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THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF ST AUDOEN'S CHURCH, CORNMARKET, DUBLIN

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THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF ST AUDOEN'S CHURCH, CORNMARKET, DUBLIN

Master in Letters (M.Litt.)

2001

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UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

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SUMMARY

Since its foundation, St Audoen's church has been in constant use for religious service. The fabric of the building has consequently witnessed numerous alterations and additions as a result of changes in liturgical practice, style, decoration, extensions, new windows and doorways, the blocking of others, redecoration, and eventually the unroofing of practically three-quarters of the building. It was proposed by means of a thorough examination of the building fabric and archaeological excavations, supported by documentary research, to establish a building chronology for St Audoen's.

Initially a search of the documented history of the church was undertaken. Although the documents gave little information about the medieval building, they provided a number of useful clues. Together with the results of archaeological excavations they were also very useful in placing the church in its medieval urban topographical setting. The fabric of the building was examined in detail and the stone building materials used throughout the church were identified and their source located. The purpose was to try and establish the building's architectural history and to determine if there was a preference for a particular type of stone at different times. Although the scale of the archaeological excavations was small, the information retrieved contributed greatly to a knowledge of the building history of the church as well as related developments in the immediate environs. The results were interpreted and integrated with the architectural analysis of the building and the documented history.

This comprehensive study made it possible to present a sequence of six building phases for St Audoen's which commenced *c.*1200 AD. Up-to-date building techniques were used over a period of six hundred years of almost continuous change and expansion. Both imported and locally-sourced freestone were incorporated into the church building and moulded in the style fashionable at the time. The earliest building was a two-cell structure with contemporary nave and narrower chancel, located in what is now the south aisle, and roofed with red earthenware curved roof tiles. The church was entered through a moulded doorway, carved in a typical late-Romanesque style and the interior was lit by a south window which was decorated with painted cinquefoils, possibly creating a *trompe-l'oeil* effect.

In the early thirteenth century the ground plan of the church was changed to an undifferentiated nave and chancel with the enlargement of the chancel end. A complex drainage system was constructed which channelled ground water away from the church and fed into what was apparently the municipal drainage scheme. Two other stone buildings were constructed adjacent to the church, at least one of which appears to have been used by the clergy. The late thirteenth or early fourteenth century saw a major development with the construction of a well-moulded four-bay arcade, thus creating a new north aisle. Glazed crested ridge tiles, some with applied decorative strips in an imitation of cross-stringing in thatching, adorned the church roof, while the chancel floor was covered with decorative ceramic floor tiles. The church authorities must have held a position of some influence with the civic authorities as a short time later they were given permission to extend the church across a public cobbled lane. This involved the construction of a fifth bay and a new chancel which changed the main focus of the church to the north side of the building. The late-Romanesque doorway was also moved to a specially built recess at the west end of the church.

The association of prominent members of the community with the church, mirrored in the establishment of the religious guild of St Anne and the dedication of a chapel by one of the ruling members of the aristocracy, Sir Roland FitzEustace, brought status and wealth which was reflected in extensive new building works in the fifteenth century. The internal lighting was greatly improved with the addition of new windows. Altars and chapels were created which occupied much of the interior of the church. Some were surrounded with timber screens which would have been decoratively carved. Glazed floor tiles were imported from the south-west region of France. Prominent business people were requesting burial in St Audoen's and carved stone effigy tombs and brasses were a focus for prayers. A solid four-storey belltower, which housed three bells cast in 1423, was built at the west end of the church. A south chancel aisle was built in the late fifteenth century, the fenestration of which was improved in the early sixteenth century. This represented the final phase in the physical extension of the church. The last major change in the fabric of the building came at the end of the eighteenth century when a new grand south entrance was added. However the partial unroofing of the church quickly followed. Despite major difficulties encountered with maintenance, some of the building is still in use for religious practice by the Church of Ireland community.

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Abbreviations

Alen's Reg.	McNeill, C. (ed.). *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c.1172–1534* (Dublin 1950)
Anc. Rec. Dublin	Gilbert, J.T. and R.M. (eds). *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin in the possession of the Municipal Corporation of that City*, 19 vols. (Dublin 1889–1944)
Cal. St. Anne's Guild	Berry, H.F. *Calendar of the Deeds of the Guild of St. Anne in St. Audoen's Church, P.R.I.A.*, 25c, (1904–5), appendix 1, 39–106
Chartul. St. Mary's, Dublin	Gilbert, J.T. (ed.). *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin...and Annals of Ireland. 1162*–1370, 2 vols (London 1884–6)
Deeds	McEnery, M.J. and Refaussé, R. (eds). *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin 2001)
D.G.L.	Dublin, Gilbert Library
D.M.L.	Dublin, Marsh's Library
J.R.H.A.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland
J.R.S.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
P.R.I.A.	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
R.C.B.L.	Representative Church Body Library
Reg. St. John, Dublin	Brooks, E. St. J. (ed.). *Register of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the Newgate, Dublin* (Dublin 1936)
Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin	Gilbert, J.T. (ed.). *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin* (London 1889)
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy

1. INTRODUCTION

St. Audoen's Church is one of the few surviving medieval buildings in the city of Dublin and has the distinction of being the only medieval parish church standing within the walled town, with part of the building still being used for religious practice by the Church of Ireland community. It is situated south of the river Liffey on the northern slopes of a long narrow ridge along which High Street runs parallel to the river. It is dominated at its east end by the soaring walls of the Catholic church of St. Audoen which was built in the mid-nineteenth century (Pl. I).[1] Further east is Christ Church cathedral, an early eleventh century foundation which is situated in what was then the centre of the Hiberno-Norse town (Fig. 1.1).[2]

Although part of the church that was unroofed had been vested in the State as a National Monument since 1880, there was no public access to it.[3] In the early 1990s a decision was made by Dúchas The Heritage Service to build a visitor reception centre south of the church, reroof a section of the church and present an exhibition on the history of St. Audoen's. The demolition of buildings, which abutted the south wall of the church, exposed features in the building fabric that had been hidden since the eighteenth century. The archaeological excavations that were undertaken both inside and outside the church to facilitate the new development were the first excavations ever carried out at the church and although limited, they revealed new architectural details including wall foundations and stone mouldings. These newly exposed building details provided the impetus to undertake this assessment of the architectural history and archaeology of St. Audoen's.

There has been a lack of study of parish church architecture generally in Ireland. For Dublin, apart from the author's own work on the parish churches of north Dublin, and in particular at Artane parish church and a survey in south-west county Dublin, the architecture of individual parish churches has not been seriously studied, probably because

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[1] High Street or *Alto Vico* was the principal street of medieval Dublin and is referred to in many of the early documents as being in the parish of St. Audoen's, e.g. it is noted in this extract from a will dated 1370 '….in Alto Vico Dublin in parochia Sancti Audoeni….', *Chartul.St Mary's Dublin*, 17. Archaeological excavations at High Street also revealed occupation dating to c.1010-1030, Murray (1983) 43, 202.
[2] Barry (1987), 120; Wallace (1985), 117-30. Christ Church Cathedral is believed to have been founded during the reign of Sitric Silkbeard *c.*1030, Kinsella (2000), 28; Bradley (1992), 48.
[3] *Report of the Commissioners* ... (1881), appendix 10, 136.

their survival rate has been so low.[4] A recent publication on the churches of Co. Offaly has devoted a chapter to a discussion on the medieval parish churches of the county to which the authors have brought all of the available evidence, such as documentary references and architectural recording.[5]

Since the early nineteenth century, St. Audoen's has featured in a number of publications. Reflecting the growing antiquarian interest in ancient ruins of the time, illustrated historical guide-books included notes on St. Audoen's remarking in the romantic tones of the day on its ruinous condition as being '....beautiful even in decay....', while '.....the character of the scene is singularly desolate and melancholy....' , and arrive at the conclusion that '....the present remains bear the architectural peculiarities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'.[6] A drawing of the east end of the church, known as the Portlester Chapel, by the noted scholar Dr. George Petrie is used as an illustration in two of the guide-books (Fig. 1.2).[7]

Beginning in January 1886 a series of articles were written in the Irish Builder on the history of St. Audoen's.[8] The main source of the articles was Charles T. McCready, curate-assistant in St. Audoen's from 1866 to 1913, who had developed a keen interest in the history of the church.[9] The articles mainly consisted of direct transcriptions from the church's archives including references to the structural condition of the church and proposed repairs. As some of these primary sources have since been lost, in particular the seventeenth-century Vestry Minute Books, the articles provide a useful tool as part of the documentary research on St. Audoen's.

In writing on the histories of some Dublin parishes in the early twentieth century, Rev. M. Donnelly, D.D. wrote about the parish of St. Audoen, and although he briefly describes the '..old Church of St. Audoen...', he was primarily documenting the clergy associated with

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[4] McMahon (1991); McMahon (1998), 155–162; Ní Mharcaigh (1997).
[5] FitzPatrick and O'Brien (1998), 101–48.
[6] Wright (1831), 30–2.
[7] *ibid.*, opposite p.29 and *Dublin delineated in twenty-six views* .... , (1831), 16. Artistic license seems to have been used for the tracery shown in one of the east windows.
[8] The *Irish Builder* succeeded the journal called the *Dublin Builder*. Articles on St. Audoen's were written fortnightly throughout 1886, and were followed during 1887 and 1888 by infrequent articles.
[9] The raw material for what he thought would be a published history of St. Audoen's is held in Marsh's Library, Dublin (D.M.L.) *MS Z2.2.24*.

the establishment of the Catholic parish of St. Audoen's and their struggle following the Reformation.[10]

Sir Thomas Drew was the first to attempt an analysis of St. Audoen's from an architectural perspective. In 1866 he produced a measured plan and a longitudinal section of the church in which he keyed the construction phases from the late-twelfth/mid-thirteenth century to modern additions (Fig. 1.3).[11] However a number of errors in his presentation, for example, wrong stone identification, incorrect drawing of capital details, and mistaken location of a lane under the church, cast some doubt on his conclusions and signal the need for a review of his findings.

Apart from the English architectural historian Arthur Champneys, who referred to general architectural details of the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, noting that "....the aisle arcade towards the east end of St. Audoen's Dublin is fully moulded' and drawing a sketch profile of the arcade,[12] it was 1948 before the architecture of St. Audoen's was again dealt with in some detail by Henry Wheeler and Maurice Craig.[13] Wheeler, an archaeologist and architectural historian, was employed in the National Monuments Branch of the Office of Public Works from 1954 until his retirement.[14] Craig is a noted architectural historian and this collaboration with Wheeler is his earliest publication on architecture in Ireland about which he has since written extensively.[15] Their work is a general visual description of the building, taking the reader through the entrance door in the tower into the body of the church, briefly noting for example, '...a

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[10] Donnelly (1911). It is clear from his writing that he decried the establishment of St. Audoen's as a protestant parish, blaming the then Prebendary Robert Daly who he states '.....bent before the storm in Elizabeth's time...'.

[11] He drew up the plans in response to a competition sponsored by the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland, D.M.L. *MS Z2.2.25(b).* He read a paper on his findings to the RIAI, Drew (1872). Like other antiquarians of his time, although a professional architect, he also saw himself as an archaeologist, and in his role from 1882 as consultant architect to Christ Church Cathedral he 'excavated' the chapter-house, Drew (1890–1), 36–43. On 4 February 1886 he offered his professional services, free of charge, to St. Audoen's church, R.C.B.L. *MS P116.5.1.* Fig. 1.3 is copied from a volume held in Christ Church Cathedral entitled 'History of the parish church of St Audoen Dublin (my thanks to Stuart Kinsella for drawing the volume to my attention).

[12] Champneys (1910), 183, pl. C1.

[13] Wheeler Craig (1948), 12–15.

[14] He served as President of both the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Cambrian Archaeological Society and following his retirement from the OPW he wrote leaflets and guidebooks on particular monuments. He died in 1993.

deeply moulded doorway of c.1190…', a '…blocked arcade …… in the s(outh) wall…', and windows with '…XVth century switch-line tracery of a simple pattern…'.[16] They describe in somewhat more detail various tombs and memorials to be seen in the church. However there are no detailed descriptions of the building fabric and the lack of any plan, section or profile, or even a photograph, is confusing. Unfortunately the only illustration, a photograph of a partially destroyed fresco in a wall niche, was also incorrectly located by them.[17]

The architecture of St. Audoen's was again discussed in 1960 when Harold G. Leask published the final two volumes of his seminal work on Irish ecclesiastical architecture which spanned the period from the earliest church building of the seventh century to the mid-sixteenth century.[18] Leask was Inspector of National Monuments with the Office of Public Works in Ireland for almost 25 years and drew on his experience of medieval buildings throughout the country in producing this work. Although short, his notes on St. Audoen's include some descriptions and dating of the architecture details, such as the comment that the '…arcade of four bays in the south wall has pointed arches, rather ineffectually moulded, and shafts of eight half-column plan…' to which he gave '…a date late in the thirteenth century…'. The description of the building fabric is however very limited, no attempt was made at identifying the different stone used in its construction and there are no survey drawings or photographs to accompany the text.

More recently in 1986 the vicar of the parish, John Crawford, wrote a very readable guidebook on the history of St. Audoen's.[19] He was following in the tradition of a former incumbent, Alexander Leeper, who had written a short booklet on the history of the church towards the end of the nineteenth century, his purpose being to solicit contributions towards the upkeep of the church.[20] Crawford drew heavily on previous booklets and articles, and in particular those on St. Audoen's that appeared in the Irish Builder at the end of the nineteenth century. He also used the church's archival material held in the

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[15] He is an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin and of the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland. He was Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the Ministry of Works, London for almost twenty years, from 1952 to 1970.
[16] Wheeler and Craig (1948), 13–14.
[17] *Ibid.* pl. XIII.
[18] Leask (1960), vol. II, 148; *ibid.* vol. III, 39–40.
[19] Crawford (1986).

Representative Church Body Library to outline a series of repairs and restorations that were undertaken on the church from the seventeenth through to the twentieth century.[21]

Later in a paper read to the Old Dublin Society he attempted what he termed '…an archaeological survey…' of the church.[22] There are many limitations to this paper. His use of a preliminary report on the on-going archaeological excavations, which was not intended for publication, has led to misinterpretation of the excavation findings. His architectural historical analysis is also limited. It is difficult to understand how he dates architectural details which he describes for example as '….an arcade of four ornamented arches and columns ending at the east end with a plain arch…' and '…the two windows in the north wall and the arcade of three arches…'.[23] One is left with the impression that his paper was an attempt to confirm the building dates outlined in his earlier well-researched historical guidebook.

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[20] Leeper (1873?).
[21] Crawford (1986), 21–25.
[22] Crawford (1996), 85–93.
[23] *Ibid*, 90–91.

2. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The church is dedicated to St. Audoen, or *Ouen*, the 7th century bishop of Rouen and patron saint of Normandy. In England by the twelfth century the cult of St Audoen had developed considerably. In Bristol, for example, the church of St. Ewen (*Ouen*) was founded by the Norman, Robert Earl of Gloucester, c.1130-1140.[24] Links between Bristol and Dublin were formally established from 1172 when the town of Dublin was granted by '...Henry II, King of England .....to his men of Bristowa (*Bristol*)....', making the Anglo-Norman affiliation of the parish very clear. Already by the mid-twelfth century trade links between the Bristol area and Dublin had been well established.[25]

The early history of St. Audoen's is not well documented but from the scant information available we know that the church was in existence by the end of the twelfth century when a deed of 1200 AD was witnessed by '...Turstin, parson of St. Audoen's...'.[26] A reference to '....half a burgage in St. Audoen's parish....' being granted to the priory of the Holy Trinity (*Christ Church Cathedral*) indicates that the parish had been established by 1202.[27] St. Audoen's was granted by John Comyn, the first Anglo-Norman archbishop of Dublin (1181–1212), to the convent of Grace Dieu in north county Dublin in 1191 AD. However by the *c.*1220 the convent had '....resign(ed) to Archbishop Henry all right in St. Audoen's Church....'[28] as Comyn's successor, Henry, wished to ensure that St. Audoen's would be fully integrated within the diocesan structure by conferring responsibility for St. Audoen's on the treasurer of the newly-established cathedral of St. Patrick.[29]

The earliest reference to the building is when it is mentioned in the will of Katherine, widow of John le Grant, dated 1275 in which she left legacies to '....the chaplain and

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[24] Watts and Rahtz (1985), 28.

[25] *Anc. Rec. Dublin*, vol. I, 1. The archaeological record has also shown that imported ceramics from the potteries located around the Bristol region, in particular Ham Green, were in daily usage by the twelfth-century inhabitants of Dublin. Excavations at St. Audoen's have confirmed this trend with over 20% of the ceramic assemblage being imported from the Bristol area. The St. Audoen's assemblage, again in common with other excavations, also reflects trade with northwest France, McMahon (1991), 61.

[26] *Deeds*, appendix III, no. 477.

[27] *Alen's Reg.*, 28–9 and *Deeds*, no.364(c). There are further references to the parish of St. Audoen's in the thirteenth century, for example in 1206 when '....half a mark from land held by Richard fitzSaver in St. Audoen's parish ....' is granted to Holy Trinity Church, *Deeds*, 39.

[28] *Alen's Reg.*, 49. Henry of London was archbishop of Dublin 1213–28.

[29] *Alen's Reg.*, 42. The prebendal stall of St. Audoen's in the choir of St. Patrick's is evidence of the continuation of this association between parish and cathedral down to the present day.

clerks of the Blessed Virgin Mary of St. Audoen's Church…'.[30] This suggests the existence of a side chapel or lady chapel and that the church has already expanded beyond the basic parish church.

There are indications that by the mid-fourteenth century the parish had become established as a settled and prosperous entity. References to conveyancing of houses, shops, a hall and a garden in the parish indicate that a brisk market in property was underway within the boundaries of the parish.[31] Burgage plots are mentioned on the north side of the church. Thomas Vale had a plot there that was beside the plot of Robert Kermardyn. The dimensions of the plot indicate that it was a very narrow strip of land.[32] St. Audoen's became the place of worship of leading families in the community and the focus of their patronage and charitable instincts. William Foyll and Robert North made donations to the high altar of St. Audoen's in the mid-fourteenth century.[33]

Against this background of private endowment, the religious guild of St. Anne was established in 1430 by Charter of Henry VI to '… build of new, make, and appoint a certain chapel …in honour of St. Anne … in the church of St. Audoen's in Dublin … and appoint, commence of new, begin, adorn, order and establish a kind of fraternity or guild … in the said chapel of St. Anne …..'.[34] The guild was to support six chaplains, each to

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[30] *Deeds*, no.106.

[31] This is mainly seen in the Calendar of Christ Church Deeds and in the registers of various ecclesiastical establishments which received lands in Dublin, including the Abbey of St. Thomas, St. Mary's Abbey and the Hospital of St. John the Baptist '...Nicholas, son of John Godgam releases .... a hall and four shops in High St., parish of St. Audoen....', *Deeds*, 75; '...in Alto Vico Dublin, in parochia Sancti Audoeni, situatam, quam sedam habui de Johanne Stakebolle ....' and '...de terra mea quam habeo inter ecclesiam Sancti Audoeni et domum Willelmi Blundel....', *Chartul. St. Mary's Dublin,* vol. I, 17, 243; '...domus Philippi de Duram in parochia sancti Audoeni, Dublin....', *Reg. St. John, Dublin,* 30. Archaeological excavations have also revealed evidence for intense occupation, with some industries being localised, for example, comb making, shoe making and amber jewellery working.

[32] '...sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Radulfus Paselewe, dedi et concessi, et hac mea presenti carta confirmavi, Hamundo Rufo quartam partem unius burgagii juxta portam Sancti Audoeni....', *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin,* 372; '....of the gift of Herberten Ginagena, half of his burgage in St. Audoen's parish....', *Alen's Reg.* 29; '....Thoms Vale civis Dublinie ....uxori sue quandam terram meam cum edificiis & pertinentiis infra muros civitatis Dblinie in parochie sancti Audoeni versus novam portam, illam scilicet que jacet inter terram meam quam habui de dono .. flofamento Thome de Wynton ex una parte terram que fuit Roberti de Kermardyn ex altera, continet in fronte novem pedes, posterius vero tresdecim pedes, in longitudine a vico Audoeni usque ad terram meam, posterius sexaginta, quatuordecim pedes .....' (9 feet in front; 13 feet in rere; 74 feet long), *Reg. St. John, Dublin,* 29.

[33] *Deeds*, nos. 239, 633.

[34] R.I.A. *MS 12 S 32.* A large volume of documents including leases of property attached to the guild, spanning the 13th to the 18th centuries, are preserved in the R.I.A. *MS 12 S 22-33.* In 1772, James Goddard, who was clerk of the Guild, compiled a volume of abstracts of 841 documents held in the Gilbert Library, Dublin (D.G.L.) *MS 246.* Some rentals and accounts of the guild are in R.I.A. *MS 12 D 1.* The White Book

serve at separate altars within the chapel which were dedicated to St. Anne, the Blessed Virgin and four other saints, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas and St. Clare. The founders, who included local gentry, merchants and craftspeople, were given authority to raise an annual income of up to 100 marks (Ir£66+) for the upkeep of the guild chapel and the payment of its personnel to celebrate masses for the guild members and their families.[35]

From its inception the guild was advantaged by the affluence of its leading members and it benefited by attracting large donations of property. In his will of 1450, John Stafford, one of the named founders, left a number of properties to the guild which was to be used '… for the sustenance of chaplains of said guild …'.[36] The guild developed a very large property portfolio, possessing titles to over fifty properties within the walls of Dublin, as well as in the suburbs and the adjacent countryside.[37] The masters of the guild were aldermen of the corporation who belonged to the mercantile class.[38] Writing in the sixteenth century, Stanihurst describes the parish as '….the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the Aldermen and the worshippes of the Citie are demurrant within that paroche…'.[39] There are records of the guild in 1593 giving financial support in the form of a loan '…toward the making up of the battlement fallen in the northwest corner of the church….' and towards the general repair of the church.[40] Shortly afterwards in 1597, following a huge gunpowder explosion which caused extensive damage to buildings in Cook Street, Fishamble Street, Bridge Street and High Street , the guild gave St. Audoen's '…the sum of £50 … towards the reparations of the … church and steeple of the same…'.[41]

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of the Guild, R.I.A. *MS 12 O 13* contains memoranda of guild meetings. The first entry is 1655 and the last is 1687. H.F. Berry, who was Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, calendared the records of 160 of these deeds and documents, *Cal. St Anne's Guild.*

[35] There are examples of bequests to the guild '…for support of a chaplain to celebrate for his own and his wife's soul…' in the Will of Richard Codde dated 1438, *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, no.21.

[36] R.I.A. *MS 12 S 26*, no. 650.

[37] The reported annual income from rentals was c.£70, however the real value of the estate was several times that sum, the tenants obviously receiving preferential treatment, Lennon (1990), 19.

[38] *Ibid*, 15.

[39] Miller and Power (1979), 44.

[40] R.I.A. *MS 12 D 1*, f.18v.

[41] The explosion occurred at the city crane which was located between Wood Quay and Merchants Quay on the south banks of the river Liffey, northeast of St. Audoen's Church, Lennon (1988), 10; R.I.A. *MS 12 D 1*, 19r.

One of the leading politicians of the mid- to later fifteenth century, Sir Roland FitzEustace, 1st Baron Portlester, founded a private chantry chapel in St. Audoen's *c.*1482 '….in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary…'.[42] Sir Roland served as Lord Treasurer of Ireland during the reign of the powerful Fitzgerald family of Kildare.[43] While he was dedicating the chapel in St Audoen's, he was also granted a messuage in the parish by St Anne's guild, which he and his heirs could hold for life.[44] He commissioned a monument, which would have been the focal point of the chapel, depicting the recumbent figures of a knight and a lady, representing himself and his wife Margaret Jenico (Pl. II).[45] The monument was not, however, erected over their place of burial. His family seat was at Harristown, county Kildare and he was buried in Kilcullen, Co. Kildare where his double tomb stands in the graveyard of New Abbey, a FitzEustace foundation (Pl. III).[46] The association of St. Audoen's with such a prominent figure confirms its status as the leading city parish church of the time.

There was some opposition in St Audoen's to the introduction of the reformation practices of 1547 and in 1596 St Audoen's was still seen as a religiously conservative church by the largely Catholic corporation of Dublin, who moved one of its stations there from Christ Church Cathedral.[47] Beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing throughout the seventeenth century a series of disputes ensued between St. Anne's Guild and the parish over the designation of funds and the rights to the guild's property folio.[48] In 1630 the church is described by Archbishop Bulkeley as '….out of repairacon…' and he went on to

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[42] The inscription reads (translated from Latin): 'Pray for the soul of Roland FitzEustace, knight, now of Portlester, who founded a chapel in this place in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary: and for the soul of Margaret Jenico, his former wife, and for the souls of the faithful departed, A.D. 1482', Hunt (1974), 138–9. The endowment of a private chantry was the preserve of the very wealthy. Provision would have been made for the service of a priest who offered prayers for the salvation of the souls of the benefactor and his family, often in a specially commissioned chapel which was also reserved for the use of the founder's family, Cook (1947), 11.

[43] He had close ties with the FitzGerald family. He was a brother-in-law of Thomas, the seventh earl of Kildare, and his daughter married the eighth earl, Garret Mór. He was also appointed Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal, Tickell (1946–63), 364–413.

[44] The property was located between Kisshoke's (Kayser's?) Lane and the cemetery of St Audoen's and between another tenement of the guild and the tenement of John Hadsor (see Fig. 3.6), *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, no. 120, 4 Aug. 1482.

[45] This memorial is now housed in the tower.

[46] Hunt (1974), catalogue no. 81, 158–9, pls. 144, 201, 202.

[47] Gillespie (2000), 186; Crawford (1986), 35; Lennon (1990), 14–17.

