? While his completion of the long-planned gothic-revival restoration of the cathedral by 1846 may have salved the chapter’s bruised self-image following the usurpation of the chapel royal role in 1814 by Johnston’s new building at Dublin castle, to what extent did Price’s work represent the rather limited ambitions of this defensive cathedral chapter? These questions of Price’s restoration are explored below in far greater detail than before through the examination of subsequent opinion of his work, detailed records of the surviving building, and the personalities responsible for completing the cathedral’s restoration, envisaged in the previous century.

The most glowing report of the 1830s restoration, and its most detailed description, unsurprisingly appeared shortly after its completion. The anonymous account was printed as a front page feature in the Dublin Penny Journal with two views by Clayton (plate 27 & 51). It referred to a ‘sudden and great alarm during the time of service the

¹ A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 512 (15 April 1881), 118, 121, at 121. Ironically, he had described Christ Church as ‘so scandalously defaced in the attempt of a so-called restoration’ regarding Price’s 1830s work in 1857 ([J.S., ‘Pencilings of ancient Dublin’, Irish Literary Gazette, i (1857), 91], a description he later applied additionally to Street’s 1870s restoration when reworking the articles for the Irish Builder in 1881 ([A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’, xxiii, 506, Irish Builder (15 January 1881), 18].

² Sloane was the author of Manual for Lightkeepers (Dublin: J. Goggins, 1873). He published a number of articles entitled ‘Pencilings of ancient Dublin’ and ‘Antiquarian rambles in the county of Dublin’ in the Irish Literary Gazette (1857-8), under his own name, the latter of which were reproduced in the Irish Builder (1881) as ‘A Fingalian’, an identification known to John O’Hanlon in the Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, ii (1858-9), 15.
cause of which could never be discovered’ in 1829 which led to the cathedral’s closure for two years during which through the private funds of the dean and chapter ‘put this ancient and venerable edifice in a state of perfect and permanent repair’. The language was overweening: a ‘handsome Roman window’ in the transept threw ‘a mellow and religious radiance upon the statues and tombs below’, while the choir was ‘great and most complete’, and the ‘effect of the interior on entering imposing in the extreme’.3

Just a quarter of a century after the completion of Price’s ‘perfect and permanent repair’, how could another restoration take place which would almost entirely obliterate any trace of this earlier nineteenth-century work? There were two main factors at work: at British and European level, the adoption of a more sophisticated understanding of Gothic, and at local level, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and Henry Roe’s offer to fund a cathedral restoration at a time when this aesthetic appreciation of gothic had changed radically. As Summerson stated of the gothic revival, in a process akin to the maturing of the neo-classical with greater archaeological inquiry: ‘Whatever charm this architecture had vanished as soon as a deeper familiarity with medieval architecture prevailed’,4 and the gothic revival’s subsequent development in the High Victorian era in England (whose finest proponents included A.W.N. Pugin, Scott and Street) and abroad is well studied.5 The powerful but inaccurate nationalist notion that Gothic’s origins were English embued the movement with greater potency,6 as did its Christian associations, links developed by the Cambridge Camden, later Ecclesiological, Society, who published The Ecclesiologist (1841-68), a journal espousing various forms of church Gothic.7

Against this cultural backdrop, chapter members were concerned about the prospect of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, when they sought Street’s advice in 1868, realising that this would be one of the final opportunities in which a restoration might be

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4 Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 484.
7 See for example Christopher Webster & John Elliott (ed.), ‘A church as it should be’: the Cambridge Camden Society and its influence (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000)
financially viable. Although the precentor, Edward Seymour is often credited with the idea of restoration, others attribute the idea to another chapter member, William Lee, archdeacon of Dublin and professor of ecclesiastical history of Trinity College. Another local factor was competition. The choir restoration at St Patrick’s cathedral carried out by Carpenter and Kingsmill in the 1840s to public acclaim (figures 19, 21), highlighted shortcomings in Price’s work. Furthermore, a more recent restoration there under the direction of Benjamin Lee Guinness met much public opprobrium, which rendered it all the more important that Christ Church engage a distinguished architect. Street was such an figure, aesthetically confident with a broad knowledge of European Gothic architecture evident in his published accounts of his tours of Spain and Italy. However, his bold vision for the cathedral would have been fruitless without the financial carte blanche proffered by Roe, a wealthy whisky distiller, willingly embroiled in the restoration through his cousin, Seymour, a generosity seized upon by the chapter.

While in retrospect, it is somewhat unfair to judge an architect as local as Price, building in a transitional phase of the gothic revival, against an architect as international as Street, designing in its fullest fruition, it is also fair to point out that the poor opinion of Price’s restoration was not solely a product of a long cultural reassessment over time. Two years before the glowing reports of 1835, one author described the choir as ‘newly cased in all the gloss of novelty, and plaister of Paris’ and the exterior as ‘heavy and uninteresting, and latterly rendered even less effective by the very recent but necessary re-building of

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For example, Seymour, *Christ Church* (1869), 89. Street’s reports are printed in Stalley, *George Edmund Street* (2000). See also Stalley, ‘Confronting the past’, 75-86 and ‘George Edmund Street and the restoration of the cathedral, 1868-78’, 553-73.


W.H.M. Ellis, ‘St. Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin’, *Gentleman’s magazine and historical review*, ccxvi, 1 (February 1864), 219-21 wrote that in describing the new work at St Patrick’s, he had ‘fulfilled a most unpleasant task’, while the *Gentleman’s magazine and historical review*, ccxvi, 2 (July 1864), 67 reported it as ‘The well-meant but most deplorable restoration of St. Patrick’s, Dublin’ which continued ‘to excite the deep regrets of all ecclesiologists.’


Milne, ‘Stripping of the assets, 1830-1960’, 323. O.J. Vignoles, *Memoir of Sir Robert P. Stewart ...* (London & Dublin, 1898, 2nd ed., 1899), 120 notes that Seymour was the cousin of Roe’s daughter, though probably not as first cousins, as nowhere is it specified that Roe was Seymour’s uncle.
various parts of the edifice', hardly ringing endorsements. Later accounts were similarly lacklustre, becoming harsher over time, evidence that wider architectural opinion had taken root in Dublin at the time, but which would ultimately consign Price's restoration to oblivion. Initial accounts however were restrained, balancing criticism with compliments. The Halls described the architectural beauties of Christ Church in 1841 as 'even less than those of its rival [St Patrick's], although it contains some good examples of Saxon ornaments'. An 1846 Dublin guide was largely favourable describing it as an 'imposing and very interesting pile' with a choir interior 'upon the whole most judicious and admirable', but complained of a 'considerable incongruity of architecture, and a great want of harmony in the proportions of the building', internal arrangements being 'occasionally too ornamental in some of the embellishments'. Another guide noted the cathedral's recent 'judicious and expensive restoration' resulting in its 'comparative attractiveness' and producing 'a very imposing effect'. Yet such positivity scarcely balanced its statement that Christ Church had 'no exterior attraction', consisted of 'broad defects and general ungainliness', and appeared as 'a lumpish, cowering, cruciform pile, with a wide squat tower rising little more than high enough over the intersection of the nave and transept, than to make the whole mass seem hunch-backed'. With the passing of time, negative comments began to outweigh the positive views. An article written for discerning students of church architecture in 1852 described the cathedral as a 'worn and dingy building grimed with smoke and dirt, and disfigured by modern mutilations and barbarous repairs'. The choir and roof were considered 'debased', though the gilding applied to the roof 'among the dirt and general neglect of the structure' was 'quite a refreshing detail despite its architectural non value.' The author noted that 'the fittings of the body of the Choir' were of 'Modern Gothic, arranged after the usual modern English Cathedral notion', but generously admitted that he was 'not disposed to be hard on the restorers of Christ Church', giving Westminster Abbey as a similar example stating of its restorers: 'if they were utterly unable to distinguish good from bad Gothic, so was almost every one else of their time. The result of course in Christ Church' he continued 'is to us, since we have been mercifully allowed to recover our ecclesiological eye, very much to

15 J.D., 'Christ Church Cathedral: Illustrations of Irish Topography no. xviii', Irish Penny Magazine, i, 18 (4 May 1833), 137-9, possibly written by the antiquary and celtic scholar, John O'Donovan, for whom see Patricia Boyne, John O'Donovan (1806-1861): a biography (Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1987).
the contrary of what the good people who undertook the work intended it to be. He added a postscript which identified the choir roof as ‘of manifestly modern construction and probably of the same date as the strange fittings and of the heavy Third Pointed east window; that is from twenty-five to twenty years since.’ It is quite clear from these remarks that Price’s innovations were representative of the wider Gothic revival in England. Its particular peculiarity was attributable to the fact that third pointed or perpendicular Gothic had never properly established itself in Ireland.

Among many opinions published in 1855 was an article by the Revd John Jebb, familiar with Christ Church from his Dublin upbringing, who described Price’s alterations with bemusement rather than hostility, stating that the reseating of the choir was ‘after a fashion which has all the merit of originality’. New seats for the dean and precentor were ‘the substitution of a sort of bed, instead of a stall’; mullions inserted in windows were ‘fanciful’ and innovations in the transept ‘of a peculiar character’. Ultimately Jebb felt that ‘No doubt these alterations were made with the best intentions’, but lamented that the ‘true principles of church architecture’ were not better known, complaining that unless otherwise advised, Gothic architects tended ‘to indulge in fancies as chimerical as the decorations which cover the walls of Uxmal or Palenque’. Other commentaries in 1855 were harsher; Robert Bourke, Baron Connemara described Price’s work as an ‘outrageous deformation’, while in a paper on St Patrick’s cathedral, William Annesley Mayne, an eloquent barrister, ridiculed Christ Church by way of an architectural tour: ‘There we find almost every style collected together in most admired disorder.’ The nave was ‘pure First-pointed’ which he jibingly noted ‘if scraped of its layers of whitewash, might well bear comparison with’ St Patrick’s, but his most ascerbic formulations were reserved for Price’s recent work:

19 C.E.S., ‘Some notes from Ireland’, Ecclesiologist, xiii, 90 (June 1852), 169-76, at 169-70. The C. may have been a typographical error made for a G, representing a 28 year old George Edmund Street, although it is admitted that his signature uses a long G not easily mistaken for a C. According to T. Newenham Deane, ‘On the cathedral of St Canice and other architectural antiquities in Kilkenny’, Dublin Builder, viii, 151 (1 April 1866), 81-3, Street visited Ireland ‘in 1850’, which may be an approximate date.
20 C.E.S., ‘Some notes from Ireland’, Ecclesiologist, xiii, 92 (October 1852), 303-8.
22 John Jebb, ‘A few observations respecting Christ Church cathedral and its precinct’, Proceedings of the Saint Patrick’s Society for the Study of Ecclesiology, Part II (Dublin, 1855), 18-31 [1-15], at 25 [9], partially quoted in review in Ecclesiologist, xxiii (December 1857), 370, and reprinted with some alterations in Ecclesiologist, xxii (October 1862), [246]-255, with the map reproduced in Ecclesiologist, xxii (December 1862), opp. 309. Uxmal and Palenque were Mayan cities in Mexico.
as a specimen of modern taste, we might gaze on the goodly row of vegetables which garnish the walls, drawn up in single file, like soldiers lining a street - intended, heaven knows for what, perhaps the Tudor flower, but apparently a rough copy of the cauliflower; or the still stranger array of exotics which lately flourished in the nave, blooming in perennial beauty and prismatic hue in the parterre of the great west window; and on the buttresses, which, like gigantic snails, cling half way up the interior walls of the choir, supporting, and supported by, nothing, serving no imaginable purpose, and corbelled off for no conceivable object, except, indeed, they were intended to act morally on the congregation as so many swords of Damocles. But it is time to return to St Patrick's.24

In September 1855, a visiting English vicar bluntly described both Dublin cathedrals as ‘Dead, decayed, rotten, used up, defunct – all these terms united can scarce convey their misery’, although his description of the ‘terribly Irish priest’ and the ‘dirty famished choir’ suggest more than a hint of pre-conceived cultural bias.25 Closer to home, in 1863, William H. Mandeville Ellis, later a member of the cathedral board, considered the building’s state as ‘truly deplorable’, with monuments placed north-south such that ‘even that of the late Bishop of Kildare has the head to the east!’. He added ‘The conventicle-like fittings of the choir almost baffle description’.26 By the 1860s, while Dublin guide books continued to balance their comments diplomatically – ‘The Cathedral though wanting much in the harmony of its proportions, is yet a fine edifice’27 – the views of more scholarly journals were outspoken. An 1864 article described the exterior as ‘uninteresting in the extreme’ and ‘so modemized, and the ancient features so mixed up with recent alterations, that it has lost almost all appearance of antiquity’, while the interior still repaid attention ‘though sadly mutilated and barbarously “restored”’.28 The

27 G.K. Whammond, Whammond's illustrated guide for visitors to Dublin and Wicklow (Dublin, Robertson, 1864, 10th ed. c.1870), 85 derived some of its phrases from the 1835 Dublin Penny Journal article.
28 ‘Notes on the architecture of Ireland: I’, Gentleman’s magazine and historical review, ccxvi, 1 (January 1864), 1-20; (April 1864), 426, at 11 apparently by the architectural publisher, J.H. Parker. James Graves, ‘Armorial bearings of Strongbow’, Gentleman’s magazine and historical review, ccxvi, 1 (March 1864), 362-3 in his reply to the article queries whether the author was ‘(Mr. Parker?)’ while a later editorial note (Gentleman’s magazine (1864), 682) noted that this series of articles was interrupted due to the indisposition of J.H. Parker. A.C. Champneys, Irish ecclesiastical architecture (London and Dublin, 1910, reprinted Shannon, 1970), 31 also names J.H. Parker as the author.
musician, C.V. Stanford who had learnt the organ in the two medieval Dublin cathedrals in the 1860s also had little fondness for the cathedral's architecture which he regarded as 'spoilt by such works as had been undertaken in previous centuries'. He described the choir as 'a long and hideous room (I can call it nothing else)' complaining that 'this barbaric structure was not even straight, but turned off at an angle from the line of the Cathedral. All that remained of the apse was two pointed Norman arches with their zigzag mouldings'. Given that no substantial restoration work took place in the choir between its description as 'imposing in the extreme' in 1835 and Stanford's memory of a 'long and hideous room', it is clear that the disparaging remarks reflect a strongly altered public perception of architectural style. When cathedral clergy publicly agreed with such sentiments, it was clear that change was due. Joining in the fray in 1869, the precentor wrote that the cathedral was characterised by 'neglect and decay' that made 'the casual visitor shudder as he looks about the dreary nave, with its whitewashed dead wall and dust begrimed arcade'. Describing it as a 'forlorn and mouldering old pile', he still viewed it as a 'venerable old cathedral' of great interest to the 'ecclesiologist and antiquary'.

Such low regard for the fabric was no doubt highlighted by the contemporary restoration of nearby St Patrick's and, inevitably, as so often in their history, the comparison of the two cathedrals drew comment. Whatever about the physical integrity of Christ Church, its architectural style was by now unacceptable.

Probably aware of Christ Church's earlier description as 'barbarously “restored”', an anonymous article of 1865 advocated restoration to at least 'denude it of some of the barbarisms and incongruities which make the poor old fabric in its latter days a laughing-stock to the irreverent'. Referring to the choir, it stated:

The hideous plaster pannelling, the clumsy buttresses *suspended* on the walls – of the 'sentry-box and wig-block pattern,' as a distinguished musical member of the cathedral body once called them – the arrangement of the seats in defiance of all precedent and propriety, and the vile taste of every modern detail in the place, are too painfully well-known to every professional reader. ... The organ should next be moved to another position, removing the unsightly cross gallery ....

31 'The cathedral church of the Holy Trinity-Christ Church', *Dublin Builder*, vii, 128 (15 April 1865), 99-100.
The author appears to have been a 27-year-old Thomas Drew, little realising he would succeed Street as cathedral architect. The plea for restoration was supported by comparison with St Patrick’s prompting the question why Christ Church should be allowed to ‘continue in its present dilapidated and barbarous state?’ Drew himself was never short on opinion, later criticising Street’s restoration. In 1881, he described Price’s 1830s work as ‘Mere offensive ugliness, ending in absurdity’. The choir he noted with its crowd of mean pews rising in tiers on either side; its crooked side walls, pierced irregularly with some arches encrusted with preposterous stucco ornaments; those side walls panelled in stucco work of awful cusping, and grained by the painter in impossible oak; the plaster buttresses hung high against the walls, and the grand surmounting flourish of cresting by the stucco plasterer, too (happily described years ago by Sir R.P. Stewart as in the sentry-box and wig-block style); - who can remember these things, and seriously talk of the loss we have sustained?

In 1894, he damningly stated: ‘There was probably never so wholly despicable restoration perpetrated in the whole history of the Gothic revival’. Such bile contrasted with his youthful exuberance for restoration in 1865, which had been well timed. Following his 1866 Dublin lectures, G.E. Street was thanked ‘for his loving advocacy of the claims of poor Christ Church Cathedral’, while the Ecclesiologist was pleased to report that: ‘The best professional advice will be called in’ for Christ Church’s restoration. Street’s 1871 report unsurprisingly noted the choir as of ‘completely modern character’ whose features ‘made its preservation of no importance whatsoever from an antiquarian point of view’.

32 The description of the choir buttresses as in a ‘sentry-box and wig-block’ style and the attribution of this comment to cathedral organist, R.P. Stewart, is also found in Thomas Drew, ‘Christ Church cathedral, Irish Builder (1 May 1881), 140-1. C.P. Curran, ‘Benjamin Woodward, Ruskin and the O’Shea’s’, Studies; an Irish quarterly review, xxix, 114 (June 1940), 255-68, at 259-60 noted that Drew was the anonymous author of ‘Art trades in Ireland’, Dublin Builder, viii, 154 (15 May 1866), 121-2. For Drew, see Paul Larmour, ‘The first President of the RSUA: the life and career of Sir Thomas Drew 1838-1910’, Perspectives, 4:1 (May-June 1996), 61-3 and R.M. Hare, ‘The life and works of Sir Thomas Drew PRHA’, thesis 479 (Queens’ University Belfast, 1988).

33 J.W. Hardman, ‘Correspondence’, Dublin Builder, vii, 128 (15 April 1865), 108.

34 Thomas Drew, ‘Correspondence: Christ Church Cathedral’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 513 (1 May 1881), 140-1.


36 Mr. Street in Dublin in “Bald unjointed chat”, Dublin Builder, vii, 152 (15 April 1866), 95-6. The phrase ‘laughing stock’ which occurs in the article as well as Dublin Builder, vii, 128 (15 April 1865), 99-100 is not uncommon, but given the author’s interest in Christ Church, it is possible that the author was again, Thomas Drew. The lecture was published as G.E. Street, ‘Architecture in the thirteenth century’ in R.H. Marley & R.D. Urbin (ed.), The afternoon lectures on literature and art delivered in the theatre of the museum of industry, S. Stephen’s Green, Dublin, in April and May, 1866, fourth series (London & Dublin, 1867), 1-45.

37 ‘Church restorations: Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’, Ecclesiologist, xxix, 184 (February 1868), 62.

38 G.E. Street, Report on the rebuilding of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and on the erection of a synod hall for the Church of Ireland (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Foster; London and Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1871), 3, reproduced in Stalley, George Edmund Street, text i, 55-75.
So who was the architect of this short lived restoration, Matthew Price, and why was he appointed? He was listed amongst Edward Parke, William Farrell and Semple and son, who were consulted over the fabric in 1829, described in the chapter acts as ‘Architects of eminence’, a phrase which re-appeared in print that stated that Price was chosen from ‘Several architects of eminence’ who were ‘invited to examine the building and furnish plans’, suggesting that the original author, along with their intimate knowledge of the restoration and the high praise for what was a chapter funded restoration expressed in the article, was a chapter member. By 1830, Parke had been architect for 37 years, was probably well over sixty years old, and unlikely to wish to embark on a major restoration of a building which he had overseen for so long. Farrell appears to have been the architect of the recent restoration of the north transept of St Patrick’s cathedral in 1822-6; and certainly designed the Church of Ireland churches of St Patrick’s, Monaghan, and Enniskillen cathedral, and following the death of John Bowden in 1823, became diocesan architect for the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. John Semple and son were the diocesan architects for the Church of Ireland dioceses of Dublin & Glendalough, who had surveyed St Michan’s church, one of the cathedral prebends in 1825. Two features are immediately apparent from this group. The ecclesiastical work of these architects was local (Farrell being the exception), gothic and built for the Church of Ireland, but it may still be asked what qualities qualified Price to be cathedral architect?