[48] The disputes arose because of the belief that the resources of the guild were being divided up between the members of the guild rather than being put to the use of the parish, Lennon (1990), 21–22. Prebendary John Finglasse (1678–1719) supported his action against the guild by printing a pamphlet in which he outlined the guild's breaches of its royal charter, Lambeth Palace Library *MS 929.37* and D.G.L *MS 246.*

say that '… St. Anne's guild hath swallowed up all the church means which should be for the minister and the reparation of the church'.[49]

Extracts from the seventeenth century Vestry Book printed in the Irish Builder in the late nineteenth century refer to a number of alterations and repairs which were undertaken in St. Audoen's.[50] In 1639 it was necessary to remove a dangerous rood loft and erect a partition between the nave and the chancel;[51] in 1655 repairs to the roof of the church were undertaken. Again in 1667, following a great storm when damage was caused to the '….church, chancell and spire of ye steeple…' repairs, estimated at £1,299, were undertaken.[52] At a meeting of St. Anne's guild the members decided that, despite the on-going litigation '….in the Courts of Claymes…' between the parish and the guild, they would make a payment of £100 towards the restoration costs, this amount being '…all the treasure we have at present or like to have for a considerable time to come…'.[53] It was agreed that payment would be made '…when the whole church of St. Audoen's ….shall be roofed …..' and '…said roof shall be slated…'.[54] An audit of the accounts of two of the churchwardens in 1668 shows that the services of carpenters, slaters, glaziers, masons, a plumber and a plasterer (Mr. Robinson) were required to carry out the repairs and details of the amounts paid to the craftspeople are included.[55] Between 1771 and 1775 the sum of £654.11s.2d was spent on repairs to the church.[56]

It was at this time that the first in a series of contractions in size of St. Audoen's took place with the unroofing of the east end of the church.[57] Further alterations were carried out in 1820, the arcades between the north and south aisles being bricked up and the south aisle unroofed.[58] The west end of the north aisle and the tower remained roofed to be used for worship. In 1826 Henry Aaron Baker R.H.A. remodelled the tower of the church, rebuilding the battlements and placing cast-iron pinnacles at the four corners (Pl. IV). A

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[49] Ronan (1941), 59.
[50] Irish Builder, xxviii–xxx (1886–8). Unfortunately the original seventeenth and early eighteenth century minute books no longer survive.
[51] Interesting despite liturgical changes the rood loft and screen were still in place.
[52] Irish Builder xxviii (15th July 1886), 202–3; (1 Aug 1886), 222, (15 Aug, 1886), 233.
[53] Irish Builder xxviii (15 Aug. 1886) 233.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] For example a total of £92.12s.3d was paid to the carpenters which included £1 paid to '…Joseph Gyll for carpenters worke…' *ibid*, 233–5.
[56] Irish Builder, xxviii (1 Nov. 1886), 298.
[57] *Ibid*, Irish Builder, xxx (15 Dec. 1888), 305.

large granite doorway was inserted into the west face of the tower and a porch was constructed between the angle of the tower and the north-west corner of the church.[59] Another intervention in the structure of the church occurred in 1848 when the size of the church was further reduced by ten feet and a new vestry built in the south aisle (Pl. V, Fig. 2.1).[60]

In 1880 the east end of St. Audoen's, described as '…the Portlester Chapel with ruins adjoining same….', was vested in the Board of Works by the Church Temporalities Commission.[61] Work on the presentation of that part of the building as a National Monument was carried out by Thomas Newenham Deane of the Board of Works during 1886 and 1887.[62] Brickwork was cleared from between the mullions of the windows in the south wall and '…the blocked window openings at the eastern end …. placed as nearly as possible in their original condition…' and '…the mouldings of the piers repaired…'.[63] Although the south aisle was not vested as a National Monument until 1987, some work was undertaken at the same time by the Board of Works '…in the ruined aisle…' and a fresco '…in vivid colours….' was discovered behind some blocking masonry (Pl. VI).[64] Following negotiations between the Board of Works, the Vestry of St. Audoen's and the Representative Church Body regarding public access, an entrance was created from St. Audoen's Lane in the north wall of the church and steps provided into the National Monument (Pl. VII).[65]

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[58] *ibid.*
[59] Irish Builder xxviii (1 Nov. 1886), 298.
[60] *ibid.*
[61] *Report of the Commissioners* ..... (1881), appendix 10, 134, 136. Following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, church property was entrusted to the Church Temporalities Commission. State provision for the care of monuments began in 1869 with the passing of the Irish Church Act. Under this Act the Commission could seek to place properties which they deemed to be of historical or antiquarian interest and in need of conservation, and no longer being used for public worship, under the protection of the Board of Works. By 1882 they were allowed to hand over the properties to the Board of Works. The process of vesting a monument in the State followed an examination and recommendation by the Inspector of National Monuments as to the monuments national importance, Lohan (1994), 85, 99.
[62] *Fifty-fifth Annual Report* ..... (1887), appendix E, 62–3. Deane was part-time Inspector of Ecclesiastical Monuments between 1875 and his death in 1899. Minutes in the Vestry Minute Book 1887–1913 dated 13 Jan. 1887, record that the '…Board of Works had commenced to repair the ruins of Lord Portlester's Chapel…', R.C.B.L. *MS P116.5.2*. Unfortunately the Board of Works file, OPW 8095/89, cannot be located in the National Archives.
[63] *Fifty-fifth Annual Report*.... (1887), 62.
[64] *Ibid*, 62–3.
[65] R.C.B.L. *MS P116.5.2* (13 April, 1887, 14 Nov. 1887).

Further work on the tower was completed by 1916 with the removal of the cast-iron pinnacles, the rebuilding of the parapets and repointing (Pl. VIII).[66] In the 1930s the architectural firm of Fuller and Jermyn were responsible for the building of a new porch between the tower and the church and for the construction of a flat concrete roof on the tower (Pl. IX).[67] In 1983 further stabilisation of the tower was deemed necessary and three reinforced concrete floors were inserted.[68]

In summary, although the medieval documents give us little information about the medieval building, there are a few clues. The church housed a side altar or chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1275; the authority to build a chapel to St Anne with six altars was given in 1430, and a chantry chapel was founded by the FitzEustace family in 1482. The battlements were repaired in 1593, and following a gunpowder explosion the damaged steeple was repaired in 1597. Further damage was caused to the spire by a disastrous storm in 1667, following which it was repaired and the roof reslated. In 1639 the old rood loft was taken down and a new partition erected.

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[66] Church of Ireland Parish Magazine (1914) 135–6.
[67] R.C.B.L. *MS P116.28.1*. Works Specification dated March 1930 and letters dated 30th Dec. 1931 and 4th Jan. 1932.
[68] Crawford (1986), 25.

3. URBAN TOPOGRAPHY

From documentary sources little is known of the town's layout prior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion in 1169 AD. However the archaeological excavations have thrown new light on the early topography of the area (for further discussion, see chapter 6).

The city wall *c.*1100 AD

Stretches of the *c.*1100 city wall have been excavated at Winetavern Street and Wood Quay.[69] Although much altered, it has been generally assumed that the wall, which runs west along Cook Street as far as Bridge Street (Pl. X), represents the continuation of this wall.[70] However no traces of this early wall were revealed in the excavations undertaken further west at Bridge Street.[71]

Pre-Norman Stone Wall at St Audoen's

In the course of the archaeological excavations undertaken at St Audoen's Church, section of a stone wall running in a north–south direction was revealed immediately south of the church. (Figs. 3.1a and 3.1b, F201).[72] Although the wall had been re-used, and sections re-built throughout the medieval period and later, the excavation revealed a construction date of *c.*1120 AD.[73]

The wall was 10.0m long and extended south beyond the limits of the excavation. It was not possible to establish with certainty its northern extent due to post-medieval disturbance; however wall foundations excavated further north may represent its continuation (Fig. 3.1b, F41, see also chapter 6 below). The upper courses of the wall were *c.* 1.0m–1.25m wide.[74] It was constructed with a rubble core faced with quarry-dressed limestone laid to irregular courses. The quality of the masonry at the south end of the wall was superior to that of the north end, the west face of the wall in particular was

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[69] McMahon (1990), no. 29; Walsh (1997), 92; Wallace (1992), 45; Wallace (1981), 251; Mitchell (1987), 13, pl. I.
[70] Simpson (2000), 38–40.
[71] Hayden (2000), 93.
[72] The feature numbers assigned to the structures in the course of the excavation are used here.
[73] A ringed-pin with a date range between the eleventh and early twelfth century came from an associated deposit. Calibrated dates of 1109±9 AD, 1126±9 AD and 1131±9 AD were also produced from dendrochronological analysis of house timbers from sealing deposits. This analysis was undertaken by the Radiocarbon Research Laboratory, the Queen's University, Belfast.
[74] It was not possible to fully excavate the wall due to restrictions imposed by the excavation specifications.

more regularly faced. At the north end, although many of the stones were regular in shape, there was a profusion of spalls filling the interstices, reflecting the rebuilding of this end of the wall throughout the medieval period.

A well-laid metalled path ran downhill alongside the wall on its east side. The construction of the path consisted initially of small flat stones compacted into a layer of redeposited boulder clay. A second layer of metalling of irregularly shaped stones of varying sizes formed a solid surface. East of the path a cobbled area, containing a single layer of stones set in the underlying natural marl, extended over the remainder of the excavation. The remains of a possible ore-roasting furnace, as well as pits containing slag, and oxidised and vitrified clay, indicate that the open cobbled area was used as a location for industrial activity.

The interpretation of this early twelfth century stone wall, metalled path and cobbled area is somewhat perplexing. There is a lack of any reference to this section of wall in the Anglo-Norman documentary sources where large structures were usually used to identify and locate properties and tenements. For example, the 'old wall' at Cook Street and the 'new wall' along Bridge Street are mentioned in a mid-thirteenth century document.[75] However this might be explained by the fact that by the middle of the twelfth century, a build-up of house occupation debris was beginning on the east side of the wall, with the wall itself apparently being re-used as part of the west wall of a timber house.[76]

Could the St Audoen's wall, extending as it does in a north-south direction towards the wall at Cook Street, have delimited the western extent of the early twelfth century town? The lack of any trace of an early wall at Bridge Street supports this interpretation. If this is the case, the continuation of the Cook Street wall westwards towards Bridge Street represents a later phase in the development of the town's walled defences. Perhaps it was built after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans to strengthen the town's western defences.

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[75] *Reg. St John, Dublin*, 27.

[76] Calibrated dendrochronological dates of 1126±9 AD and 1131±9 AD were obtained from some of the house timbers.

This could also explain the difference noticeable in the construction of the Cook Street wall to the west of St Audoen's Gate.[77]

The St Audoen's wall also exhibited similarities with the early twelfth century town wall excavated at both Ross Road and Winetavern Street where the wall varied in width from 1.0m to 1.35m at the upper levels.[78] The metalled path extending along the inside of the wall was also paralleled at Ross Road.[79] The industrial activity being carried on in the cobbled area would not have posed a threat to the timber buildings of the Hiberno-Norse town, which were clustered further to the east along High Street.[80] At this extreme western end of the town another excavation at Back Lane also revealed late eleventh/early twelfth century activity but no domestic dwellings.[81]

Twelfth century western defences

The timber structure which re-used the *c.*1120 AD stone wall at St Audoen's, was just one of a sequence of timber houses, with their associated pathways of gravel, wattle screens and timber planks, constructed immediately east of the wall by the middle of the twelfth century.[82] Although the St Audoen's wall no longer served a defensive purpose, this westward expansion of the town was protected by a sequence of banks and ditches.

A clay bank excavated at Lamb Alley southwest of St Audoen's appears to be part of the town's early to mid-twelfth century defences.[83] It was further heightened by the Anglo-Normans in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[84] At Cornmarket and Bridge Street, two parallel ditches were revealed which predate the cutting of the great Anglo-Norman fosse. They have been interpreted as possibly being either part of the outer

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[77] Simpson (2000), 39–40.
[78] Walsh (2001), 108–111; Walsh (1997), 92; McMahon (1990), no.29. The width at the base of the St Audoen's wall was not established. At Ross Road the town wall measured 1.60m at the base while at Winetavern Street the wall varied in width from 1.60m–2.0m at the base.
[79] Walsh (2001), 111, fig. 8.
[80] Ó Ríordáin (1973); Murray (1983); Murtagh (1990), nos. 34–36; Gowen (1991), no. 48.
[81] Walsh (1993), no. 46.
[82] McMahon (1993), no. 68.
[83] Coughlan (2000), 205–206.
[84] Coughlan (2000), 208–209.

defence works of the late Hiberno-Norse town or preliminary Anglo-Norman fortifications.[85]

St Audoen's Church

The archaeological excavations revealed that the early St Audoen's church was built immediately to the west of the pre-Norman stone wall, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Although the St Audoen's wall no longer served a defensive purpose, it appeared to define a section of the church's eastern property boundary. By the mid-thirteenth century the wall had been partially incorporated into another stone building, a possible domestic range associated with the church.

The Anglo-Norman Defences, St Audoen's Gate and cobbled lane

Following the Anglo-Norman Invasion a programme of land reclamation was undertaken north of St Audoen's church. By *c.*1200 AD buildings were being constructed outside the Cook Street wall on the mud-flats of the river Liffey and by *c.*1260 this area was enclosed by a new city wall.[86] St Audoen's Gate was built giving access from the old walled town to the newly built mural extension and, more importantly, to the quays. The gate is referred to in the mid-thirteenth-century when Radulph le Porter was granted '…permission at his will to construct and build, with wood or stone …. a passage … from the gate of St Audoen so far as the water of Auenlif (*Liffey*) …'.[87]

The archaeological excavations revealed a well-laid cobbled lane, constructed in the first half of the thirteenth century, climbing uphill towards High Street (F12, Pls. XLVIII, XLIX, LII). It was clear from the excavations that the lane had continued downhill in the direction of St Audoen's Gate. Radulph le Porter, as his name suggests, may have used this lane to transport goods from the quays *via* the excavated lane to the High Street merchants. In a document dated 1285-6 AD relating to land near St Audoen's, a lane called '…vico Audoeni…' is mentioned which may be referring to the excavated lane.[88]

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[85] Hayden (2000), 87–94; Simpson (2000), 28.
[86] The corner of a medieval stone building was exposed fronting onto Cook Street during archaeological excavations, Meenan (1994), no.63. The citizens of Dublin were granted the right to further enclose the city in 1221 but the circuit was probably not completed until *c.*1260, Simpson (2000), 49–56.
[87] *Anc. Rec. Dublin,* vol. 1, fol. 6b, 84; Gilbert (1870), 486.
[88] *Reg. St John, Dublin*, no.50 f.16v, 29.

The excavations also revealed that St Audoen's originally stood on the west side of the cobbled lane and that the church was extended eastwards across the lane in the early–mid fourteenth century. The lane between St Audoen's Gate and Cornmarket/High Street currently curves around the west end of the modern church. It is possible that the lane was diverted to take this route when the earlier right-of-way was effectively blocked off. If true, this action would confirm St Audoen's position of influence with the civic authorities as early as the fourteenth century.

The environs of St Audoen's in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

Indirect evidence for a passageway extending alongside the south wall of the church in the thirteenth century was revealed when a stone building was located *c.*1.0m south of the church. By the sixteenth century this passageway or lane had been surfaced with stone cobbles. The surface of the lane dipped slightly in the centre which seemed to have been caused by use, but there is also the possibility that it was deliberately constructed like this for drainage (Pl. XI).

The rich fund of information available in the documents of St. Anne's Guild and other documentary sources, together with the excavation results, help in attempting to outline the properties and streetscape immediately adjacent to St. Audoen's in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The guild was entitled by its royal charter to accumulate property and by the sixteenth century the guild possessed titles to over fifty properties, many of which were situated in the streets and lanes surrounding St Audoen's and included houses, shops, cellars, lofts and gardens.[89]

The church was located at the core of the trading area of the town, focal points of activity being the market which was held at Cornmarket to the south of the church and the public water fountain[90]. It was also situated close to Newgate, a strategically placed gate in the town wall which gave access from High Street via Bridge Street to Oxmantown, the Viking settlement on the northern banks of the river Liffey (Fig. 3.2).

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[89] R.I.A. *MS 12 S 22–33.*

[90] 'William Douce..... grants ..... two shops with a garden adjacent, in High Street, parish of St. Audoen, opposite the conduit of the water of said city.....',*Cal. St Anne's Guild*, no. 60.

Like other areas in the core of medieval Dublin which have been archaeologically excavated, most of the fourteenth century and later archaeological deposits have been removed by the cellars of the houses, erected during the eighteenth and nineteenth century building boom. At St Audoen's luckily the remains of two lanes survived, which together with the Deeds made it possible to attempt the schematic interpretations outlined in Figs. 3.3–3.9). The earliest extant representation of St Audoen's and its environs is on Speed's map of 1610 (Fig. 3.10). The conjectural schematic plans are an attempt to give a visual interpretation of the precinct of St. Audoen's in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The assumptions are based on:

a) The deeds of St. Anne's Guild which refer to properties owned by the guild and in the possession of various individuals including chaplains to the guild, aldermen and merchants. In the deeds, when describing the location of properties, the adjoining properties are sometimes referred to as, for example. '…between the cellar formerly Roger Kylmore's to the south and the cellar of Richard Clerke to the north …'. [91]

b) Results of the archaeological excavations which revealed for example, that the skewed nature of the east end of St Audoen's appears to have been dictated by earlier thirteenth century property boundaries. References in the Deeds to streets and lanes have also been used to link the excavated remains with the property deeds, e.g.. '…. a piece of waste ground….called old Crumlin…..bounding….on the north to St. Audoen's church; on the west to St. Audoen's lane…'. [92]

The properties owned by the guild of St Anne and referred to in the Deeds are outlined in bold. The latest known occupants are shown nearest the street frontage and the earlier occupants further from the frontages. The names of the occupants are shown after the date and the owner's name, where known, is shown in brackets. Where the property has been identified as a house, tenement, messuage, shop, etc. this is also shown.

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[91] *Cal. St. Anne's Guild*, no. 66.
[92] *Ibid.* no. 124.

4. ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

In plan St. Audoen's church is roughly a long double-aisled rectangular-shaped building, orientated east-west, with the east end slightly skewed to the north, and a square tower attached to the west end of the south aisle (Fig. 4.1). Over the years, with the loss of parishioners, the functioning parish church had become restricted in size, resulting in the unroofing of three-quarters of the building. Today the congregation of St. Audoen's parish attends service in the west end of the north aisle, access is through the tower which is linked with the church by a modern porch. The remainder of the building is a National Monument in the care of the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands who have reroofed the opposing south aisle, commonly called St. Anne's chapel. A small visitor facility has been built south of the church through which the public gains entry to an exhibition on the church history, and to the unroofed east end of the church, known as the Portlester Chapel.

Church of Ireland (north aisle, west end)

West wall

A round-arched moulded doorway in the west wall of the north aisle marks the entrance into the present Church of Ireland. The moulding of the doorway, which is in two orders, has been subjected to restoration work but much of the original work survives (Fig. 4.2a, Pl. XII).[93] Dundry stone, which was imported from Dundry Hill, Bristol, is used in the moulded orders of the doorway[94]. An ogee keel moulding with hollows on either side forms the outer order of the arch and springs from capitals with stiff-leaf above bead moulding (Fig. 4.2b). The leaf moulding is stylised, curling outwards into a spiral. The capitals would have originally stood on detached shafts but these are both missing. The inner order is a triple roll, the central roll being larger than the other two. The arch is almost intact but only the outer chamfered stone of the jambs survive, the remainder have been replaced by sandstone replicas. Internally there are no moulded features around the

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[93] The terminology used in the following publications is used throughout the following chapter: Morris (1992), 1–17; (1979), 1–48; (1978), 18–57; Cocke, Findlay, Halsey and Williamson (1982), 10–43.

[94] In most cases the stone used in the mouldings, where they were not covered by paint, could be identified by eye. However Dudley Waterman had stated that the west door '...apparently is dressed in Dundry stone...', Waterman (1970), 72. In order to confirm this a limited analysis of the stone was carried out by John Kelly at the request of the author. It was only possible to take samples where the stone was already

doorway; instead a modern round arch has been created with plaster. Rebuilding of this wall is evident internally with much brick included in the later work; this can be seen in the recess behind the missing north shaft of the doorway.

Two buttresses abut the external face of the wall and form a recess for the doorway. They are of uncoursed limestone calp but have been partially repaired and rebuilt with brick. The quoin stones of the buttresses on either side of the doorway are of dressed granite. The north wall of the porch is tied into the north buttress but the granite quoins are still clearly visible (Pl. XII). Within the porch (built c.1930) the buttress on the south side of the doorway reaches the north wall of the tower, but above the porch roof the buttress narrows to the same width as the north buttress to frame a three-light window.

The window, which has cut stone (possibly granite) switchline (intersecting) tracery, is set in the wall above the doorway in an internally-splayed pointed-arched ope. A second row of roughly placed voussoirs is visible on the external face, filling the gap between the window and the pointed relieving arch, indicating that the granite window is a later insertion (Pl. XIII). Brick has been used extensively on the internal splay of the window, and here the modern coved plaster ceiling of the church obscures the top of the relieving arch. A line of infill below the window, which includes brick, stone and some timber, probably indicates the floor line of a timber gallery. Six holes in the walls, similar to putlog holes (two to the north and four to the south of the window), as well as two in the north wall and one in the south wall, were probably for timber supports.

Returning to the exterior, a false stepped gable has been built against the wall above the buttresses. Changes in the stonework of the buttresses suggest that they were raised to support the gable, which spans them with a relieving arch. Three projecting stone corbels to the north of the window also support the gable. Internally the ceiling is plastered, but a line of ten stone corbels, irregularly spaced above the south wall/arcade, could have supported a timber wall plate of the original timber roof. Only two corbels now survive on the north wall.[95]

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flaking, i.e. the outer stones of both the north and south jambs. The analysis confirmed that these are Dundry stone and it is assumed that Dundry was also used for the rest of the doorway.

[95] This part of the building was reroofed *c.*1826 (footnote 59 - chapter 2).

North wall

There are six window opes in the north wall, with the one nearest the west wall blocked up (Pl. XIV, XV). Internally it is seen as a recess with a pointed stone relieving arch but externally yellow-coloured granite tracery is visible in the wall face.[96] Although the granite is very badly weathered and the detail unclear it seems that it had two-lights with cusped tracery. The granite was sourced locally in south county Dublin or Wicklow.[97] There is evidence both internally and externally of a later ope within the window blocking. The window was presumably blocked because of the later insertion of a wooden gallery and the low ope would have provided light below the gallery.

Except for one window ope which has a flattened stone arch, all the others have pointed arches. They have timber sash windows which are copies of the tracery of the west window. The voussoirs and some jamb stones of a blocked door ope can be seen in the heavily pointed internal wall masonry between the second and third window from the west. A building is shown abutting the north wall of the church on the 1836 OS map (Fig 2.1a). There is an entrance into the building in the position of this blocked doorway. The 1864 OS map (Fig 2.1b) shows that by this time the building has been removed and a new vestry built south of the church, which suggests that it had been used as a vestry. The north wall is supported externally by stepped buttresses.

East wall

A large four-light window of dressed limestone with drafted margins pierces this wall which was built in 1848 when the church was reduced in size (Pl. XVI). It is built internally of brick and faced externally with calp limestone. A couple of large blocks of granite are also incorporated into the external facing. While there are some interesting details on these and on some of the larger blocks of limestone utilised in the construction, they are definitely not medieval. They have been inscribed with a 'cross' or 'T-shape', and some of the sub-sections of the limestone blocks have also been punch-dressed. This has been done in an attempt by the nineteenth-century builders to make them fit into the

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[96] The yellow-colour is caused by weathering. Originally it would have been light grey (pers comm Sara Pavía).
[97] *Ibid.*

overall pattern of wall construction of the church which is generally of smaller blocks of limestone calp.

South Wall - blocked arcade

Extending from the west wall is a blocked arcade of five pointed arches (Fig. 4.3, piers A–E). The stone on this face of the arcade is obscured by heavy paint layers. However on the other side, where the paint has worn off some of the stone it has been identified as a calcareous sandstone possibly sourced from north of Dublin.[98] Diagonal axe tooling has been used on the stone. The first four bays consist of eight shafted clustered piers (B,C, and D) and there are engaged responds (A and E). The four cardinal shafts, which are larger than the diagonals, consist of three-quarter rolls with a 10 cm wide single fillet. The diagonal shafts are plain quarter rolls. The centre fillet of the middle shaft flows into the arch through the capital as a continuous moulding (Pl. XVII).

The capitals have two groups of mouldings, consisting of small triple rolls separated by a shallow hollow (quarter circle). These are above a hollow and astragal of half roll and fillet (Fig. 4.4). On the front face of the pier the capitals are interrupted by the front filleted shaft which continues upwards to the level of the abacus.

The arch moulding is in three groups (Fig. 4.4). In the outer group, two quarter-circle rolls flank a row of dogtooth decoration. The next two groups are each composed of three quarter-circle rolls and quirks separated by two quarter circle hollows. Although separated from the arch by the capital, the wide filleted axial moulding mirrors the inner filleted shaft of the pier.

The bases are hidden behind the timber pew platform but during work on the south side of the arcade to underpin the piers, one of the bases was revealed and sketched (Fig. 4.5a, pier C). Like the pier, the base is square in plan with the angle facing out or twisted (diamond plan). The moulding consists of a shallow hollow and roll and chamfer.

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[98] Stone identification was confirmed by John Kelly. Waterman noted that a little Dundry was present in at least one of the piers of the arcade, Waterman (1970), 72. He was probably referring to a piece of Dundry which was apparently re-used in the fifth bay (see below).

A slot, c. 0.10m wide, has been cut through the roll at the bottom of the opposing capitals of the fourth bay (piers D and E). The purpose may have been to place a timber screen flush against the piers. Also on the south side of the west pier of the same bay (pier D), the front roll has been removed to just below the capital and two notches cut into the adjoining rolls (Fig. 4.5a + c). This also suggests that a timber screen/partition was tied into this pier, extending out into the south aisle. A rood screen may have extended across the south aisle from the pier, or the remains could represent the construction of a parclose chapel between the arcade and the south aisle.[99]

A change in construction of the fifth pointed-arch bay represents an extension eastward of the church (Pl. XVIII). On the south face of the arcade, a straight joint is visible in the stonework above pier E on the south side of the arcade.[100]

With the addition of the fifth bay, the former end respond E was altered to act as a freestanding pier. The west side of the new pier, as well as the opposing respond F, were framed with chamfered blocks of cut stone. These have been heavily painted on the north side and only one block of sandstone is identifiable. On the south side however, although later blocking obscures respond F, they can be seen to be of alternating sandstone and granite. The bottom stone on the south side of the pier E, which has a stop chamfer, is Dundry and is probably reused in its present position.[101] The stop chamfer is c.1.0m above the base of the other piers, suggesting that there was an altar platform here which would have necessitated steps up from both the north aisle and the west end of the south aisle.

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[99] Cook (1947), pl. 5. See also the reference in chapter 2 to the guild chapel of St. Anne and altars to various saints.

[100] An archaeological excavation also confirmed this eastward development of the building (see following chapter).

[101] The reuse of Dundry stone has been identified on the site during the archaeological excavation. On examination moulded stone E497:585 was found to have two layers of mortar. The original was a fine pointing mortar while the second was a functional bonding mortar. The reuse of Dundry has also been noted at St Peter's Church, Waterford where it occurred in the seventeenth century reconstruction, Stalley (1997), 390–3.

St Anne's Chapel (south aisle, west end)

North wall - arcade

The arcade described above forms the north boundary of this part of the church which has recently been reroofed. A timber door has been inserted in the blocking of the fifth arcade through which access is gained to the Church of Ireland (Pl. XVIII).

South wall

This wall, which is of uncoursed limestone calp, has the scars of different building phases (Fig. 4.6). The voussoirs and some jambstones of a large round-arched blocked window ope are visible high up in the wall, partially obscured by the remains of an early seventeenth century wall monument dedicated to the Malone family. Three voussoirs and some jambstones are visible on the external wall face, indicating an external width for the window of c.1.50m (Pl. XIX). In the late nineteenth century some of the internal blocking stones were removed and wall paintings were discovered on the window splay, consisting of '...cinquefoils and transverse bars...'.[102]

There is a small recess to the east of this ope which is likely to have held a piscina. Although no drain hole is visible, there is a roughly cut hollow in the limestone calp base, which may have held a bowl. Its pointed arch and jambstones are of chamfered, yellow-coloured stone, possibly sandstone. There is a hint of a straight joint in the stonework to the east.