The length of the incumbency of Parke (1793-1829) or indeed Price (1829-c.1846) as architect suggests that proximity to the cathedral was a consideration. The reverse was true at Armagh, where the archbishop and cathedral chapter prioritised quality employing the English-based Gothic-revival specialist, Lewis Cottingham for a restoration of 1834-41. Cottingham was a former architect of Rochester cathedral (1825-30), St Alban’s abbey (1832-3), who refitted Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford (1829-33). He was employed in Armagh as ‘the most eminent ecclesiological architect of the day’, and his later work at Hereford cathedral (1841-7) had a ‘scrupulous regard for evidence’.

39 RCB C6/1/7&8/11, 138-141 (Saturday 4 April 1829); 161-2 (Friday 17 July 1829).
40 Picture of Dublin (1835), 138.
41 RCB C6/1/7/11, 163 (Friday 17 July 1829) lists Charles Lindsay (dean), John Torrens (archdeacon of Dublin) and John Rowley (prebendary of St Michan’s) as signatories of a letter concerning the state of the fabric written to the chief secretary for Ireland, Francis Leveson Gowers.
42 John Crawford, Around the churches: the stories of the churches in the St. Patrick’s cathedral group of parishes Dublin (Naas, 1988), 50-5, unnoted amongst Farrell’s works in Rowan, Biographical index.
Funding at the Dublin cathedral was an issue however, and prestigious appointments were not only expensive, but may not have allowed the chapter as much freedom in design as could be had from an architect on a shorter leash.

Gothic was another consideration; the established church had an increasing preference for building in this style of its medieval building stock, despite having numerous classical churches since the Reformation. This was undertaken through the Board of First Fruits which, like the many brick-built Gothic churches that sprang up as a result of the 1818 Church Building Act in England, produced a series of rather generic neo-Gothic churches in Ireland. The new chapel royal at Dublin castle completed by Johnston (d.1829) in 1814, was a prime example of Gothic revival and as the government chapel unambiguously made a denominational link with the style. William Murray, who ran the Board of works with Johnston, might have been considered for work at Christ Church, but an administrative reorganisation in 1830-1 resulting in his resignation in 1832, was badly timed for work on the cathedral. Curiously, Drew later considered the architect of the 1830s restoration to have been Baker, presumably referring to H.A. Baker, the city architect and master of the Dublin School of Architectural Drawing (1787-1836), who restored St Audoen’s church in 1826 and also worked on St Michael’s circus west of the cathedral. But Baker died in 1836 aged 83, and there appears little to link Baker to Price other than them both having worked for the Wide Streets Commissioners. Drew may

have confused Baker with the congruous name Parke.\textsuperscript{51} Both Robert and Edward Parke were architects of the Dublin Society whom Baker knew well.\textsuperscript{52} In any case, Price’s work at St Michael’s, involving the alteration of a classical interior which survives, hardly recommended him as a cathedral architect on the strength of his gothic expertise.

Following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, denomination instead would appear to have been the selection criteria. Limited to members of the Church of Ireland then, ‘architects of eminence’ were drawn from a much smaller field, and excluded a whole host of local Dublin architects who built, mostly classical, Roman Catholic churches in the 1820-30s such as John Leeson’s St Nicholas of Myra, George Papworth’s Whitefriar Street, John B. Keane’s St Francis Xavier’s, Upper Gardiner Street and James Bolger’s Westland Row church,\textsuperscript{53} not forgetting Patrick Byrne, probably the most prolific Dublin ecclesiastical architect of the period.\textsuperscript{54} The simplistic generalisation of Protestant churches as Gothic and Catholic as classical is unreliable however, as many architects were competent in both styles, indeed for many it was an important ‘second language’.\textsuperscript{55}

Catholic architect, John Taylor, built the Gothic St Michael and St John’s (1811-13); St Michael’s of Halston Street (1811-17) is by the otherwise unknown O’Brien and Gorman, while St Peter’s, Phibsborough (1823-6) is of unknown authorship.\textsuperscript{56} John Bowden’s classical St Stephen’s ‘Pepper Canister’ church was the Protestant corollary to this.

Price no doubt relished the cathedral appointment, and conversely the dean and chapter doubtless welcomed an energetic and, given his relative youth, perhaps more malleable employee.\textsuperscript{57} He was active in Dublin from 1823, having done some work on shops and houses in Ship Street by 1829 for the Wide Streets Commissioners, and worked also on the Hibernian United Service Club in Foster Place.\textsuperscript{58} His choice as cathedral architect

\textsuperscript{51} Drew, ‘Cloister garth and monastic buildings’ (1884), 214-5 refers to Sedding’s rather than Reading’s map, and the Baker-Parke might also have been an orthographical mistake.
\textsuperscript{52} Turpin, A school of art in Dublin, 63, 123.
\textsuperscript{55} Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 483.
\textsuperscript{57} Gitta Willemson, The Dublin Society drawing schools: students and award winners 1746-1876 (Dublin: Royal Dublin Society, 2000), 80 notes a Matthew Price, but this is apparently his son who attended the Dublin Society Schools in 1841 (School of Architectural Drawing), 1842 (School of Landscape and Ornament Drawing, and 1843-4 when he received a premium. See also Rowan, Biographical index, Price, Matthew (2).
\textsuperscript{58} Rowan, Biographical index, Price, Matthew (1).
appears to have been through St Michan’s. Its prebendary, Rowley, was an active signatory of the chapter order book from its inception in 1814 until about 1825, and was thus familiar with the maintenance of ecclesiastical fabric both at St Michan’s and at Christ Church and, notably, was cathedral sub-dean in June 1829. In 1828, Rowley engaged Price for a refurbishment of St Michan’s (surveyed initially by Semple) in which he re-pewed the church and constructed new galleries reusing older material, forming ‘a new and rather odd formation’. With a foothold in this ecclesiastical world, he was employed at Archbishop Marsh’s library in 1833 where he oversaw repairs, roof slating and demolished an old tower from which he salvaged £20 of old materials. He was architect of Christ Church until at least 1846 and appeared in Dublin directories as an architect or ‘architect and measurer’ of Aungier Street until 1853, adding an address in Vavasour square west, Ballsbridge in 1851, but vanishing thereafter. His respective reuse and salvaging of old material at St Michan’s and Marsh’s highlights a pattern of thrift and conservation in his work either innate or reflective of contemporary financial constraint. At Christ Church, the introduction of a ‘Roman window’ in the south transept appears to have been a re-use of a former Lady chapel window, although there is little evidence of his awareness of who his predecessors as cathedral architect were. Similarly, a number of monuments survive in the north transept floor today for which Street was not responsible. Noting the 1870s installation of the north transept gallery, Street declared that this was done ‘with but little interference with the floor’. The compact arrangement of a number of damaged transept floor slabs, clearly not in situ, took place instead during Price’s conversion of the Lady chapel to administrative uses in the 1830s, as noted previously. The 1833 article noted the monument to Edward Griffith, formerly in the north side of the choir, now in the transept, and the 1835 Dublin Penny Journal article also confirmed: ‘The several monuments in this chapelry [St Mary’s] have been transferred to the south (sic) transept of the Cathedral’, though this is probably an error for ‘north’ unless the monuments were moved again before 1870.

59 RCB C6/1/7/11, 154 (Tuesday 2 June 1829).
60 Casey, Dublin, 240. Why Price was chosen rather than Semple is a question that remains unanswered.
61 Muriel McCarthy, Marsh’s library: all graduates and gentlemen (Dublin: FCP, 2003), 77.
62 The Dublin almanac, and general register of Ireland for the year of our lord 1841 ... (Dublin: Pettigrew & Oulton, 1841), 511; Henry Shaw’s Dublin City Directory 1850, accessed online at http://dublin1850.com/dublin1850, 12 December 2007. Post office Dublin directory and calendar for 1853 (Dublin, 1853), 610. Rowan, Biographical index, Price, Matthew (1) lists him only until 1848. See also Thom’s Irish almanac and official directory (Dublin, 1851) 1086, and for example Thom’s ... (Dublin, 1856).
63 Street & Seymour, Christ Church, 128; See chapter iv, p. 160.
64 J.D., ‘Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’ (1833), 137-9 confirmed by Butler, Christ Church [1901], 20; Wright, Historical guide (1825), 58; ‘Christ Church Cathedral’, Dublin Penny Journal, (1835), 110.
The appointment of such ‘an obscure figure in the annals of Dublin architecture’, an undistinguished architect, whose natural conservatism went hand in hand with thrift, may have appealed to the contemporary chapter. His track record did not suggest a man of threatening architectural vision, yet his youth provided an employee with more vigour than his predecessor for restoration work ahead. It is also clear from the chapter acts that restoration plans were long-held architectural aspirations unfulfilled since the eighteenth century. In 1801, these were summarised as ‘for beautifying their cathedral by restoring the Gothic Structure and Fitting up the Choir in a Manner agreeable to the Original Gothic Design and suited to the reception of the Government of this Kingdom’. The most dramatic change to this vision was that the cathedral was no longer the chapel royal, and was now therefore reliant on its own funds. Nor did the cathedral fall within the remit of the Board of works for the ‘Care of public buildings in Dublin’, given that the Board’s 1830-1 reorganisation included a clause excluding from any assistance from public money ‘all schools, colleges, churches and glebe houses’. A vision for restoration work presented to the chapter by Price, ‘Our architect’, in April 1831 included plans and Estimates for new Leading and Slating the nave of this Church and repairing the whole of the South side and West end thereof in uniformity with the plan now in execution as far as the South Side of the Choir and for the repairs and ornament of the Tower and having also exhibited another plan for taking away the Galleries in the Choir of which the materials are found to be much decayed and for remodelling all the Pews and making additional Seats whereby many more persons will be accommodated at Divine Service than heretofore and the Architecture of the Choir will be brought into View and Restored to its pristine beauty.

Notably, aside from the internal reordering of the choir, the proposals relate to the nave and tower, work which was not carried out until the 1840s. Work had clearly already started on the choir south side which suggests that restoration plans may have gestated in someone’s mind, most likely the dean, for some time. The chapter agreed to the proposals and established a committee ‘to carry the whole into effect’ authorising it to

65 Stalley, ‘Confronting the past’, 76 & 80.
66 RCB C6/1/7&8/8, 190-5 (Tuesday 10 November 1801).
67 RCB C6/1/7/11, 161-6 (Friday 17 July 1829) notes the chapter however making pointed reference to their historic position as chapel royal to the chief secretary for Ireland.
contract with fit and proper persons to execute said buildings'. As long as funds were available, contracts were ‘to be reduced into writing by our said Architect’. Here was a restoration controlled by the chapter to a far greater extent than before, reflecting the predilections of a proprietorial dean.69 Later that year, further proposals were agreed:

Mr Price having laid before the Chapter two Architectural designs the one Shewing the effect of removing the Antient Saxon Gateway now Standing obscurely in the North transept to the Like Situation in the South Transept and the other Shewing the improvement that may be effected be rendering the great Arch in which the Organ Stands uniform in Architectural Ornament with the other Antient Arches in the Choir the cost of which together may amount to One hundred pounds or thereabouts not heretofore Contemplated by the Chapter.

Price’s restoration work was characterised by largely superficial changes, concerned with external and internal ‘uniformity’ of architectural detail, ornamenting the tower and remodelling pews, the largest internal change being the removal of the classical galleries.70 However, it appears the chapter were unable to bear the cost of even such cosmetic work in a single outlay, as suggested by the postponement of restoration work on the nave and tower until the 1840s. The initial 1830s restoration was reported to have cost £8,000 which, compared to over £40,000 spent on the chapel royal at Dublin castle,71 demonstrates the importance that royal status could have on the architecture of the building, influencing the choice of architects, craftsmen and materials. This economic concern was borne out by a proposal by Price ‘made at the suggestion of The Dean and other resident Members of the Chapter’ to deal with the nave roofing which was ‘past all temporary repairs’. On examining the accounts, expenditure on temporary repairs over the previous five years on the nave was found to be more than what durable repairs would have cost. The chapter’s order that ‘Snow Boards be furnished to the Gutters of the New Roof of Nave of the Choir and Transept’,72 suggests that at least some of the work proposed by Price in 1831 had taken place, but other work suggested at the same meeting, such as the dismantling of the dean’s lodgings at the west end, was not undertaken until restoration work of 1844-5.

69 RCB C6/1/8/11, 217-18 (Friday 29 April 1831); see below, pp 268, 276, 283-4.
70 RCB C6/1/8/11, 226-7 (Tuesday 18 October 1831); see below, pp 278, 282.
71 Samuel Lewis, A topographical dictionary of Ireland ... (2 vols. & atlas, London: S. Lewis & Co., 1837), i, 548; see chapter v, p. 251.
72 RCB C6/1/8/12, 66-8 (Wednesday 15 August 1838).
Conveniently, the dean outlined the work to be carried out during the 1844-5 restoration which amounted to three areas. First, the contract for £330 to repair the tower and remove the ruins of the Four Courts was extended so that

- the Valuable Vaults and remains of the Building called the Deans Lodgings be faced with Stone and in point of harmony of Appearance be assimilated to the Architectural Order of the Tower and Southern Side of the Cathedral Church and its Choir and that the rubbish of late years from time to time thrown there be removed.

Second, the nave, transepts, side aisle and choir were to ‘be cleansed and coloured without making alterations therein’. Finally, the dean considered that the completion of these works should be recorded ‘as leading to a final restoration of the whole internal Church in its primitive order of structure’. A letter from Price concurred that this would complete the restoration. With the exception of the organ rebuilding by Telford and Telford in 1856, the cathedral’s long U-turn back to gothic begun by the Parkes in the 1790s would end over half a century later, the year that Bishop Lindsay died, 1846.

So how bad was Price’s restoration? Having viewed a succession of largely derogatory views of his work, his own appointment as architect and some of the processes involved in planning the restoration, his restoration can now be examined in more detail by touring spatially through the cathedral and precinct to judge the veracity of the criticism levelled at him. Who was to blame for the poor quality of the restoration: chapter, architect or craftsmen, or was this impression simply the skewing of opinion over time? An independent picture of his restoration can be marshalled from the considerable body of surviving documentary, photographic, plan and map evidence. This mostly visible material, not before collated, provides an important bridge between Street’s ubiquitously photographed cathedral and the little drawn building prior to Price.

Externally, the precincts were largely cleared by the 1830s due to the work of the Wide Streets Commission. The urban environment was upgraded such that in 1832, 17 of 21 householders in Skinner’s Row applied to the commissioners to change the street name to ‘Christ Church Place’. The west gable of an undemolished row of buildings in the liberty’s southeast corner provided a convenient location for advertisements (plate 28-30, 34, 36, 40, 96), but this ceased in 1855 when the chapter had ‘Mr Holebrook’ remove

73 RCB C6/1/8/12, 194 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
74 RCB C6/1/8/11, 235 (17 April 1832). The dean and chapter agreed ‘having no opinion’ on the matter.
this and clean the wall, the occupants, ‘Messrs Mc Birney Colles & Co.’ being agreeable. 75

With the clearances of the liberty came the unaccustomed exposure of the cathedral to public view. Price’s focus on uniformity therefore appears to have been to regularise the cathedral’s appearance to reflect prevailing architectural expectations, thus creating ‘an image of what ‘should’ have been rather than what was’. 76 This homogenising process on the choir south side blocked the easternmost window and ironed out its accumulated medieval variation (plate 18-20, 22-3, 26-30), replacing it with a single level south aisle with two entrances surmounted by a quatrefoil and surrounded by simple pinnacled buttresses (plate 27-30, 36, 39-42, 44-7). Between the doorways, set high on the wall were the ‘carved arms of the See of Kildare, a Saltire and an open Bible’ surmounted by a mitre, 77 which represented the financial contribution to the restoration made by the dean, Bishop Lindsay of Kildare (plate 27-8, 39, 44, 46-7). 78 Simple crenellation replaced stepped battlements in the choir (plate 22 vs 39, 47, 68) and transepts, while battlemented turrets were applied to transept and choir east end corners (plate 26-37).

With the chapter house leveled in 1826, access to the south transept was unhindered, providing a showcase position for a Romanesque doorway hitherto on the north side (plates 64-5) as the ‘principal entrance’. 79 Above it was placed the above noted ‘Roman window’, containing a two-light window, crowned with an oculus, surrounded by two spandrels (figure 2.a), its round-headed form complementing well the Romanesque arch beneath it. As already argued, it makes sense for Price to have salvaged and re-used this window from the Lady chapel, most likely from the east wall to transfer it to the south transept, the new public façade of the cathedral, duplicating it also in the north transept (figure 2.b). 80 In the context of a Gothic revival restoration, such a ‘Roman window’ seems misplaced, and lends support to the theory that this feature pre-existed within the building and was reused. Admittedly, the same motif can be found in the east window of the near contemporary St Patrick’s Pro-cathedral, Skibbereen (1824-6), but this was a classical building. 81 Succumbing to Price’s neatening, two windows at triforium level, and

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75 RCB C6/1/7/12, 358-61, at 361 (Monday 16 April 1855) probably B.J. Holbrook.
77 For many years stored in the crypt. The mitre remains in a window niche of the crypt south ambulatory.
79 Dublin and its environs: with a map of the city, and numerous illustrations engraved on wood (Dublin: James McGlashan, 21 D’Olier Street & W. Orr and Co., London, 1846), 88; G.K. Whammond, Whammond’s illustrated guide for visitors to Dublin and Wicklow (Dublin, Robertson, 1864, 10th ed. c.1870), 85.
80 See above, chapter iv, p. 181.
81 Peter Galloway, The cathedrals of Ireland (Belfast: Inst. of Irish Studies & Queen’s University, 1992), 107.
one in the clerestory (plate 22-3) made way for a cross in the form of arrow slits with circular loop holes at each tip (plate 26) which crowned the transept façade.

The tower and western portions were the focus of attention in 1844. Having advertised for contractors according to Price's plans, the prebendaries of St Michan’s and St John’s accepted the 'proposal of Messrs Carolin for the sum of £330.'82 Dealings were tense, as the firm demanded payment before the entire work was completed, but in 1845 'Messrs Carolan Builders' were paid a further £500 'on Account of their Work'.83 The work also removed the mildly pointed roof from sight, and the square dial of the clock (plates 32-3) was replaced with a circular face, above which a newly installed string course curved (plate 35-7). Internally, there were plans for a new clock, and at least one new bell to replace 'one cracked and unfit for Service', the latter of which a John Murphy proposed to undertake.84 On 23 December, in plenty of time to ring in the new year, the chapter ordered Murphy to be paid once work had been certified as 'properly done and that the Bell is in perfect tune'.85 In December 1845, Lindsay wrote a remarkable testimonial congratulating him on the recasting of two bells, impressed that no 'such an attempt had ever before been made in Ireland', a letter which Murphy was happy to advertise.86 The second bell appears to have been paid for by the dean, to whom the chapter later gave 'unfeigned and marked thanks' for this 'large Bell to compleat (sic) the Chimes in the Cathedral'.87 Finally, a clock was installed in 1846 by 'Maxwell McMaster and Son and W McMaster Junior' at an estimated cost of £230 Sterling, for which the beadle was paid £3 extra, 'by reason of the Labour in daily winding the Tower Clock'.88

The 1840s work also homogenised the nave south side standardising the highly varied Tudor nave wall (plate 12, 22 & 27), hidden for so many years by the courts (plate 23). Three identical switchline windows were created in the clerestory (plates 39-40, 42), probably in the three bays west of the crossing, though this bore little resemblance to the surviving internal windows (plate 71), and a similar pattern seems to have been applied to the south aisle, although surviving illustrations vary. The exterior work was also kept

82 RCB C6/1/8/12, 190 (Thursday 25 July 1844); 192 (Tuesday 13 August 1844).
83 RCB C6/1/8/12, 202 (Wednesday 16 October 1844); 224-5 (Monday 19 May 1845).
84 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 197-8 (Saturday 31 August 1844); 199-200 (Monday 23 September 1844).
85 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 203-5 (Monday 23 December 1844).
86 The Post Office Dublin Directory and calendar for 1848. Sixteenth Annual Publication (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1848), 50 contains part of an advertisement for this Irish Bell Foundry. See also Alexander Leeper, 'Bell-ringing, etc.', Notes and queries, iii, 4th series, 54 (9 January 1869), 46.
87 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 232[note 231 in original]-3 (Friday 26 December 1845).
88 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 201-2 (Monday 30 September 1844); 233-5 (Thursday 5 February 1846); 238-9 (Thursday 9 April 1846). Having fallen into disrepair, the clock was restored and resumed chiming in 1997.
painted and cleaned; in 1856, the chapter agreed to an estimate from Charles Jones and Sons 'for the Coloring Cleaning &c of the Walls of the Cathedral Outside nave &c.'