A large pointed-arch recess further east, has a single sandstone corbel projecting from the centre. The corbel is heavily weathered and the detail is unclear. This recess was also exposed during the nineteenth century restoration work (Pl. VI, XX, XXI). At that time

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[102] An article in the Irish Times of 17th March 1887 refers to the discovery of a large arch (30ft high by 20ft wide) in this position on the wall by Thomas Deane, Board of Works and Thomas Drew. Although the dimensions are incorrect (the height attributed would make it higher than the wall!), it is the same ope. They describe the jamb as making '...an obtuse angle with the wall ...' indicating that the ope was splayed. On the removal of some of the stonework, which was later reinstated, they discovered well preserved wall paintings on the stonework which they describe as consisting of '...cinquefoils and transverse bars...'. Although Deane refers to them in a single sentence in the *Fifty-fifth annual report....* (1887), appendix E, 62–3, this newspaper article is the most complete record and my thanks to Stuart Kinsella for bringing it to my attention.. A wall painting in another recess was also revealed at the same time (see below).

two corbels survived which Deane dated to the mid-fifteenth century.[103] A photograph of the recess taken in 1951 shows two ogee-headed masonry arches springing from the most westerly corbel. These remains seem to represent a sedilia. Partially obscured by this secondary structure was a wall painting of the Holy Trinity with angels kneeling in adoration below, none of which now survives.[104] Attached to this recess on its east side is a smaller pointed-arch recess which, although there is no evidence for a drain, may have been a piscina.

Further east is a simple pointed-arch sandstone doorway. The arch is made of two stones with double hollow chamfers which continue down the side stones, ending in a stop on the east jamb. There is diagonal axe tooling on the moulded stone. The position of the door, *c*.1.0m above floor level, indicates a considerable rise which is also mirrored in piers E and F of the fifth bay opposite. Internally the door is flush with the south wall and externally it is recessed into the wall beneath a flattened stone arch (Pl. XXII). On the external face of the wall, three large beam slots, rising in a stepped pattern to the west of the door, together with projecting stonework both above and to the east of the door, where the wall widens by *c*.0.25m, indicate that a building abutted the church. Three stone corbels are set into the south face of the wall below squints which are set high in the wall at first floor level. The three squints are recessed and obliquely pierce the wall to face east into the church, and would have been used by the occupants to view the altar.[105] They have been altered and reused, probably when this part of the church was unroofed in 1820 - larger windows were inserted into the squints at the east and west end, while the centre squint had a brick fireplace fitted into it externally.

To the east of the door a large four-light window has been reconstructed in a flat-arched internally splayed ope. On removal of a brick-arched coal cellar from the external face of the building during the recent restoration work, the two lower corner window surrounds

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[103] *Ibid*, '...The date of this work must be prior to the middle of the fifteenth century as corbel stones of a section of that date are built into the picture...'.
[104] Roe (1979), 144. According to Roe the surface was painted to resemble a three-light window, the figures painted between decorated mullions and a transom.
[105] Although the 19th century OS maps show buildings abutting this wall of the church (Fig. 2.1, chapter 2), it was clear when these later buildings were demolished, that the features identified here predated the 18th / 19th century development. There is also evidence from the archaeological excavations that a narrow laneway ran along this wall of the church and this building would therefore have straddled the lane at first floor level (see chapter 3).

were revealed (Fig. 4.7).[106] The flat masonry relieving arch above the ope was also exposed. From the profiles of the moulded stones recovered from the archaeological excavations, the reconstruction of this flat-headed window with trefoliated lights and hood moulding was possible (Fig. 4.8, Pl. XXIII). The type of stone used in the window was orange-red coloured sandstone of local origin.[107]

The window surrounds and mullions were carved internally with clustered roll mouldings, the mullions finishing with a central bead. A glazing groove was cut into a straight edge between the internal and external faces. Externally the mullions had a hollow chamfer with rebated axial fillet. The window surrounds had double hollow chamfers with quirk between.

Two limestone calp voussoirs of a small blocked-up door ope are also visible in the masonry of the wall below the west side of the window (Pl. XXIII).

The jambs of an internally-splayed doorway survive below the window (Fig. 4.7; Pl. LXII). There are carved rebates on both of the top jambstones. The stone used in the doorway is an oolithic limestone imported from the Bath area of England.[108] A number of carved voussoirs, also of the same type of stone, were recovered from the excavations immediately outside of this entrance (Fig. 4.9). The decorative detailing on the jambstones ties in with the voussoirs, indicating that they formed part of the same entrance feature.

West wall

This wall, which is constructed of roughly coursed limestone calp, is essentially the blocking material of a high relieving arch which extends almost to roof level. The arch

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[106] The coal cellar was constructed for the vestry which was built in the ruins of the south aisle in 1848 (see chapter 2). The entrance to the vestry, which was literally through the earlier window, was along a granite-paved path from High Street which ran on top of the cellar. Many of the moulded window stones, as well as the carved voussoirs of a later entrance, were used as infill and dumped behind the east wall of the brick cellar. The architectural stone fragments were stored by Dúchas the Heritage Service in the depot at Ashtown Castle, Phoenix Park, Dublin and more recently some have been left on-site at St Audoen's.
[107] Thirty-three of the moulded stone fragments recovered, including window-heads, jambs, mullions, cills and hood mouldings, were from this window.
[108] This stone was imported for decorative work on buildings in Dublin during the 18th and 19th centuries, Wyse Jackson (1993), 26, 47, 58.

formed part of the construction of a tower which stands at the west end of the south aisle (see below for further details). The quoin stones of the arch supports are well-dressed indicating that the arch was open, in effect bringing the ground floor of the tower into the body of the church. A small slit window with a flat granite lintel has been inserted high up in the wall just below the arch. A doorway with brick reveals and lintel leads into the tower. The present roof partially obscures the creaseline of a steeply-pitched roof which was visible above the arch (Fig. 4.10).

East Wall

The east wall was built during the recent reroofing.[109]

Portlester Chapel (unroofed monument - east end)

A modern doorway leads out to the unroofed part of the church which in plan skews slightly to the north.[110]

Central arcade

An arcade of three pointed arches in moulded limestone provides an additional three bays to the east end of the church (Fig. 4.1, G–K; Pl. XVI). The columns, which are octagonal in plan, are constructed of dressed limestone calp blocks. The capitals, also octagonal, have simple roll and hollow mouldings (Fig. 4.12). Except for one base which is simply chamfered (column G), the other base mouldings are roll and hollow and double roll, over chamfered plinth (Pl. XXIV, column H).[111] The arch moulding is in two groups separated by a triangular recess. In the outer group, hollows flank a central roll, and in the second group, a hollow precedes two rolls, all of which are quarter-circle.

Column H sits on a square plinth of undressed limestone calp. Column G is also placed on a similar pad of masonry but in this case it is flush with the present ground surface.

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[109] It is built on the line of an earlier wall revealed during the archaeological excavations (see chapter 5, phase 4).

[110] The south wall was built on the foundations of an earlier wall, respecting the property boundaries (see chapter 5, phase 6).

[111] Repairs, undertaken in 1887, included repairs to '...the moulding of the piers...', *Fifty-fifth Annual Report...* (1887), 62.

The most easterly respond K rests on a stone base which appears to have been part of an altar platform, leaving this column c.0.50m shorter than the others (Pl. XXV). The platform continues west but, because of later repointing and the placement of a tomb on top, it is unclear as to how much of this is original. A concrete slab, which is tied into the north face of this feature, covers a raised platform which extends the full width of the east end of the north aisle. A photograph taken in the 1950s shows that this covers a brick-arched vault.[112]

Slots have been cut in the opposing faces of each of the capitals and bases, the purpose of which would have been to receive timber screens set between the arcades.

There is a small flat-lintelled niche set into the north face of respond K. It was probably a piscina as the base stone, although broken, is partially concave and could have been used to hold a small bowl. (Pl. XXVI).

East wall - north aisle

This wall, which is of uncoursed limestone calp, is pierced by a large internally-splayed, pointed arched window (Fig. 4.13). Some of the moulded window-surround survives along the sill and sides. Two stone types are used; granite survives along much of the sill and the corner stone is tied into the south side of the splay (Pl. XXVII). The remainder of the sill and side stones are of limestone indicating a second construction phase in the window tracery. A single spring-stone for a mullion survives in the limestone base, and when the dimensions are extended to the rest of the base it indicates that this was a five-light window. The granite is quite weathered but the limestone has simple chamfers with a central glazing groove and saddlebar sockets on the flat edge. Three pieces of moulded granite, window jambs with roll moulding and central glazing groove, have been set into the wall above the central arcade probably during the late nineteenth century restoration work. These may originally have been from this window.

North wall

Two internally-splayed pointed-arched window opes pierce this wall which is of uncoursed limestone calp and is supported externally by three stepped buttresses. (Fig.

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[112] Dúchas, the Heritage Service photographic archive.

4.14; Pl. XXIX). Both windows are three-light, of dressed limestone with switchline (intersecting) tracery and external hood-moulding. The mullions are simply chamfered with glazing grooves and saddlebar sockets on the opposing flat surfaces.

A small doorway, west of the windows, leads into the grounds of the St. Audoen's Catholic Church. The four-centred arched doorhead and jambs are of yellow sandstone (Pl. XXX). Although badly weathered there are faint traces of wide chamfered sunken spandrels in the arch which are separated by a wedge-shaped voussoir. This stone appears to be burnt but it is part of the original framing. There are remains of rendering on the entire surround which would have disguised any differences.

Beyond this doorway a flight of steps lead down, below the north-east corner of the Church of Ireland, to an entrance in the wall which faces north towards St. Audoen's Arch and Cook Street. This work was undertaken when this part of St. Audoen's was presented to the public as a National Monument in 1886/87 (Pl. VII).[113] On the wall above the steps there is evidence for infillling/rebuilding with brick and rubble limestone.

West wall - north aisle

Same as east wall, Church of Ireland (Pl. XVI).

West wall - south aisle

Modern wall built during recent reroofing (same as east wall, St. Anne's).

South wall - south aisle

This wall, built of roughly-coursed limestone calp, is pierced by 4 internally-splayed, flat-arched window opes, the outer edges of the splay being of well-dressed limestone (Fig. 4.15). The moulded limestone windows are flat-headed with semi-elliptical lights and sunken chamfered spandrels. The most westerly window has two lights, and the others are three-light. The mullions and jambs are simply chamfered and have glazing grooves and

[113] *Fifty-sixth Annual Report ...* (1887), 29. Minutes in the Vestry Minute Book 1887–1913, dated 13 April 1887 also refers to public access to the monument and the '...passage recently made...' under the church. Minutes of 14 November 1887 record that an agreement was made between the Representative Church Body and the Board of Works regarding the right of way, R.C.B.L.*MS P116.5.2*.

saddlebar sockets. The external detail of these windows is blocked from view by both adjoining premises and a brick screen.

Three foundation arches are visible along the bottom of the wall, and at the east end the wall roughly bulges out over the foundation arch. This may represent a raising of the floor level here. There is a string course of limestone projecting below the three most westerly windows, practically all of which has been broken away.

East wall - south aisle

This wall, which is of roughly coursed limestone calp, has a foundation or relieving arch extending across its lower portion which is blocked but has small drainholes at the base. Four stone corbels extend in a horizontal line across the wall above the arch. These may have supported an elaborate reredos (Fig. 4.13).

There are three window opes set high in the wall. All are flat-arched and internally splayed. Two, with single flat-headed, semi-elliptical lights and sunken chamfered spandrels of limestone, flank the larger central ope. Only the sill and bottom corner moulded limestones survive in the central window. Two mullion spring stones suggest that this was a three light window.

The north window splay of the central ope cuts across both the arch and splay of the smaller window, and suggests that the larger window was inserted during a second building phase, perhaps replacing an earlier smaller window.[114]

Tower

A tower stands at the west end of the south aisle (Fig. 4.10; Pl. XXVIII). Externally the tower has a string-course and offset at belfry level. It has single pointed-arched opes with timber louvres on each face above the offset. Below the restored multi-stepped parapets

[114] A drawing by George Petrie of the unroofed monument shows the large central window only (Fig 1.2). The smaller windows may have been blocked up when the larger ope was constructed, Wright (1931), opposite p.29. Interestingly the illustration shows window tracery with 4-lights, but this appears to have been artistic licence!

on the north, east and south faces, a line of corbelling with masonry slightly projecting above suggest that originally the parapet overhung the wall.[115]

It is four storeys high with concrete floors on the upper three storeys.[116] It houses a bellringers chamber on the first floor, a clock chamber above this, and a bell chamber on the top floor, all of which are reached by a spiral stone staircase in the north-east angle of the tower. From the location of four opposing stone corbels on the east and west walls of both the bellringers and the bell chambers, as well as the doorways into each of the chambers which seem to be part of the original stair construction being neatly cut with the angle of the stairwell (see below), it is clear that the tower originally also had four floors.

Ground floor

The superstructure of the tower is supported on high relieving arches which span four corner piers. The piers form corner turrets externally, except on the south and east sides where the tower walls are flush with the corner piers. The spiral stairs is incorporated into the north-east turret. There are blocking walls between each of the piers but the rendered east wall is part of the remodelling of the tower undertaken in the early nineteenth century.[117]

The grey-coloured moulded granite entrance in the west wall of the tower, with granite hood moulding above, was also constructed at this time. Internally the doorway is framed with brick. Above the doorway is a pointed-arched partially blocked, internally-splayed recess (Pl. XXXI). Its south jamb can be traced to c.3.0m above the floor. Although it cannot be traced in the much altered and heavily pointed external face of the tower, it is likely to have been a window ope.

Internally the details on all of the walls are partially obscured by plaster and paint. However, discolouration on the south and north walls, rough brick infill of what appear to be beam slots, and a shelf at the same level in the blocked recess, indicate the existence of a floor level above the entrance door. Three concrete steps lead from the spiral stone stairs

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[115] According to documentary sources the tower has been subjected to repairs and alterations since the 16th century (chapter 2).
[116] The concrete floors were inserted in 1983 (chapter 2).
[117] See chapter 2.

to a timber-framed doorway which has been roughly broken through the stair turret to open onto this level (Pl. XXXII). The small slit window high up in the blocking east wall was also inserted to provide some light (see above - St. Anne's Chapel, west wall). This work all seems to be part of the nineteenth century alterations.

An arched opening in the north wall of rusticated stonework, leads into the modern porch to the west of the north aisle. The lower courses of the north-west angle of the stair turret project into the porch.

Stair Turret

A two-stone pointed arch limestone doorway with hollow chamfer, in the north-east corner marks the entry to the 96-step spiral stairs which leads up to the flat roof, access to which is through a modern timber door set in a concrete frame (Pl. XXXIII). The stone steps, particularly at the lower level leading to the ringing chamber, have been repaired and straightened using cement but much of the original rough punching on the treads and step face still survives, similar to the dressing on doorjambs and lintels as well as the tower quoins. The steps are constructed mainly using single triangular-shaped blocks. In some instances however two stones are used.

Bellringers' Chamber

The entrance to this first floor chamber is through a dressed limestone doorway, 1.80m high by 0.60m wide. Externally the door has a semi-elliptical head, carved from a single stone. Internally the door is rebated and has a flat lintel (Pl. XXXIV). Two stone steps lead down into the chamber, which has a concrete floor and roof. Two stone corbels are set in the otherwise featureless east wall, c.3.0m above floor level. There are two corresponding corbels on the opposite west wall which would have supported the original timber ceiling. There is a flattened arch, internally-splayed ope in the south wall, now blocked (Pl. XXXV). Originally the ope was c.0.70m wide, sufficient for a single-light window, and some traces of this can be seen on the external face of the wall. On the west wall are the remains of another ope which has been broken through and enlarged. Only the edges of the internal splay remain indicating an internal width of 1.85m, similar to the south wall ope (Pl. XXXVI). A three-light cut-granite window with switchline

(intersecting) tracery has been inserted in the wall, part of the nineteenth century remodelling. Although the original arch has been removed the position of the corbels indicate that the window would have had a flattened arch similar to the south wall ope.

Clock chamber

The details of the doorway into this chamber are the same as above (Pl. XXXVII). The concrete floor here has been inserted above the original level leaving the chamber only c.1.60m high. An ope, surrounded in concrete, has been inserted into the west wall where the clock is mounted in a granite frame.

Bell chamber

Like the other doorways, this entrance is neatly angled into the stonework of the spiral stairs (Pl. XXXVIII). In this case the doorway has a flat lintel, and measures 0.70m high by 0.60m wide. Access into the chamber is impossible but the chamber has four pointed arched opes with timber louvres in each wall. There are two stone corbels in both the east and west wall, one on either side and about halfway up the opes, possibly part of the original roof structure.

Six bells and their ringing mechanism are suspended from a cast-iron frame fixed into the stonework.[118] The fifth bell has the date 1423 AD cast above the legend *IHC Campana Sancte Trinitatis et omnium sanctorum* (The bell of the Holy Trinity and all the saints) (Pl. XXXIX). Two of the other bells, the third and the fourth, are also believed to be the same date and are the oldest known bells in Ireland.[119] The third bell in inscribed with *Campana Sancti Aodeni* (The bell of St Audoen) and the fourth with *Campana Beate Marie Virginis* (The bell of the Blessed Virgin Mary).[120]

Miscellaneous opes

On the east face of the tower a small door, 1.38m high, provides an entrance to the valley between the roofs of the north and south aisles. The traces of steps leading down to the valley from the doorway are visible on the external face of the tower (Fig. 4.10). The flat

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[118] The frame was installed in 1983 by John Taylor of Loughborough, England, when three of the bells - the treble, the second and the tenor - were recast, Crawford (1986), 39.
[119] Dukes (1994), 15.
[120] The inscriptions were recorded by Langrishe (1887/8), 35–37.

limestone lintel has been broken away under the head, presumably to provide more headroom.

Seven slit opes provide light to the stairs (Pl. XL). Six face north, the remaining one faces east above the roof lines. The lowest ope on the north face, which is c.2.70m above ground level, is blocked. The opes, all of which are internally splayed and have limestone jambs and flat lintels, measure between 0.60m-0.95m high, and 0.35m-0.50m wide.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Over a period of approximately four months during 1991 and 1992 the author carried out archaeological excavations at St Audoen's Church on behalf of Dúchas The Heritage Service (Fig. 4.1). There had been no previous excavations at St Audoen's, and although this was not a research excavation it nonetheless provided a welcome opportunity to explore the site in a way that had never been done before.

The excavation strategy was determined by the requirements of Dúchas who wished to build a visitor reception centre external to, but adjacent to the south wall of the church. In order to facilitate the installation of services, some excavation was also required in the south aisle of the church/St Anne's chapel which was to be reroofed. In order to support the new roof, underpinning of the piers between the south and the north aisle was required. Some new features were revealed while this work was being monitored.

The stratigraphy revealed was quite complex and some patience is required to disentangle the various stages of development. In order to facilitate this, the following discussion has been broken down into seven phases.

The Church - phase 1

The excavation inside the church, which covered an area measuring 6.0m east-west by 9.0m north-south, revealed the east end of a stone building F56 (Fig. 5.1, F56; Pl. XLI).[121] Although disturbed by later burials, the east wall, which was approximately 1.10m wide, was revealed to a height of c.1.0m. The wall was faced with irregularly shaped limestone blocks and had a rubble core set in mortar.[122] The inner face of the wall return still survived although it had been heavily disturbed by the insertion of a red-brick vault (Pls. XLII, XLIII). It was also possible to trace the remainder of the wall despite it being little more than a collection of stones. The junction of the east and north wall was also revealed below the line of the blocked arcade during monitoring the underpinning of the piers (Fig. 5.1; Pl. XLIV).

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[121] The feature number assigned to the excavated remains, e.g. F56, have been used here in an attempt to avoid confusion. In the plans the feature numbers are shown in a circle.

[122] Although on excavation the wall did not appear to have been mortared, the result of tests on clay from the wall core revealed that it was in fact mortar which had decayed.

The walls appear to represent the east end of a building which had an internal width of 4.20m. From the position of this building within the present church, and its east-west orientation, it is assumed that it represents one of the earliest building phases of St Audoen's church. Although the north wall return was at the limit of the excavation, the monitoring revealed that it did not continue as far as pier D to the west, indicating a maximum length of *c*.4.0m. This suggests that this is the narrower chancel end of an aisleless church and that the north wall of the original nave lies beneath the present north aisle. This interpretation would also suggest that the west end of the present south wall formed the original south wall of the nave. A round arched window ope (now blocked) in this wall, described in chapter 4, may be related to this phase.

Two sherds of North French ware, one sherd of miscellaneous English ware, and a fragment of green-glazed ridge tile were found in fill which abutted the west face of the east chancel wall F56.[123] Because of disturbance caused by the later insertion of a drain, some of these finds, which have a date range from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century, may be intrusive. However, on the basis of the finds, a possible late twelfth or early thirteenth century date is suggested for the construction of the chancel.[124]

Related structures

Another wall F41, running north south, was revealed further to the east (Fig. 5.1). Only c.0.40m of the west face of the wall foundations were exposed. It was a minimum of 2.0m long and a spread of mortar from a later reuse of the wall suggests that it was 1.0m wide (see Phase 2 below). From artefacts revealed in the foundation trench associated with the later rebuild of the wall, it is clear that it was built sometime earlier than the thirteenth century.[125]

The function of this wall is not clear. However, further south, outside the present church walls, the earliest stone structure revealed by the excavation was a substantial wall F201

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[123] Claire McCutcheon identified the medieval pottery from the excavations.
[124] A small number of red earthenware curved roof tile were also found. Their use has been noted in other Dublin contexts from as early as the eleventh century, continuing throughout the medieval period. Glazed crested ridge tiles were also being employed on St Audoen's. Joanna Wren identified the roof tiles.
[125] Six sherds of late twelfth/early thirteenth century pottery imported from the Bristol area came from the associated deposits (phase 2).

(Fig. 5.1), dated to the early twelfth century, which has been interpreted as part of the early town wall (see chapter 3 for description and discussion). It was not possible to establish with certainty the northern extent of wall F201 due to later medieval and post-medieval disturbance, but the section of wall F41, which lies on the same line, may represent its continuation northwards. If this is the case, the church represented by walls F56 was built outside of the original town wall in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and it suggests that the early town wall no longer served a defensive purpose. The evidence from the excavation confirmed this with the discovery of a substantial timber house abutting the east face of wall F201 by the mid-late twelfth century.[126] It is possible that both walls F201 and F41 were re-used to form part of an enclosing or boundary wall for the church property. This interpretation is supported by the fact that they were later incorporated into the church and an associated building (phase 2).

The excavations south of the church had revealed that the construction of a sequence of post-and-wattle houses, orientated northeast-southwest, which were serviced at different stages by metalled, timber, wattle and gravel pathways, to the east of wall F201 had begun by the mid-twelfth century (Pl. XLV).[127] A complete re-orientation of property boundaries on an east-west axis began in the latter quarter of the twelfth century, *c*.1170–1175 AD. Southeast of St Audoen's, three groups of overlapping short oak planks F393 were laid down in an east-west line, at intervals of approximately 1.50m (Fig. 5.1).[128] The planks may have functioned as pads to support the baseplate of a substantial fence which extended for over 7.0m.[129] Two large rectangular timber posts F431 stood 1.0m apart on the same line as the timber planks and appear to have functioned as gateposts. A later pit removed any trace of the western extent of this fence but it is likely that it was built against wall F201.

As the excavation areas were stratigraphically discrete, the relationship between the church building and this fence cannot be absolutely established. However from the

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[126] Timbers from the structure produced calibrated dendrochronological dates of 1126±9 and 1131±9 AD. Dublin Hand-built ware and Saintonge ware pottery sherds came from related occupation deposits.
[127] McMahon (1993), no. 68.
[128] One of the timbers had two sapwood rings present and produced a good estimated felling date of AD 1163±9.
[129] A close parallel for the groups of overlapping planks can be seen in the John's Lane house, JL10, where it is suggested they acted as piles for a floor or platform, Wallace (1992), 207, fig.182.

marked change in property orientation, similar construction dates, and their proximity to each other, it is presumed that both the church and the timber fence were part of the same building works.

The Church - phase 2

Major building works were undertaken in this phase. The excavations inside the church revealed that the foundations of wall F41 were re-used to construct another wall to the east of the earlier church wall (Fig. 5.2; Pl. XLVI). A foundation trench, 0.65m wide by 0.27m deep, was recut along its western face. The remains of the wall, which had been very badly damaged by later activity, were little more than a heavily mortared mass of stones with a gritty sandy mortar, light yellow in colour. It survived to a height of 0.50m. Although also badly disturbed at its southern end, the spread of mortar indicated that it originally extended over to the south wall of the present church.

During monitoring, the south face of another limestone wall F500 was revealed running east west below the sandstone clustered piers of the four-bay arcade (Figs. 4.1, piers A-E). The full length of the wall was not determined but it ran at least from pier B to the east side of pier E, and it was clear that it was not a sleeper wall built to support the arcade (phase 3). Below pier E it was constructed on top of the north wall of the earlier chancel F56. It survives to a height of c.0.70m.

The reconstruction of wall F41 appears to be related to the construction of a larger chancel. This involved the demolition of the earlier east chancel wall F56. The new east gable, represented by wall F41 extended to the present south wall. The wall below the blocked arcade F500 may be the north wall of the newly expanded church, built over the earlier north chancel wall.

No artefacts were recovered from the natural-looking stony clay on which wall F500 was constructed. However one sherd of Ham Green 'A' and five sherds of Ham Green 'B'

ware, recovered from the foundation trench associated with the east wall F41, indicate a possible construction date in the first half of the thirteenth century.[130]

A small plinth F63, c.0.70m by 0.90m and 0.50m high, was built on top of the earlier wall F56 and directly in front of, i.e. to the south of, wall F500 (Fig. 5.2; Pl. XLVII). The mortar used had a gritty sandy texture and light yellow colour, and was very similar to that used in the rebuilding of wall F41, indicating a tentative link with the construction of the new east gable.

A small section of a stone feature F43, survived to a height of 0.56m. It extended north from the south wall of the church for 1.60m, and returned west at this point. However its western extent was totally destroyed by the later building of a brick vault. The location of this feature opposite the stone plinth F63, may help in suggesting its function as some form of support perhaps for a screen or reredos at the east end of the church.

Related Structures

Two further stone walls F9 and F122, were excavated to the east of the church (Fig. 5.2, building I; Pls. XLVIII, XLIX). The northern end of the west wall F9 survived to a height o 0.70m, displaying an irregular coursing. Only the stone footing survived for the remainder of the wall due to later construction work. A stone buttress F5, constructed of coursed rectangular-shaped limestone blocks, abutted the northwest end of the wall, the south and west faces of which were exposed and measured 0.85m and 0.80m respectively. It survived to a height of 0.97m. A second buttress F8 was built at a later date.

The south wall F122 was excavated in the area to the south-east of the church (Fig. 5.2; Pl. L). The full extent of the wall was not revealed as it continued east beyond the limits of the excavation. At this point the limestone wall stood four courses high, and at the west end it was two courses high, the remainder of the wall being little more than a mortared rubble foundation.

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[130] The 'A' ware has been dated by Ponsford to 1120-1160 AD and the 'B' wares to 1175-1250 AD, Ponsford (1991), 98.