The west range received the same uniform crenellation as the rest of the cathedral. It was four windows long (plates 39-40, 42) with a three-light window with switchline tracery on its southern face (plate 36, 39-40, 42) and was used as the verger's house from 1846-c.1870 (plate 103). It had formerly accommodated the dean, Bishop Lindsay who also had a permanent address at Glasnevin House, his episcopal palace, where he entertained the choristers 'every summer, in the strawberry season'. He was certainly accommodated there in 1818 when his bedroom was noted as damp.

The dean's residence was repaired in 1831-2, though in 1838 was only 'commonly called the Deans Lodgings', suggesting that the then 78-year-old dean had sought more amenable accommodation. In 1835, remnants of the old courts including a pillar, capital and springer that had supported the octagonal domed cupola were still evident (plate 26-7), but this was probably removed in the 1840s work, which also saw the dean's lodgings refaced, typical of Price's superficial rather than structural alterations. Described as the 'remains of the Building', clearly the dean no longer lived there. If any work proposed by the Wide Streets Commissioners in 1821 took place to slice away a portion of the west range (plate 94), this would have been an opportune time to amend any architectural infelicities. That a verger's house was built on the site of the dean's lodgings during the 1844-6 work is confirmed by a note of 'the imperfect state of the Chimneys of the Vicars Room and Verger House', which confirmed their relative positions, as the vicars room was in the west bay of the south aisle adjoining the west range. In fact in 1857, Sloane noted the courts had given way to both 'the Verger's House and Schools of Christ Church'. Nevertheless, the verger's house and smoking of its chimneys were recurring problems for Price in 1846, perhaps reflecting the quality of workmanship or indeed the quality of his own supervision.

On Christ Church Lane, the verger's new house was still dominated by the cathedral's

89 RCB C6/1/7/13, 36-7 (Saturday 19 July 1856).
90 Malcomson, Archbishop Charles Agar, 257; Wright, Historical guide (1825), 60; Wilson's Dublin Directory for the year 1829 (Dublin, 1829), 187; The Dublin almanac, and general register of Ireland for the year of our lord 1841 ... (Dublin: Pettigrew & Oulton, 1841); Post Office Dublin Directory (1848), 50; RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 233-5 (Thursday 5 February 1846); PRONI, Pakenham Papers, Y/12/4; Vignoles, Memoir of R.P. Stewart, 4.
91 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [7v] (25 February 1819).
92 RCB C6/1/8/11, 206-7 (22 February 1831); 235-7 (Friday 3 February 1832); C6/1/7&8/12, 66-8 (Wednesday 15 August 1838).
93 RCB C6/1/7/12, 194 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
94 Although Clayton's view of the west range appears to show it truncated along Christ Church Lane (plate 27), Lover's view suggests that this is an artifact of Clayton's drawing (plate 26).
95 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 235-7 (Monday 2 March 1846).
96 J.S.Sloane, 'Pencillings of ancient Dublin', i, Irish Literary Gazette (Saturday 3 October 1857), IV 147.
97 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 237 (Thursday 5 March 1846); 238-9 (Thursday 9 April 1846).
imposing west façade. The west door appears not to have been regularly used, but it was opened for ceremonial occasions and entered by steps that, from at least 1819, were lined by railings (plate 17, 24, 32-3, 40), both of which received ‘necessary temporary repairs’ in 1846.\(^98\) From at least 1835, the cathedral was surrounded by ‘an elegant iron railing, enclosing a considerable area in front of the building’ (plate 28),\(^99\) but the chapter also considered erecting ‘Iron Palisading along the Cathedral premises on St Michaels Hill’ in 1855.\(^100\) Price should at least be credited with smartening the grounds and clearing it of its ruins, despite the loss of historical incongruities involved in this gentrification process.

Internally, Price’s work was mainly confined to the choir, but he also carried out works to the north and south nave aisles. The body of the nave received only minor alterations itself, including the movement of a series of ‘armorial bearings, in stained glass, of the dean and chapter’ from the choir to form the ‘prismatic hue in the parterre of the great west window’ by 1846.\(^101\) The west door was enclosed by a porch which, by the 1860s, was crowned by the royal crest from the dismantled tholsel (figure 14.a-b), although initially this was erected on the screen (plate 51, figure 13.b). To take the chill off the nave, in front of the porch was a stove (plate 58), similar to the Gurney stoves that survive in England at Tewkesbury abbey, Durham, Ely, Hereford and Peterborough cathedrals, and had also been in the Irish cathedrals of St Patrick’s, Dublin (chapter v, figure 39) and St Canice’s, Kilkenny (figure 22). A hypocaust system of underground heated air supplemented this from 1844 whose initial arrangement was ‘referred solely to Mr Dean’, and was maintained by the sexton.\(^102\) The nave and transepts formed the cathedral’s largest space, and consisted of a thirteenth-century north wall, a sixteenth-century south wall and vaultless timber-beamed roof, an eighteenth-century west wall, and a seventeenth-century crossing with twelfth-century transepts, the north side of which overhung St John’s Lane by two feet.\(^103\) Such chronological diversity, to say nothing of structural instability, was both masked and unified by a thick coat of whitewash, a tradition dating at least to the fifteenth century, and subsequently maintained.\(^104\) Against the walls of the nave and transept had accumulated an elaborate display of monuments, reflecting not only the past regard, but also a continuing respect

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98 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 243-4 (Thursday 3 September 1846).
100 RCB C6/1/7/12, 355-6 (Thursday 22 March 1855).
102 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 201-2 (Thursday 26 September 1844); C6/1/7/12, 292 (Tuesday 20 January 1852).
103 RCB C6/1/7&8/11, 140 (Saturday 4 April 1829) cited in Stalley, ‘Confronting the past’, 76.
104 *Registers*, 44; For example, PA 1776 and RCB C6/1/7/7, f. 96 (Saturday 26 July 1783); C6/1/7&8/12, 194 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
for the cathedral, even without its royal status. Indeed, display was one of the few main functions left for the nave; a grand processional space to the choir, with ancestral memorials providing added gravitas. Expectedly, without royal connotations, no new tombs to nobility were added, but memorials continued to show the trends of militarism and of a broadened social mix displayed at the beginning of the century including clergy, philanthropists, medics, and two cathedral servants: a musician and a verger. Initially, nave monuments were enclosed by cast iron railings (plates 51, 54, 56-7), but these appear to have been removed on the south side in later views (plate 58).

After the act of union in 1800, in so far as they have been identified, monuments were commissioned, from Dublin-based sculptors, reflecting a narrowing of artistic interest inextricably linked to the availability of finance. The lion’s share was by Thomas Kirk (1781-1845) who trained at the Dublin Society’s schools, serving an apprenticeship under Henry Darley. Kirk’s works included a monument in the north transept attended on either side by the old tholsel statues of Charles I and II (figure 5.a), to the Cavan M.P., Nathaniel Sneyd (d.1833) and is considered his masterpiece (figure 3). The toga clad figure on his deathbed reproduces a pose well known in the monument to Charles James Fox (d.1806), in Westminster Abbey regarded as Sir Richard Westmacott’s masterpiece (figure 4.a). Similarly Kirk’s weeping figure over Sneyd recalls the pose and draped material of a figure standing against a bier or pillar in a memorial to Joseph Baker (1789) in Chichester cathedral by an Irish sculptor, John Hickey, sculptor to the Prince of Wales (later George IV) from 1786 (figure 4.b). Both illustrate the familiarity of Kirk with the sculptural models of the time. Other Kirk monuments were to Alderman Thomas Abbott (d.1837) (figure 5.b), possibly using a form already in his repertoire; his ‘Orphan girl’ was exhibited at the Society of British Artists in 1832, and to John Stevenson (d.1843) for which he withheld one of the two supporting choirboys for a payment in the

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105 Mainly in the transepts for the period in question.


end never made (figure 6.b). His son Joseph Robinson Kirk executed the bronze cast (figure 9.a), originally intended to be of stone, to Bishop Charles Lindsay (d.1846), at a cost of £188 10s. 6d. of which his son Captain George H. Lindsay paid £80 and the dean and chapter paid the remainder. The sarcophagus may have served as a model for Thomas Farrell’s tomb to Archbishop Whately at St Patrick’s cathedral, reported to have ‘copied in a very servile manner the style’ of the Lindsay monument. In 1846, the dean, the Hon. Henry Pakenham (now joint dean of the two cathedrals) and chapter also had Kirk erect a tablet to Lindsay’s memory. In two sections within a convincing Gothic-revival form occupying the blocked eastern-most north aisle window (figure 8.a), it was removed when Street rebuilt the aisle, and a replacement brass erected later (figure 8.b).

The Kirks may also have been responsible for three ecclesiastical busts that survive in the chapter room to Archbishop William Magee (d.1831), Bishop Lindsay (d.1846) and Dean Pakenham (d.1863), the latter duplicated in St Patrick’s deanery. That to Magee is identical to one attributed to Thomas Kirk in the Long Room in Trinity College. His son, Joseph continued to supply Trinity with later busts, and given the resemblance of the Lindsay bust to the face on his tomb (figure 9.a-b), most likely Christ Church as well. A monument to J.C. Smith (d.1843) commemorates a lieutenant from Mountjoy Square killed with the Bombay Horse Artillery from near Hyderabad in modern Pakistan (plate 53, figure 7.a). It is by another Dublin sculptor signed ‘T. Farrell’, probably Terence (1798-1876) rather than Thomas, his sixteen-year-old son (1827-1900). However it was Thomas who was responsible for the monument to Lieutenant Robert Clifford (d.1863) in Thomastown, so similar in pose that it is probably modelled on the Smith memorial (figure 7.b). Other military examples are those to Lieutenant-General William Fyers

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112 Butler, *Christ Church*, (1901), 21, also noted in Strickland, *Dictionary*, i, 591.
113 Papers of Dean Henry Pakenham about the monument in Christchurch to [Charles] Lindsay, Bishop of [Kildare and Dean of Christchurch], by Joseph R. Kirk [1846-7] (PRONI, Pakenham Papers, Y/12/4) and RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 259-60 (Saturday 21 August 1847).
114 Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette (18 September 1865) 198.
115 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 245-7 (Friday 30 October 1846).
116 A small brass replaced it which notes that it was transcribed from the original in 1884.
120 Casey, *Dublin*, 336 notes ‘T. Farrell’.
(d.1843),\textsuperscript{122} and George Renny (d.1848), director-general of the medical department of the army in Ireland (figure 10.a),\textsuperscript{123} erected on the nave south side (plate 58); to Henry Mathias (d.1849), an assistant surgeon from the H.M.S. 'Enterprise' dramatically depicting ships hemmed in by icebergs (figure 10.b),\textsuperscript{124} and John Wallace King (d.1850), possibly by Manderson of Dublin, known for their simplicity of design, set up in the south transept (figure 11.a).\textsuperscript{125} Near this was a monument to John Elliott (d.1866), a cathedral verger (figure 12). These monuments reflect a local Dublin clientele exoticised by the far-flung parts of the British empire in which many had died.

The aisles on either side of the nave were of distinctly different character. To the north, the space was plagued by damp and caked in layers of whitewash (plates 56-7, figure 8.a). In 1833, the vaultless aisle required slators and plumbers 'to keep out the rain',\textsuperscript{126} while a view in 1841 pictured it as semi-ruinous, perhaps the attraction for the artist and antiquary, G.V. Du Noyer (plate 52). While Price proposed in 1838 to re-roof the entire nave, the only re-roofing work for which evidence survives is the large job undertaken by him on the north aisle in June 1842. The north aisle work was not restricted to a new roof. New ashlar masonry faced the north wall and replaced the parapet, integrating old work with new. Carpenters supplied scaffolding and the rafters for the new roof, while plumbers produced new lead for the parapet, gutter and flashing. A 'Mr L Bryan' was paid for 'Metal down pipes including hopper heads and shores'. On the roof itself, Price applied 'Roman cement thicker over the new Slating'. The total cost was £267 ls. 3d., plus an additional bill of £140 10s. 2d. for 'various additional Works' presented by Price in December.\textsuperscript{127} Price's work most likely relates to the lighter shaded stonework depicted on the nave north side visible in a later photograph (plate 48).

In contrast to the north aisle which retained its early English gothic arcading, the south aisle remained partitioned off from the nave by a solid masonry wall accommodating a choir robing room, chapter robing room doubling as the chapter house, and a library (plate 103).\textsuperscript{128} Earlier accounts however state that the chapter room was moved to the old

\textsuperscript{122} No longer extant. See RCB C6/1/7/12, 162 (Tuesday 11 July 1843); Finlayson, Inscriptions, 35; Butler, Christ Church [1901], 37.

\textsuperscript{123} Eoin O'Brien, Anne Crookshank & Gordon Wolstenholme (ed.), A portrait of Irish medicine: an illustrated history of medicine in Ireland (Dublin: Ward River Press & Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland, 1984), 100.

\textsuperscript{124} The monument's original position is unknown.

\textsuperscript{125} Potterton, Irish church monuments, 72. This suggested identification was made by Professor Anne Crookshank in notes now preserved in TRIARC.

\textsuperscript{126} RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [27v] (21 June 1833).

\textsuperscript{127} RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 126-9 (Friday 24 June 1842); 135 (Saturday 3 December 1842).

\textsuperscript{128} See chapter v, p. 198.
St Mary's chapel in the 1830s, and the identification of the south aisle being used once again as a chapter room in the 1840s suggests that such a move did not take hold. In January 1833 the grouping of references to the choir and chapter robing rooms and the library suggests that they were close in the south aisle, but some June repairs referred to the 'old Chapter room'. No mention is made of the chapter room when the robing room was being repaired in July 1833 'to keep out the rain which ran down the walls, nor in 1842 when the chapter ordered 'that the Library and Robing Room be put in a State of repair'. An 1846 guidebook noted 'a door leading to the chapter room, formerly the chapelry of St. Mary', but was probably outdatedly describing a former situation. The surmise that it was returned during Price's restoration work of 1844-5 seems most likely as, in 1844, the prebendaries of St Michan's and St John's considered 'the propriety of removing the screen between the Nave and entrance to the Chapter Room'. As a result payment was authorised 'for sundry works in removing the Old Chapter Room and apartments underneath the same and building a Screen Wall in front'. These entries suggest that the 'old' chapter room may have been expanded from its previous extent by one bay by the demolition and rebuilding of thin screen walls (plates 87, 94, 96, 103). The eviction of the clerical vicars from the chapter room 'which of right belongs to the Dignitaries and Prebendaries only,' would appear to confirm the return of the chapter house to the south aisle. The room was cleaned by a maid in 1853, and 'papered Carpeted and painted' in 1854, most likely by 'Messrs Charles Jones and Sons' who presented a 'Bill for Painting Papering &c' a year later.

Emerging from the south aisle, the nave vista was framed in the crossing by 'a splendid screen, with its gilded and ornamented fronts' on which the organ stood (plate 51, 53, 63). Although the screen was gothic in detail, its trabeated rather than arcuated support show it to be classical in structure. Further gothic detailing was added by the late 1840s: the extant blind tracery at gallery level (plate 51) was duplicated at ground level the two separated by band of fleurons (plate 53). Entry to the choir side aisles was through doorways in each transept, while the main entrance was through 'a handsome light

129 ‘Christ Church cathedral’, Dublin Penny Journal (1835), 110.
130 Dublin and its environs (1846), 85-91.
131 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [originally wax sealed 27, now loose between 26v and 27] (5 January 1833); f. [27v.] (21 June 1833)
132 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [28] (11 July 1833); C6/1/7&8/12, 122 (Wednesday 23 February 1842).
133 Dublin and its environs (1846), 91.
134 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 190 (Thursday 25 July 1844).
135 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 194 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
136 RCB C6/1/7/12, 312-14 (Saturday 23 July 1853); 338 (Tuesday 11 July 1854); C6/1/7/13, 8 (Friday 13 July 1855).
porch' composed of 'doors all round the front; one folding, having narrow insertions of painted glass at the top with the crest of the Lindsay family in compliment to the Dean, the mitre, and various other devices'. Like the nave, on entering, the choir was warmed by a 'comfortable stove' which 'made attendance less perilous than it usually is in such places'. But this industrial-age technology was fraught with problems which may have exacerbated the choir's condition. In 1815 a problem with 'the Arm that conveys the Smoak from the Stove in the Choir' required fixing 'to prevent the ceiling & furniture from being totally spoiled', while in 1816, the arm of the stove outside the church was damaged by 'great Hurricanes'. Flue blockages were fixed by a Mr Burrows, and it can be no coincidence that, following a Sunday in 1828 in which 'strange noises' were heard, and 'extraordinary alarm' shown by the congregation, two days later 'a large portion of Rubbish' was found in the chapter room chimney. Such dramatic effects must have lent weight to the pressing arguments for a more thorough restoration.

The ceiling was a striking feature of the choir, 'intersected with quadrangular mouldings with heavy bosses at their point of intersection', a crude attempt to distract the eye from the choir's 'irremediable defect', the fact that it was not straight. This was a far cry from Johnston's sophisticated fan-vaulting at the castle chapel reminiscent of his gallery at Charleville castle, or Semple's bold imitation granite fan-vaulting at Monkstown. The choir's varnished furnishings also lent a dark oppressive air to the space: collegiate-style pews either side of the central aisle, the organ occupying the entire of the west end, and panelling which stretched just over half way up the walls on either side (plates 59-60).