A stone-lined drain F3 ran along the north side of wall F122 and appeared to have been incorporated into the wall fabric, indicating that they were constructed at the same time. The drain was 0.55m wide by 0.33m deep and was capped with limestone flags averaging 0.70m by 0.30m. Beyond the west end of wall F122, the drain turned sharply north and continued downhill alongside the external face of wall F9 (Pl. XLVIII).

Two further drains were also constructed. Drain F51 ran downhill in a north-east direction. It joined with a second drain F21 in a Y-shaped junction to the east of the church wall F41 (Fig. 5.2; Pls. LI, LII). Both drains measured internally 0.30m wide by 0.30m deep.

After the construction of the drains, a cobbled surface F12, set in a 0.05m deep deposit of mortar, was constructed over the drains and formed a cobbled lane, *c*.2.0m wide, between the church and building I (Fig.5.2; Pls. XLVIII, XLIX, LII). Although there was much disturbance in this area, in particular around drain F3, which had been re-used when the vestry was built here in 1848, much of the cobbling still remained *in situ* over the drains. A small patch of the cobbles also survived further south F226 which probably represents the continuation south of the lane. It was clear from the north section face that the cobbled lane had originally continued downhill towards Cook Street, and that the present church building was constructed directly over the lane surface (Pl. XLIX).

A sherd of Ham Green 'B' ware, two sherds of Saintonge ware and one sherd of Dublin glazed ware[131] were found in deposits of marls associated with the stone building and the lane, suggesting a date possibly in the first half of the thirteenth century for these features.[132]

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[131] The nomenclature used for the locally-produced medieval pottery recovered from the Dublin Castle excavations, Papazian (1989) has recently been revised, McCutcheon (2000), 117–125. However for the purposes of consistency with other Dublin excavation reports published within the last ten years, McMahon (1991), 156–159; Simpson (1995), 48–52; Walsh (1997), 109–123, the Papazian terminology has also been used in this report, with the McCutcheon revisions included in the footnotes in brackets. Dublin glazed ware (Dublin-type ware) has been found in thirteenth century contexts, and it has been suggested that it was being produced in Dublin by the early thirteenth century, McCutcheon (2000), 122; Papazian (1989), 65; McMahon (1988), 279, 285, 293, 311.

[132] Saintonge ware, imported from south-west France, has been given a wide date range from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the medieval period, Barton (1963), 201–204; Allan (1983), 199. A flourishing trade was established following the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitane to Henry II in 1152 and the subsequent loss of Normandy by their son, John, in 1204, Clarke (1983), 19. Small amounts of this ware have been found association with twelfth century deposits but the main period of trade with this region is early to mid-

Also south of the church, and to the west of the cobbled lane, a stone wall F332 was clumsily bonded into the west face of the earlier wall F201 (Fig.5.2,building II: Pl. LIII). Wall F332, which was orientated east west, was c.0.80m thick and only survived to a height of 0.30m. A stone-lined drain F357 was constructed along the north side of this wall. A recut of the original foundation trench along the east face of wall F201 indicated that the wall was partially demolished and rebuilt as part of these building works to facilitate the laying of the drain, which turned north and ran downhill along the east side of the wall. Only the capstones and a short section of the drain survived beside wall F332, but the side walls and capstones were still *in situ* running below wall F201. It is likely that this is the same drain as drain F21, but because of later disturbance they could not be absolutely related to each other.

Pottery, including sherds of Redcliffe and Saintonge ware as well as five sherds of locally manufactured pottery, were found in an associated deposit, indicating a mid-thirteenth century date for the building works.[133]

A section of wall F271, 1.0m from, and parallel to the south wall of the church, was uncovered c.9.0m further to the west (Figs. 4.1 and 5.2; Pl. LIV). Only 4.30m of the wall was revealed in the course of monitoring work. It was c.1.0m wide and constructed of uncoursed limestone with a rubble core. Although the wall was not fully excavated, a sherd of Saintonge green-glazed ware as well as some sherds of Dublin hand-built[134] and Dublin glazed ware were recovered from deposits abutting its south face.

Wall F271 may be the north wall of a range of buildings, built around the middle of the thirteenth century, with wall F332 and the rebuilt north end of wall F201 being the southeast angle of the complex (building II). A straight joint in this section of wall may be

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thirteenth century and it has been found in other Dublin city excavations in thirteenth century contexts, Gahan and McCutcheon (1997), 257; Wallace (1981), 253–8.

[133] Studies of the Bristol pottery have shown that Redcliffe ware replaced the Ham Green wares by the mid-thirteenth century, Ponsford (1991), 95. Production was concentrated during the fourteenth century but continued into the fifteenth century. In Waterford it was associated primarily with later thirteenth century contexts, Gahan and McCutcheon (1997), 306.

[134] Dublin hand-built ware (Dublin-type coarse ware and Dublin-type cooking ware) has been given a late twelfth and thirteenth century date where it has been found in other Dublin city excavations, Papazian (1989), 65; McMahon (1991), 56–7; Walsh (1997), 114, 127; McCutcheon (2000), 122–3.

a side jamb of an opening from this building onto the lane. By the end of the thirteenth century the south wall was demolished and further extensive drainage improvements were undertaken (see phase 4 below). An indication that these buildings were associated with St Audoen's church and formed part of the ecclesiastical complex, was the presence of large quantities of mainly line-impressed floor tiles in sealing deposits associated with the following phases of development.

The position of wall F271, *c*.1.20m from the church wall, provides indirect evidence that a lane ran along the south wall of the church between the two buildings to join the other cobbled lane F12 at the east end of the church. The area adjoining the wall was not excavated below the seventeenth century levels, however a stone cobbled lane F609 was revealed between wall F271 and the church, which on the basis of the overlying stratigraphy could belong to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Pl. LIV). This supports the view that a similar lane existed in the thirteenth century.

In summary, the excavations revealed extensive building works during Phase 2. The east wall of the chancel was demolished and the church building was extended *c*.2.0m to the east with the construction of a new east gable. A new north wall was constructed on top of the earlier north chancel wall. Around the same time, i.e. in the first half of the thirteenth century, a complex drainage system was built to the east of the church and a cobbled laneway was constructed over it. The lane ran uphill towards High Street and downhill towards Cook Street. On the east side of the lane, opposite the church, the west and south walls of a stone building were revealed. On the west side of the lane, and south of the church, evidence for another stone building, or possible range of buildings, was also revealed.

The Church - Phase 3

Only two tenuous structural features were revealed during monitoring which seem to relate to a major new building phase which saw the considerable enlargement of the church with the construction of a new north aisle.

The north wall F500 of Phase 2 appears to have been partially used as a base on which to build the piers which formed the new four bay arcade (bays 1–4). The base of pier C

projected south over the top of wall F500 by c.0.34m where it was supported by loosely laid stones (Pl. LV). Similarly the bulk of pier E also seemed to rest on wall F500 with stones overlying the stone plinth F63 supporting its south side (Pl. LVI).

No small finds were recovered associated with this development but from the date of the preceding and following phases of construction, a late-thirteenth or early fourteenth century date is possible.

Eight fragments of window tracery were recovered from the archaeological excavations to the south of the church which had been used as infill for later building works (Fig. 5.3). The form of the cusped tracery suggests that they may be related to this construction phase. The stone used is greywacke, a native sandstone.

The Church - phase 4

The east gable wall of the church F41 was demolished, leaving a quantity of rubble *in situ*. Further extensive drainage works were then undertaken. A cut was made through the cobbles along the length of drain F21. Another stone drain F65 was constructed running east-west, which cut through the earlier church walls F56 and F41 to link in with drain F21 (Pl. LVII).

The heavily mortared rubble core of another wall F68 was revealed on the west side of the cobbled lane, partially overlying the east face of wall F9 (Fig. 5.4). The wall core sat on a flat surface of stones, c.1.0m wide, which seemed to form the foundation course (F69, Pl. XLVIII). The south and north limits of the wall were not excavated.

This wall seems to represent the new east gable of an enlarged church which was extended across the cobbled lane following the demolition of the east gable wall F41. This extension can also be seen in the architectural detail of the building with the addition of a new fifth bay to the arcade between the south and the north aisles (Figs. 4.1, 4.5c, 5.4, piers E and F; Pl. LVIII).

No small finds were discovered from deposits directly associated with the new east gable. However five sherds of locally produced pottery including Dublin hand-built, Dublin

glazed and Dublin temper-free wares[135], as well as one sherd of Saintonge ware, were discovered from deposits associated with the new drainage works. Four line-impressed floor tiles, a fashion popular from the early fourteenth century, also came from these deposits,[136] indicating a possible early fourteenth century date for this building phase.

Related Structures

Wall F332, which formed the south-east angle of building II was demolished and a sequence of drains were built which ran in a north-south direction across the wall remains (Fig. 5.4). A substantial stone drain F323 capped with irregularly shaped limestone flags, cut across the wall remains. It ran into both faces of the cutting but the excavated section measured internally 5.20m long by 0.40m wide by 0.30m deep. It had an oak timber base (Pl. LIX).

A second drain F330, also stone with a timber base, ran west to east and fed into drain F323. This drain reused the south face of wall F332. The internal dimensions of the drain were 0.22m wide by 0.18m deep.

From dates provided by dendrochronological analysis of timber from the base of drain F323, we know that wall F332 was demolished sometime before 1309±9 AD and the drainage improvements undertaken.[137] Fragments of roof pegtiles were discovered within the structure of drain F323 and a complete pegtile was found in drain F330 (Fig. 5.5). Although wasters from a kiln producing ridge and pegtiles in the early to mid-thirteenth century have been found at Cornmarket in Dublin, their presence here indicates their use in the fourteenth century at St Audoen's church.[138]

Deposits of stratified layers of ash and burnt clays, c.0.65m deep sealed the drains. The nature of the deposits indicate some form of intensive industrial processing in the

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[135] Dublin temper-free ware (Dublin-type fine ware) has been found in other Dublin excavations including Bridge Street Lower, McMahon (1991), 58, and Dublin Castle, Papazian (1989), 146, where the ware has been dated from the thirteenth century with a suspected late continuation into the fifteenth century. McCutcheon suggests a date of late thirteenth to fourteenth century for this ware.

[136] According to Eames and Fanning '…almost all of the known medieval tiles in Ireland are from ecclesiastical sites…'. Two-colour tiles were being produced in Ireland by the mid-thirteenth century but '…by the early fourteenth century…' line-impressed decoration was the most popular, Eames and Fanning (1988), 58–60.

[137] Timber samples dated in the laboratories of the Queen's University Belfast.

[138] Hayden (2000), 109.

immediate area. A large quantity of fourteenth-century line-impressed floor tiles came from these deposits indicting that a fine floor, most likely the sanctuary floor, had been torn up (Fig. 5.6).

Further to the east a number of pits were excavated. One of the pits F320 was over 0.80m deep and at its lowest level was sub-rectangular in shape, measuring at least 1.60m by 1.50m (Fig. 5.4). The fill, particularly towards the bottom of the pit, consisted of lenses of burnt clay, giving it a distinctive orange colour. It is possible that the pit had some sort of industrial function. The fired clay suggests kiln residue, but no wasters of any kind were found. This, and other pits, also produced large quantities of vitrified clay. A number of pottery sherds were recovered from the fill including Dublin and imported wares, but interestingly no floor tiles were found in these, or indeed any of the deposits on the east side of the site. A piece of oak timber dumped into the top of one of the pits produced a felling date of AD1299 - 1300, placing this industrial activity also in the early fourteenth century.

The Church - phase 5

In the course of the excavations to the south of the church a large number of moulded stones were recovered from nineteenth century infill (see chapter 4, St Anne's chapel, south wall). In removing the remains of an adjoining building, traces of a large window ope in the south wall were also revealed (Fig. 4.7). Using the profiles of the moulded stones, together with some of the window surrounds which still survived *in situ*, the window was reconstructed in the ope (Pl. LX, LXII). It consists of four cusped ogee-headed lights set in a rectangular frame. A hoodmoulding frames the window on the outer wall.

This large four light window would have been required to light the east end of the church. The location of three squint windows in the south wall to the west of this window, indicates that a building abutted the external face of the church wall which would otherwise have left the interior very dark.

As well as line-impressed floor tiles, some plain bright green glazed tiles were recovered from the excavations, which had been imported in the fifteenth century from the Saintonge region of south-west France.[139]

The Church - phase 6

The excavation inside St Audoen's did not extend into the east end of the church known as the Portlester chapel. However the excavation to the south did reveal some detail related to the extension.

The south wall of the east end of the Portlester Chapel, was built c.1.0m north of wall F122 which also incorporated drain F3 (Fig. 5.4; Pl. LXI). The material between the drain and the church wall consisted of large stones randomly set in a greenish-yellow mortar F147. Although impossible to excavate they seemed to form part of the foundation for the wall.

The peculiar orientation of the east end of St Audoen's church, which is skewed towards the northeast, seems to have been dictated by the earlier property boundaries as it follows the same line as the south wall of building I, F122.

The Church - phase 7

Four moulded voussoirs were also recovered from the nineteenth century fill to the south of the church. The stone was an oolithic limestone imported from the Bath area of southwest England. The edges of two of the voussoirs were scored with wavy lines, which would have helped to prevent abutting stones from slipping. The facia and soffit margins of the voussoirs were carved with rebated margins forming raised panels which accentuated the voussoir (Fig. 4.9). The jambs of an entrance in the south wall of the church, which were also of Bath stone, had similar carved rebates and it was clear from the decorative detail on both the jambs and the voussoirs that they originally formed part of the same entrance feature (Pl. LXII).[140] Traces of render survived on one of the voussoirs.

South of the entrance, a cobbled surface was revealed, extending south–north from the direction of High Street. The cobbles, which were closely set, were irregularly shaped flat

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[139] R. Thompson, Southampton (pers comm). As far as I am aware this is the first time their use has been identified in Ireland.

stones, measuring on average 10cms by 15cms. The surface was slightly depressed in the centre where rectangular stones, set on their long axes, formed a channel to carry excess water down the slope. Some sherds of blackware and brownware from the bedding surface indicates a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century date for the lane.

Extensive drainage works preceded the laying of a new flagged surface over the cobbled lane. The flagstones were rectangular in shape, on average 30cms by 20cms, and fitted snugly together. From the associated finds it appears that these works were contemporary with the construction of the new south entrance into the church.

Summary

Although the excavation was not dictated by research and the scale of the work relative to the extent of the church was small, the information retrieved has contributed greatly to our knowledge of the building history of the church. Burial inside the church resulted in a great deal of disturbance to the archaeological stratigraphy. Another major cause of truncation was the problem experienced with water flow and the constant need for the provision of new drains. Nevertheless, the excavation revealed that the church had a complex building history and it was possible to establish seven phases of development. A number of key discoveries were made: the original church lay on what is now the south aisle; the arcade was built over the original north chancel wall; and the east gable of the original church was moved to the east not once but twice. The status of St Audoen's is reflected in the large number of tiles which decorated the floor of at least the chancel end of the church, some of which were even imported from France.

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[140] With the construction of the coal cellar in the nineteenth century the arch was demolished.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Since its foundation, St Audoen's church has been in constant use for religious service by Christian communities. The fabric of the building has consequently witnessed numerous alterations as a result of changes in style, decoration, new extensions, insertion of new windows and doorways, the blocking of others, redecoration, and eventually the unroofing of practically three-quarters of the building.[141] Despite the loss of some of the details in later restorations and additions, by means of a thorough examination of the building fabric and archaeological excavations, supported by documentary research, it has been possible to observe a building sequence at St Audoen's which commenced *c.*1200 AD.

The Christian relics preserved in the church, however, go back even earlier. A late 9th century grave slab[142] is secured to a base in the floor of the porch within a couple of centimetres of the church wall (Pl. LXIII). The original location of the slab is unknown despite the general belief that it stood beside the tower of St Audoen's.[143] It was placed in its current position *c.*1888, having been previously stored in an outhouse in Glasnevin cemetery.[144] Similar grave slabs were found incorporated into the fabric of St Patrick's Cathedral.[145] It has been suggested that they came from an Early Christian ecclesiastic centre situated possibly on the site of the church and round tower of St Michael le Pole to the east of Bride Street.[146] A similar type grave slab was also found in Lower Mount Street, Dublin, clearly not in its original location.[147] There is no reason to believe that the St Audoen's grave slab, together with the other slabs, was not originally from the same early ecclesiastical centre south of Dublin Castle.

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[141] A flake of paint taken from pier D (Fig. 4.5c, chapter 4) and examined using light microscopy by John Kelly helps to illustrate the constant redecoration of the church A cross section of the sample showed that there had been eighteen applications to the pier including limewashes and paint layers. Interestingly a layer of soiling directly on the surface of the stone prior to the application of a limewash suggests that initially the stonework of the piers was exposed.

[142] Ó hÉailidhe (1973), 51–64.

[143] Ronan (1941), 1–8.

[144] *Ibid.*

[145] Ó hÉailidhe (1973), 52–3, fig. 2.

[146] Gowen (2001), 19. The results of recent archaeological excavations indicate that the church and round tower of St Michael le Pole may mark the site of Dublin's early ecclesiastic centre, *ibid.* 51, and not the oval enclosure outlined by Peter's Row, Whitefriar Street, Upper and Lower Stephen Street, Johnson Place and Mercer Street, Clarke (1990), 61–5.

[147] As Ó hÉailidhe points out, even as late as the seventeenth century, this site was not developed, being on the seashore, Ó hÉailidhe (1973), 52–3.

A bowl and stem type font is located at the west end of the north aisle of St Audoen's (Pl. LXIV).[148] The font, which is of Dundry stone[149], stands almost 1.0m high. The cushion-shaped bowl measures 0.65m square externally and 0.47m square internally and is 0.21m deep.[150] Restoration has covered the central drainage hole. The external face of the bowl is decorated on each of its four sides with an inverted fan-like cluster of concave scallops contained within a moulded frame. Nail head ornament is used to accentuate the frame. It is also used down the centre of each scallop on two of the faces. A roll moulding separates the bowl from the stem, which like the base, is of circular section. A double roll moulding forms the foot of the base. Rectangular-shaped cuts in the rim of the font, filled in during restoration, may have originally related to the positioning of a font cover.[151] Small square recesses below the rim, cut into two of the opposing faces, may also have related to securing the cover.[152]

In Christ Church Cathedral, in a trefoil-headed recess on the east wall of the late twelfth-century south transept, nail head decoration is combined with roll moulding to frame the feature, similar to the St Audoen's font (Pl.LXV). However the frame and scalloped shapes are also very similar to the decoration on capitals of mid-twelfth century date found in Christ Church Cathedral.[153] A similar font in the Church of Ireland parish church, Wicklow, which has cushion-like projections on two corners outlined with '..narrow rounded mouldings..', dates to *c*.1153-1162.[154] Another cushion-shaped font, of Dundry stone, now in Inistioge parish church, Co. Kilkenny, was probably originally carved for the Augustinian priory of St Mary in 1183.[155]

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[148] According to the Rev. Canon Alexander Leeper, prebendary of St Audoen's, the font was found embedded in a wall near the porch. As it was '…fast falling into fragments….' he had it lined with lead and bound with iron cramps. In 1926 the bowl was cracked when the lead lining was being stolen, Leeper (1873?), 4; Donovan (1928), 3; Wheeler and Craig (1948), 13; Crawford (1986), 20.

[149] Waterman (1970), 72. The font has been placed on a limestone plinth, 0.68m square by 5cms high.

[150] In England, the shape of twelfth-century fonts was inspired by cushion capitals, Bond (1908), 148, 151 and 202.

[151] Covers were normally fixed to the bowl rims with staples and fastened on one side with a padlock, Roe (1968), 8.

[152] The present octagonal-shaped timber cover originally covered a font with a round bowl.

[153] Stalley suggests that the capitals might be from an early cloister arcade, Stalley (2000), 56, 115, pl. 7a.

[154] Hickey (1972), 101, pls. 16b, 18b.

[155] *Journal of the Kilkenny and south-east of Ireland Archaeological Society* 1864-66, 491–2, woodcut opposite p.491; Pike (1989), 13; Waterman (1970), 69.

One would expect the building that housed such a finely decorated font to have moulded architectural details of the same period equally elaborately decorated. There is no evidence however from the fabric of St Audoen's, or from the archaeological excavations, for a building earlier than the late twelfth century. A *c.*1200 date is stylistically convincing for the font. It is possible that the font was commissioned for St Audoen's sometime after 1189 when the rules governing the type and positioning of baptismal fonts were laid down by Archbishop John Cumin at the Provincial Synod held in Christ Church Cathedral Dublin.[156] On the other hand many of the fonts now standing in parish churches, including those at Wicklow and Inistioge, are not in their original locations.[157] Could the similarity of design with the capitals at Christ Church cathedral indicate that the St Audoen's font originally came from there?

A Late Romanesque Building

The most ancient part of the fabric of St Audoen's Church is the round-arched west doorway which can be seen inside the porch at the west end of the present Church of Ireland, i.e. the north aisle. The details of the moulding on the door orders, i.e. the ogee keel and triple rolls, have parallels in the nearby Christ Church Cathedral which was constructed in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169-70. Masons from the West Country in Britain, centred around the Bristol channel and Severn valley, were working on the construction of the choir and transepts of the cathedral between 1190 and 1210 AD, employing triple shafts and keel mouldings in the piers of the choir.[158] The ogee-keel was part of the repertoire of the West Country school in the twelfth century, for example in *c.*1175 it was used in the piers and arch profiles of Worcester Cathedral and later, *c.*1185 at Glastonbury Abbey.[159] The form of 'stiff-leaf' capitals on the outer order of the doorway are also similar to foliate capitals in Christ Church Cathedral, particularly the capital of the centre column of the east triforium.[160] Recent work on the loose architectural stones in the crypt of Christ Church Cathedral has also revealed capitals with

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[156] Roe (1968), 7.
[157] The Inistioge font was brought from the parish church of Kells, Co. Kilkenny having been moved from the Augustinian priory.
[158] Stalley (2000), 61; Stalley (1979), 107–122: Stalley (1973), 5: Stalley (1971), 58–68, 104.
[159] Morris (1992), 8.
[160] Stalley (2000), 114, pl.XLVb.

similar details (Pl. LXVIa).[161] The genesis for the spiral form of the stiff-leaf moulded capital can be seen in the chapel of Durham Castle which is dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century (Pl. LXVIb).[162]

Imported freestone from the Dundry quarries, located four miles south of the river Avon at Bristol, was used for the doorway. The use of stone from these quarries has also been attested both at Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedral.[163] The lack of availability of good freestone locally led to the importation of this creamy-yellow oolithic limestone, which the masons would have found easier to carve than the relatively hard local carboniferous calp limestone used in the body of the building. As the favoured means of transport at the time was by water, the location of St Audoen's on the southern bank of the river Liffey made the importation of the Dundry stone from Bristol an easy task. Very important evidence has recently been found which shows that at Christ Church Cathedral not only was Dundry stone being imported but it was also being worked on-site.[164]

From documentary sources we know that St Audoen's was established prior to 1191 AD as John Cumin, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop of Dublin from 1181 to 1212, in reorganising his diocese, granted St Audoen's to the convent of Grace Dieu in that year. It is believed that Cumin was responsible for inaugurating the building of the choir and transepts at Christ Church Cathedral.[165] The work on the late Romanesque doorway at St Audoen's appears to have been contemporary with the building works at Christ Church, i.e. between1190 and 1210AD. The work however seems of an inferior quality and it may be that of local masons who perhaps were apprentices at the Cathedral.

A great deal of rebuilding is evident in the wall fabric around the late Romanesque doorway indicating that it is not in its original position but had been placed there at some

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[161] Rachel Moss, Trinity College Dublin undertook the study for her PhD thesis. The material is held on database by Christ Church Cathedral and I am very grateful to Sue Hemmens for copying these illustrations from the catalogue.

[162] Bond (1913), 491–2.

[163] The use of Dundry stone in the west doorway of St Audoen's was originally identified by Dudley Waterman. He recognised its use along a coastal strip from north of Drogheda to Kinsale, its main area of concentration being along the navigable rivers of the southeast. Its earliest use is in Christ Church Cathedral, Waterman (1970), 63–5, 71–73, fig. 1.

[164] At a lecture delivered to the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2001, Rachel Moss revealed that she had discovered unfinished work on two capitals in her study of the architectural stones in the crypt of Christ Church Cathedral.

later date. The archaeological excavations provided a lot of new information, especially relating to the form and position of the early church, enough to suggest that the doorway was originally at the west end of a simple nave and chancel building which stood in what is now the south aisle.[166]

The east, north and south walls of the narrower chancel end of an aisleless church were exposed (archaeological excavations, phase 1). Calp limestone, which was readily available locally, was used for the walls and continued to be employed as the main building material.[167] A section of the arcade between the north and south aisles lies over the north wall of the chancel. The indirect evidence shows that the original north wall of the nave lies further to the north of the existing nave arcade. On the basis of the finds excavated in the chancel area, the original church is dated to the late twelfth century or early thirteenth century, similar to the moulded late Romanesque doorway.

The blocked round arched window ope in the south wall was probably contemporary with this early building phase. Wall paintings, discovered in the nineteenth century on the window splay can be paralleled in Lincoln Cathedral (Pl.LXVIc).[168] The paintings, which include cinquefoils similar to those described at St Audoen's, are in St Hugh's Choir and are believed to be contemporary with its construction *c.*1192–1200 AD, suggesting a thirteenth century date for the St Audoen's paintings.

Thus using a combination of archaeological excavation, historical sources and architectural history the location and form of the original St Audoen's can be surmised. The earliest building was a two-cell structure with contemporary nave and chancel, located in what is now the south aisle (St Anne's chapel), a plan-form common in Ireland in the

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[165] Stalley (2000), 62.
[166] The idea of 'mobile' features is not new. For example, at St Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe a late twelfth century Romanesque doorway was moved to the south wall of the cathedral in the thirteenth century, and at the parish church at Wicklow a Romanesque door-arch was built into the south porch, Hickey (1972), 97; Leask (1955), vol. I, 151, 160–1.
[167] This stone was the main building stone in Dublin from medieval times up to the late 1700s. Medieval quarries were located at Crumlin and Rathgar, where it was the natural bedrock, Wyse Jackson (1993), 14. Its bedding planes allowed it to split easily into regular blocks, making it a very suitable building material, Pavía and Bolton (2000), 14.
[168] Park (1986), 75–75, pl. XIIB.

twelfth century (Fig. 6.3 a).[169] The nave measured *c.* 15.5m long by *c.*8.0m wide internally with the narrower chancel measuring *c.*4.25m square.[170] The proportion of length to width of 1.94:1 for the nave cannot be easily matched in Ireland for this period due possibly to the lack of survival of church plans of a similar date, i.e. late twelfth century. The dimensions of similar two-cell churches of early eleventh century date indicate a much shorter nave length relative to width, such as St Peter's in Waterford (1.55:1), St Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe (1.65:1) and Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel (1.66:1).[171]

The church was entered through a round-arched moulded doorway, carved in a contemporary style, with ogee keel moulding, triple roll and stiff-leaf capitals. There is no evidence for an opening for the door in the fabric of the south wall, and it may have been located at the west end of the church. A large internally splayed window in the south wall lit the nave. No evidence for the window tracery in this ope survives, but the painted cinquefoils in the window splay may have mirrored the tracery. To those viewing the window from floor level the impression might also have been given by the painting that there were more openings in the window, thus creating a *trompe-l'oeil* effect.[172] The presence of painting in the window splay also suggests the possibility of further painted decoration on the walls, windows and doorway of the early church. Unglazed red earthenware curved roof tiles were found in the archaeological excavations. They functioned as ridge tiles which would have been attached to the body of the roof.

St Audoen's and the Walled Town

The excavation revealed that prior to the construction of the church, a substantial pre-Norman stone wall, dated to *c.*1120, extended in a north–south direction. Associated with

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[169] The earliest examples of churches with coeval nave and chancels, according to Leask, belong to the tenth century, e.g. Trinity and Reefert churches, Glendalough, Leask (1955), vol. I, 76–77. However Craig (1982), 35 and Hare and Hamlin (1986), 133–4, have questioned the dating of these churches, suggesting they are later.

[170] The nave length is based on the assumption that the west wall of the original church is on a line with the existing east wall of the tower.

[171] Leask (1955), vol. I, 36–7, 116, figs. 11 and 62. In England, archaeological excavations at the parish church of St Mary-le-Port, Bristol, revealed a two-cell structure dated to the second half of the twelfth century, the nave measuring *c.*19m by 5m, i.e. a proportion of 3.8:1, Watts and Rahtz (1985), 97–99, figs. 48, 52, 53, 54.

[172] At Lincoln Cathedral Park believes that the monochrome painting was intended to fool the eye and suggest carved decoration from floor-level, Park (1986), 76. The nineteenth-century description of the painting at St Audoen's is very brief and unfortunately doesn't refer to colour.

the wall was a metalled path which ran along its east side. To the east of the path an extensive cobbled area was being used for industrial activity. The location of this early wall and its associated features is puzzling unless it is seen as part of the early town's western defences.[173]

A number of factors can be cited in support of this interpretation including similarities in scale and construction with the early twelfth century town wall excavated at Ross Road and Winetavern Street. The siting of a metalled path extending along the interior of the wall was also revealed at Ross Road. The location of industrial activity at the extreme western end of the town would not have posed a threat to the town's domestic dwellings which, at this time, were clustered further east. And furthermore, there was no trace of the early wall in excavations recently carried out further west at Bridge Street, Cornmarket and Lamb Alley.[174]

By the middle of the twelfth century, as revealed by the archaeological excavations, there was a build-up of house occupation debris against the stone wall, extending over the earlier industrial area and metalled path. This represented a major expansion westwards of the Hiberno-Norse town.[175] A succession of timber houses with their associated gravel and timber pathways were exposed. At least one of the timber structures appears to have reused the stone wall and partially incorporated it into the building, indicating that it was no longer recognised as a defensive feature, which may account for the lack of any known reference to this stone wall in the documentary sources. This westward expansion of the town was protected by a sequence of clay banks and ditches which have been exposed to the southwest and west by Coughlan and Hayden.[176]

Following the Anglo-Norman Invasion, St Audoen's was built at the extreme western end of the enclosed town, immediately to the west of the pre-Norman stone wall, which may

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[173] See chapter 3 for detailed discussion.
[174] Coughlan (2000), 205–209; Hayden (2000), 87–94.
[175] Houses and associated small yards and animal pens, dated to the late eleventh century, were excavated on the south side of High Street. There is very little evidence for structural remains for this period from excavations carried out between nos. 1– 12 on the north side of High Street, but large deposits of domestic rubbish suggest that the excavations were to the rear of houses, Simpson (2000), 35–37, fig. 2, nos. 2, 3 and 13; Gowen (1990), no. 48; Murtagh (1990), nos. 34–36; Murray (1983), 43–47; Ó Ríordáin (1973), 135–55.
[176] Coughlan (2000), 205–209; Hayden (2000), 87–94.

have defined a section of the church's eastern property boundary.[177] The construction of the church, as well as a substantial timber fence and gate (Fig. 5.1), on an east-west axis, where previously the densely packed timber dwellings had been orientated northeast–southwest, marked a change in property orientation. It is likely that when the church was given or acquired the land it included not alone enough to build a church but also some adjoining land which they fenced in.[178]

Although it has been generally assumed that the early twelfth century Hiberno-Norse town wall north of St Audoen's church extended along Cook Street as far west as Bridge Street, to date no evidence of an early wall has been revealed by excavations in this area of the town. Differences visible in the construction of the wall to the west of St Audoen's Gate may indicate that it was extended westwards towards Bridge Street at this time to strengthen the town's western defences. By *c.*1200, following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and the building of St Audoen's, the area had become densely occupied with the rapid expansion of the town. The town's inhabitants were even beginning to build on the sandbanks and mudflats on the north side of the Cook Street wall and by the mid-thirteenth century this area was also enclosed by a new city wall.[179]

St Audoen's Church in the early thirteenth century

The archaeological excavations revealed evidence for extensive building works in the early thirteenth century (archaeological excavations, phase 2). The ground plan of the church was changed to an undifferentiated nave and chancel with the enlargement of the chancel end (Fig. 6.3 b). The east wall of the chancel was demolished and the church building was extended further east, the new east gable being constructed off the foundations of the earlier 'boundary' wall. The chancel was also widened. A small piscina in the south wall near this joint may have also been inserted at this time. The north wall of the nave appears to have been rebuilt on the line of the earlier north chancel wall, which resulted in the total width of the nave being reduced by about a metre. The newly extended church now had internal measurements of approximately 21.50m by 7.0m. The

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[177] In the thirteenth century, the wall was again reused and partially incorporated into another building associated with St Audoen's (archaeological excavations, phase 2).
[178] Dendrochronological analysis of some of the timbers indicate a construction date in the latter quarter of the twelfth century for the fence and gate.
[179] Simpson (2000), 49–56. See also chapter 3 above.

hint of a straight joint in the south wall is the only indication from the building fabric of these extensive works. A crease-line visible on the tower, indicates that the church had a steeply pitched roof.

It is difficult to understand why the church building was narrowed? Perhaps there was some structural instability in the original north wall which could only be addressed by rebuilding inside the first wall? For example, could the position of the church on the downhill slope of the ridge between High Street and Cook Street have created an outward thrust on the north wall causing a danger of collapse? The base or foundations of the earlier north wall could then have been used to buttress the new wall. The archaeological excavations suggest a second possibility. Around the same time, i.e. in the first half of the thirteenth century, a complex stone drainage system was constructed to the east of the church which channelled ground water away from the building. The stability of the building may well have been further threatened by large amounts of ground water flowing downhill which was addressed by the new drainage management scheme.

Early to mid-thirteenth century environs of St Audoen's church

The archaeological excavations revealed a microcosm of urban development in the immediate vicinity of St Audoen's subsequent to its extension. The scale of the new drainage scheme suggests that it was part of large-scale public utility works that were being undertaken in the first half of the thirteenth century. As with the public water supply which was provided for the citizens in 1244,[180] a similar scheme relating to drainage seems to have been instigated.[181] Whereas the general public collected water from a fountain located in St Audoen's parish at Cornmarket, special grants were made to allow the piping of water from the public supply to ecclesiastical establishments. This applied to the church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church Cathedral) and the Dominican Priory of St Saviour's, the latter located on the north bank of the river Liffey.[182] Perhaps in a similar way, St Audoen's could call on the civic authorities to facilitate them with

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[180] Jackson (1990), 131.
[181] During the building works for the modern Visitor Centre, by pouring a dye down one of the drains (F3) it was discovered that it was tied into the modern drainage system, showing a continuity of *c.*700 years.
[182] Berry (1891), 570–1. A section of oak piping relating to the latter water supply was excavated at Bridge Street Lower, McMahon (1991), 54–55, 66, fig. 3, pls. III and IV.

drainage problems and allow them to feed into a municipal drainage scheme. Excavations further to the northeast, beside Isolde's Tower on the city wall, revealed what may be a 'communal' drain and stone flushing chamber.[183] Here a stone-lined drain extended through the *c.*1250 AD city wall and discharged into a stone-built chamber. The waters of the river Liffey would have rushed into the chamber through a stone-arched channel to clear it out.[184]

The St Audoen's drainage scheme was integral to the construction of a well-laid stone cobbled lane revealed in the excavation. The drains, which ran downhill towards the river Liffey in a south to north direction, were constructed below the cobbled surface of the lane on its east and west side. The lane, which was *c.*2m wide, ran past the east gable wall of St Audoen's, towards St Audoen's Gate. Permission was given in the mid-thirteenth century to one of the town traders, to extend the laneway into the newly enclosed walled town north of Cook Street and down to the quays. If, as is suggested, the cobbled lane was a public lane and part of the urban landscape, it is a unique find in medieval urban contexts in Ireland. In Bristol, excavations beside the parish church of St Mary-le-Port revealed a sequence of surfaces dating from as early as the tenth century, which were eventually to become the modern Mary-le-Port Street.[185] As will be seen below, the northern extent of the lane at St Audoen's was built over when the church building extended eastwards. However evidence from the excavation revealed that the south end of the lane was re-surfaced and re-used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century.

A number of stone buildings were constructed on either side of the cobbled lane. Beyond the church, on the east side of the lane, the southwest angle of a large stone building was excavated (building I). From finds associated with the building, a construction date in the first half of the thirteenth century is suggested. The west wall of the building was partially supported by a stone buttress. We have very little information about stone buildings in

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[183] Simpson (2000), 54.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Watts & Rahtz (1985), 1, 63–88, fig. 25.

Dublin for this period either from archaeological excavations or documentary sources.[186] The house type most commonly found in excavations is of timber construction, mainly post-and-wattle, suggesting that a stone building would have belonged to someone of high status. Although there is no direct link between this building and St Audoen's church, its location close to the church may indicate that it was part of the St Audoen's complex.

Further stone walls excavated to the south of the church, and west of the lane, represent part of a building, or perhaps a range of buildings, associated with St Audoen's (building II). As with the newly extended church, a section of the earlier 'boundary' wall was also re-used and incorporated into this structure. Evidence from associated pottery indicates a construction date of *c*.mid-thirteenth century. Although the position of the north wall of this building *c*.1.0m south of the church would suggest a free-standing structure, architectural details in St Audoen's indicate that at least by the fifteenth century the building abutted the church at a higher level. The presence of a stone cobbled lane in the sixteenth century in the gap between the two buildings, suggests that the thirteenth century building also straddled a lane running east-west along the south wall of the church.[187] A small internal doorway inserted in the fifteenth century in the south wall of the church, together with three squints at first floor level indicates that the building was directly associated with the church, and may have been the priests' house.[188]

The construction of the priest's house in the mid-thirteenth century was the forerunner to extensive building works which were to see the considerable enlargement of the church with the construction of a new north aisle.

A new north aisle

Major new building works involved the construction of a complete new north aisle at St Audoen's. The information obtained from the archaeological excavations and monitoring

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[186] A map prepared by Howard Clarke for The Friends of Medieval Dublin (1978) shows two 'substantial houses' east of St Audoen's, one of which, 'Blakeney's Inn', is located on the site of the present-day Catholic church of St Audoen's. The foundations of a *c*.thirteenth-century stone building fronting onto Cook Street were revealed in archaeological excavations, Meenan (1994), no. 63.

[187] The archaeological excavation was restricted to the sixteenth century levels in the area between the two buildings.

[188] The squints or hagioscopies would have provided the occupants of the adjoining building a view of the altar, Casey and Rowan (1993), 553.

indicates that the north wall of the nave was demolished and was used as a base on which to build the piers of a new pointed arch four-bay arcade (archaeological excavations, phase 3). The construction of such an elaborate arcade at St Audoen's reflected the aspirations of a wealthy local patronage. Sandstone, sourced in outcrops to the north of Dublin, was used in the piers, responds, capitals and arches of the arcade. The piers were however only faced with this dressed freestone to conceal a rubble core.[189] This practice, which was not confined to the parish church of St Audoen's, but was also employed at Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals, reflected the scarcity and expense of good quality raw material.[190] The dull yellow sandstone was initially left uncovered but eventually a limewash was applied.[191]

The pier-form of the St Audoen's arcade, i.e. eight-shafted clusters, was the most common type of pier in northern British early Gothic architecture. Examples can be seen in twelfth century buildings in Scotland such as St Andrews Cathedral, Fife, north of Edinburgh where the choir piers are eight-shaft clusters of *c.*1170 date (Pl. LXVIIa).[192] At Whitby Abbey, Yorkshire a similar pier form was also used in building the new choir in the early thirteenth century, *c.*1220 (Pl. LXVIIb).[193] Keeled and filleted shafts were characteristic of the north throughout much of the thirteenth century. This combination is found in Rievaulx Abbey, where the piers of the early thirteenth century choir are a variation on the eight-shaft cluster, being sixteen-shaft clusters.[194] The nave of Christ Church Cathedral, which was erected between 1225 and 1240, has multiple filleted shafts, common in the large cathedrals of the Severn valley and south-west England in the early thirteenth century.[195] The St Audoen's-type pier, although more robust and simpler in form, is a type that continued in use throughout the later half of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century as in the chancel of Chester Cathedral, St James's Chapel, Exeter and Malpas parish church, Cheshire (Pl. LXVII c).[196]

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[189] The rubble core is visible on the south face of pier D, where a section of the shaft was removed.
[190] Stalley (2000), 73–4.
[191] A preliminary analysis of the stone and paint applications using thin sections and cross sections, revealed that at least two layers of limewash and three layers of paint were applied to the stone.
[192] Hoey (1994), 85, pl. XVIa.
[193] Hoey (1995), 112; Morris (1992), 8.
[194] Hoey (1995), 97–8, 109.
[195] Stalley (2000), 68–74; Morris (1992), 8.
[196] Bond (1913), 233, 545.

The broad fillets on the piers are a type often employed in England in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, but which are also found in the Early/High Gothic, i.e. mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century.[197] They extend across the neck ring of the capitals, a feature also of the thirteenth century nave piers and capitals of both Christ Church (Pl. LXVIIIa) and St Patrick's Cathedral.[198]

The front filleted shaft of the piers breaks through the capitals and continues upwards to the level of the abacus. In the nave of Christ Church the central shafts soar upward from the floor to the stone roof vaults, separating each bay.[199] Although at St Audoen's the evidence suggests that the roof was of timber supported on stone corbels, the masons seem to have been inspired by the detail at Christ Church, and appear to have made an attempt to give a similar impression of upward movement.

The form of the moulded capitals is not readily paralleled. The moulding details, taken on their own, have a wide chronological usage in England throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, typified by the half roll and filleted necking ring.[200] At St Patrick's Cathedral, where foliate capitals dominated in the choir area, moulded capitals became the more frequently used form, beginning *c.*1234 in the nave.[201] A pattern of alternating foliate with moulded capitals can be seen on the crossing piers. Moulded capitals were the norm in the west wall of the transept.[202] At Christ Church moulded capitals are also used in the most westerly bay of the nave, constructed *c.*1240–50, whereas foliate capitals are used throughout the rest of the nave.[203]

The arch mouldings are relatively shallow and simple when compared with St Patrick's or Christ Church (Pl. LXVIIIb).[204] The gentle wave-like mouldings are in sharp contrast with the elaborate formations of the cathedrals' arches, where repetitive undulating mouldings of roll and hollow form are used in a style typical of the early-mid thirteenth

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[197] *Ibid*, 483, 485; Morris (1992), 12.
[198] Rae (1979), fig. 15a.
[199] Stalley (2000), 70–2, pl. 14.
[200] Forrester (1972), 25–6.
[201] Rae (1979), 60–1, fig. 15A, nos. 4, 6; Stalley (2000), 70, footnote 58.
[202] *Ibid*, 52.
[203] Stalley (2000), 69–70.
[204] Rae (1979), fig. 17; Stalley (2000), fig. 3.

century.[205] The St Audoen's mouldings would fit more readily into a late thirteenth century style of wave moulding, the earliest form of which is found on a sedilia at Wells Cathedral *c.*1280 and the jambs of a window surround in the choir of Selby in Yorkshire, *c.*1280–90.[206] The style was influenced from north France where the earliest example can be found in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, *c.*1248 (Pl. LXIXa).[207]

The presence of a single row of small dogtooth ornament on the arches is very reminiscent of the sixth bay of the Christ Church nave (Pl. LXIXb). Its position on the arch and the similarity in style might suggest that the same craftsman was responsible. However allowing for the difference in date between both, the St Audoen's craftsman was no doubt influenced by the great display of stonework at Christ Church and may even have been a young apprentice when the work was undertaken at Christ Church. Dogtooth ornament was also used outside of Dublin, in particular in the south-east, where it decorated the abbeys at Dunbrody, Tintern and Graiguenamanagh in the first half of the thirteenth century.[208] The design is found in many of the great churches of early thirteenth century England and is regarded as peculiar to the Early English style, i.e. *c.*1170–*c.* 1270.[209] Its occurrence at an early date on the east coast of Ireland is a reflection of Anglo-Norman influence. It is also found in later contexts such as on the sedilia in the early fifteenth century parish church of St Mary, Killeen, Co. Meath.[210] That it is found this late is due to the development of an Irish Gothic style which saw the revival of older forms and techniques.[211]

The pier bases, 0.30m high, are of diamond plan, reflecting the shape of the clustered pier. The detail is similar to the typical base of the Decorated period in England, *c.*1280–1360, a type whose origin, like the wave moulding, is northern France.[212] The base profile, which is almost an exaggerated wave terminating in a chamfer, lacks a 'water-holding'

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[205] Morris (1978), 19.
[206] *Ibid*, 27–8, figs. 2C, 4E.
[207] The Sainte Chapelle was founded by Louis IX of France to house the relics of Christ's Passion. The building contains two chapels, the lower chapel was the palace's parish church, and the upper chapel was for the King and the royal family.
[208] Stalley (1971), 120–4, pl. 61; Stalley (1987), 64, pl. 36.
[209] Morris (1985), 99. Pevsner and Metcalf show many examples, including Hereford, Lichfield and Lincoln cathedrals, Pevsner and Metcalf (1985), pls. 78, 93 and 105.
[210] Casey and Rowan (1993), 358.
[211] *Ibid*, 123.
[212] Morris (1979), 26, fig. 17A–C.

detail, a feature characteristic of Early English bases and found for example in the early thirteenth century nave of St Patrick's.[213]

In summary, the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century saw a major development at St Audoen's with the building of a new north aisle (Fig. 6.3 c). We know from the will of Katherine le Grant, that there was a side chapel or lady chapel in St Audoen's *c.*1275 indicating that the church had expanded beyond the basic parish church.[214] An elaborate four-bay arcade, well-moulded in a contemporary style using locally-sourced dull yellow-coloured sandstone, was constructed over the earlier north wall of the church. The moulding details were left unpainted for a time. The new north aisle appears to have had a timber roof supported on stone corbels, some of which survive both above the arcade and on the opposite north wall. This would also mean that the present north wall was the original north aisle wall, doubling the width of the church to 14.50m. Glazed crested ridge tiles found in the archaeological excavations, some with applied decorative strips in an imitation of cross-stringing in thatching, would have adorned the church roof (Fig. 5.5: 1912[309], 1887[303]).

Although no evidence for window opes for this phase of construction can be identified, fragments of window tracery recovered from the archaeological excavations suggest that a three-light window with foliated heads was inserted into the church (archaeological excavations, phase 3, Fig. 5.3). The stone is a hard sandstone, known as greywacke and although also a native stone, is not the same as that used for the arcade, suggesting that their construction was not contemporary. From the mouldings the window appears to have been similar to the early fourteenth century nave window of Fethard Abbey, Co. Tipperary, which has switch-line tracery above with pointed trefoils and quatrefoils.[215] The plain form of switch-line tracery is found in the transept of Castledermot Franciscan friary, built *c.*1302.[216] More elaborate tracery including pointed trefoils and quatrefoils were combined with switch-line in both two- and five-light windows in Athenry Friary

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[213] Morris (1992), 10; Rae (1979), 60, figs. 18a.6–8; Leask (1960), vol. II, 158.
[214] Documentary sources, chapter 2.
[215] The Augustinian abbey was founded in 1306 but Leask suggests a somewhat later date for the window, Leask (1960), vol. II, 129, fig. 60.
[216] *Ibid*, 125–129, pl. XXIIIb; Stalley (1971), 139–48, pls. 70–73.

Church *c.*1324.[217] An example of this type of tracery is also found in the small parish church at Newcastle Lyons, Co. Dublin.[218]

The side chapel or lady chapel already referred to may have been located at the east end of the north aisle, and separated from the nave by a timber screen or panelling, the slots for which can be seen on the opposing piers of the fourth bay.

From the large number of tiles, including two-coloured and line impressed tiles, recovered from the excavations, we know that the floor of the church, at least the chancel end, had a decorated tiled pavement, an indicator of the status of St Audoen's. Unfortunately none of the tiles were found *in-situ*. Chronologically the two-coloured tiles were the earliest forms dating from probably as early as 1240, with the fashion for line-impressed decoration becoming popular in the early fourteenth century.[219] The designs on the floor tiles, which included floral, geometric and animal motifs, would have created elaborate patterns on the church floor. A small enigmatic two-coloured tile also came from St Audoen's. The tile, which was only 55mm square, had a single letter 'D' outlined on the surface.[220] Fragments of a tiled pavement were also excavated in the chancel of the Augustinian abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, founded in the late twelfth century.[221] The abbey, located a short distance west of the walled town of Dublin between Thomas Street and Meath Street, is believed to be one of the largest monastic enclosures in the country, comparable in size with Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny. Floor tiles also adorned the church of the Dominican priory of St Saviour, located on the north bank of the river Liffey in Oxmantown, a priory with many generous benefactors.[222] Dublin's two cathedrals, Christ Church and St Patrick's also had tiled pavements but tragically these were destroyed without being recorded in the last century.[223]

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[217] Leask (1960), vol. II, 126–8, figs. 57, 58.
[218] O'Keeffe (1986), 50–2, fig. 4.3, pl.XIV; Leask (1960), vol. III, 18, pl. IIIb.
[219] Eames and Fanning (1988), 58-60.
[220] The 'D' tile came from the archaeological excavations E497:2271(29). Eames and Fanning refer to a similar 'A' tile, which they say was found in St Audoen's during restoration work in 1887, *ibid*, 63, catalogue no. T18. However this is not recorded in the National Museum of Ireland registers and was probably attributed in error to St Audoen's. Instead there is a record of a small red-brown glazed square tile with the letter 'A' in white found in the north end of St Patrick's Cathedral and purchased by the Museum in 1897. The tile could not be located by the author in the National Museum.
[221] Walsh (2000), 185, 194–7, figs. 1, 7, 8.
[222] None of the tiles recovered from the excavation were found *in situ,* McMahon (1988), 302–3, fig. 17.

A fifth bay and new chancel

Major new building works at St Audoen's saw the addition of a new fifth bay at the east end of the church. The pointed arch and square piers of the new bay are simply framed with chamfered blocks of alternating sandstone and granite.[224] This is the first time granite is used at St Audoen's. Not lending itself well to carved detail, granite was not generally favoured by the stone masons of medieval Dublin.[225] A small arched doorway, two voussoirs and a side jamb of which can be seen in the fabric of the south wall, was provided for the new extension. A blocked two-light window in the north wall of the church with cusped granite tracery is also probably part of this new development. There is a hint of curvilinear tracery in the window head similar to that found in the north and south windows of the chapter house of the Cistercian monastery at Mellifont, Co. Louth.[226] These are dated to the early fourteenth century and a similar date of early–mid-fourteenth century for this new building phase at St Audoen's would be consistent with the finds from the archaeological excavations.[227]

The excavations revealed that the east wall of the chancel was demolished, and the foundations of what must be the new east gable were built *c*.6.0m further east (archaeological excavations, phase 4). Drainage was obviously continuing to pose problems to both the church and the priests' house to the south where two new drains were constructed.[228] Inside the church a new stone drain, running in a west to east direction, was built below the floor level of the nave and chancel. Although the newly extended church was now built over the earlier drains, the system was clearly kept operable as this new drain emptied into the pre-existing drainage scheme.

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[223] Eames and Fanning (1988), 60.

[224] Evidence for the use of granite can be seen at the site of an Early Christian monastery at Finglas in North Dublin where large granite blocks, one with traces of a corner roll moulding, occur in the ruined church of St Canice, McMahon (1991), 29–30. In the seventeenth century Leinster granite became widely used as a building stone in Dublin and was mainly quarried in Counties Dublin and Wicklow, Pavía and Bolton (2000), 74–5. The granite used in St Audoen's would also have been sourced from here and would originally have been a light grey colour.

[225] Imported oolithic limestone from southwest England was the most sought-after material, but when resources were limited local sandstone was used.

[226] Leask (1960), vol. II, fig. 62, pl. XXVIb.

[227] Stalley (1980), 304; Leask (1960), vol. II, 129–30. Also at Rathmore, Co. Meath, although the church is fifteenth century, the triple light east window has similar curvilinear tracery of fourteenth century style, Casey and Rowan (1993), 457; Leask (1960), vol. III, 16, pl. IIIa.

[228] Timber from one of these drains has a date of 1309±9 AD.

The building works to the church however did not respect the route of the cobbled lane. The new east bay was built directly over the lane and, if this was a public right of way then access would be denied to the city merchants from High Street to the quays unless an alternative route was provided around the church. The course of the present-day St Audoen's Lane from High Street, which curls around the west end of the church, was well established when Speed surveyed the city at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although it cannot be shown from the archaeological excavations, it is likely that this was negotiated with the civic authorities as early as the fourteenth century thus allowing the church to undertake this major extension to the building. The south end of the old cobbled lane now appeared to be incorporated into the church's property, giving access from the church south to High Street.[229] There was also an entrance into the lane from the priests' house, which stood on the west side of the lane, from where there was ready access to the small doorway into the new extension to the church.

The use of dressed granite for the quoin stones of a recessed opening in the west wall of the north aisle, suggests that it was during this building phase that the opening was created to take the late Romanesque doorway which was moved from its original location in the nave. It is unusual for churches at this time to have west doorways, the norm being opposing north and south doorways near the west end of the nave. The local conditions however would have dictated that this was the most sensible position for the main entrance. With the priests' house adjacent to the south wall of the church as far as the fourth bay, the insertion of the moulded doorway in the south wall may not have been feasible. As already noted, the church is positioned on quite a severe downhill slope, and the ground on the north side, even to this day, is stepped away towards St Audoen's Gate, making it very unsuitable.[230]

It appears that the north aisle may also have been extended eastwards at this time possibly because of the desire to create a larger chancel. The use of dressed granite in the window

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[229] There were disputes regarding access rights on laneways adjacent to St Audoen's Church during the seventeenth century. In 1638 the church prebendary, Dudley Boswell, was forced to take out an injunction against Robert Cusack commanding him to remove houses which were causing an obstruction between the church and High Street, Irish Builder (Dec 15, 1888), 304; Gilbert (1854–9), 280.