The two open arches on the south wall elevation were innovations of Price (plate 73), an attempt to recreate a sense of an aisled choir. The south side arch nearest the tower was

137 'Christ Church cathedral', Dublin Penny Journal (1835), 110.
139 'Chapter Order Book: A memorandum book of purchases to be made repairs to be undertaken etc. 1815-1847' (RCB C6/1/12/1), f. [4] (31 October 1815).
140 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [5v] (21 December 1816).
141 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [24v] (3 March 1828).
142 RCB C6/1/7&8/11, 161-2 (Friday 17 July 1829) cited in Stalley, 'Confronting the past', 76 referring to Sunday 9 November 1828. The similar alarm of 1829 noted in 1835 may refer to the same or similar event.
143 RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [25] (Tuesday 11 November 1828).
144 'Christ Church cathedral', Dublin Penny Journal (1835), 110; Samuel Lewis, A topographical dictionary of Ireland ... (2 vols., Dublin, 1837), i, 546-9, at 548.
Romanesque, but that to its east, as Street realised, was a poor copy made in plaster, wider and visually more strained than its neighbouring original.146

The scale of the organ makes it difficult to ignore its architectural contribution.147 Since moved to the screen by Hollister in 1791, it was little altered until 1856 (plate 63 & 51, figure 13.a-b). Price’s involvement seems to have been limited to a minor alteration in 1831 to the ‘Back front of the Organ … to render the improvement of the said Church more Visible’.148 Instead, the dean took a proprietary stance towards the organ, taking the trouble in 1836 to list its contents for historical interest as improved by Telford and Telford.149 Similarly during the 1844 work when the organ was repaired, its alterations were matters ‘referred solely to Mr Dean’.150 However, it was after Lindsay’s death that substantial work was carried out. Telfords were retained annually for its upkeep, but by 1856, a decision was taken to rebuild it according to a proposal ‘No.5’, which prescribed ‘two handsome Fronts, in Deal, Front pipes to speak and of a suitable design’, estimates for which were ‘to include all Joiners and Plasterers work but not any Painting Gilding or Varnishing’.151 It is therefore to Telfords and not Price that the organ case, in a notably more convincing Gothic style than its predecessor, can be attributed (plate 59-60, figure 13.c). The 1862 complaints of Ellis of the ‘still far from completed’ organ usefully noted that because of ‘its size it not only blocks up the choir-arch to the top, but a great part of it is outside the choir altogether; ‘the spaces between the sides of the case and the walls are carefully boarded up and even papered over, to exclude draughts!’152 Such blocking of cathedral screens for warmth was not unusual however, with Irish examples known at St Patrick’s, Dublin, where the western crossing arch above the organ was glazed by a mesh of wooden switch-line tracery, probably by Cooley (figures 19-20); St Canice’s, Kilkenny (figure 22) and Killaloe where an oak screen of decorated Gothic tracery was installed by J.F. Fuller in 1887.153 Draughts were presumably unwelcome for the ‘sort of bed’ stalls,

146 Street & Seymour, *Christ Church*, 109.
147 Paul McKeever, ‘Was there an Irish style of organ building? Influences on organ building in Ireland during the nineteenth century’ (Unpublished paper, Society of Musicology of Ireland postgraduate students’ conference, University College Dublin, 19 January 2008); ‘The history and study of the development of the organ in Ireland during the nineteenth century’ (University of Limerick, in progress).
148 RCB C6/1/8/11, 226-7 (Tuesday 18 October 1831).
149 RCB C6/1/7/12, 23-5 (Monday 11 April 1836); Barra Boydell, ‘Music in the nineteenth-century cathedral, 1800-70’ in Milne, *Christ Church*, 339-52, at 347 quotes the specification in an extensive footnote.
150 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 190-1 (Thursday 25 July 1844); 201-2 (Monday 30 September 1844).
151 RCB C6/1/7/12, 294-5 (Monday 15 March 1852); 297-8 (Monday 19 April 1852); C6/1/7/13, 26-9 (Thursday 8 May 1856).
152 Ellis, ‘Christchurch Cathedral’ (1863), 32-3.
as Jebb called them, of the dean and precentor. These occupied the full front under the
organ with plain oak moulding and scarlet draperies, with a battlemented top.154 The
dean paid for work on his stall by Messrs Carolin in 1846 himself considering the
‘alterations made were for his own private accommodation’.155

Sadly the view east regularly enjoyed by these two senior dignitaries is unrecorded. It is
clear however that the choir walls were dominated by panelling. Drew’s ‘stucco work of
awful cusping’ consisted of a series of vertical tracery mullions separated by two different
widths, variously terminating at their bases over whatever feature happened to be below
them (plate 73). This was crowned by a standard perpendicular gothic motif: a band
regularly interspersed with fleurons similar to that on the screen, while above this ran a
series of pseudo-botanical trilobate clumps, Mayne’s ‘goodly row of vegetables …
apparently a rough copy of the cauliflower’. Both band and clumps were interrupted by
five broad projecting pinnacles with niches on their main faces, placed on either side of
the lord lieutenant’s pew, the new plaster arch, and the group of three stalls between the
two arches. One can see how Stewart referred to these ‘buttresses’ as in the ‘sentry-box
and wig-block pattern’. Such panelling could be found for example, in Cottingham’s
work in Armagh,156 but it was the inept arrangement of it which ruined the effect at
Christ Church. The windows above this on the south side consisted of two two-light and
two three-light windows, the latter differing in height. Price retained switchline tracery in
the choir aisle windows, but replaced this in the clerestory levels with perpendicular
gothic with tri-cusped arches surmounted by super-mullions (plates 22 & 64 vs 67 & 73).
Price also erected a perpendicular east window unfortunately unillustrated which
replaced five-light switchline tracery (plate 20).157

The heavy hue of the panelling ‘grained by the painter in impossible oak’ was applied to
furniture and monuments regardless whether it was timber or not. The medieval brass
lecturn on the north side in front of the pulpit in the central aisle (plate 59-60) had lions
feet at its base ‘painted and grained in imitation of first-class oak’.158 Similarly, south of
the altar was a stone ‘piscina of Late Middle-Pointed character, now grained to imitate
oak’.159 Nor did some monuments escape unpainted. The Agard-Harrington monument

154 ‘Christ Church cathedral’, Dublin Penny Journal (1835), 110.
155 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 235-7 (Monday 2 March 1846).
156 Myles, L.N. Cottingham, 97.
158 Thomas Drew, ‘The old eagle lectern of the Holy Trinity, Christchurch of Dublin’ (typescript, 1910),
159 Ellis, ‘Christchurch Cathedral’ (1863), 32-3.
today retains at least two coats of what appears to be nineteenth-century monochrome paint. However, the monochrome simplicity of the monument to Bishop Fletcher, south of the altar (chapter v, figure 22.b, plate 73), the obscure location of that to organist, Richard Woodward (d.1777) at the north aisle’s west end (chapter v, figure 24.b), or the sheer magnificence of Cheere’s Kildare monument north of the altar (chapter v, figure 21.a-b, plate 103) probably avoided them suffering such crude treatment. Subsequently erected monuments to Archbishop Richard Laurence of Cashel (d.1838) of unknown sculptor on the choir north side (figure 6.a, plate 59), and John Torrens, archdeacon of Dublin (d.1851) two bays east along the choir north aisle (figure 11.b, plate 103) were also untouched. These also illustrate that members of the cathedral community, clergy and musicians, were entitled to a choir rather than nave memorial.

With the dismantling of the galleries, Price was also responsible for redesigning the specialised choir seating. Although he moved the archbishop’s throne further east to a position capable of accommodating ten people, the furnishing itself appears stylistically unrelated to his work and both it and some of the stalls probably related to retained eighteenth-century Gothic work. West of it was the lord lieutenant’s throne (plate 73). Of particular interest is that despite the building of the chapel royal, in 1832, the chapter still felt entitled to write to the lord lieutenant for expenses to ‘be defrayed in the Customary manner’ for the plan of ‘removing the Scite of The Royal Throne to a more commodious place than it Stood in before the dangerous Galleries were taken down’. Some financial assistance may have been forthcoming because in 1844, the chapter wrote again, this time ‘to the Commissioners of Public Works to inform them that alterations and improvements [were] now being made in the interior of the Cathedral whereby it would appear necessary that the fitting up of the Royal Throne should be looked after.’ The throne recorded in 1870-1 had an umbrella-like canopy with a crest, probably vice-regal in its centre, fronted by six trefoil-headed panels below. Two wall-mounted quatrefoils were squeezed into the spandrels either side of the canopy, decorations which were also above the first arch west of the crossing on the south (and probably north)

161 RCB C6/1/7/12, 75-7 (Thursday 7 February 1839).
163 See chapter v, p. 211.
164 RCB C6/1/8/11, 233-4 (Saturday 4 February 1832).
165 RCB C6/1/7/12, 198-9 (Monday 16 September 1844).
side. In 1852, one author described it, noting that ‘one of the arches has been made the nidus of a theatrical-looking semi-circular box, receding into the aisle, for the Lord Lieutenant’, a box which by 1870-1 had been altered to a square frontage (plate 103). A strikingly ‘Gothick’ feature was the set of three stalls between the two arches east of the crossing reserved on the south side for the archdeacon of Dublin, prebendary of St Michan’s and chancellor, and presumably matched on the north side by similar stalls for the prebendaries of St Michael’s, St John’s, and the treasurer. It comprised three pointed arches surmounted by an embattled cornice, the whole not quite encompassed above by a cusped ogee wall-mounted tracery (plate 59, 73). In its use of Gothic elements the whole ensemble was reminiscent of gentlemanly withdrawing rooms at Strawberry Hill or the work of William Kent or James Essex a century before Price’s Dublin gothic.

While Price’s work may have been stylistically inharmonious, Jebb was correct to identify his work as having ‘all the merit of originality’, highlighting his unusual arrangement of the pews. In 1835 this was hailed; ‘To accomodate the public and to command a view the seats slope from the back of the aisles, and then preserving the same elevation extend to the Communion Table at either side’. In 1843, Jebb fretted that the reading desks were ‘most absurdly depressed below the lay Vicars, in a line with the Choir boys’ seats’, an arrangement Drew described in 1881 as a ‘crowd of mean pews rising in tiers on either side’. This theatrical elevation of pews from the centre outwards produced galleries in the choir aisles recorded in plan form (plate 103) and a single photograph (plate 59). The cathedral’s chapel royal role is partially responsible for the legacy of pew allocation, though pew rents were still common through the nineteenth-century. In 1831, the chapter wished to ‘ascertain the Official Public Bodies or other persons who by Prescription or otherwise ought to be accommodated with Pews’, and the 1835 report as keen to note the pews as ‘nominally at least appropriated to the nobility, civic officers,

166 C.E.S., ‘Some notes from Ireland’, Ecclesiologist, xiii, 90 (June 1852), 169-76, at 171.
168 Jebb, ‘Observations’ (1855), 9 [25].
170 John Jebb, The choral service of the United Church of England and Ireland: being an enquiry into the liturgical system of the cathedral and collegiate foundations of the Anglican communion (London; John W. Parker, 1843), 201; Thomas Drew, ‘Christ Church Cathedral’, The Irish Builder (1 May 1881), 140-1.
171 RCB C6/1/7/12, 285-6 (Tuesday 24 June 1851), notes that the north and south galleries were cleaned by cathedral’s female servants: Margaret McCullagh, sextoness (south) and Anne Cooper (north).
173 RCB C6/1/8/11, 216-8 (Friday 29 April 1831).
and dignitaries of the Church'.\textsuperscript{174} By the 1870s, the pews east of the choir were disposed by the archbishop (whose pew could hold seven people),\textsuperscript{175} dignitaries and a rear-general (plate 103). The provision of seating for high-profile public figures could guarantee a continuous source of revenue for the cathedral from wealthy congregation members. In 1844 the seneschal, Thomas Kelly, LL.D. asked the chapter for ‘a fixed seat for himself and Family in this Church as an Officer thereof’, and was allocated a ‘Seneschal’s Seat’ in front of that of the registrar. Later the chapter agreed ‘that a Uniform Brass plate be affixed at the expense of the Owner to each private family Pew with the name of the Office to which such Pew has been appropriated’.\textsuperscript{176} Strict instructions were given to servants over the disposal of seats. In 1853, the beadle, Thomas Kilner, was dismissed for admitting unauthorised people to the lord mayor’s pew.\textsuperscript{177} This city pew and that of the Kildare family on the north side of the choir, balanced in prestige the thrones of the archbishop and lord lieutenant on the south side. The Kildare pew can be identified from their arms: argent a saltire gules, with two monkey supporters (figure 17.a) shown in a nineteenth century photograph (plate 59, figure 17.b), which survives on the right-hand face of the Kildare monument (figure 17.c). Overall, pew allocation to institutions, families and church servants, a tradition reflecting a social hierarchy evident at Christ Church from at least the late sixteenth century and bolstered after the Restoration, was a practice alive and well and allowed even nineteenth-century clergy a modicum of patronage in albeit diminished form since the days of the chapel royal.

Butler’s plan (plate 103) shows that the chancel was at a step higher, with an eastern altar surrounded by rails, and a spiral staircase in the northeast corner. The \textit{Dublin Penny Journal} gives the best account, noting the prospect terminating with a ‘magnificent altar’ that was composed of one splendid slab of green scagliola, highly burnished, and set in a Gothic arch, relieved and extended at either end by square slabs of the same composition in imitation of Siena marble - surmounted by a deep florid border of open work concealing the basement of the large East Window, in which are set in stained glass the several crests, heraldic bearings and mottos of the members of the Chapter.\textsuperscript{178}

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\textsuperscript{174} ‘Christ Church cathedral’, \textit{Dublin Penny Journal} (1835), 109.
\textsuperscript{175} Trench, \textit{Richard Chenevix Trench archbishop} (1888), 345-6.
\textsuperscript{176} RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 174-5 (Thursday 1 February 1844); 199-200 (Monday 23 September 1844).
\textsuperscript{177} RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 240 (Saturday 25 April 1846); C6/1/7/12, 312-14 (Saturday 23 July 1853).
\textsuperscript{178} ‘Christ Church cathedral’, \textit{Dublin Penny Journal} (1835), 110.
\end{flushleft}
With daily choral services and candlesticks on the altar, Christ Church was of a higher churchmanship than most of the Church of Ireland, so the presence of a scagliola marble with its Italian and ‘Roman’ implications was not lost on the *Ecclesiologist*, who in a rather obscure, sarcastic comment implied that even the Church of Ireland was not as low-church as Cambridge Protestants. Usefully it identifies no low-church tendencies in Price’s work, rather its inadequacies were of its time. The altar may even have survived; Street had little respect for the ‘awkwardly enlarged and ugly choir’, but preserved the piscina and monuments in the crypt. Behind the present timber high altar is what appears to be a marble retable with blind-lancets on its east face. There is slight damage to its lower edge which rests on an undamaged black marble plinth suggesting reuse (figure 15.a-b). In the cut away corners, engaged shafts are crowned by moulded capitals, all carved from the green stone which has the mildly greasy touch of soft minerals such as talc and gypsum which is used to produce scagliola. Street noted this as a ‘dwarf wall’, hardly a complimentary description if his own work, and the context of the paragraph in which he wrote describing the old choir, suggests that he may have re-used Price’s altar. Similarly, Price’s cauliflowers (figure 16.a, plate 59-60) may have part inspired the ‘poppy head’ pew ends used by Street to adorn the modern choir stall ends (figure 16.b).

The most radical change of use was the old lady chapel. In the face of a shrinking liberty, the chapel provided an under-utilised area to exploit, and in 1832, the chapter agreed to alter its use ‘for the future accommodation of the Dean and Chapter and also for the purposes of affording Certain Rooms for School rooms for the Boys’. The *Dublin Penny Journal* confirmed it as ‘a chapter-room, school-room for the choir boys, and various apartments for servants’ entered from John’s Lane. By 1838, it was ‘a residence for the boys of the choir’, while the chapter room had also been noted there. The only plan evidence of its internal arrangement are of the new rooms awkwardly and inaccurately depicted by the Ordnance Survey (plate 96), a map surveyed in 1838, but not engraved until 1846-7, by which time the chapter room had returned to the nave south aisle. The conversion of the space was sufficiently complete on St Patrick’s day 1833 to order four tons of coal for the ‘Chapter Room and Vergers Appartments and to air the

180 *Ecclesiologist*, iv, 6 (November 1845), 291.
181 Street & Seymour, *Christ Church*, 109, 161.
182 RCB C6/1/8/11, 233-4 (Saturday 4 February 1832).
183 ‘Christ Church cathedral’, *Dublin Penny Journal* (1835), 110.
New Appartments late Mary’s Chapel’, and in June a lock was purchased for the apartments’ back door.\(^{185}\) As the number of cathedral buildings diminished, such spaces were logical locations for toilet facilities. In 1851, a ‘separate Water-Closet’ was erected ‘there being but one at present for the convenience of the children, the servants and the workmen’, probably ‘the new water Closets’ installed by B.J. Holbrook the next year.\(^{186}\)

Overall, Price’s restorations were essentially housekeeping. Following the work of the Wide Streets Commissioners, the cathedral and its precincts were cosmetically tidied and regularised. Internally, the choir was refurbished, removing galleries that, following the establishment of the castle chapel royal, no longer saw the same crowds. The crypt was the only area unaffected by Price’s work. In 1866, when the last interment took place of James Agar, archdeacon of Kilmore in the royal vault,\(^{187}\) the crypt was described, after burials from the eighteenth century onwards, as ‘now filled with rubbish’ and lying in ‘a disgracefully neglected state’.\(^{188}\) While it is clear that Price was not Dublin’s finest architect, with an awkward facility for reproducing contemporary architectural details, his interventions were practical. With no prospect of new buildings, he facilitated internal spatial reorganisation at the cathedral to its greatest benefit, squeezing much from limited resources. Ultimately, finance was the problem, and responsibility for this lay with the chapter. To negotiate the cathedral through financially straitened times, a direct effect was the piecemeal nature of the restorations undertaken, and cost-limiting strategies of employing a local architect and local craftsmen. Unsurprisingly, the resulting aesthetic was mediocre. Furthermore, financial concerns saw individual chapter members taking such personal interest in restoration work that it probably hampered Price’s work.

Price’s situation was the diametric opposite of Street’s 1870s restoration. Acting in the role of a Victorian master-mason controlling his minions, Street had total artistic control, a vision which demonstrated just how far the evolution of Gothic thought had changed in a few decades. Street understood: ‘I am to be the Sole Architect’.\(^{189}\) He intervened at every level of design amongst the craftsmen working for him, a sheer force of will which also allowed him to demolish the asymmetrical (but fourteenth-century) long choir. Such hubris ultimately led to a serious mistake in his unilateral choice of Caen over Dundry.

\(^{185}\) RCB C6/1/12/1, f. [27] (17 March 1833); f. [27v] (21 June 1833).
\(^{186}\) RCB C6/1/7/12, 290-1 (Wednesday 12 November 1851); 297-8 (Monday 19 April 1852).
\(^{187}\) Registers, 139; Finlayson, Inscriptions, 89; Stuart Kinsella, ‘A report on the movement of the crypt coffins [at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin] (Unpublished report, 8 May 1999).
\(^{188}\) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: the war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, the invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen: the original Irish text, ed. (with translation and introduction) J.H. Todd. (London, 1867), 290.
Stone advised by local Dublin masons, courtesy of Henry Roe, though it should be noted that his preference for early English gothic, as a simpler style, was also therefore cheaper to produce. Undisturbed by interference, he returned the building to the chapter when his task was complete amidst great ceremony. Price on the other hand was the midpoint of a three-fold hierarchy in which work commissioned by the cathedral clergy, was designed with Price’s advice who then contracted out the work to craftsmen. Inevitably such an arrangement affected the quality of the work. From the published sources, it is clear that the clergy had a great deal of input into design elements of the restoration. The choir side aisles were opened according ‘to the fine taste and design of the Dean’. The chapter order book leaves little doubt that Bishop Lindsay was something of a micro-manager in administering the cathedral, exacerbated by his sometime accommodation within the precincts. Not only had he been dean since 1804, but his son, also Charles, was a prebendary from 1823-9 and rector of the nearby St Mary’s (1829-55), all of which produced a dean of proprietorial attitude towards the cathedral. In 1845, under the direction of the prebendary of St John’s, the pulpit between the Corporation pews had a spiral stairs added to it, and the surrounding pews restored. Similarly, in 1846, the archdeacon of Cashel, Henry Cotton, treasurer of Christ Church (1832-72), was noted to have ‘suggested the opening of a new Gothic window, immediately over the communion table, which lightens and gives considerable effect to the chancel’. As a former chaplain to Archbishop Laurence of Cashel, the lightening effect probably benefited the memorial Cotton erected to Laurence on the north side of the choir after 1839. The expression ‘opening of a new Gothic window’, suggests that the window did not exist, which would discount the extant east window (plate 18-20). As the Lady chapel blocked light from the north, the most logical suggestion is that the window in question was south of the altar, which means that this proposal reversed an earlier change by Price. However, later evidence suggests that nothing came of the proposal (plates 47, 73). As each chapter member took a turn to act as proctor, or financial administrator, they were keenly aware of the cathedral’s situation, but a new feature was that during the restorations, matters

192 ‘The restoration of Christ Church cathedral’, Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette (22 April 1878), 81.
193 Picture of Dublin (1835), 139.
194 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 826.
195 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 224-5 (Monday 19 May 1845).
196 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 508-9; Dublin and its environs (1846), 89.
197 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 75-7 (Thursday 7 February 1839).
were often referred to as a ‘Building Committee’ or an ‘Improvement Committee’. Prominent figures on these in the 1830s and 1840s, were Bishop Lindsay, Chancellor S.S. Trench, Archdeacon Cotton, and prebendaries, John Rowley, T.P. Magee, Richard Barton, C.S. Stanford, E.S. Abbott and William Chichester, Lord O’Neill. The childish puns of the chorister (and later organist), R.P. Stewart, perhaps unconsciously reflected the cathedral’s condition. Asked ‘Boys, why is Christ Church rotten?’, Stewart answered ‘Because it is built on a trench and propped up by cotton’. Many of these individuals were firmly based in Dublin, to an extent, reflecting sedentary parish life: Rowley held the prebend of St Michan’s for 36 years, its longest incumbent, while Magee was prebendary of St John’s and then rector of St Thomas’s from 1829-54. Such geographic inertia also obtained by cycling through closely located parishes. Stanford occupied all the cathedral prebends from 1843-54 when he became rector of St Thomas’s, resigning in 1872. Abbott’s life was also entirely Dublin based; son of a former lord mayor, he served as curate successively of St Michael’s and St John’s, then as prebendary of St Michael’s, St John’s and St Michan’s, completing his career as rector of St Mary’s and sub-dean of the chapel royal. Barton showed extreme institutionalisation; beginning as a deputy vicar choral in 1823, he rose from lay to clerical vicar through the prebendaries to become precentor (held mostly while at St George’s parish), which he resigned in 1876 after 53 years at Christ Church. If swapping parishes was insufficient, the clerical community was also tightly knit by familial and marital ties. O’Neill was the son-in-law of the former archdeacon of Dublin, John Torrens; Magee was son of the archbishop of Dublin, while Cotton was the son-in-law of Archbishop Laurence of Cashel. Although such intermarriage was hardly surprising for a minority established church, it was amplified by the abandonment of Dublin by the English after 1800.

The long term association of these clergy with the cathedral, like the dean, meant that a proprietorial interest in the building and its refurbishment was more likely. Indeed, the personal control exercised by Bishop Lindsay in the refurbishment of his decanal stall, the gift of a bell and dealings with the hypocaust system and organ, must have hindered Price from exercising any great artistic or even personal vision for the building. However, ultimately, personal contributions eased the cathedral’s financial burden and so were

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198 RCB C6/1/8/11, 226-7 (Tuesday 18 October 1831); C6/1/7/12, 197-8 (Saturday 31 August 1844).
200 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 1024, 866.
201 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 1074, 339, 380.
202 Leslie & Wallace, Clergy of Dublin & Glendalough, 940, 866, 508.
encouraged. O’Neill, as prebendary of St Michael’s, was thanked for an offer of £200.\(^{203}\) One of few ennobled cathedral clergy, he could easily afford this, leaving an estate of £33,000 on his death.\(^{204}\) The chapter was constantly in search of new methods of thrift, a situation exacerbated by the act of union and the church temporalities act of 1833,\(^{205}\) which would, on Lindsay’s death, strip the cathedral of many of its assets and unify the deaneries of Christ Church and St Patrick’s.\(^{206}\) Such prudence was exemplified by an 1852 chapter meeting to consider ‘the best mode of economizing the ordinary expenses of the Cathedral’.\(^{207}\) In 1862, Ellis noted that the chapter ‘had offers of handsome donations from several laymen’ if the new organ of 1856 ‘be erected in the north transept’, a policy however not pursued.\(^{208}\) The clergy were keenly aware of these financial constraints as payment was often made through their own accounts. In 1845, ‘Several Tradesmens Bills for the repairs alterations and improvements of the Cathedral’ were referred to members of the chapter. In April that year, £2000 of Bank of Ireland stock was sold and ‘placed in the Bank of La Touche & Co. to the Credit’ of Stanford, the proctor and Abbott ‘for the purpose of paying the outstanding demands for the late Buildings repairs alterations and improvements in and about the Cathedral ...’.\(^{209}\)

Penny pinching inevitably impacted on the standards. While Street could later employ craftworkers from established English firms with a great deal of specialist expertise: Kett of Cambridge, Leaver of Maidenhead, Potter and also Earp of London, Craven Dunnill of Jackfield, Ironbridge, and indeed the sisters of St Margaret at East Grinstead,\(^{210}\) the craftsmen employed by Price were Dublin-based locals few of whom had any great specialisation, characteristics which also reduced cost. The most lauded of these are the little studied ‘versatile and eccentric brothers McAnaspie’, Patrick and Thomas of 37 Great Brunswick Street.\(^{211}\) They were responsible for all the choir ornaments, but also for the scagliola altar described as ‘magnificent’ and a ‘truly exquisite piece of art’\(^{212}\).
cathedral altar must have been one of their earliest commissions, as they appear in Dublin directories for the years 1836 to 1875, along with two others only known by their initials J. and R. Described as stucco workers in 1836, scagliola artists in 1839, ‘figure ornament modellers, scagliola artists and builders’ in 1857 and contractors and artists 1850, it was their choir panelling that Drew noted as ‘preposterous stucco ornaments’. Thomas McAnaspie also made proposals for the O’Connell monument no earlier than 1844, the same year they advertised their skills in the Post Office directory which included the manufacture of scagliola columns and altars. The Jesuit church of St Francis Xavier, the first Catholic church erected in Dublin after Emancipation in 1829, completed in 1835, included a high altar with four 25 feet high Corinthian columns also of green scagliola. Reportedly made in Rome by Father Esmonde in 1838 who, with J.B. Keane, was the architect, the choice of scagliola, later known as Venetian plastering, a skill perfected in ancient Rome and developed in sixteenth-century Italy, emphasised the link with Rome. Whether the McAnaspies were involved is as yet unknown, but Great Brunswick Street, their base, was to church restorations in the nineteenth-century as Francis Street was to antiques in Dublin in the twentieth-century. This Dublin enclave could therefore supply locally much of the city’s requirement for architectural, sculptural and artistic work.

Price’s restoration offers a well documented opportunity to see a network of Dublin craftsmen at work and indeed in competition with each other, which the study of Dublin directories alone cannot yield. The builders and contractors whom Price employed in the 1830s were Messrs Dwyer who ‘commenced operations with vigour in May 1831’. They were not alone. In 1832, the chapter act book recorded payments of £500 to ‘Messers Dwyer & Brady’; £123 6s. to Ormsby, a slater; £46 to Murray an iron monger; £200 to Turner, a smith and £100 to Telford the organ builder. Price himself received a

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213 Dublin city directory 1830 online. Their forenames are listed in the parish of St Mark’s in Griffiths valuation of Ireland, listed online at http://www.failteromhat.com/griffiths/dublin/stmarks.htm, accessed 12 December 2007.
214 IAA, Ref. RP.D. 25.6. I owe much of the information on the McAnaspie’s to Anne Martha Rowan of the IAA who derived her information from the Dublin directories.
215 For example, Frederick O’Dwyer, Victorian Dublin (ENFO briefing sheet 19, 1990) noted that ‘The builders had moved to Great Brunswick (now Pearse) Street, where many architects also had their offices.’
216 For the architects and monumental sculptors of Great Brunswick Street, see Katriona Byrne, Pearse Street D2: a study of the past, a vision for the future (Dublin: Dublin Civic Trust, 2001).
217 Picture of Dublin (1835), 138.
modest £25.218 John Dwyer was a ‘Stone-cutter and Builder’ of 1 Upper Camden Street, listed the following year as ‘John and Son’.219 Brady may refer to John Brady, a smith and ironmonger of 119 Great Britain Street (although such occupied John Brady appears in directories the following year); to Martin Brady, a carpenter of 9, Golden Lane, or less likely to Nicholas Brady, a carver and gilder.220 Thomas Ormsby was as a ‘slater and slate merchant’ of 19 upper Dorset Street, while Murray was probably John Murray, a metal founder from 7 Hammond lane.221 The L. Bryan paid for downpipes for the north aisle in 1842 was hardware merchant, Loftus A. Bryan, who had premises in nearby 10 Bride Street, expanding to 10-13 by 1850, and referred to as an ironmonger in 1854.222 Messers Carolin, contractors for the mid-1840s work were John and Robinson Carolin, builders and timbers merchants based at 14-16 Lower Abbey Street, but with individual addresses in two other Dublin locations in 1850 at 60 Lower Gardiner St and 22 D'Olier St.223 Furthermore, they were the the builders of choice for the Board of Works’ architect, Jacob Owen, building the Central Police Training Depot in the Phoenix park from 1841-3, coincidentally, when Owen built his only church, St Patrick’s, Dalkey (1840-3). As with Price, denomination and background played an important role. In 1838, an anonymous letter alleged corruption by Owen and the Carolins, who were described in terms linked with Freemasonry and Protestantism, as ‘brother conservatives and orangemen’.224 The bell founder was another Dubliner, John Murphy of the Irish Bell Foundry on 140 James’s Street.225 The watch and clock maker, McMaster, noted in 1853, was the Dublin-based Maxwell McMaster and son based in 1850 in Grafton and Capel Street.226 Likewise, Telfords was based in Dublin: ‘Organ Manufactory 109 Stephens Gr: Dublin’ in 1852.227 The decorators of the 1850s were Messrs Sibthorp and Son, later engaged by Street to propose a decorative scheme for the nave.228 Other painters were also employed. ‘Charles Jones & Sons’, paid work in 1853 and 1856 ‘for Painting the Rails and cleaning and

218 RCB C6/1/8/11, 236 (Saturday 21 April 1832).
219 Wilson’s Dublin directory for the year 1831 (Dublin, 1831), 70; Post Office annual directory for 1832 (Dublin, 1832), 71.
220 Wilson’s Dublin directory (1831), 50; Post Office annual directory (1832), 28-9.
221 Post Office annual directory (1832), 167, 177; Wilson’s Dublin directory (1831), 113.
222 Wilson’s Dublin directory (1831), 52; Dublin city directory 1850 online; RCB C6/1/7/12, 324-5 (16 February 1854); 340 (Thursday 7 December 1854).
223 Thom’s Irish almanac (1851), 979.
225 Post Office Dublin directory and calendar for 1848 (Dublin: Alexander Thorn, 1848), 50.
226 RCB C6/1/7/12, 306-7 (17 February 1853); 311 (Monday 13 June 1853); 324-5 (16 February 1854); Dublin city directory 1850 online.
227 RCB C6/1/7/12, 297-8 (Monday 19 April 1852).
228 RCB C6/1/7/12, 286-90 (Saturday 27 September 1851); C6/1/8/13, 45 (25 March 1857); listed in the Irish Architectural Archive 2002 report.
coloring the School Room passages &c &c’, were painters and decorators to the Board of Works, of 1 Stephen’s Green North, and harked back to the tradition of employing those associated with the royal works.229 Benjamin James Holl[ec]brook, often paid for carpentry, was a builder of 58 Aungier Street, who was considered for the ‘Iron Palisading’ for St Michaels Hill in 1855,230 a job which finally went to Thomas Barnwell a ‘manufacturing smith’ of 46 Bishop Street.231 Slaters were James Smithwick and James Southwell, paid for repairs to the ‘Chimney and Roof of the Cathedral’ and based at 6 Mercer St.232 The cabinet maker, Joseph Digges, paid through 1853-6, was based at 29 Lincoln place in Dublin,233 while Richard B. Boyle, paid in 1853 ‘for Carving Arms of Ch Ch’ was a ‘figure and ornamental carver’ of 19 Mary Street.234 With no obvious exception, these craftsmen were Dublin-based. While the contrast is marked between Price’s underfunded, sporadic restoration against the architectural spending spree in which Street indulged, it reflects much better the pattern of local maintenance that characterised the cathedral in previous centuries. For Price and the chapter the priority was convenience and thrift, themes that ran contrary to any attempt to sustain an aesthetic vision of high quality craftsmanship. Ecclesiastical scrimping also affected Price, who remained unpaid for a number of years of architectural drawings. Seeking compensation in 1844, even offering the chapter a discount, his concluding remarks reveal his own reaction to the restoration work

... previous to the period mentioned I made plans and elevations for finishing the entire Cathedral in which I thought a suitable style for which I make no charge whatever ... I have been at all times when required in attendance to take the directions of the Chapter for other works for which neither plans or specifications were afterwards considered necessary.

... when the works now in progress or contemplation are finished I consider the exterior of the Cathedral will be compleated and of course no further necessity for any more designs.

229 RCB C6/1/7/12, 312-14 (Saturday 23 July 1853); C6/1/7/13, 36 (Saturday 14 June 1856); Dublin almanac, and general register of Ireland for ... 1844 (Dublin: Pettigrew & Oulton, 1844), 475; Post Office Dublin directory and calendar for 1853 (Dublin: Thom, 1853), 521; Thom's Irish almanac (1851), 1038.
230 RCB C6/1/7/12, 312-14 (Saturday 23 July 1853); 324-5 (16 February 1854); 355-6 (Thursday 22 March 1855); Dublin city directory 1850 online.
231 Dublin city directory 1850 online; RCB C6/1/7&8/13, 9 (Monday 23 July 1855); 10 (2 November 1855).
232 RCB C6/1/7/12, 307-8 (Monday 4 April 1855); 351-5 (Thursday 15 March 1855); Dublin city directory 1850 online.
233 RCB C6/1/7/12, 315-35 (16 February 1854); 361-3 (Tuesday 1 May 1855); C6/1/7/13, 22-4 (Monday 31 March 1856); Post Office Dublin directory (1853), 480.
234 RCB C6/1/7/12, 312-14 (Saturday 23 July 1853).
Price divested himself here of architectural responsibility for the cathedral. He was to be paid and ‘to lodge with the Registrar the several drawings plans and elevations’. If they were ever deposited, none are known to survive. With Lindsay’s death in 1846, and the sharing of deans with St Patrick’s thereafter, an architectural limbo period began which provided opportunity to reflect on Price’s restoration. Unfortunately, 1830 is regarded as marking a nadir in architectural standards now which his work simply reflected; little discerning architecture of mediocrity driven by the rise of a middle class, and lack of any architects of calibre to oppose such decline. Summerson’s statement that ‘at no moment ... was English architecture so feeble, so deficient in genius, so poor in promise’, could easily be applied to Ireland. Price was not helped by a chapter of tinkering dilettantes, whose detailed involvement appears to have been more extensive than at any point in the last century and a half. With limited resources he converted a hybrid classical-Gothic scheme to an entirely Gothic arrangement, retaining pre-adapted furnishings such as the archbishop’s Gothic throne and stalls, and incorporating others by painting over them.

However, his work is important because it documents what he, a local Dublin architect, ‘thought a suitable style’ for a Gothic cathedral in Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s. While there is no doubt that Street’s Christ Church, unfettered by financial limitations, realised a vision of aesthetic integrity, the cost was the erasure of chapters of architectural and archaeological history. Price’s limited financial resources forced compromises which prevented alterations being too severe. To the benefit of later architectural historians, his less assured work left far more evidence of the old long choir than Street’s radical work, making records of the building between 1830-70 the best evidence of earlier incarnations of the building. Had Christ Church remained the chapel royal, a better funded restoration might have removed far more than survived to be recorded. As it was, the chapter still held to royal associations in small ways such as engaging members of the Irish ‘works’; in 1863, one architect consulted over improvements to the ventilation in 1863 was ‘James Owen Esqre architect to the Board of Works’. As far as the dean and chapter and Price were concerned, the restoration of the cathedral was completed in 1846. Who knows what they would have made of Christ Church as re-imagined by George Edmund Street.

235 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 194-6 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
236 Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 496-7; Casey, ‘Metropolitan parish’, 227 describes a similar situation at St Peter’s Roman Catholic church, Phibsborough in 1867.
237 RCB C6/1/7&8/12, 194-6 (Tuesday 27 August 1844).
238 RCB C6/1/7/13, 158 (Monday 13 April 1863); James Hastings Owen, son of Jacob Owen, both architects and engravers of 2 Mountjoy Sq West (*Dublin city directory 1850* online). See also O’Dwyer, ‘Building empires’, 147-66.
Brought to the restored cathedral by his daughter on 8 September 1878, the changes wrought were too much for an elderly J.S. Sloane, who wrote:

I bow my head and weep, for memories of the past crowd thick upon me. I see a screen where none ever was before, where no such thing should be; a baptistry where once was “Caleb Smalley’s” little beer and tobacco shop, and a little house built up against the eastern door of the south transept, where stood the “stocks” when I was young. But the dear old chancel is gone, and nothing left to shew where it once was; and I wander out, and on Michael’s-hill see a curious bridge, and think of the Rialto, and grasp my daughter’s arm, for I feel faint, and she says “Is it not nice”? and I gasp out, “Yes,” and, as an architect and archaeologist, go away feeling sick at heart, ashamed and humiliated, and as a citizen and patriot, robbed!1

In a nutshell, this captures the sense of what this thesis has tried to document – that the cathedral and its grounds were changed irrevocably by Street’s restoration, leaving little evidence of its rich history between 1541-1870. The few remnants surviving in the grounds: the southeastern-most stump of the old long choir, the ruins of the old chapter house and an inaccurate Victorian ground plan marking out the old cloister, recall instead a medieval past. Inside, a collection of Tudor monuments cluster in the transepts, the rest banished to the crypt. From these few clues, it would be difficult to identify this space as one of the most important ecclesiastical buildings in post-Reformation Ireland. Our blindness to this history is due to Street’s thoroughness, permitted through the finances of Henry Roe. Of all the restorations the cathedral experienced, it alone approached the totality of the Anglo-Norman rebuilding. Poorer funded refurbishments were less comprehensive in their extent, preserving familiarity as well as historical detail. This thesis has identified a number of post-Reformation restorations for the first time, which exerted a range of influences on the building. The three most important were those undertaken under Sidney, Wentworth and Ormond, three chief governors who made significant contributions to Ireland’s material culture. Through these restorations, they symbolically conveyed prevailing cultural themes through architectural change. For Sidney, chivalric display demonstrating loyalty to the English crown was an important

1 A Fingalian [J.S. Sloane], ‘Correspondence: Antiquarian rambles’, Irish Builder, xxiii, 511 (1 April 1881), 110.
message to convey in a country as yet unsubdued by the English. For Wentworth, the emphasis was religious introducing the latest Laudian innovations. Two Ormonde-sponsored cathedral restorations not only proclaimed Irish loyalty to the restored crown, but demonstrated the health of the Irish chapel royal. These state-driven restorations were lavish, but largely cosmetic. Serious structural change appears to have been limited to essential rebuilding work in the early 1560s, and on the tower thereafter culminating in its rebuilding in the 1610s, responsibly undertaken by an archbishop during a term as lord justice. Funding was always a problem for such maintenance, and without state funding, the cathedral also struggled to complete its gothic-revival restoration extended from at least 1791 to 1846. The physical detail presented in the previous chapters has enabled a clear mapping of the use of space within the cathedral and its precinct. The main trend shown was one of secularisation after the Reformation. The old monastic buildings were converted into courts, shops and taverns, with the chapter house managing to resist the tide until 1699. Internally, the guild chapels gradually disappeared, replaced by cathedral anterooms and staircase vestibules, but filled instead with state ceremony particularly in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similarly, the Lady chapel struggled to find a vocation until the 1690s, a calling lasting only until the 1830s when it was converted to administrative uses. By the mid-nineteenth century, the cathedral and its grounds were models of a gentrification process undertaken by the Wide Streets Commissioners and Matthew Price: neat and uniform, but ultimately dull parodies of the lively and untidy buildings which they replaced.