[230] The reverse happened at Waterford where north and south doorways were favoured in the early St Peter's Church because of the proximity of the west end of the church to the town defences, Murtagh (1997), 238, fig. 7:2.

surround of the large five-light east window, strongly suggests that this work was carried out at the same time as granite was introduced for the dressed stonework in the new fifth bay. Because of its unsuitability for detailed work, it is unlikely that granite was used in two separate building phases, particularly when native limestone was readily available and the stone masons would have been familiar with its use.[231]

The new extension, which was *c.*19.0m long, almost doubled the length of the north side of the church. The addition of long chancels, where formerly these had been little more than square-ended projections, became a feature of the English parish church from the thirteenth century.[232] Developing rituals and the increasing elaboration of the chancel furnishings may account for much of the rebuilding of chancels evident in England.[233] The increasing lengths of the cathedral choirs may have influenced this fashion. At Christ Church for example, a new 'long quire' was built which was almost the same length as the nave.[234] The reason for wanting a longer chancel may have been to keep the altar further away from the laity, thus perhaps enhancing its dignity and adding to the mystery of the ceremonies. Another reason may have been to provide extra space for burial of high status members of the community.[235] But why lengthen the north aisle and not the original body of the church to the south? A similar sequence can also be seen at Westall in England, where a new chancel was built in the fourteenth century on the north side of the building although the original chancel was on the south side.[236] The availability of property may have been the deciding factor at St Audoen's.

The enlarged church was furnished with at least two altars, one at the east end of the new chancel.[237] Donations were being received from leading members of the community,

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[231] From about the mid-thirteenth century, with improvements in quarrying and stonecutting techniques, carboniferous limestone, which is found in almost every county in Ireland, became popular for dressed stonework. Although hard to work the results were sharper and more durable and by *c.*1400 it was almost exclusively used for dressed work throughout the country, Pavía and Bolton (2000), 59; Casey and Rowan (1993), 86; Stalley (1987), 48.
[232] Braun (1970), 56.
[233] Platt (1981), 26–7.
[234] Stalley (2000), 95.
[235] Intra-mural burials were a feature of the parish church, the chancel area being the most favoured position, Braun (1970), 58, 170.
[236] Bond (1913), 253.
[237] In the early twelfth century church of St Peter in Waterford, the stone base of a rectangular altar was excavated at the east end of the chancel, Hurley and McCutcheon (1997), 199–200, fig. 7:5. In St Audoen's the easterly respond (K) of a later arcade, sits on what appears to be the remains of a stone altar.

many of whom were also actively engaged in property transactions in the parish, for both the high altar and St Mary's altar.[238] A second altar was located at the east end of the south nave opposite the fifth bay.[239] There are indications that a timber screen extended into the south nave to the west of the altar which may have enclosed a chantry chapel.[240] An early fourteenth century competently carved effigy tomb of a civilian male, an unidentified member of the gentry, now housed in the tower, may have originally stood as the focus of this chapel. The figure is dressed in a long gown to the ankles with loose half-sleeves, the head resting on a double cushion and the feet on an animal. One hand holds up the folds of the gown while the other is positioned on the breast.[241]

Rood screens, which were generally of oak, became a feature of the English parish church from *c*.1315.[242] They were placed at the east end of the nave, adding a certain mystery to the rituals being carried on in the chancel beyond. Screened chapels were also common at the east end of aisles as well as in the eastern bay of the naves and this may have been the case at St Audoen's.[243] Although there is no physical evidence for a rood screen between the new chancel and the nave, a reference to an old rood loft in a letter dated 9th May, 1639 indicates that, in common with the parish churches of England, St Audoen's was also furnished with a rood screen.[244]

In summary, in the early–mid fourteenth century, within a very short time of building a new north aisle, after perhaps 20–25 years, there was a need for further enlargement of St Audoen's (Fig. 6.4 a). An additional fifth bay was added to the east end of the church, a small doorway in the south wall providing access. The original east window was probably dismantled and repositioned in the new east gable of the south nave. A recess was created

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[238] *Deeds*, nos. 239, 633. The reference to St Mary's altar was made in 1381 in the will of Joan Douce, Dublin, *Cal St Anne's Guild*, no. 20.
[239] The positioning of the base of pier E of the new fifth bay above the level of the earlier piers indicates the position of an altar platform.
[240] The custom of a 'chantry', which was the provision of an endowment to have '..a mass recited at an altar for the well-being and good estate of the founder during his lifetime and for the repose of his soul after death..', was initiated following the death of Queen Eleanor of Castile in 1290. This practice was copied in the succeeding decades by wealthy nobles and ecclesiastics and during the fourteenth century it became established in the religious life of the time. The memory of the donor was enhanced particularly when a special chapel was erected for the celebration of the masses, Cook (1947), 6–7, 11.
[241] Hunt (1974), catalogue no. 40, 41, 138, pl.50.
[242] Bond (1908), 87, 93.
[243] *Ibid*, 10–15, 24.
[244] This letter, which is quoted in the Irish Builder (15th July 1886), xxviii, was included in the Vestry Book of 1639 which unfortunately is now missing.

at the west end of the north aisle for the late Romanesque doorway which was moved to this new position. Apparently during the same construction phase, the north aisle was further extended to the east with the construction of a new chancel: the main area of focus in the church had now changed to the north side of the building (Fig. 6.4 a). A new flat green-glazed roof tile, known as a pegtile was introduced (Fig. 5.5: 2035[329]). The tiles were probably sourced locally in Cornmarket.[245]

The parishioners now entered the church through the elaborately moulded doorway at the west end of the north aisle, which had probably become the main nave. The new long chancel, which extended to the east beyond this, was furnished with an altar at its eastern end below a large five-light east window. A timber rood screen separated the nave from the chancel, restricting the congregation's view of the ceremonies at the main altar. The south nave/aisle also had an altar at the east end and also possibly a timber chantry chapel.

The church authorities must have held a position of some influence with the civic authorities as they appear to have been given authorisation to build across a public cobbled lane, on condition that an alternative route was provided. The cost of the two building campaigns would have been substantial and reflects a very prosperous and settled parish in the mid-fourteenth century.

Private endowment and St Audoen's in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

By the fifteenth century the practice of endowment of altars and chapels for the celebration of masses for the donor and their family was well established in the religious life of St Audoen's. An elaborate painting of the *Throne of Grace* or Trinity with angels kneeling in adoration was executed in a blind recess in the south wall of the south aisle in the first half of the fifteenth century.[246] This large, brilliantly painted image of the Trinity may have adorned an altar or chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity.[247] A piscina was linked to the east side of the recess for washing sacred vessels.

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[245] Hayden (2000), 109.

[246] The painting, which was discovered in 1886–7, no longer survives, but a full description is given by Roe (1979), 103, 144–5, fig. 43. The image was sketched by Deane and included in the *Fifty-fifth annual report* .... (1887), appendix E, 62–3.

[247] The presence of such an altar is also suggested by the dedication of an early fifteenth century bell to the Holy Trinity and All the Saints (see below).

Two sandstone corbels, one of which can still be seen in the recess which contained the painting, were described in 1886 as being dated to the mid-fifteenth century.[248] These appear to be all that remain of decorative stonework which was later inserted into the recess to create a sedilia.[249]

That almost every corner in St Audoen's was occupied by an altar is attested by the grant of a Royal Charter in 1430 to fourteen named individuals for the establishment of a religious guild and chapel in St Audoen's dedicated to St Anne, a patronage which had also blossomed in Italy, France and England.[250] The charter authorised the guild to appoint six chaplains, each to serve at a designated altar within the chapel, referred to as being dedicated to St Anne, the Blessed Virgin and four other saints, Sts Catherine, Nicholas, Thomas and Clare. A memorandum of a meeting of the master and guardians of St Anne's Guild which was held in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St Audoen's in 1436, also refers to altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Catherine the Virgin, and St Nicholas.[251] Some idea of the architectural features of the guild chapel may be gleaned from the wax impression of the seal of the guild, which survives on many of the guild deeds in the Royal Irish Academy archives (Pl. LXX). The Latin inscription around the edge of the seal, which reads SIGILL COMUNE FRATUITAS STE ANNE ECCLESIE AUDOENI (The common seal of the fraternity of St Anne of the church of St Audoen), encircles two female figures in deeply folded garments, probably St Anne and her daughter Mary, standing in crocketed ogee headed niches. The seal was in use from at least 1450 to 1600.[252] The detail on the seal is akin to the seal of Holycross Abbey, Co.

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[248] *Ibid.*

[249] Seats for the clergy who were celebrating mass were provided in these niches. They are found from as early as the thirteenth century, e.g. Jerpoint, Leask (1960), vol. II, 141–3, pl. XXVIIIa.

[250] R.I.A. *MS 12 S 32*; Ronan (1927), 9–101. Religious guilds arose out of private chantries and were essentially collective or co-operative chantries established for the mutual benefit of the founders, for works of devotion and charity and to have masses celebrated for the members, both living and dead, Cook (1947), 20. Although their exact number is unknown other similar religious guilds were established in Dublin.for example St Sythe's in St Michan's Church, Corpus Christi in St Michael's, High Street, St John the Baptist in St John's, Fishamble Street, and St George the Martyr in St George's Lane. The latter guild was prestigious because of its connections with the corporation and its entitlement to an income of £66+ per annum from its property. St Anne's however was to become the largest of the exclusively religious guilds in the city of Dublin, Ronan (1927), 105; Clark and Refaussé (1993), 35–6; Lennon (1990), 7–10.

[251] R.I.A. *MS 12 B24*. Interestingly the meeting was held in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary which suggests that a chapel dedicated to St Anne had not been erected at this time. However a request for burial in the chapel of St Anne was made in 1438 by Richard Codde, citizen and baker of Dublin, *Cal. St Anne's Deeds*, no. 21.

[252] R.I.A. *MS 12S 26*, no. 650 (1450); R.I.A. *MS 12S 29/29a*, no. 616 (8th October 1600).

Tipperary which was in operation from 1429 to 1534.[253] The style of architecture represented on the seal is similar to that on the fifteenth century abbots stall at Kilcooly Abbey, Co. Tipperary.[254] The same style niches may well have been carved on the timber screen which would have surrounded the chapel of St Anne.

Following the precedent set by many wealthy aristocrats elsewhere, in 1482 a private chapel was also founded in St Audoen's in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Sir Roland FitzEustace, 1st Baron Portlester, who served as Lord Chancellor of Ireland.[255] His request for prayers for his late wife, Margaret Jenico, and for himself is recorded on their double effigy altar tomb, which fits well into the funerary figure sculpture of the fifteenth century. The tomb was placed in the chapel[256] which would have been endowed for the employment of a chaplain to say mass for their family, the wealth and status of which is also reflected at New Abbey, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare where another monument was erected to their memory.[257]

New church-building activity and the priests' house

The wealth which was being brought into the church, was also mirrored in new additions to the church (Fig. 6.4 b). The small door at the east end of the south wall was blocked up and a new door and window inserted. A simple sandstone doorway with double hollow chamfer mouldings, was inserted in the south wall to the east of the sedilia and piscina. The door appeared to function as an internal door between the adjoining building, possibly the priests' house, and the church. Similar neat, pointed doorways with the arch constructed of two stones, are also found on internal doorways for example in the manor churches at Dunsany and Killeen, Co. Meath.[258] As a *c.*1.0m wide lane extended along the

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[253] Stalley (1987), 225, pl.272.
[254] Stalley (1987), 202, 247, pl.238; Leask (1960), vol. III, 70, pl. Ixa.
[255] Hunt (1974), catalogue no. 41, 70, 138–9, pl. 140.
[256] Cook (1947), 63. An early nineteenth century illustration (Fig. 1.2) shows the tomb at the east end of the church in the south chancel aisle.
[257] They are both buried at New Abbey, Hunt (1974), catalogue no. 81a, 158–9. The St Audoen's monument is more correctly a cenotaph, but is commonly referred to as the Portlester tomb. At the same time as he was dedicating the chapel in St Audoen's, Sir Roland was granted property in the parish by the masters and wardens of St Anne's guild (Fig. 3.6). The property was transferred to him and his son after him for life, *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, no. 120.
[258] Leask (1960), vol. III, 15, 157. This type of simply moulded chamfered detail is found in fourteenth century work in south-east Wiltshire, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (1987), 27.

south wall between the two building from the thirteenth century, and was still in use in the sixteenth century, it is difficult to visualise the connection between the church and the house. Apart from the door, and the squints at first floor level, which may also have been inserted at this time, there are only fragmentary traces of stones projecting on the external wall face around the doorway.[259] The widening of the church wall at this point may indicate that there was some form of corner turret or projection with stairs that linked the two buildings. Projections in the walls of the early fifteenth century manorial churches at Dunsany and Rathmore in Co. Meath contain mural stairs leading up to galleries or rood lofts.[260]

The height of the doorway *c.*1.0m above the internal floor level, and its location east of a sedilia and piscina, suggests that there may have been a substantial screen or reredos in the south aisle opposite the priests' door.

A large four-light sandstone window was also inserted at the extreme east end of the south wall, possibly in the mid-fifteenth century (archaeological excavations, phase 5) (Fig. 6.4 b).[261] Comparable windows, but with three lights, occur in the south wall of the chancel at St Patrick's Cathedral, Trim, in the east gable of the chancel of St Brigid's church, Moymet and in the south wall of the church at Bective Abbey. In north Dublin similar two-light windows are found for example at Balrothery and the manorial church at Malahide (Pl. LXXI). The St Audoen's window was placed so close to the east gable that there would appear to have been a danger of destabilising the southeast corner of the church. A similar problem arose when two four-light windows replaced a single lancet in the chancel of the Church of St Mary and St Melor, Amesbury, Wiltshire.[262] The desire to light an altar may have been the reason for the insertion of such an ambitious window in St Audoen's as light would have been severely restricted by the priests' house abutting the

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[259] In the late fourteenth century King Louis XI of France built a side chapel and oratory onto the Sainte Chapelle for his own use. A squint in the wall of the oratory gave him a view of the Sacred Relics housed in the upper chapel.

[260] Leask (1960), vol. III, 12–17, figs. 1, 2. Stairs to the rood loft also occur in aisle walls, e.g. Covehithe, Sussex, as well as in specially constructed staircase turrets outside of the aisle walls, e.g. Westham, Sussex, Bond (1908), 115, fig. 114.

[261] It is hard to draw a distinction between 1450 and 1550 and similar style windows have been variously dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Leask (1960), vol. III, 17–19, 33, 185-6, fig. 3, pl. XXIX; Stalley (1987), 124–7, 269, figs. 108, 109; Casey and Rowan (1993), 31, 158–61, 411–2, 514–5.

[262] Royal Commission on the historical monuments of England (1987), 103–7.

south wall. Indeed as was happening in England, the window may have been donated by individual patronage to light a chapel.[263]

The desire to improve the lighting in the chancel is seen in the insertion of new limestone windows, possibly at a slightly later date. A large five-light east window was constructed in the chancel, replacing the earlier granite one, a small corner section of which was left in place. The form of the window tracery does not survive, however two large three-light windows in the north chancel wall, which also illuminate the interior, have plain switchline tracery of a type which was current in Ireland from the mid-fifteenth to the sixteenth century. Similar three and four-light windows with intersecting tracery can be seen in the south façade of St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, all fifteenth century additions, as well as the five-light east window at Askeaton Franciscan Friary, Co. Limerick (Pl.LXXIIa).[264] The *c.*1462 east window of the quire of Christ Church Cathedral, which was of five-lights, was also switchline.[265]

The Tower

Three bells were cast for St Audoen's in 1423, and are the oldest surviving hanging bells in Ireland.[266] The dedications on the bells to St Audoen, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity and all the Saints, further attest to the presence of endowed chapels. The bells were housed in the belfry tower and there are some indications that the great western tower which was linked into the south aisle through a high open archway, may also have been built in the fifteenth century (Fig. 6.4b).

St Audoen's tower has been subjected to a considerable amount of repair and restoration, the latest being in 1983 when the floors were replaced with reinforced concrete. As early as 1593, even before the tower was damaged in the great gunpowder explosion of 1597, a section of the battlements had to be repaired.[267] The tower however is similar to other west-end towers found in the Pale, such as the parish churches in Skreen and Slane, Co.

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[263] *Ibid*, 26; Bond (1913), vol. I, 233.
[264] Leask (1960), vol. III, 78.
[265] Stalley (2000), 100, pl. 23a.
[266] Dukes (1994), 15. Although the location of the casting workshop is unknown, a local bell-founder, John Kyrcham, (*d.*1424) who cast bells for Christ Church Cathedral, may also have cast the St Audoen's bells, *ibid*, 95; Boydell (2000), 243.
[267] Documentary sources, chapter 2.

Meath, St Patrick's Cathedral, Trim, the prebendal church at Swords, Co. Dublin, as well as the smaller west-end towers at Balrothery and Portraine, Co. Dublin (Pl. LXXIIb).[268] Common features include the string-course and offset at belfry level. Although the present battlements are the result of early twentieth century restoration, there is evidence in the masonry for an overhanging parapet, another feature of these towers. Battlemented parapets are typical of late medieval Irish architecture, and there is no reason to believe that originally they were not a feature of the tower at St Audoen's.[269] The tower may have had a pyramidal-shaped stone roof, similar to Slane where evidence for the roof survives internally on the corner turrets (Pl. LXIII).

With the extensive building works involved in the construction of the tower, it may have been necessary to strengthen the west gable of the north aisle with buttresses. The stepped battlements of the gable were probably employed here as a decorative feature. The sixteenth century chancel end of the manorial church at Malahide, Co. Dublin also has a stepped east gable (Pl. LXXIVa).[270] At the collegiate parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Howth (St Mary's Abbey), a fourteenth century building with fifteenth and sixteenth century additions, a somewhat similar stepped gable provides protection to a flight of steps used for access to a bellcote (Pl. LXXIVb).[271]

Tall west towers, a feature of the parish churches of England, were being added at the end of the fourteenth century.[272] The evidence for dating church towers in Ireland, which in general is fifteenth century, has relied on moulded stonework of windows and doorways combined with documentary records of foundation or rebuilding dates.[273] The tower at Newcastle Lyons, Co. Dublin, which as well as being a belfry was also the priest's residence, has been variously dated to the late fourteenth and fifteenth century.[274] The pointed-arch of the blocked ope in the west wall of the ground floor at St Audoen's may

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[268] Leask (1960), vol. III, 21–6, fig. 6; Casey and Rowan (1993), 468, 473, 514, pl. 1; McMahon (1991), 14–16, 32.
[269] Casey and Rowan (1993), 538.
[270] Leask (1960), vol. III, 34.
[271] McMahon (1991), 23–25; Leask (1960), vol. III, 37, fig. 13.
[272] Braun (1970), 175–6.
[273] Leask (1960), vol. III, 21–26; Casey and Rowan (1993), 252, 472–3.
[274] O'Keeffe dates the tower to the late fourteenth century using the window forms of the nave, O'Keeffe (1986), 47, 50–3, fig. 4.3, pl. XIV. It has also been dated on comparative grounds with other tower houses in the Pale to the late fourteenth century, Edwards, Hamond, Simms (1983), 363. Leask however dates the

indicate that it originally held the form of window found in the tower at Slane and in the church of Rathmore Co. Meath and Newcastle Lyons, County Dublin (Pl. LXXIIIa).[275] This type of window has been dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century at Rathmore and Newcastle Lyons or even late fourteenth century, the Slane example being mid-fifteenth century. Unfortunately none of the moulded stonework for what were apparently three single-light windows on the south, west and north walls of the bell-ringers chamber has survived. The flattened arches of the opes however suggest a square-headed window, a form similar to the newly inserted sandstone window in the south wall, indicative of the fifteenth century. The form of the simple pointed-arched doorway into the stair turret of the St Audoen's tower, constructed of two curving chamfered limestone arch stones, accords well with a fifteenth century date. The surviving architectural details therefore suggest a possible early fifteenth century construction date for the tower.

Despite being four storeys high, there is no evidence that the tower was built for any other purpose than as a belfry, unlike for example at Taghmon, Co. Westmeath and Newcastle Lyons, Co. Dublin, already referred to, where the presence of features such as fireplaces, slopstones, and window seats clearly establish their use as a residences for the clergy.[276] Some other church towers, such as that at Baldongan, Co. Dublin also have a fortress-like appearance,[277] but generally they had two main functions, one pragmatic and the other emotional. The ringing of the bells as a call to prayer was an important practical function, but the other was of equal importance, and that was to create a visual impact on the community, indeed a sense of dominance.[278] That St Audoen's could build such a massive structure is no doubt a reflection of the patronage of wealthy merchants and gentry, including those named as founders of St Anne's guild[279], and in particular, the patronage

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nave windows to the early fifteenth century and sees the tower as a slightly later addition to the original structure, Leask (1960), vol. III, 18–20.

[275] *Ibid*, 16, 18, 22–23, fig. 11, pl. IIIa + b.

[276] De Breffny (1976), 91–2; Leask (1960), vol. III, 19–20, fig. 4; O'Keeffe (1986), 52–3; Casey and Rowan (1993), 452, pl. 34; Ní Mharcaigh (1997), 273.

[277] McMahon (1991), 17–9, 35.

[278] Platt (1981), 13.

[279] The founders of the guild were Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, Christopher Barnewall, John Blakeney, Walter Tyrrell, Knight John FitzRobert Burnell, Thomas Cusack, John White Merchant, Robert Dyke and William Sutton clerks, John Welsh merchant, James John Cusack, Robert Cusack, Edmond Brien and John Stafford baker, R.I.A. *MS 12S 32*. Both the founders and their descendants continued to be the mainstay of the guild until the seventeenth century. Many of their names appear on the deeds of the guild, indicating rental of properties in the vicinity of the church which were in the ownership of the guild, R.I.A. *MS 12S 22–33*; Lennon (1990), 20–2.

of Sir Roland FitzEustace one of the leading politicians of the time. The association of such a prominent personality with St Audoen's confirmed its status as the principal city parish in the fifteenth century.

A new chancel aisle

A new chancel aisle was constructed to the south of the chancel, a three-bay arcade dividing the two (archaeological excavations, phase 6). This represented the final phase in the physical extension of the church resulting in the present day ground plan of a rectangular shaped building measuring internally 46.0m long by 14.5m wide, excluding the tower (Fig. 6.5). Dressed and moulded limestone was used in the columns, capitals and arches of the arcade. The east respond was constructed off the platform of the earlier stone altar and a piscina in the respond was conveniently located for use at the altar.

Due to a general lack of nave aisles in church architecture of the period, there is a consequent scarcity of capitals, bases and arches for comparison.[280] Where there are aisles, for example at St Mary's Church, Youghal, and the church of St Multose, Kinsale, the simple economical square or rectangular column was often employed.[281] In many cases this was usually the same width as the wall and arch and did not require a capital or base. In St Mary's Abbey, Howth a six bay arcade divides the north and south aisles.[282] Square columns were used at the west end, but octagonal columns were used to support the three most easterly arches.[283] The octagonal column bases are square with the corners crudely chamfered. The arch stones, which sprang from corbels, unfortunately have been robbed out and none of the detail survives. The octagonal column was also employed at Moyne, Co. Mayo, *c.*1460, where they separate a south chapel from the nave of the church.[284] The shallow roll and hollow mouldings of the St Audoen's arcade were well within the repertoire of the local fifteenth century craftsmen, an example of which can be seen in fragments of a cloister arcade found in Cook Street north of St Audoen's.[285]

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[280] Leask (1960), vol. III, 155.
[281] Leask (1960), vol. II, 149–50, 153–4.
[282] Leask (1960), vol. III, 37; McMahon (1991), 23–24.
[283] *Ibid*; Leask (1960), vol. III, 34.
[284] *Ibid*, 109–111, fig. 41.
[285] They may have come from either the Cistercian abbey of St Mary or from the cloisters at Christ Church which were erected in the fifteenth century, Stalley (2000), 113–114, fig. 5; Stalley (1987), 159, figs. 47, 48.

Slots cut into the opposing faces of the capitals and bases held timber screens in place between the bays. In this way the chancel aisle was partitioned-off and a side chapel created. An early nineteenth century illustration which shows the Portlester tomb in the chancel aisle, indicates that this was the location of the chapel founded by Sir Roland FitzEustace in 1482. Stone corbels on the east wall are likely to have supported a reredos located behind and above an altar. An example of what the screened side chapel may have looked like can still be seen in the royal parish church of St Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris (Pl. LXXVa).

The tracery in the surviving windows of both the east and south walls suggest an early sixteenth century date. There is however some indication that the most northerly of the east windows was earlier and may have been part of the 1482 enlargement. Four windows in the south wall and three more in the east wall meant that the interior of the aisle must have been awash with light. The semi-elliptical style of the window lights are the same as windows in St Mary's Abbey, Howth and the nearby College.[286] Similar sixteenth century windows are also found at the Franciscan College in Slane (Pl. LXXVb–c).[287]

A small doorway, with a rectangular framed four-centred arch, was inserted in the north wall of the chancel. The doorway provided access to St Audoen's College which was located northeast of the church. In a deed dated 1537 a reference is made to the north chancel door beyond which was a garden attached to the college.[288] The Tudor-style is similar to the early sixteenth-century western tower doorway of Slane parish church (Pl. LXXIIIa).[289]

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[286] St Mary's Church was served by a *collegium* of three or more priests who were housed in the priests' house or college. A private house now occupies part of the old college which is located south-east of the church, Harbison (1970), 76–77; Leask (1960), vol. III, 29–30, figs. 8, 9.

[287] A plaque with the arms of England and France quartered above the entrance, inserted by order of the Duke of York and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1447 and 1460, helps date the building. This is earlier than that given by Leask who gives it a foundation date of 1512, Casey and Rowan (1993), 472–3, pl. 53; Leask (1960), vol. III, 30–31, figs. 10, 11.

[288] *Cal.St Anne's Guild*, nos. 8, 24.

[289] Rowan and Casey (1993), 473.