Although there is little evidence of the changes in architectural style during this period in the building’s fabric, clues do survive in the form of monuments, and in documentary and visual documentary sources, although before the late eighteenth century, the latter two are rarely forthcoming. The fashioning of an ‘Architribe’ over the duchess of Ormond’s seat in 1668, or the ‘cornish’ installed in the Lady chapel in 1695 are such rare indicators, as well as the large cost of plasterwork in the seventeenth century. Similarly, the unprovenanced sketches in ‘Monumenta Eblanae’ and those by Dineley fill early blanks before later coverage. From this material however it is possible to show a wide range of stylistic influences on the cathedral, mainly mediated through England, a pattern established in the medieval period. The design of the transepts and nave were by English West Country masons, many of the monuments were imported Purbeck, while the stalls of the fourteenth-century choir bear a strong resemblance to those surviving at Chichester cathedral. The fourteenth century episcopal brasses are also unlikely to have
been made in Ireland. The chantry chapel of the eighth earl of Kildare evidently owed little to any Irish tradition of carpentry, and may have been executed by a carpenter from England or mainland Europe, given that his daughter had contemporaneously 'brought out of Flanders, and other countrys, divers artificers' to work on the Ormonde estates. In the late sixteenth century, white stone from Flanders was being imported for repairs, while the smith working on the 1564-5 repairs was called 'freynchman'. The surviving Griffith monument, redated here to after 1566, refurbished in the 1590s, displays a basic classical framework with undigested mannerist detail such as terms and strapwork which traces its origins to the Netherlands, and is most likely the product of artisans who, having fled religious persecution, settled in England and Ireland. Sidney's Garter arms also demonstrated an allegiance which looked to Windsor, although this chivalric art reflected a re-emphasis on the medieval rather than the Renaissance, an early gothic-revival of sorts. The Agard-Harrington mural monument shows the increased sophistication of Tudor memorialisation, most likely by a Dutch sculptor settled in London. The alabaster monument to Arthur Chichester's son was almost certainly brought from London in 1614, representing sculpture of a very fine quality of continental influence. That the Low Countries were deferred to in architectural and artistic terms during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century can be seen from the surnames of Calais-escapees in the heraldic and works offices of Dublin, and at Christ Church, in the employment of a Dutch mason in the 1630s, and the housing of another, a goldsmith, in the precincts.

While the emphasis was mostly English, it was often flavoured by these more distant influences which, after the Restoration, were initially French, partly a result of Huguenot immigration. Parisian traits at Kilmainham, were also be found at Christ Church in its tower tracery and its personnel. A continued deference to London is shown in the Cadogan monument, one of the cathedral's mildly Baroque survivals, attributed to one of the Stanton mason-sculptors. The identification of the slab recorded by Dineley, as most likely to Archbishop Margetson buried in a classical choir in 1679, goes some way to explaining its seemingly contradictory medieval form. A long hiatus occurs before sculpture of this level and indeed beyond appears again, exemplified by the most magnificent monument in Christ Church commemorating the nineteenth earl of Kildare and carved by Henry Cheere of Westminster, again a London sculptor. This work changed the scale on which cathedral monuments were sculpted. Of those identified sculptors, the remainder of the eighteenth century are by John Van Nost the younger, of
Dutch extraction from London, and Joseph Nollekens, the leading portrait sculptor of the day, the latter putting a firm neo-classical stamp on cathedral sculpture in his 1791 memorial to the Ellis family, and again depicting the close allegiance to England of the Irish aristocracy and intelligentsia. After the act of union, this style pervades cathedral sculpture but is mainly Irish in origin, reflecting an artistic economy which had contracted both financially and geographically. The architectural style of the cathedral towards the end of the eighteenth-century became increasingly gothicised, but restoration work was halted for lack of funds. It resumed in the 1830s, although the result was an inexperienced and awkward Gothic-revival restoration, derided soon afterwards.

However, this thesis has demonstrated that the choir extended in the fourteenth century, which Street removed, consisted of layers of historical refurbishments from the medieval to the modern period including almost two centuries of a classically decorated interior, much of which was belied by Price's Gothic-revival restoration.

Guiding these restorations many of the architects and craftsmen carrying out cathedral restorations and maintenance have been identified here for the first time. An obvious distinction that emerges between medieval and early modern is the transition from the master-mason, who planned and often participated in work, to the architect, responsible solely for the aesthetic planning of a building without the responsibility of its execution, a term largely meaningless in England until the surveyorship of Inigo Jones in 1615-43.

Whether there was such a master-mason at Christ Church after the Anglo-Norman rebuildings is unclear. The clergy certainly appear to have taken over responsibility at some level, probably administrative; the subprior, John Pecok, for example was described in 1300 as the 'master of the building of the church'. The precentor, Peter Lewis had a similar role, as did a successor, James Walsh, as well as Dean Henry Tilson in the 1630s. Significantly though, the roles of the latter three were as proctors, whose oversight was financial and not necessarily architectural. Lewis, whose calling was also architectural, was also employed as steward of Sidney's household, which casts some light not only on the emerging royal status of the cathedral after the Reformation, but on the nebulous workings of the Irish royal works. An important theme brought out in this study is the almost continuous involvement of architects within the Irish royal works in its various

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4 Deeds 164.
forms in successive cathedral refurbishments. Examples include the royal clerk of works, Samuel Molyneux, on the former monastic buildings; the overseer of public works, Randall Beckett, who leased crypt vaults; and master carpenter, John Mills, overseeing post-Restoration work, many also being cathedral tenants. Humphrey Farnham’s engagement on both cathedral and castle in Molyneux’s time was de facto royal, similar to Loeber’s identification of royal residence building in Ireland as by private architects.5

The crown was well aware of the symbolic power of architecture, but in Ireland it was only rarely exercised after the Reformation by figures such as Sidney, Wentworth and Ormond. With the appointment of Robinson as the first surveyor general in 1670, he gave a focus to architectural expression in Ireland, probably not seen since the master-masons of the Anglo-Normans. Robinson’s cathedral involvement is here noted for the first time, and his appointment saw a regular relationship evolve between the cathedral and his office. Between 1671 and 1763, four out of the seven surveyors in office were consulted about or worked on the building: William Robinson, William Molyneaux, Edward Lovett Pearce and Arthur Jones Nevill. The abolition of the office saw the cathedral forced to broaden its remit to procure an architect. While after 1750 Ireland tended to look to England for its architects,6 the cathedral instead was more parochial and with little variation chose established Dublin names often with a previous association with the surveyorship: George Ensor, Thomas Cooley and Thomas Ivory, Robert and Edward Parke, with the novice Matthew Price being the exception. Whether Price or indeed any of the others realised the illustrious footsteps in which they were stepping is unknown. Craftsmen employed were often of the highest calibre, such as plasterer, Isaac Chalke and carpenters, Thomas Lucas, Hugh Kinder, or Isaac Wills (standing in after Pearce’s death), effectively of the order of architect-craftsmen. Often, restoration and maintenance work was carried out by craftsmen and women whose families had cathedral associations in stable groups over generations, a pattern followed also by cathedral servants such as vergers, sextons and sextonesses.

Inevitably, with power exercised from Dublin castle as an offshoot of the crown, the court and London were looked to for stylistic change, even as it in turn for inspiration to continental neighbours. This is as obvious in Sidney’s obsequious mimicry of a Windsor Garter chapel in Ireland, as it is in the reversion of Wentworth to Laud, or Ormond’s concern to embellish his architectural surroundings to ensure that he cut a ‘grand figure’

5 Loeber, Dictionary, 7.
6 McParland, Public architecture, 15.
not only as an Irish, but as an English, duke. At a lower level, even cathedral plate and carpets were ordered from London. With a substantial disempowerment of the court following the 1688 revolution, the influence of the monarch waned thereafter, with a corresponding decline in the empowerment of the lord lieutenants of Ireland, a trend which coincided with the cathedral’s loss of status, ultimately reflecting the long drawn-out separation of church and state in Ireland.

Perhaps more interesting is the fact that the state took precedence over the church and the cathedral in every way, a pattern established by Henry VIII at the Reformation when he assumed the head of the church. Curiously, the head of the Church of Ireland, the archbishop of Armagh did not officially answer to Canterbury, even though Ireland’s chief governors were usually members of the Church of England, and the country politically subservient to England. Nevertheless, Church of Ireland clergy had an inordinate influence on Irish architecture in the eighteenth century. One notable feature of this was that English clergy, who were initially chaplains to the lord deputy or lord lieutenant, would often rise later to the Irish episcopal bench – the hall at Christ Church Oxford is filled with their portraits. Thus many of the bishops of Ireland served apprenticeships in the pews of Christ Church, Dublin, such as John Parry, dean (1666-77), bishop of Ossory (1672-7), Edward Wetenhall, precentor 1675-8 and bishop of Cork and Ross (1678-99) and Kilmore (1699-1713), or Isaac Mann, precentor (1749-72), bishop of Cork and Ross (1772-88), indeed the bishop of Kildare was always the dean of Christ Church from 1681-1846. While some may have done the ‘Grand Tour’ and been quite unimpressed with the architectural milieu of the Dublin cathedral and its precincts, at the very least chaplains would have been exposed to its assemblage of gothic and classical, and the domestic and legal architecture of the neighbouring deanery and courts. As the church most attended by ‘the state’ (the name applied to the western choir pew), the cathedral therefore most likely had an influence on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, but the degree to which this may have happened is hampered by the lack of visual and physical remains. Who is to say, for example, that Robinson’s St Mary’s church was not a more expansive version of his work at Christ Church?

The cathedral’s royal aspirations peaked shortly after the Restoration with the 1672 letter of King Charles II noting Christ Church as his royal chapel and with the Ormonde restoration seven years later. However, the engagement of officers of the lord deputy,

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members of the Irish royal works and the surveyors general in the history of the
cathedral are sufficient to demonstrate that this was a status, whether official or not,
which spanned a period from at least the 1560s to 1814. A chapel royal as a physical
entity, as opposed to a courtly entourage, did not emerge until the building of Stirling
castle chapel in 1594, and subsequent seventeenth-century buildings in England; but
Christ Church had for some time been uniquely placed to don this particular mantle.
Aside from its medieval links with royalty, the Ormonde and Kildare lords deputy were
sworn in at the cathedral Lady chapel in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the eighth
earl of Kildare, who ruled Ireland for over thirty years, established his family chapel at
the cathedral, leaving an assortment of affiliated memorials drawn to his prestige that
gave Christ Church the appearance of an Irish Westminster abbey. Prior even to the
Reformation, Christ Church had been uniquely positioned as a chapel royal in waiting.
As a chapel royal, the cathedral continued to act, though not exclusively, as a venue for
the swearings-in of governors with elaborate ceremony and as a regular venue for the
dubbing of knights in the early seventeenth century. Rich heraldic displays whether in
cathedral monuments or furnishings had an underlying theme of chivalry and crown
allegiance, and survived into the classical choir of 1668, reappearing in the gothic revival
choir of the 1830s. Royal status however was particularly evident in the arms of the
crown of England from Henry II, depicted in the choir, the clearest indication of the
cathedral’s stature as chapel royal. It was a motif picked up in Johnston’s chapel royal
which still displays the arms of the chief governors of Ireland from the arrival of the
Anglo-Normans until 1922. However, Christ Church’s status was not unassailable, as
noted in 1764 when the Barrack Board refused the cathedral money to move the state
pew. With other claimants to this ecclesiastical throne, Christ Church would ultimately
cede its status to the castle in 1814. Sixteen years were to elapse while the surrounding
precincts crumbled, before restoration work was attempted. Ironically, the greatest
restoration of this former chapel royal in the 1870s was funded by a merchant, Henry
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To the Memory of the Right Rev.
Dowelbore Ellis, descended from an ancient Family of Kiddal Hall, in Yorkshire, Prebend'd to the Bishops of Kildare and Deanery of Church church, Sept 24th 1784 Transferred to that of Meath March 15th 1721
One of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council
He died Jan 1st 1755 and was buried in this Church.

His only surviving Son
the Rt. Hon
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Plate 2. View from north side (c.1680) from Thomas Dineley, 'Observations made on his tour in Ireland and France, 1675-80' (NLI, MS 392 [Positive Microfilm 7515], f. 25).
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Plate 6. Detail of custom house and Essex bridge with Christ Church tower and weathervane in the background drawn by Joseph Tudor and engraved anonymously as part of a series of six Dublin views, later published in Gentleman's magazine (May 1753).

Plate 8. ‘West front of Christ Church, Dublin’ (1772) by Gabriel Beranger from ‘A collection of drawings, of the principal antique buildings of Ireland designed on the spot & collected by Gabriel Beranger’ (RIA, SR/3/C/30/85) reproduced in Peter Harbison (ed.), *Beranger’s Rambles in Ireland based on the Royal Irish Academy’s manuscripts 3.C.31, 32 and 30* (Wicklow: Wordwell, 2004), no. 54, p. 119.

Plate 10. View of north side engraved by John Lodge for Robert Pool & John Cash, Views of the most remarkahle Public Buildings, Monuments and other edifices in the City of Dublin, delineated by R. Pool and J. Cash, with historical descriptions, etc. (Dublin: J. Williams, 1780, reprinted Shannon, 1970), opp. 76. 'Published according to Act of Parliament, March 1st, 1779.'

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Plate 12. 'South View of Christ Church, taken from the Window of an House, in Skinner Row'. This is a composite picture of which the cathedral elevation is possibly by Robert Parke (c.1787). The ruined Four Courts in the foreground are a later addition. It is currently in the possession of the family of the late Robin Lewis-Crosby (d.2008).
Plate 13. View east of interior of Four Courts 'from the clock near the great gate of entrance' illustrated in J. Prancer, ['Observatory belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, described'], *Gentleman's Magazine*, liviii, 1 (April 1788), 291-4 & plate 1 (fig. 3).

Plate 15. View of cathedral (and St Michael's church rebuilt by Edward Parke on the left) from south west (1815-19) by George Grattan. (Victoria & Albert Museum, CT 35869 [286-1876], reproduced in black and white in Anne Crookshank & the Knight of Glin [Desmond Fitzgerald], *The watercolours of Ireland: works on paper in pencil, pastel and paint c.1600-1914* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1994), 136, plate 172).

Plate 17. View from north west (1819) by George Petrie, engraved by T. Barber, printed in T.K. Cromwell, Excursions through Ireland ... (London 1820).

Plate 18. View from south east (1821) watercolour by George Petrie (RIA, SR) bequeathed by Charles William Fitzgerald, 4th earl of Leinster, MRIA.

Plate 21. View west-north-west of the old law courts through to demolished buildings on Christ Church Lane (Edward H. Murphy, Irish Topographical Prints and Drawings (NLI 532 TB), printed in reverse and reproduced in Kenny, 'Four Courts', 131. Its correct mirror image was reproduced (as here) in McParland, 'Four Courts', 143. Law, Prints and maps of Dublin, i, no. 4.54 dates it to 1825.

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Plate 26. View from south west (1833) by Samuel Lover, printed in J[ohn] O'D[onovan], 'Illustrations of Irish Topography no. xviii, Christ Church Cathedral', *Irish Penny Magazine*, i, 18 (4 May 1833), 137, and reproduced with the same text in *Ireland Illustrated*, 137. The image with different text is also reproduced in *Dublin Saturday Magazine*, i, 19 ([August, 1865]), 145.

Plate 28. View from south west (1836-43) of unknown authorship and origin donated by Allen Figgis (Cathedral Archives) reproduced as the cover of *Friends of Christ Church Cathedral Newsletter*, xvii, 1 (Spring 1999), dated from the sign on right for Bryan Murphy was 5 Christchurch Place from 1836-43, after which it was taken over by Alderman Luke Butler.

Plate 29. View from south west (1839-40) by W.F. Wakeman from original in Thomas Drew’s scrap book (Cathedral archives).

Plate 31. 'Christs Church Cathedral from the West', a view from the north west (September 1841) by G.V. Du Noyer (RSAI, George Victor Du Noyer sketchbooks, v of xii, no. [page] 23).

Plate 33. View from north-west by unknown artist (location unknown), published as cover to David Dickson (ed.), *The gorgeous mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin: Trinity History Workshop, 1987). Dickson is a former owner of the oil painting.


Plate 37. View from north west (c.1847-8) by Narcissus Batt
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Plate 41. View from south west (c.1860) by L. Fagan, noted by Elmes & Hewson, *Irish topographical prints*, 22, no. 434TB, and grouped with a number of views (including St Patrick's cathedral) attributed to or by L. Fagan, dated in Law, *Prints and drawings of Dublin*, i, 203 to 1860.
Plate 42. View from south/south-west published as a view surrounding a map of 'Dublin in 1861' (Dublin: T. Edward Heffernan, 1 May 1861), and published in Edward Heffernan, *Heffernan's hand-book of Dublin* (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1861), opp. 66, (reproduced in Law, *Prints and drawings of Dublin*, i, no. 4.578, copy also in lantern slide collection of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (RSAI, box 11, slide 32) and Drew scrapbook (Cathedral Archives).

Plate 43. Watercolour from south side (RCB C6/4/2) based on drawing (plate 12) above, and probably by same artist who drew ruined Four Courts in foreground of that image. Newspaper cuttings glued to the drawing date to June 1869, but it is unclear whether this was added afterwards.
Plate 44. View of cathedral and adjoining commercial buildings from southeast (1869-70), from Nelson's pictorial guide-books for tourists (1869-70), reproduced in Law, Prints and maps of Dublin (2005), i, no. 4:652.

Plate 45. Single of stereoscopic photograph from south east (c.1870) from original in cathedral archives with bevelled upper edges. A copy from the collection of Eddie Chandler (Irish Architectural Archive copy, 9/22 x4 +) shows more of St Michael's on the left and includes a small portion of the house out of camera shot to the right.
Plate 46. Photograph from south east (c.1870) by William Lawrence (Lawrence Collection 415 WL)

Plate 47. Photograph from the south (c.1870) by Millard and Robinson (NLI, Architectural Drawings, 1323, 1-19), reproduced in Milne 2000, fig. 24b)
Plate 48. Photograph from the north west (c.1870) by Millard and Robinson
(National Library of Ireland, Architectural. Drawings., 1323, 1-19)

Plate 49. Photograph from the south east (c.1878) by William Lawrence
(National Library of Ireland, CAB 1502 William. Lawrence.)
Plate 50. Photograph from the south east (after 1886) by William Lawrence
(National Library of Ireland, Royal 2167 W[illiam]. L[awrence].)
Plate 52. ‘Christ's Church’ or as noted in index of volume, ‘View in Christ's Church Cathedral’, view south east from west end of north aisle of nave (November 1841) by George Victor Du Noyer (RSAI, George Victor Du Noyer sketchbooks, v of xii, no. [page] 24)
Plate 53. View from south east corner of south transept (c.1847-8) by Narcissus Batt (Ulster Museum, 'Sketches of Irish antiquities', Batt album, vol. 8, no. 11 [catalogue no. 4356]).
Plate 54. Watercolour of procession from crossing to nave from south east, artist unknown (c.1847-69). Donated to the cathedral archives by the dean of St Patrick's cathedral, the Very Revd Dr R.B. MacCarthy, and reproduced on the front cover of the jacket design of Kenneth Milne (ed.), *Christ Church cathedral Dublin: a history* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).
Plate 56. Photograph of north side of nave, c.1870 (National Photographic Archive, William Lawrence Collection, 417 W.L.)
Plate 57. Photograph of north wall of nave, one of nineteen by Millard and Robinson taken before and during Street's restoration of 1871-8 (NLI, Architectural Drawings, 1323, 1-19.)
Plate 58. Photograph of the south wall of nave, one of nineteen by Millard and Robinson taken before and during Street's restoration of 1878 (NLI, Architectural Drawings, 1323, 1-19.)
Plate 59. Photograph of the long choir, one of nineteen by Millard and Robinson taken before and during Street's restoration of 1871-8 (NLI, Architectural. Drawings., 1323, 1-19) The pews tiered upwards into the choir aisle are visible beneath the left arch.
Plate 60. Photograph of long choir (National Photographic Archive, William Lawrence Collection, 416 W.L.)
Plate 61. Photograph of south transept triforium and clerestory levels, one of nineteen photographs taken by Millard and Robinson before and during Street's 1871-8 restoration (National Library of Ireland, A[rchitectural]. D[rawings], 1323, 1-19.)

Plates – Appendix 1
Plate 62. 'Elevation of one of the Pillars in the Aisle of Christ Church, with its Group of Gothic Columns', a transverse section of a north nave pillar (RCB C2/3/1, no. 29), probably by R. Crofton based on his similar style signed elevation of another pillar (RCB C2/3/1, no. 30).
Plate 63. Elevation of east side of transepts and crossing, probably c.1791 by Robert Parke (location unknown), reproduced in Milne, *Christ Church*, plate 9b from a photograph in the possession of Roger Stalley.

Plate 64. Elevation of north side of cathedral recorded some time after 1812 (see plates 90-1) by Edward Parke (RCB C6/4/1).
Plate 65. 'Drawn by F. Mackenzie from a sketch by P. Byrne' probably c.1818 (DCA, Mason, St Patrick's, inserted end leaves).
Plate 66. Tracing by Miss Seymour of an original elevation by G.E. Street of a transverse section through the transepts and crossing (RCB C6/4, uncatalogued).
Plate 67. Longitudinal section from the south illustrating the north wall of nave, crossing and choir probably also a tracing by Miss Seymour from an original elevation by Street (RCB C6/4, uncatalogued).

Plate 68. External elevation of the south side of the cathedral (1870-1) by William Butler (Butler, Measured drawings, drawing iv).

Plate 70. Longitudinal section of the nave looking north (1870-1) by William Butler reproduced in Butler, *Measured drawings*, drawing iii.


Plate 74. Transverse section of roof timbers in the south transept by John Dewhurst (location unknown) c.1927. Dated from detail of '17th Cent Principal over vaulting of S. Transept ... Measured April 1927', also in the hand of Dewhurst (RCB C6/4, uncatalogued).
4. Maps & Plans

Plate 75. Detail of bird's eye view of Dublin in map (c.1606) published in John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britain* (London 1610).

Plate 78. 'Plan of the cellars demised by John Amos and given up to the Dean & Chapter by Wm Scrivener' (c.1678), a plan of the western bay of the crypt (RCB C6/3/1/3).
Plate 79. ‘Map of the old chapter house of Christ Church, Dublin which at present [24 Nov 1699] are two vaulted rooms, and now set to Walter Motley by Abraham Carter’ (RCB C6/3/1/6).
Plate 80. 'Survey of a plot of ground on the east side of Christ Church Lane, with two dwelling rooms and four shops. Mrs Symon Anyon is a tenant. Surveyed by Abr[aham] Carter and traced by Gab[riel] Stoakes, 28 May 1700' (RCB C6/3/6/1).
Plate 81. ‘Survey and map of a cellar called Hell under the Court of King’s Bench on the east side of Christ Church Lane. Surveyed by Abr[aham] Carter, 23 July 1701’ (RCB C6/3/6/2).
Plate 82. 'Map of the cellar called Hell under the Exchequer Court and of a cellar under the Court of Common Pleas. Surveyed in September 1701 by Abraham Carter and abstracted out in October 1731 by Thomas Cave.' (RCB C6/3/6/3).
Plate 83. 'A plan of the four Courts' from the collection of Lady Sheelagh Davis-Goff, Lissen Hall, Swords printed in McParland, 'Four Courts', fig. 6. The copy in the IAA (Inventory No. 57/32 Pl + N, Neg. no. C7/203) is dated c.1730. Another in the Goff collection of Chichester House is dated 13 January 1727 and surveyed by Michael Wills.
Plate 84. 'A Map of a Plot of Ground under the High Court of Chancery belonging to the Vicars Choral of Christ Church Dublin and hath or three little shops ...Survey'd by Thomas Cave 1727, copied by John Longfield 1818' (RCB C6/3/4, f. 60).

Plate 85. Detail of Christ Church from Charles Brooking, *A map of the city and suburbs of Dublin* as plate 4.
Plate 86. Detail of Christ Church from map of John Rocque (1756) from John Rocque, *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* (Dublin & London, 1756; 1773).


Plate 89. 'A map of the liberty of Christ Church Dublin survey'd in October 1761 by Thos Reading reduced and copied by Browrigg & Company 1805' (RCB C6/3/3, f. 74, 'Negative Photostat of a Book of Maps of the several Estates of the Rt Honble & Rt Revd Dean & Chapter ot Christ Church, Dublin, partly surveyed & partly copied by Brownigg, Longfield & Murray 1800' (here rendered positive for ease of viewing, original c which is NLI MS 2789, transferred from the Church Temporalities Branch of the Irish Land Commission in 1952.)
Plate 90. Map of the precincts from ‘Negative Photostat of a Book of Maps of the several Estates of the Dean & Chapter of Christ Church, Dublin by Jno Longfield, No 67 Grafton St., 1812’ (RCB C6/3/4, f. 7), here rendered positive for ease of reading. The original is NLI, MS 2790.

Plate 91. ‘A Map of the Precincts of Christ Church, Dublin by John Longfield. October 1817’ (DCA, WSC/Maps/421).

Plate 93. 'A Map of the Precincts of Christ Church ... survey'd by J[ohn] L[ongfield] 1817' (NLI, map 21 F 90, no. 213) reproduced in McParland, 'Old Four Courts', fig 5.

Plate 95. Truncation of the western range suggested by Wide Streets Commissioners on 5 January 1821 (DCA, WSC, map 98).
Plate 96. Map surveyed in 1838 by Captains Bordes & Tucker, R.E. and engraved 1846-7 under the direction of Captains Larcom & Cameron, R.E. (Ordnance Survey, 1847, 5-foot maps of Dublin, sheet 20).

Plate 97. Ground plan of cathedral, choir and precincts published as Jebb, 'Observations' (1855), 18, probably based on Brownrigg's reduction (plate 89) of Reading's 1761 map (plate 87).
Plate 98. Reading's 'Map of the Liberties of Christ Church, Dublin' annotated in a revised version of the map in Jebb, 'Observations' (1855), 18 reproduced in The Ecclesiologist, cxliii (December 1862), opp. 309.

Plate 99. Reading's 'Map of the Liberties of Christ Church, Dublin' based on Jebb, 'Observations', (1855), 18 printed in Edward Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin, 1869), between pp 64 & 65.

Plates – Appendix 1

Plate 102. Ground plan of the crypt by William Butler (1870-1), printed in William Butler, *Measured drawings of Christ Church prior to the restoration* (Dublin, 1874), drawing no. i.


followed Butler for their arrangement of the choir stalls between 1831-70.

Plate 106. Dublin plan units overlain on Rocque's map of 1756 (plate 84) from Anngret Simms, 'Origins and early growth' in Joseph Brady & Anngret Simms (ed.), *Dublin through space & time (c.900-1900)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 15-65 at 33.
APPENDIX 2 – A HANDLIST OF MONUMENTS KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED OR STILL EXTANT AT CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN TO 1866

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Monument Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>c.1180s</td>
<td>‘Strongbow’, unidentified knight (replaced 1570 with tomb c.1330-40).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Early C13</td>
<td>‘Basilia’, unidentified high ranking woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>c.1228</td>
<td>Henry of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>C13</td>
<td>Unknown archbishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Late C13 / early C14</td>
<td>‘Aife’, unidentified high ranking woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Late C13 / early C14</td>
<td>‘Strongbow’s son’, unidentified monument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>C13</td>
<td>Sarcophagus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Late C13</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with trefoil-tipped cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Late C13</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with cross shaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>c.1300</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with ‘floriated cross’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>c.1300</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with ball-headed cross shaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Early C14</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab, faint cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Early C14</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with head &amp; ‘circular reserve’ cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Early C14</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Early C14</td>
<td>Unidentified double headed tomb slab with cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>?Early C14</td>
<td>Dundry tomb slab reused as cloister plinth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mid-C14</td>
<td>Unidentified tomb slab with head &amp; cross with ‘foliate terminations’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>C14 or C15</td>
<td>Unidentified ‘fleur-de-lis’ cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1356-62</td>
<td>John de St Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Late C14</td>
<td>John Lumbard &amp; family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>c.1397</td>
<td>Richard Northalis (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>c.1360s-</td>
<td>Choir stall heraldry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>Richard Fich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>c.1513</td>
<td>Gearóid Mór Fitzgerald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Late C15 / early C16</td>
<td>Unknown archbishop possible part of Kildare tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>c.1500</td>
<td>Unidentified ‘angel’ crest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>c.1513 (?)</td>
<td>Kildare arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1513-</td>
<td>Kildare chantry chapel heraldry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>15-16th century: Warren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>?16th century: Cusack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>?16th century: Unidentified shield fragment noted in Lewis’s diary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>c.1515 (?re-erected c.1565): Thomas Plunkett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>c.1550</td>
<td>William Donowt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>William Newman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>1544</td>
<td>Unidentified ‘1544’ slab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mid-C16</td>
<td>Unidentified ‘symbols’ slab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>Roof fall inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>c.1566</td>
<td>Edward Randolf (Randolph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>c.1566-73</td>
<td>Edward Griffith, renewed 1590s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>Arms of the knights of the Garter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>Elizabeth Sidney tomb &amp; Sidney arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>Roof fall &amp; Strongbow inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>c.1570</td>
<td>‘Nate ingrake …’ brass inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>Henry Sidney armorial bearings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Late C16</td>
<td>Unidentified Garter crest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 No up-to-date list of monuments at Christ Church exists. This appendix provides a preliminary handlist of those known to have existed or that are still extant. The dates are mostly approximate, but where known more precisely usually indicate the date of death of an individual, which may have been either before or after the erection of a monument. A fully footnoted list of sources would expand the list beyond the scope of this thesis.
46. 1580-2: Arthur Grey of Wilton, stone tablet
47. 1580-2: Sons of Arthur Grey of Wilton brass
48. 1584: Francis Agard & Cecilia Harrington
49. 1598: Maurice Kyffin
50. 1599: Richard Bingham
51. 1607: Edward & Margery Goffe
52. Early C17: Unidentified ‘evangelists’ slab
53. Early C17: Unidentified ‘Roman lettered’ slab
54. 1614: Arthur Chichester, son of Arthur Chichester (d.1606)
55. 1615: Thomas Jones (renewed 1671-2 by John Parry)
56. 1615: Richard & Margret Browne
57. 1616: John Denham
58. 1616: Oliver St John
59. 1617: Josias Bodley
60. 1638-41: Pedigree of Thomas Wentworth
61. 1640: Christopher Wandesford
62. Mid-C17: Robert Hill
63. 1650: William Wood
64. 1666: Robert Griffith
65. c.1675: Christopher Kerdiffe
66. c.1678: James Margetson
67. c.1680: Escutcheons of the twelve tribes of Israel
68. c.1680: Escutcheons of the descent of the Crown of England
69. c.1680: Charles II & Ormonde monument
70. Late C17: Unidentified framed profile (Charles II)
71. 1686: John Preston
72. 1693 William (1661) & Ambrose Cadogan
73. 1696: Kildare pew brass
74. 1709: Gilbert Nicholson & his wife
75. 1746: Robert Fitzgerald (d.1743)
76. 1756: Thomas Prior (d.1751)
77. 1761: Thomas Fletcher
78. 1762: John Cutts (unexecuted)
79. 1767: John Bowes
80. 1775: Margareta Jackson
81. 1777: Richard Woodward
82. 1789: James Hewitt, Lord Lifford
83. 1790: General Preston (unexecuted)
84. 1791: Welbore Ellis (d.1734) & family (wife, Diana, d.1739)
85. 1791: Francis Grose
86. C18: Unidentified tomb slab
87. C18: Unidentified tomb slab
88. 1798: Robert Shenton
89. c.1806: Charles I & II (carved c.1674)
90. c.1808: James Hewitt, verger
91. c.1813: Ussher arms (C17)
92. 1814: Emily Jane Sarah Frayer
93. 1815: George Goodman
94. 1822: Samuel Auchmuty
95. 1826: Samuel Ongley
96. 1833: Nathaniel Sneyd
97. 1837: Thomas Abbott
98. 1839: Richard Laurence (d.1838)
99. 1843: John Stevenson
100. 1843: John Crawford Smith
101. 1843: William Fyers
102. 1847: Charles Lindsay (d.1846) tomb
103. 1847: Charles Lindsay plaque (replaced c.1884)
104. 1848: George Renny
105. 1849: Henry Mathias
106. 1850: John Wallace King
107. 1851: John Torrens
108. 1866: James Elliott
APPENDIX 3 – A PROVISIONAL LIST OF ARCHITECTS & ARTISANS AT CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL DUBLIN C.1540-C.1870

Baker [Baks], ?Richard (1668-83), paver
Babington, Lucas (1771-2), bricklayer
Barker, R. Johnston (1772-3), upholsterer
Baily [Bayly], John (1676-9), carpenter
Bailey [Baillie, etc.], Robert (1725-38), upholsterer
Beckett, Randall [Randle] (1666), tenant & architect
Bennett, Cary [Keary] (1769-72), glazier
Beriff, Oboney (1725), gilder
Bingham, Walter (1708-28), keeper of the clock & chimes
Blackwell, ? (1674-5), goldsmith
Blunt, ? (1676-7), upholsterer
Booker, George (1772-3), painter & plasterer
Boyce, William (1771), plasterer
Boyce, Jane (1772-3), painter
Boyle, R.B. (1853), wood carver
Box, George (1767-70), glazier
Brady, Rob[ert] (1667-71), timber supplier
Brennan (Brannon), ? (1774-9), plumber
Brenagh (Brenaght), John (c.1564), carpenter
(?) Brene (or, ?) (1565), mason
Brett, William (1757), overseer
Brislave, Patrick (1777), painter
Browne, James (1638-9), Dutch mason
Browne, John (1581), tenant & joiner
Buckas, George (1772-3), paver
Burnet[t / Burnell], John (1768-72), bricklayer & mason
Butter, ? (1734-5), lime supplier
Buzaglo, Abraham (1766-7), stove seller
Byrne, Morgan (1694), tenant and carpenter
Byron, Samuel (1778-94), cathedral surveyor
Caddell, Thomas (1542), tenant & ‘bellman’
Cairncross, George (1774-5), painter
Carney, Richard, senior (1660-c.1681), tenant & herald
Cape, Jonathan (1724-5), plumber
Cave [Cape], ? (1734-5), plumber
Cave, Thomas (1727-c.1750), cathedral surveyor
Chalke [Chockel], Isaac (1668), plasterer & painter
Christian, Daniel (1779-80), bell reparer
Colgan, James (1760-9), bell carer
Collins, John (1778-80), painter
Conolly, Matthew (1774-5), brass cleaner
Convey, Tady (1564-5), tiler (helier)
Cooley [Cooly, Quilly], [Dermot] (1589-1626), tiler (helier)
Cooley, Thomas (1768-73), cathedral architect
Cottingham, James (1691), goldsmith & tenant
Cotton, [Ralph] (1638-9), painter & gilder
Covey, Tobias (1671), bell founder & carpenter
Covey, William (1671-2), bell founder & carpenter
Crofton, R. (?), draftsman
Cummin, John (1731-2), tenant & carpenter
Dalrymple, John (1765-70), keeper of clock & chimes
Daniel, James (1774-8), bricklayer

1 This appendix provides a handlist of architects, craftsmen and women who worked on the cathedral or leased its property, the two regularly going together. Where there is no surviving evidence of an individual having worked on the building, ‘tenant’ is listed before their occupation. The appendix lists names, a date range of association with the cathedral, and occupations. Full details of sources would require a substantial scholarly apparatus that is beyond the scope of the thesis.
Daniell, Nicholas (1604-8), tenant and glazier
Darley, Henry (1666-78), stone cutter
Dashfield, John (1770-1), bells & chimes repairer
Davys, ? (1673-4), slator
Davis, Robert (1766-75), tin man
Davis, William (1774), lace & embroider supplier
Derry, Nathaniel (1708-c.1734), glazier
Devinal [Davinal], Thomas (1724-7), carpenter
Devinal, Obanay [Abonay] (1724-5), carpenter
Doran, Edward (1773), dyer
Doran, Thomas (1776-7), dyer
Dungeon, Robert (1772-3), rope supplier
Dowgan [Duggan], John (d.1550), goldsmith
Eaton, Richard (1733-6), glazier
Ellis, ? (1733-5), slate & tile supplier
Edwards, Richard (1779-80), keeper of clock
Elliott, Gilbert (1766-71), slator
Elliott, James (1771-80), slator
Ennis, Archibald (1774-5), glazier
Enos [Eennis], Richard (1593), carpenter
Ensor, George (1761-9), cathedral architect
Evans, ? (1733-4), lime & sand supplier
cf Evan Neil.
Farnham, Humphrey (c.1615-18), builder-architect
(?), Ferdorghe / Ferdoraghe / Ferdorght (or, ?) (1564-5), mason
Field, James (1723-4), carpenter
Fielding, Isaac (1766-7), bell repairer
Flood, Thomas (1766-9), paver
Ffranklin [Franklin], ? (1678-9), stone & lime supplier
(?), Fredal, (or, ?) (1668), carpenter
Fry, William & Co. (1853), lace suppliers
Gardner, Robert (1667-8), mason
Garvey, John (1767-8), bell repairer
Gilbert, Robert (1638-9), carpenter
[Gilbert,] Richard (1638-9), plasterer & painter
Gilbert, Thomas (1735-8), stone cutter
Gill, William (1766-8), brazier
Gladwell, Thomas (1771-2), fabric supplier
Godfrey, John (1703), painter-stainer
Gold, ? (1668), fabric supplier
Goodwin, Daniel (1771-2), carpenter
Granford, Thomas (1668), carpenter
Grant, ? (1774-5), upholsterer
Greene, John (1663), carpenter-architect
Greenway [Grenway], Robert (1724-5), ironmonger
Hanrahan, Patrick (1674-9), mason
Harrison, John (1660-8), slator
Healy, ? (1734-5), slator
Healy, ? (1775-6), painter
Heatley, Abraham (1693-4), slator
Heatley, Agnes (1723-4), slator
Heatley (Heatly, Heytley), Thomas (1676-1691), slator
Hendy, John (1724-5), mason
Hendy, Colin (1724-5), mason
(?), Henris (or, ?) (fl. 1564-5), mason
Hewitt, James (1767-1806), verger, overseer, goldsmith and toyman
Heward [Hewitt], ? (1616), carpenter
Higginbottom, ? (1771-2), paver
Higgins, Thomas (1771-2), rope supplier
Hogg, William (1723-4), rope supplier
Holbrook [Holebrook], Benjamin James (1852-5), carpenter
Hughes, William (1776-7), goldsmith
Hulbert [Hulberd], George William (1768-72), carver & gilder
Hulbert, George (1728), clock & chimes keeper
Hulbert, Joel (1735-6), clock keeper
Hull, Charles (1769-1790), brazier
Hutchinson, ? (1771-2), fabric provider
Hutchinson, Ja[me]s (1776-7), goldsmith
Ivory, Thomas (1769-86), architect
Jackson, Margaret (1752-79), sextoness
Johnson, ? (1668), paver
Johnson, Edward (1707-1728), plasterer
Johnson, John (1682-3), goldsmith
Johnson, Rich[a]rd (1776-9), brush-maker
Johnston, John (1779-80), stove supplier
Jollando, Charles (1793-94), carpenter
Jones, Christopher (1723-36), bell repairer
Jones, [?Samuel] (1734-5), stone supplier
Kathrens [Kathem(s)] George (1766-80), ironmonger
Kennedy, Thomas (1668), carpenter
Kennedy, Peter (1723-4), roof mender
Kettering, John (1564), carpenter
Kinder, Hugh (1676-94), carpenter-architect
Kinder, John (1703), carpenter
King, James (1771-2), mercer
Knight, John (1671), smith
Leynam [Lenan, Leman, Lynman, Lynman, Leyname], Thomas (1564), carpenter
Lee, Mr ? (1735-6), brick supplier
Lewis, Peter (1561-72), precentor, proctor & clerk of works
Lord, Edward (1668), silkweaver
Lynssye, Nicolas (1564), carpenter
Lyons, Catherine (1772-3), gravel supplier
Mack, John (1793), builder
Maddox, Richard (1693-4), wood carver
Mahon, William (1729), plasterer & whitewasher
Massey [Massy], Robert (1668), joiner
Mautron, Thomas (1724-5), sand supplier
May, Walter (1682), tenant & tailor
McEvoy, Mrs ? (1773-4), embroiderer
Miles, Thomas (1638-9), slator
Miller, Thomas (1668), carpenter
Mills, John (1652-67), tenant & architect-carpenter
Mills, Richard (1709-15), tenant & bricklayer
Molyneaux, William (1688), architect & surveyor-general
Moore, Robert (1766-71), tenant & glazier
Murray, Moses (1733-4), bell mender
Mylles, John (1591-9), tenant & smith
Neil, Evan (1723-4), lime supplier
cf Evans
Neville, Arthur Jones (1745-66), architect & surveyor-general
Newman, Thomas (1703-8), clock & chimes keeper
Niving, David (1766-7), upholsterer
Nix, Rich[a]rld (1778-9), tin man
(?) Owen (or, ?) (fl. 1564-5), carpenter
Owen, James [Hastings] (1863), architect of the Board of Works
O himan [O Lirman] (1588), helier
Parke [Park, Parks], Edward (1793-1829), cathedral architect
Parke, Robert (1787-92), cathedral architect
Parker, George (1740), clock maker, clock & chimes keeper
Parker, Joseph (1766-72), carpenter
Parker, Joshua (1773-80), carpenter
Pearce, Edward Lovett (1731-3), cathedral architect & surveyor-general