St Audoen's College

From the fifteenth century, the guild had been activity engaged in property transactions both in the parish and further afield.[290] In a deal which included the transfer of some of their property near Swords as well as a monetary payment, a building located to the northeast of St Audoen's was transferred to the guild (Fig. 3.9). The property had been in the ownership of James Blakeney, whose ancestor was one of its founder members.[291] The property was quite substantial and included a vault, cellars, chambers, lofts, kitchen, buttery, hall and tower, as well as two gardens, one of which was known as the great garden and a close or court, access to which was via a great door off St Audoen's Lane.[292] By 1554 the building was being referred to as St Audoen's College and some of the chaplains to St Anne's guild were housed there.[293] Two other colleges that provided accommodation for clergy are located at Slane, Co. Meath and Howth, Co. Dublin. Slane College, which housed four priests, four lay brothers, four choristers and two friars, may well have been a larger building, consisting of three ranges grouped around a central courtyard. The east range was a three-storey high rectangular block with corner towers.[294] The college at Howth, already referred to, was a smaller building probably to accommodate only four priests. It was two storeys in height, with four apartments, common rooms and kitchen (Pl. LXXVI).[295]

In summary, the association of prominent members of the community with the church of St Audoen's, in particular the establishment of the religious guild of St Anne and the dedication of a chapel by one of the ruling members of the aristocracy, Sir Roland FitzEustace, must have brought with it status and wealth which was reflected in extensive new building works (Fig. 6.4b – 6.5). This was similar to that seen at the parish church of St Nicholas of Myra, Galway, one of the largest parish churches in the country which developed under the patronage of the prosperous Lynch family, with extensions to the

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[290] Lennon (1990), 15–19.
[291] The property was acquired in 1534 and in 1535 the chaplain, Sir James More was housed in it, *Cal. St Anne's Guild* nos. 8, 23.
[292] Details on the College property have been abstracted from the *Cal. St Anne's Guild.*
[293] Not all of the college was given over to the chaplains, the deeds also refer to leasing cellars, the kitchen and the garden to aldermen of the city, some of whom were also officers of the guild, *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, nos. 25–33.
[294] Casey and Rowan (1993), 473.
[295] Leask (1960), vol. III, 29–30.

nave aisles and transepts of the fourteenth century building.[296] At St Audoen's new altars and chapels were created which occupied much of the interior of the church. Some were surrounded by timber screens which themselves would have been decoratively carved. The altar or chapel of the Holy Trinity was embellished with a large painted image of the Trinity. Prominent business people were requesting burial in the chapels. The carved stone effigy tomb of the FitzEustace family would have been the focus of their chapel. An early fifteenth century matrix of a recumbent brass memorial once marked the burial place of an ecclesiastic associated with St Audoen's. The indent shows the figure of an ecclesiastic standing under a crocketed and pinnacled canopy, dressed in a cope, with an indent for a shield under his feet (Fig. 6.1).[297]

A small internal doorway in the south wall of the church gave direct access to what was probably the priests' house which abutted the church at first floor level and from which the altar could be viewed through squint windows. The stone cobbled lane which extended along the south wall of the church was maintained. The internal lighting was greatly improved with the addition of a large sandstone window in the south wall. Sometime later the fenestration of the chancel was improved with the insertion of limestone windows.

A solid four-storey belltower, which housed three bells cast in 1423, was built at the west end of the south aisle. With the major construction works involved, some consolidation of the west gable of the nave was also required.

Further extensive building works were undertaken with the addition of a south chancel aisle possibly in the late fifteenth century. In the early sixteenth century new windows were inserted which almost filled up the south and east walls of the aisle.

The wealth and prestige of the church can be clearly seen in the importation of new floor tiles from the Saintonge area of south-west France. These tiles, which had a bright green glaze, were placed in a prominent position in the church.[298] As well as being floored with these new imports and the earlier line-impressed glazed tiles, a new type of tile with relief

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[296] De Breffny and Mott, (1976), 102–3; Leask (1960), vol. III, fig. 30.
[297] King (1994), 120, no. 5, fig.3a.
[298] Ten of these fifteenth century tiles were recovered from the archaeological excavations. The upper glazed surface was almost entirely worn off from use.

decoration was also introduced.[299] Among the new designs was a tile decorated with foliage enclosing a six-pointed star (Fig. 5.6).

St Anne's guild, which was involved in extensive property transactions since its establishment in the early fifteenth century, acquired a large property on the north side of the church, which became known as St Audoen's College. Some of the chaplains to the guild were housed there. A doorway was built into the north wall of the chancel for easy access between the college and the church. Apartments in the college were also leased to aldermen and other leading members of the city authorities, which further secured the ties of the leading members of the community to the church.

The church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Despite the change in liturgical practice brought about by the Reformation in the 1540s and the instruction to destroy all images, the rood loft and screen were obviously still in place in the early seventeenth century. St Audoen's was seen as being religiously conservative and there had been some opposition to the introduction of the reformation practices. In 1639 the Archbishop of Dublin Lancelot Bulkeley noted that the rood screen blocked the congregation's view of the altar and the east window and that the minister's voice was also practically inaudible.[300] Bulkeley instructed that a partition could replace the rood loft on condition that the congregation was not hindered in any way from participating in the ceremony at the altar. This was reflecting the Laudian view current at the time which saw a shift away from the puritan idea of the sermon as the centrepiece of worship to a more sacramental world with the emphasis on the altar.[301] Robert Parry, who was the prebend of St Audoen's in 1639, was a member of a family who were indebted to the Earl of Ormond and would also have been a supporter of Laudianism.[302]

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[299] This style became the most fashionable form by the later fifteenth century and continued in use during the sixteenth century, Eames and Fanning (1988), 59. Relief tiles have also been found at other Dublin churches including Artane Church, Kilmore Road and St Mary's Abbey, Howth, McMahon (1998), 155–162, fig. 4.
[300] Irish Builder (15 July, 1886), xxviii. In Christ Church Cathedral, the rood loft and screen was also still in place in 1565, Gillespie (2000), 168–175.
[301] Gillespie (2000), 197–8. My thanks to Ray Gillespie for helping to unravel these changes in theological practice for me. I hope I have done justice to our discussion.
[302] *Ibid*, 198, 205; Crawford (1986), 45. James Butler, 12th Earl of Ormond (1610-1688), a staunch royalist, was Commander in Chief of the King's army in Ireland, Fenlon (1996), 21–3.

Reference is also made in the letter to removing an organ from the rood loft. Although Bulkeley states in the letter that the organ was just '..lately placed..' on the loft, its antiquity cannot be established. Organs were becoming widespread in the fifteenth century and by the early sixteenth century they were the norm in cathedrals.[303]

A wooden gallery at the west end of the nave projected into the body of the church above the door and it appears to have cut across one of the windows in the north wall. To facilitate this, the window was blocked and a smaller ope inserted to light the space under the gallery. Western galleries became a feature of churches in England following the Reformation. In some cases they were not confined to the west end, but spread to the north and south sides of the nave as well.[304] Documentary evidence indicates that this was also the case at St Audoen's where a gallery also occupied the top of the arcade which divided the nave from the south aisle.[305]

Many leading members of Dublin's leading municipal families sought burial within St Audoen's and several of their large memorial monuments covered the church walls. On the north wall of the nave two early seventeenth century wall monuments of the Sparke and Duff families, which were executed in plaster, have been recently restored but many have been totally destroyed having been exposed to the elements for almost two hundred years (Pl. LXXVII).[306]

An elaborate new entrance doorway was made in the south wall of the church (archaeological excavations, phase 7). It was *c.*1.80m wide and framed in imported Bath limestone. The fifteenth-century four-light sandstone window was removed to facilitate the new arched entrance. The decorative detailing on the arch, which accentuates the voussoirs, is typical of eighteenth century architecture in Ireland.[307] Bath stone was also

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[303] The earliest reference to an organ in St Patrick's Cathedral is 1471, and 1539 at Christ Church Cathedral, although there may have been an organ there as early as 1358, Boydell (2000), 148, 239.
[304] Bond (1908), 141–150. In English parish churches the rood lofts were often moved to the west end of the church where they functioned as galleries, *ibid*, 137.
[305] This was removed in 1820 when the south aisle was unroofed and the arches bricked up, Irish Builder (1 Nov 1886), xxviii, 298.
[306] Crawford (1990), 1–15. Many of these plaster monuments have completely disappeared having fallen into decay. Drawings of some of them by Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms survive in *Monumenta Eblanae* including the Malone tomb, Nicholas Weston, Sir William Sparke, Duff, Terrell, Mapas and Usher, D.G.L. *MS 201*.
[307] Craig (1982), 17, 197, figs. 132, 150.

imported for use in other Dublin buildings during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[308]

The first in a series of contractions in the size of the functioning church began in 1773 when the east end was unroofed. By 1848 the parish church was confined to the nave, the congregation thus occupying only a quarter of the original building.

Environs of St Audoen's

Documentary sources of 1531 and 1705 refer to a residence for the church prebend to the south of the church, west of the lane from High Street.[309] This suggests a continuity of occupation by the clergy attached to St Audoen's at this location since the thirteenth century.[310] It also indicates a remarkable continuity in the topography of the area as the lane mentioned in the deeds would appear to be the lane which had been in existence as a cobbled lane from as early as the thirteenth century. The archaeological excavation of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century levels (archaeological excavations, phase 7) also revealed a cobbled lane extending along the same route, which was in turn was sometime later resurfaced with limestone flags (Fig. 6.2). It was not until 1848 with the construction of a vestry and an associated brick coal cellar that the lane eventually disappeared.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of the changing ground plans of parish churches is well attested, particularly in England where the study of parish churches has a long history. Bond, writing in the early twentieth century, in studying the architectural fabric of churches for evidence of change, stated that the whole history of the parish church is a '.....history of constant growth and accretion...'.[311] At Westhall, for example, he shows through a study of the existing church fabric alone, evidence of the change from a simple two-cell church

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[308] Wyse Jackson (1993), 26, 47, 58.

[309] The deeds refer to the property being between the church tower and the lane, *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, nos. 6, 124.

[310] The archaeological evidence suggests that the priests' residence occupied this side of the lane prior to the establishment of St Anne's Guild. By the fifteenth century the guild, who were entitled under their Charter to lease lands, houses, shops, etc. which came into its possession, had apparently gained control of the deeds to the church property on this side of the lane. The ownership of the guild's property portfolio, and the rental which it brought in, was at the centre of major legal disputes between the church authorities and the guild at the end of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century. Between 1585 and 1623 70% of the leaseholders were Catholics and the view was that the guild was using the profits to support Catholic priests, Lennon (1990), 11–25; Donnelly (1911), 167.

in the 12th century, through a series of developments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the complex structure in use today.[312] More recently, archaeological excavations have revealed even more complex sequences in church development. At the church of St Mary-le-Port, Bristol, for example, six separate construction phases were recognised.[313] Evidence was revealed for the development of the church from a simple single-cell structure in the eleventh century to a multi-period aisled building in the sixteenth century.[314] In Winchester, excavations at St Pancras Church revealed eight different phases of development which resulted in the church being gradually enlarged in all directions from an original simple two-cell building.[315]

In Ireland the study of churches in the past was mainly confined to studying the surviving architectural detail. Leask in his major work on monastic churches gives ample evidence for the development of their ground plans.[316] At the church of the Cistercian Abbey in Mellifont, using a combination of archaeological excavation and architectural history six separate building phases have been identified.[317] There has been relatively little study of parish churches in Ireland, no doubt due to the fact that many of the town and rural churches have disappeared.[318] However, the recent archaeological excavation at St Peter's Church Waterford has also shown that although none of the building survived above ground, there were fourteen construction phases dating from the mid-eleventh to the seventeenth century.[319]

This comprehensive study of St Audoen's, has made it possible to see St Audoen's in its urban setting from the twelfth century and to present a sequence of six building phases for the fabric, revealing a complex architectural history. Up-to-date building techniques were used throughout the six hundred years of the development of St Audoen's from the twelfth century. Both imported and locally-sourced freestone were incorporated into the church building throughout its various stages of development and moulded in the style

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[311] Bond (1913), 226.
[312] *Ibid*, 253.
[313] Watts and Rahtz (1985), 89–130.
[314] *Ibid*, fig. 48.
[315] Rodwell (1989), 30–31, fig. 12; Biddle (1975), fig. 16.
[316] Leask published three volumes on his study of Irish churches and monastic buildings ranging from the seventh to the fifteenth century.
[317] Stalley (1980), 347, fig. 49.
[318] Leask (1960), vol. III, 85–6.

fashionable at the time. The final sixteenth-century plan of a large double-aisled building contrasts with the single- and two-cell nave and chancel churches normally found in the parish churches of the Pale.[320] St Mary's Abbey, Howth is the exception, being an aisled building, although of a somewhat smaller proportions and lacking a west tower.[321] It was comparable in scale with other contemporary urban churches such as St Nicholas's church, Galway and St Mary's Church, Youghal, where, like St Audoen's, the building development reflected the patronage of the ruling aristocratic and wealthy merchant families.[322] This was the last great period of expansion in St Audoen's.

The last major change in the fabric of the building came at the end of the eighteenth century when a new grand south doorway was added. This work however was closely following by the unroofing of the east end of the building, and by the mid-nineteenth century the roof had been taken off much of the remainder of the building. During the nineteenth and twentieth century vigorous fund-raising helped in the maintenance of the building. Despite the major difficulties encountered, remarkably the parish church continued to function in the old nave.

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[319] Hurley and McCutcheon (1997), 190–221, fig. 7:4.
[320] Ní Mharcaigh (1997), 248–251; McMahon (1991), 1–36, fig. 4; Leask (1960), vol. III, 11–40.
[321] St Mary's is *c*.35m long by *c*.14m wide, in comparison with St Audoen's which is *c*46m long by *c*.15m wide, McMahon (1991), 4, 24.
[322] De Breffny and Mott (1976), 103–4; Leask (1960), vol. III, 81–3, fig. 30, pl. XIIa; *ibid*, vol. II, 153–4.

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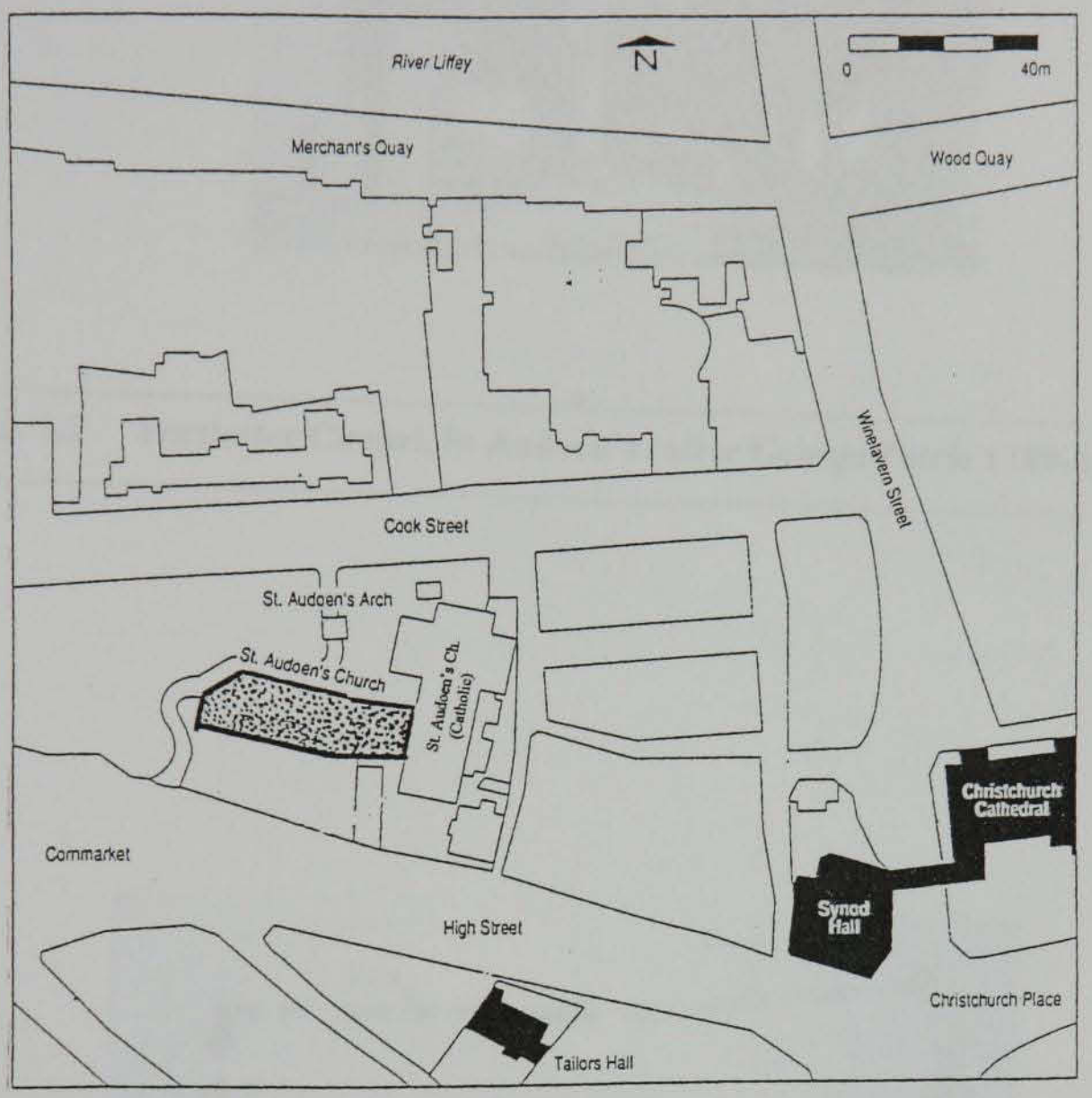


Fig. 1.1 Location Map

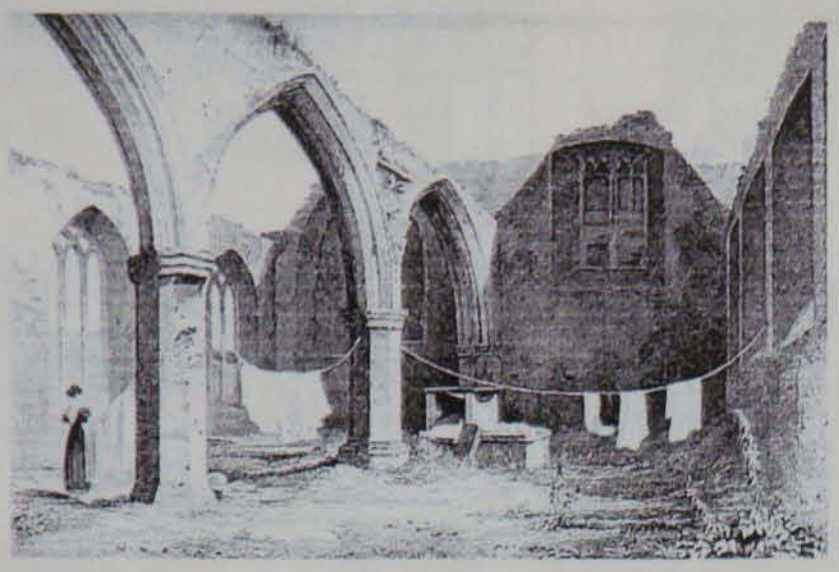


Fig. 1.2 Portlester Chapel, St Audoen's (after George Petrie 1789–1866)

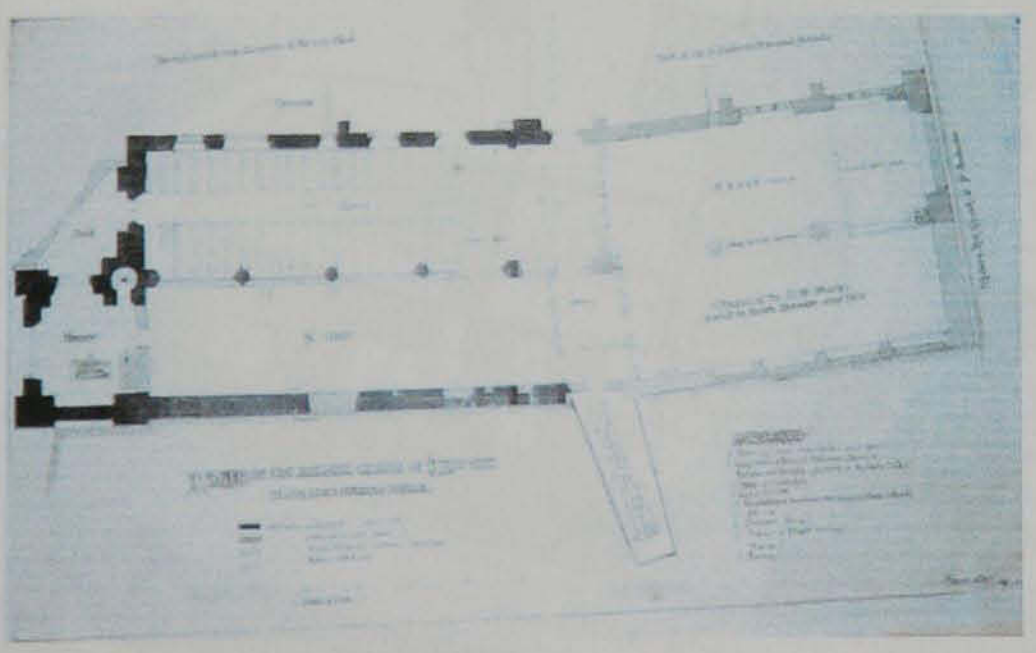


Fig. 1.3 Plan of St Audoen's church (after T. Drew 1866)

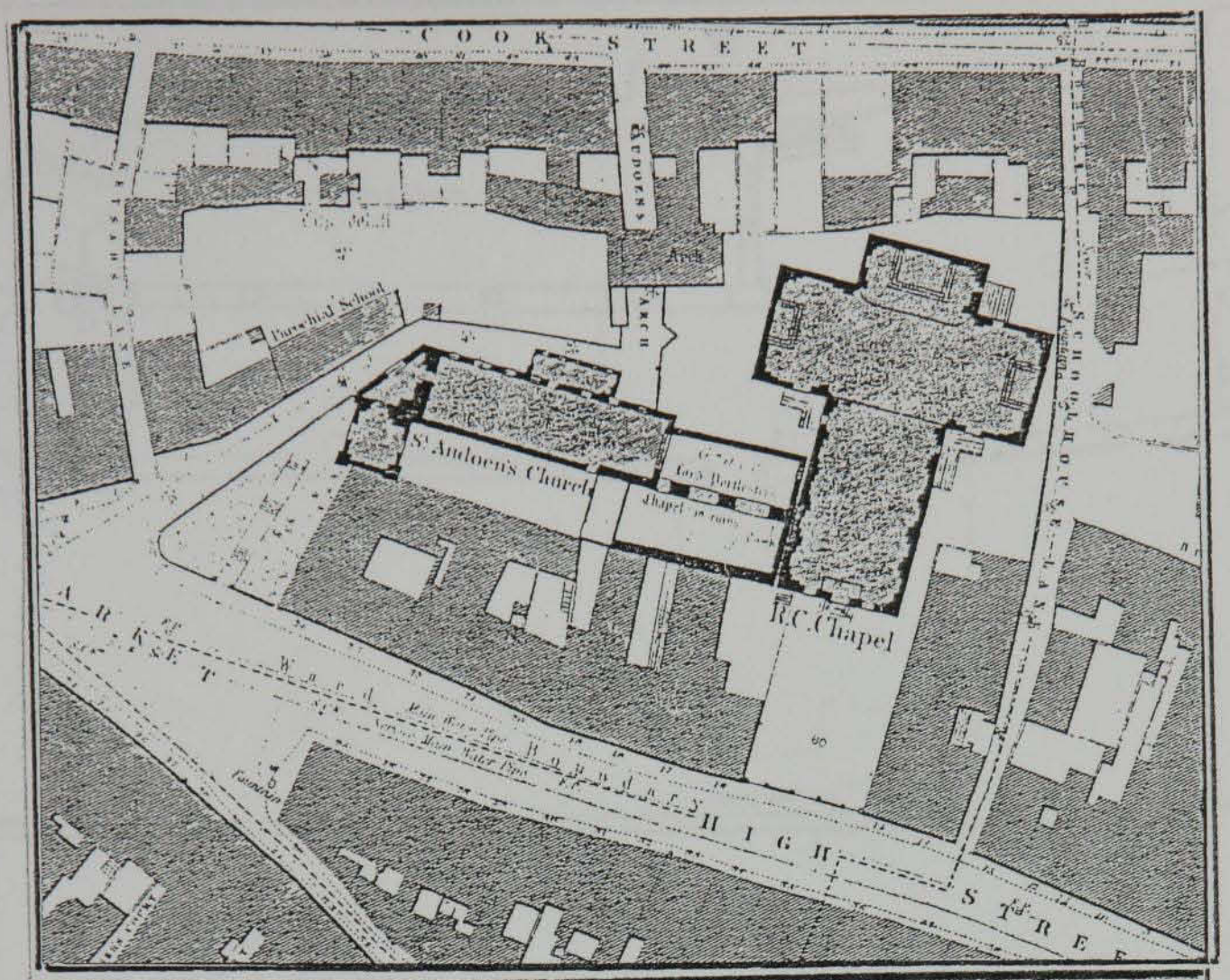
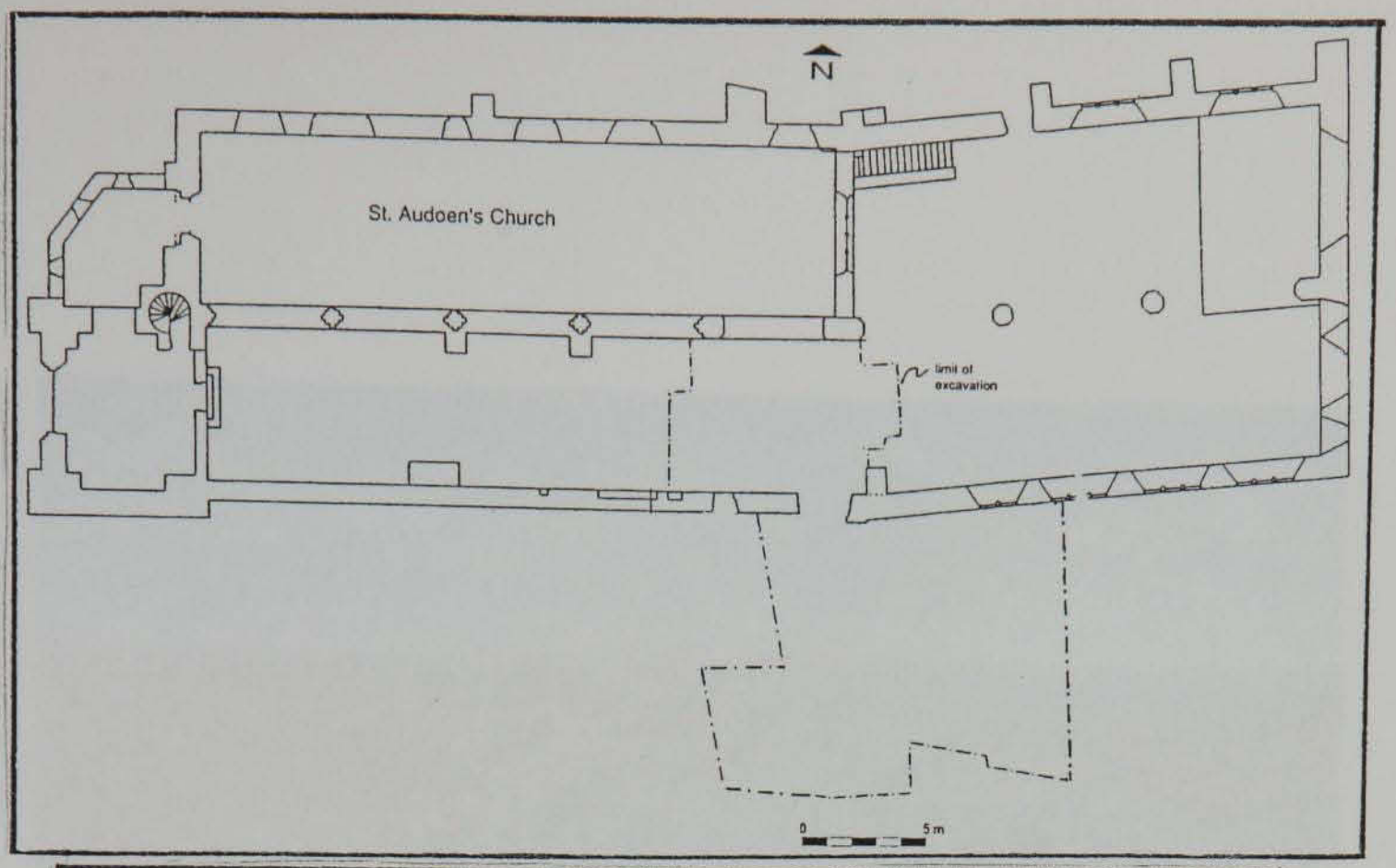
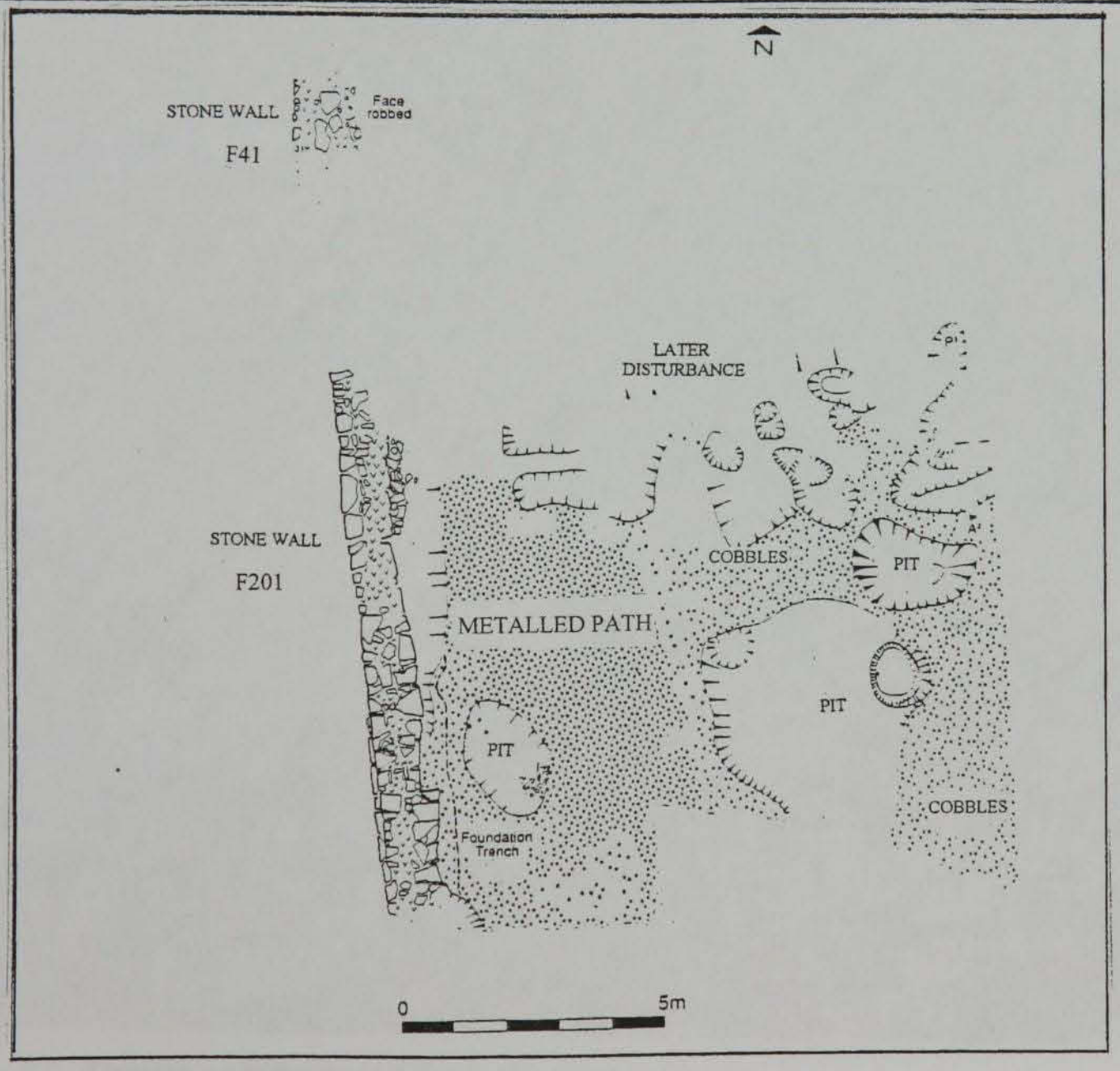