Architects & Artisans - Appendix 3
Pease, Lancelot (1666-76), organ builder & gilder
Peel, Joseph (1676-8), coal supplier
Peel, Joshua (1769-70), rope supplier
Perceval, William (1770-1), rope supplier
Powell, John (1672-5), carpenter
Price, Matthew (1829-46), cathedral architect & measurer
Quinn, Francis (1716-28), bricklayer
Reed, John (1766-7), plumber
Read [Reed], Margaret & Samuel (1767-80), plumbers
Reading, Thomas (1750-75), cathedral surveyor
Reynolds, ? (1638-9), ? [cf. Anthony Reynolds?]
Reynolds, Anthony (1633), ?mason
Reynolds, Daniel (1723-9), glazier
Robinson, ? (1809), carpenter
Robinson, George (1767-9), plaster, painter & gilder
Robinson, William (1679-80), architect & surveyor-general
Robinson, Mr (1701), tenant & mason
Ryan, Joseph (1769-70), paver
Sall, William (1678-71), brazier
Saville, William (1748-), clock & chimes keeper
Saville, Mr (1765), clock & chimes keeper
Scriven, William (1667-79), carpenter & tenant
Sibthorp, Henry (1771-7), glazier
Silcock, Gabriel (1770-1), glazier
Sisson, Mr ? (1688)
Sisson, John (1690), joiner
Smith, ? (1667-8), ironmonger
Spenser [Spencer], Thomas (1667-79), painter, plasterer & gilder
Stevens, John (1662), tenant & carpenter
Stewart [Steward], George (1733-8), carpenter
Surratt, ? (1694), tenant & watchmaker
Tanner, John (1717), plumber
Taylor, Michael (1673-4), smith
Teasor, Richard (1615-17), carpenter
Todd, John (1758-68), cloth supplier & tenant
Turner, Timothy (1723-38), ironmonger
Vanderbeck [Vander Beekin, Vanderbegg], James (1630-2), tenant & goldsmith
Wall, James (1723-36), lamp lighter
Walsh, James (1583-6), precentor, proctor & overseer
Walsh, William (1775-80), glazier
Webber, Ferdinand (1766-84), organ builder
Westley, John (1664-70), tenant & architect
White, John (1733-8), painter-plasterer
Williams, Richard (1677-8), ?goldsmith
Williamson, George (1667-77), rope supplier
Wilkinson, ? (1774-9), plumber
Wills, Isaac (1734-8), carpenter-architect & overseer
Wilson, Richard (1673-7), glazier
Wingsfield, Jacques (1578), tenant & ordnance master
Wofington, ? (1673-4), mason
Woods, Thomas (1632-9), carpenter
Woods, ? (1668), carpenter
Wright, William (1655), surveyor
APPENDIX 4 – FOUNDATION NARRATIVES OF
CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL DUBLIN

A. (early fourteenth century)
1. Donatus (archiepiscopus primus Dublin) fecit capellam sancti Michaelis in palacio suo:
   1. Donatus, the first archbishop of Dublin, made a chapel of St Michael in his palace.
2. et postea venerunt laurencius archiepiscopus secundus et Comes marisscall et Robertus filius stephani et Reymundus qui et desponsauit sororem comitis marisscall et fecerunt cor[um] ecclesie metropolitane cum duabus capellis: videlicet sancti eadmundi Regis et martiris et [sancte marie que de alba landi].
   2. Afterwards came Lawrence, the second archbishop, and the earl marshall and Robert FitzStephen and Raymund, who married the sister of the earl marshall. And they built the choir of the metropolitan church with two chapels: namely of St Edmund, king and martyr and of St Mary of Alba Landi.
3. et residuo pecuniarum et meremium facta fuit ecclesia sancti Mich[aelis] ad mensam conuentu per sanctum laurencium archiepiscopum et antequam archiepiscopi fuerunt in ybernia platea pallacii fuit dominio prioris et conuentus sancte trinitatis dublin et ibi fuit ortum illorum
   3. And out of what was left of the money and the timber was built the church of St Michael near the community dining hall by Archbishop St Lawrence. And before there were archbishops in Ireland the site of the palace was the property of the prior and convent of Holy Trinity in Dublin, and their orchard was there.

B. (late fourteenth – early fifteenth century)
1. De fundacione ecclesie Cathedralis Sancte Trinitatis Dublin
   1. Of the foundation of the cathedral church of Holy Trinity, Dublin
2. Fundamenta militantis ecclesie a summo fabricatore collata in montibus sanctis set (?) locis sacris altissimo creatori dedicatis, Nullis ortodoxe fidei cultor arbitratur.
   2. That the foundations of the Church Militant have been placed by the Supreme Builder on his holy hills, that is to say in holy places dedicated to the Most High Creator, is the belief of no worshipper of the true faith.
3. Legitur enim in historiis Machabeorum non loca homines, set homines loca sanctificant.
   3. For convenience of comparing the translation and modularising the units of information found in each narrative, the texts have been broken up into sections and numbered.

1 For convenience of comparing the translation and modularising the units of information found in each narrative, the texts have been broken up into sections and numbered.
3 Gwynn was unaware of G.H. Orpen, Ireland under the Normans 1169-1216 (4 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901, reprinted 1968; new edition, 1 vol., Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), i, 366 who suggested that ‘S-ce Marie que dicitur Alba et S-ci Landi’ had most likely been mis-transcribed from an earlier version which read ‘Sancte Marie que de Alba Landi’, thus reducing three dedications to the two chapels mentioned. Compare with B 10.
3. For we read in the Book of Machabees that places do not make men holy, but men places.

4. Therefore we must not fail to record how the holy metropolitan and provincial Church of Christ in Dublin, which has been dedicated by the conversations of so many holy men and adorned by so many prophecies of the future, stands like a golden altar in the midst of Ireland, green with the bloom of its sod. She has not placed her light beneath a bushel but on a candlestick, giving light by her rays to all the churches subject to her and around her. Adorned, not only by her worship of God, but also by the power of the miracles which the Most High has wrought in her, she never ceases to shine forth. Of these many wonders we have touched on a few in the page that follows.

5. In the beginning the arches or vaults were founded by the Danes before the coming of St Patrick to Ireland.

6. Therefore St Patrick said mass in an arch or vault which to this day is called the arch or vault of St Patrick.

7. Then St Patrick, seeing the great wonders that God had revealed to him, prophesied and said: ‘After many years to come a church shall be founded and built here, and God shall be praised in it beyond all the churches of all Ireland.’

8. Postea venit Sitriuc Rex dublin’ filius ableb comitis dublin’ et dedit Sancte trinitati et donato primo episcopo dublin’ locum ad edificandum ecclesiam sancte trinitati vbi fornices siue volte sunt nuc fundati cum terris subscriptis, viz. Keadulek recraportacræ cum villanis et vaccis et bladis necnon aurum et argentum sufficienter ad edificandum ecclesiam cum tota curia contulit.

8. Afterwards came Sitriuc, king of Dublin, son of Ableb earl of Dublin; and he gave to the Holy Trinity and to Donatus, the first bishop of Dublin, a site on which to build a church to the Holy Trinity, where the arches or vaults are now founded, with the lands as named below: Kealdulek, Recra and Portacre with their villeins and cattle and corn. And he gave also gold and silver sufficient to build a church with all its court.

9. Then that most religious man Donatus said that he would satisfy the wish and the command of this King Sitruic in as far as he was able. And, with the help of God’s grace, he built the nave of the church with two collateral structures, and the base with the image of the Crucified, together with the chapel of St Nicholas on the north side, with other buildings according to the wish of the founder. And the aforesaid Bishop also built the church of St. Michael.

10. Then after many years came Lawrence, the second archbishop of Dublin and Richard Earl Strongbow and the earl marshall and Robert FitzStephen and Raymund who married the sister of the earl marshall. And they built the choir of the metropolitan church, with a bell tower and two chapels: namely of St Edmund, king and martyr, and of Mary who is called Alba and of St Laud. And he also gave a church of St Michael beside the dining hall of the canons. And before there were archbishops in the city of Dublin, the site of the palace was the property of the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, and their orchard was there.

11. And after Lawrence came Johannes Comung and after him another archbishop who was called Henricus and after him another who was called Lucas and these three archbishops succeeded in building the choir with the chapter house cum

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6 Gwynn, 'Origins', 46 gives St Doulagh's, Lambay and Portrane, but 'Kealdulek' is Grangegorman according to Alen’s register.
7 Roger Stalley has suggested that ‘solium’ means base rather than the suggestion by Gwynn, ‘Origins’, 47, of ‘entrance (Personal communication).
8 Gwynn, ‘Unpublished texts’, 309 notes that it appears to read ‘in creati’, but is almost certain that the original must have read ‘in civitate’. 
And after Lawrence came the archbishop who was named John Comyng; and after him came another archbishop who was named Henry; and after Henry came another who was named Luke. And these three archbishops, succeeding one another, built the chancel from the choir with two collateral structures up to the place where not stands the archbishop’s throne. In proof of this, Archbishop John Comyng and Luke are buried in a stone tomb on the south side of the church, but Archbishop Henry is buried on the other side, just opposite them, in a wooden tomb.

Then after many years John of St Paul succeeded as archbishop, and where the three aforesaid archbishops had stopped he built a chancel with the archbishops’ throne, and a great window at the east end behind the high altar, and three other windows between the great window and the archbishop’s throne he built on the south side. In memory of this he provided by his last will that his body should be buried beneath a marble stone with a statue in bronze, on the second step before the aforesaid altar.

And later the citizens of Dublin, moved by a great miracle of the aforesaid holy Archbishop Lawrence, as is told more fully in his Life, honourably founded and built the great Lady Chapel on the north side of the chancel, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Knight</th>
<th>Dubber¹</th>
<th>Source²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1566 November 16</td>
<td>William Sarsfield of Lucan, mayor of Dublin for service against Shane O'Neill</td>
<td>[Henry Sidney (l.d.)]</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1573 April 26</td>
<td>James Fitzgerald of Decies of the House of Dromaney</td>
<td>William Fitzwilliam (l.d.)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1576 April 23</td>
<td>Henry Colley (Coulke) of Castle Carbery, Co. Kildare</td>
<td>Henry Sidney (l.d.)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(St George’s day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578 April 24</td>
<td>Henry Harrington</td>
<td>[Henry Sidney (l.d.)]</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578 April 24</td>
<td>Henry Bagenal (Bagnol)</td>
<td>[Henry Sidney (l.d.)]</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579 May 28</td>
<td>Brian O’Rowrwerke</td>
<td>[William Drury (l.j.)]</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ascension day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586 February 28</td>
<td>George Carew[e]</td>
<td>[John Perrot (l.d.)]</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586 February 28</td>
<td>Patrick Barnewall of Gracedien and Turvey, Co. Dublin (?Christ Church)</td>
<td>[John Perrot (l.d.)]</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588 October 6</td>
<td>Thomas Norrys, armiger, vice regent of Munster in the cathedral church of Dublin (?Christ Church or St Patrick’s)</td>
<td>[William Fitzwilliam (l.d.)]</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1595 August 24</td>
<td>Edward Brabazon of Estwell, in Leicestershire</td>
<td>William Russell (l.d.)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596 January 4</td>
<td>Henry Warren</td>
<td>William Russell (l.d.)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598 June 17</td>
<td>Garrett Aylmer</td>
<td>Adam Lofts (l.j.) &amp; Robert Gardiner (l.j.)³</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598 September 24</td>
<td>Richard Percy</td>
<td>Adam Lofts (l.j.) &amp; Robert Gardiner (l.j.)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598 September 24</td>
<td>Robert Ashefield</td>
<td>Adam Lofts (l.j.) &amp; Robert Gardiner (l.j.)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


² Shaw, Knights of England, ii unless otherwise stated. See also Cal Carew Mss, 1603-24, 383-5; NLI Pos 1231, f. 111-14.

³ Archbishop of Dublin and chief justice of the Queen’s Bench respectively.
1599 April 8  John Egerton  Adam Loftus (l.j.) & Robert Gardiner (l.j.)
1600 February 28 Oliver St John  Charles, lord Mountjoy (l.d.)
1600 April 6  Francis Shane  Charles, lord Mountjoy (l.d.)
1603 July 25  Ralph Bingley  George Carey (l.d.)

(St James’s day, being Coronation day)
1603 July 25  Thomas Williams  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 July 25  Edmund Fetteplace  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 July 25  Toby Calfield [Caulfeild]  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 July 25  John Tyrrell, mayor of Dublin  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 September 4  Richard Wilbraham  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 September 16 Thomas Roper  George Carey (l.d.)
1603 September 18 William Windsor  George Carey (l.d.)

(21)
1604 December 25  Adam Loftus  George Carey (l.d.)
(Christmas day)
1606 June 1  Edmond Walsh  Arthur Chichester (l.d.)
1608 November 5 Barnard Grenvile (Greenefeilde) of Stowe in Cornwall  Arthur Chichester (l.d.)
1684 April 23  Elias Best, lord mayor of Dublin (foot of the stairs)  Earl of Arran (l.d.)
1686 February 6  John Knox, lord mayor of Dublin (foot of the stairs)  Earl of Clarendon (l.d.)

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APPENDIX 6 – LEGEND TO READING MAP AND JEBB ANNOTATIONS

Reference to Ancient Map

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Front feet. in.</th>
<th>Depth feet. in.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A house in Fishamble-street in the tenure of Widow Anderson, by Captain Skeaf</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mr. Wilcock’s, Chandler, under Mr. White</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Bull’s Head in Fishamble-street, Phillip Stapleton, under Councillor Cooper</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mr. Paten’s house built over the gateway into Christ Church yard</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Conolly, under Lord Russborough</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. Woods, under Mr. Wilkinson</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mr. Kenedy, under Mr. Wilkinson</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr. Woodburne, under Mr. Wm. Stern Noy, under Dr. Brady</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mr. Hacket under d[itt]o. [Mr. Wm. Stern Noy] under do. [Dr. Brady]</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mr. Davis, under Mr. Holt, under d[itt]o. [Dr. Brady]</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mr. Walsh, under do. [Mr. Holt] under heirs of Erasmus Cope</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mr. David, Watchmaker, under Mr. Moland</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mr. Murphy, under Mr. Moland</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mr. Savage, under do. [Mr. Moland]</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mr. Connor, under do. [Mr. Moland]</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mr. M’Gowan, under Mr. Pultney, a New house</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius as a backside to the above house, not yet leased to M’Gowan</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mr. M’Gowan, under Mr. Pultney, a New house</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius as a backside to the above house, not yet leased to M’Gowan</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mr. Copson, under Mr. Pultney, under Dr. Jebb</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>A shed in Mr. Copson’s hands, under Mr. Pultney</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius as a backside to Mr. Mullock’s house in Skinner Row</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius as a backside to Mr. Lametre’s house in Skinner Row</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius as a backside to Mr. Silcock’s house in Skinner Row</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Part of Coolfabius giving light to the back rooms of Mr. Connor in Christ Church yard, and the back rooms of Mr. Irwin’s in Skinner Row</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>The Precinct Wall serving as a backside to the houses of Mr. Wingfield and Mrs. Parsons in Skinner Row and giving light to their Back Rooms</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Shops and Tenements belonging to the Prebendary of St. John in the tenure of Mr. Morgan</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>The Old Exchange in the tenure of Mr. Connor, under Mr. Pultney</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over the Exchange is a house built fronting Christ Church yard, in the tenure of several, under the Heirs of Erasmus Cope
Also over the Exchange at the Rear of Mrs. Cope's house is the Chancery Chamber fronting the Little yard and extending over the Dark passage

29. A Little Shop in the Tenure of the Widow Bates under Mr. Pultney, under Dr. Jebb 7.9 8.6
30. A House in the tenure of the heirs of Mr. Mathews, under the Prebendary of St. Michan
31. The Place where the Stocks is 9.0 10.0
32. Mr. Cormack under Mr. Moland 18.0 18.0
33. Mr. Brown, under do. [Mr. Moland] 16.0 18.0
34. Mr. Crab, under do. [Mr. Moland] 16.0 18.0
35. Mrs. Tallon, under Mr. Holt by Mortgage 15.6 18.0
36. Mr. Henry Jackson, under Mr. Holt 30.6 18.0
37. Mr. M'Gowan's house underneath the Common Pleas, held under the Dean of Christ Church 40.0 24.0
38. Mr. M'Gowan's Apartments under the King's Bench 30.0 24.0
39. Vaults in M'Gowan's hands with a passage into Christ Church lane 11.0 24.0
40. Mr. Connor's house under Mr. Fennor 22.0 16.0
41. A Little yard where there is a water-pipe fixed 8.0 14.0
42. Three Shops, one of them under the Four Court Steps with Apartments under the Court of Chancery in the tenure of the Widow Ogle, under Mr. Thorp. 45.0 35.0
43. Two houses in Christ Church-lane in the Tenure of Mr. Walldron, under Counsellor Smith, under the Dean of Christ Church 37.0 24.0
44. Chambers belonging to the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer and to the Court of Admiralty, under which are Cellars belonging to Mr. Fleming in Christ Church lane 59.0 25.0
45. Three Houses with Shops on Cock Hill held by several tenants under Caleb Smally 38.0 15.0
46. Ground formerly in Shops, since taken into the Church 57.0 15.0
47. Shed Shops running the whole length of St. Mary's Chapel, held in Six tenements under ___ Ogle, Esq. 67.6 3.0
48. A yard joining the Steps of St. Mary's Chapel 61.0 15.0
49. Shops in John's [sic] Lane, with back tenements held under the Widow Anderson, deriving under Captain Skeaf, deceased 30.0 40.0

Surveyed in October, 1761, by Thomas Reading.

This legend from RCB C6/3/2 (plate 87) is printed in Jebb, 'Observations respecting Christ Church' (1855), 18; (1862), 255 and Seymour, Christ Church, between 64-5.
The following references are not on the old map.

A. Lord Lieutenant’s Gallery, afterwards Organ Loft.
B. Peers’ Seats, &c.
C. Duke of Leinster’s Closet.
D. Lady Mayoress’s Closet
E. Peeresses’ Seat, formerly Organ Loft.
EE. Seat opposite to the Peers’.
F. Archbishop of Dublin’s Closet.
G. Lord Lieutenant’s Closet
H. Archbishop’s Throne. No Gallery above.
I. Gallery.
K. Gallery and Staircase.
L. Staircase to A. EE. and galleries on north side.
M. Passage to St. Mary’s Chapel
N. Porch and Stairs to ditto. [St Mary’s Chapel], from St. John’s Lane. Over M and N a Vestibule to the Peeresses’ Seat, and a Chamber for the Sextoness.
O. In this aisle, staircases; P. to the Lord Lieutenant’s Closet and the Archbishop’s Closet; Q. to East Gallery.
R. Pillars, supporting Lobby to Lord Lieutenant’s Closet, &c.
S. Door into Transept from Christ Church yard, now built up.
T. Over this, Dome of Four Courts, extending to Tt. The Hall extended to U. where was the screen of the Court of Chancery.
V. Curtain of the Court of King’s Bench.
UU. Staircase to Courts, from the Passage to Christ Church Lane.
VV. Chief entrance to Courts, from Christ Church Lane.
W. Gateway to Christ Church yard. A house overhead.
XX. Termination of the Court of Exchequer, extending over the passage.
YY. Probable passage from Court of Chancery to Chancery Chamber, over the lane.
ZZ. Line of the Eastern Wall and Arch of the Old Exchange, before the alterations.
* Probably Southern termination of the Precinct.

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