Fig. 2.1 a) 1836 OS map: unroofed east end (1773) and south aisle (1820)
b) 1864 OS map: north aisle shortened and new vestry built in south aisle (1848)



a)



b)

Fig. 3.1 a) Location of archaeological excavations
b) Stone walls F201 and F41, metalled path and cobbled 'industrial' area

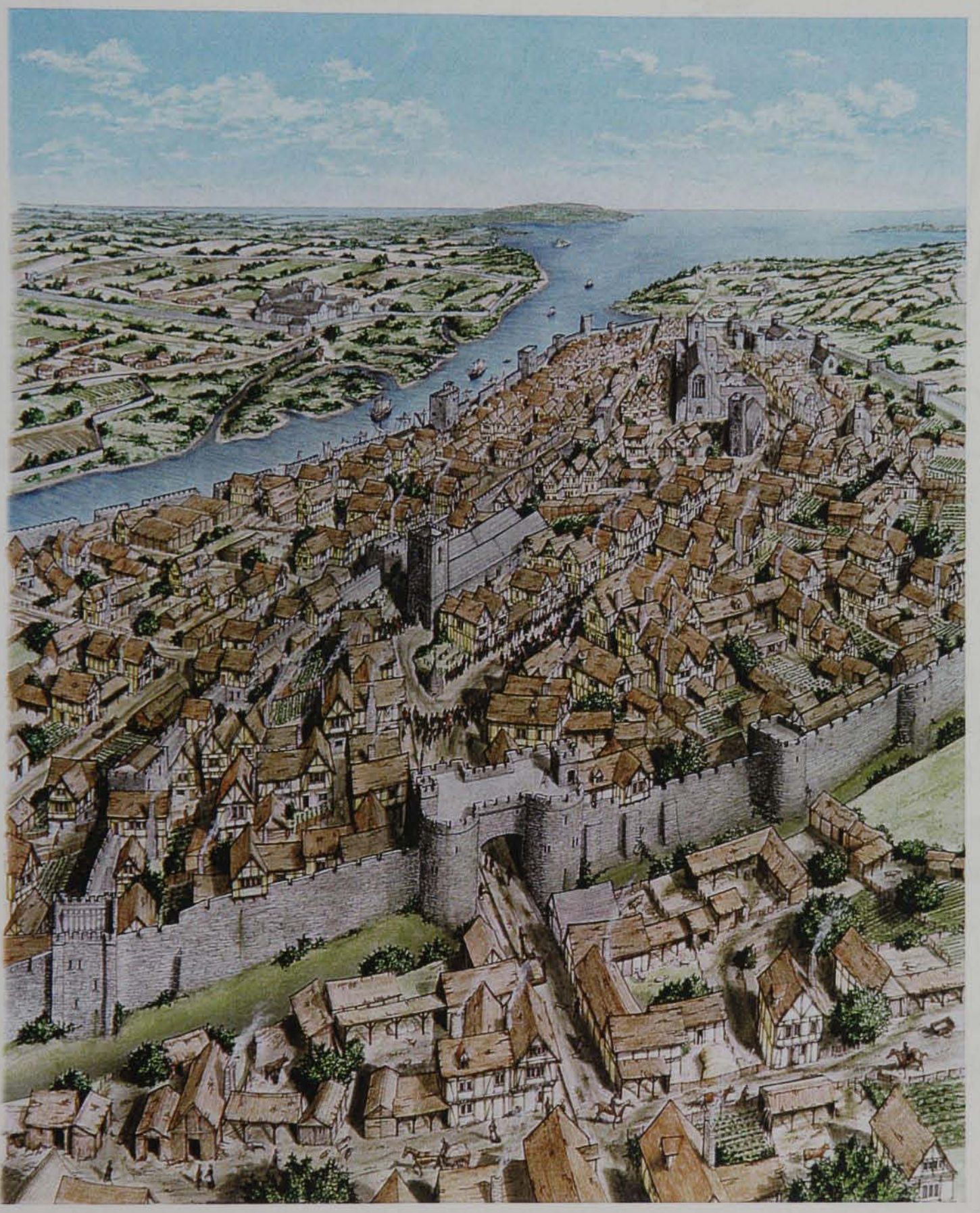


Fig. 3.2 Dublin *c.*1500 viewed from the west
(conjectural illustration by Stephen Conlin, research Mary McMahon)

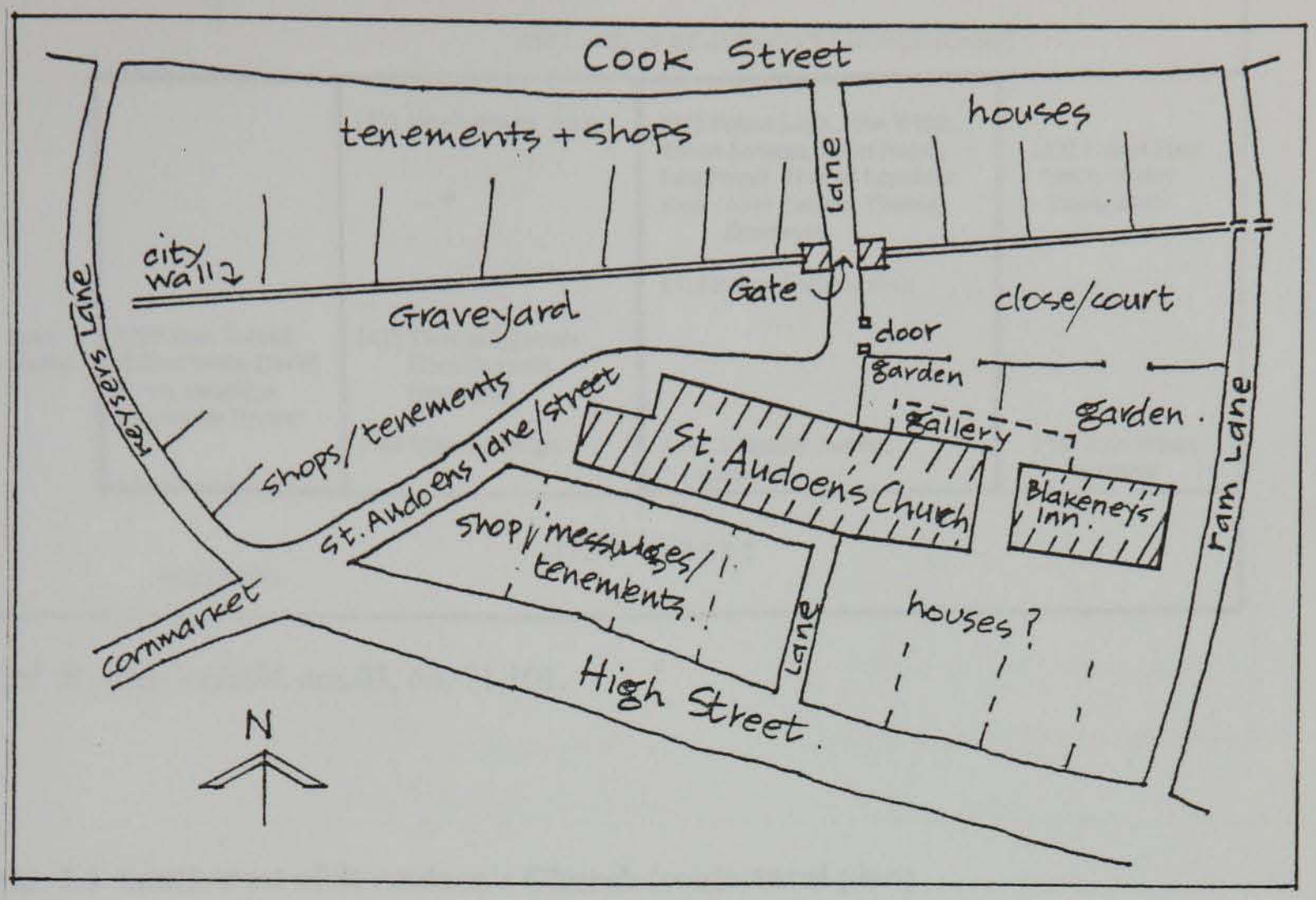
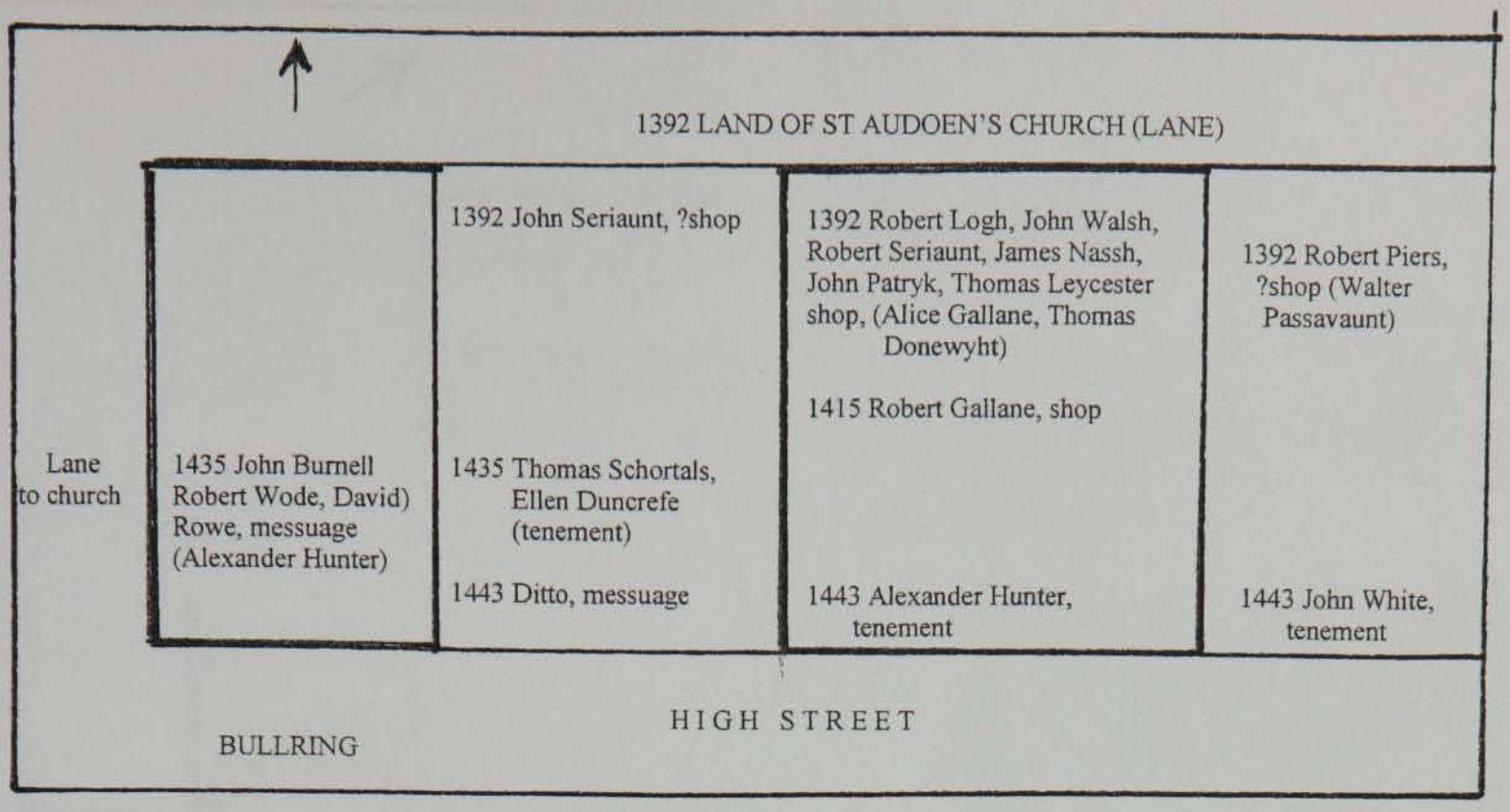


Fig. 3.3 15th/16th century precincts of St Audoen's Church (conjectural plan)

St. Audoen's Street is named in a deed dated 1425.[1] The Cook Street end of the lane is referred to as St. Audoen's lane.[2] Although the city wall has been outlined in Fig. 3.3, it was not named in the deeds as a property boundary and was probably not recognised as the early city wall. In John Speed's map of Dublin, dated 1610, while St. Audoen's gate is depicted, the wall along Cook Street does not feature, but the northern extent of the town is defined by a wall running along the south shore of the river Liffey (Fig. 3.10).[3] A 'gallery' is shown linking Blakeney's Inn (St. Audoen's College) and St. Audoen's Church. This is referred to in 1537 as '...the new gallery that joins to the church door...' and was probably built to provide direct access between the chaplain's accommodation in the college and the church (Fig. 3.9).[4]

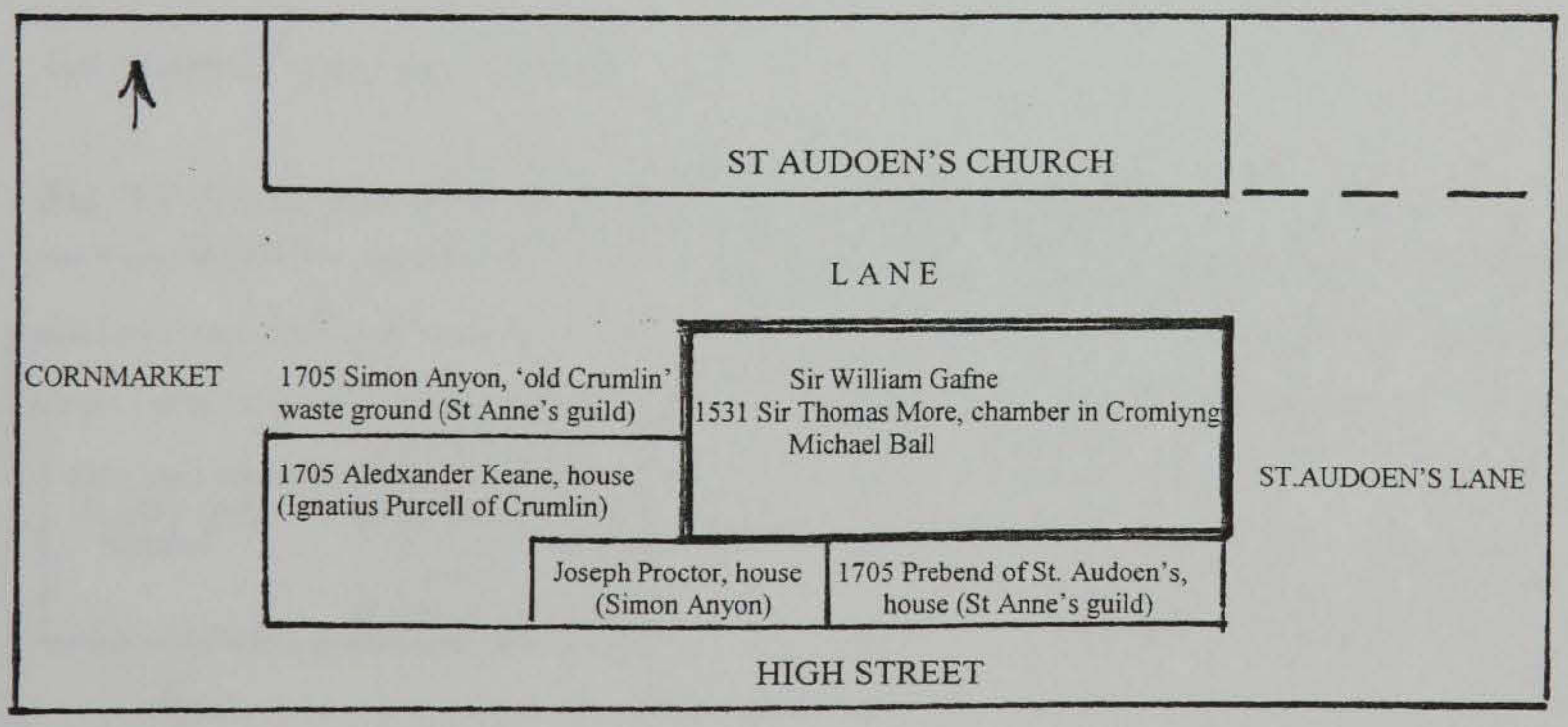
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[1] *Cal.St Anne's Guild* no.117.
[2] *Ibid.* nos. 114, 115, 119
[3] Andrews(1983), pls. I, II.
[4] *Cal. St Anne's Guild*, no.24.



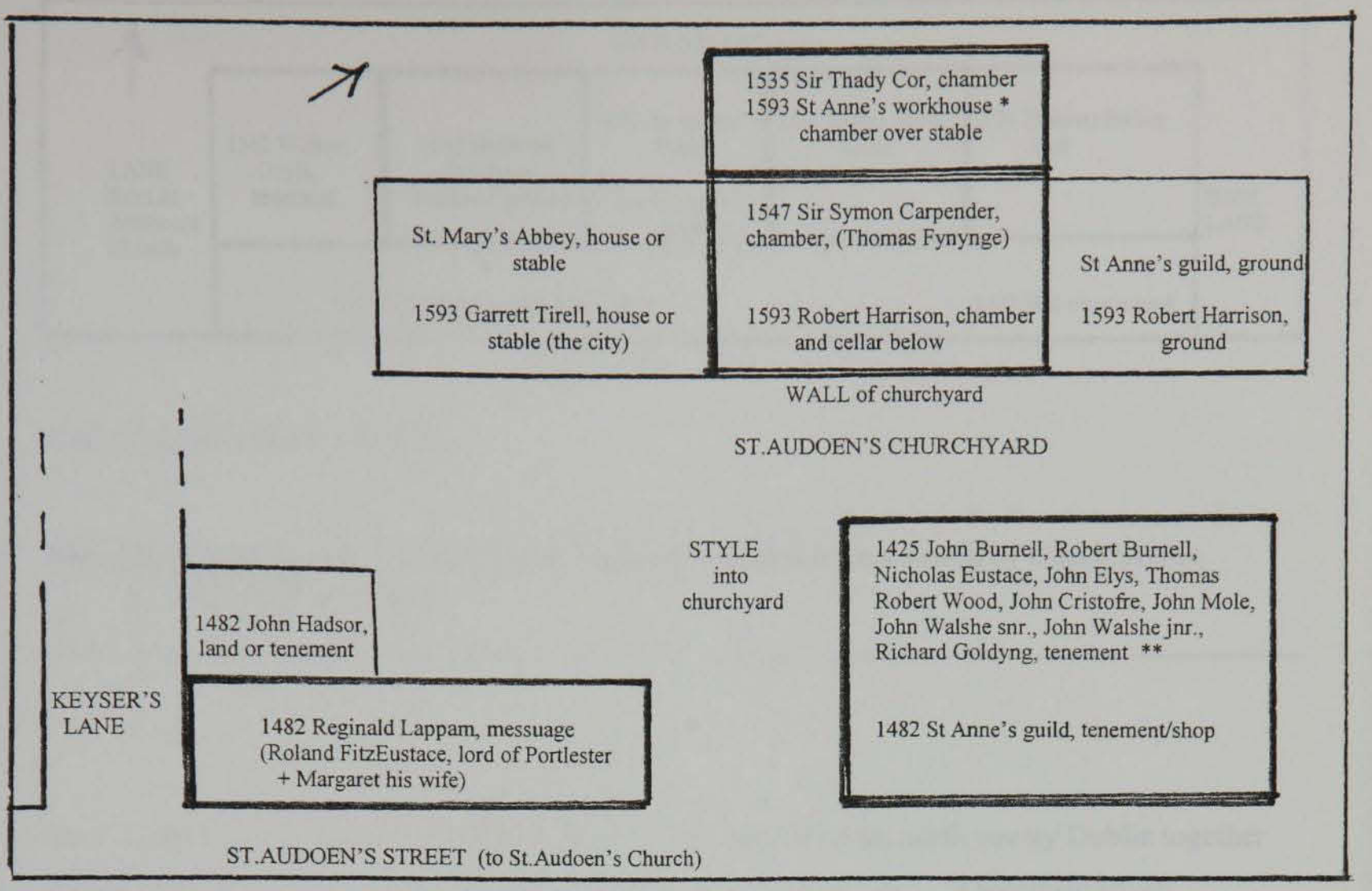
Cal. St Anne's Guild, nos.63, 66, 71,101.

Fig. 3.4 South-west of St Audoen's Church (conjectural plan)



Cal. St Anne's Guild, nos.6, 124.

Fig. 3.5 South of St Audoen's Church (conjectural plan)

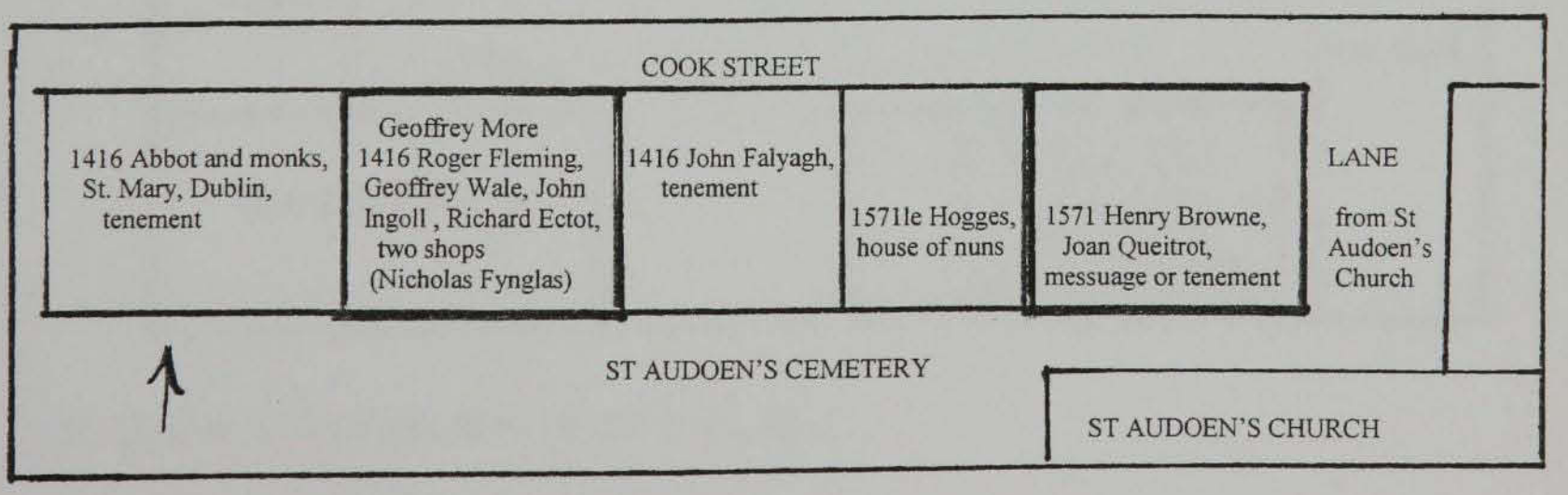


* This building may have housed a joiners', carpenters' or masons' workshop attached to St Audoen's Church

** Referred to in the deed '…as the chamber of St. Mary's chaplain within the church of St Audoen's..'(no.117).

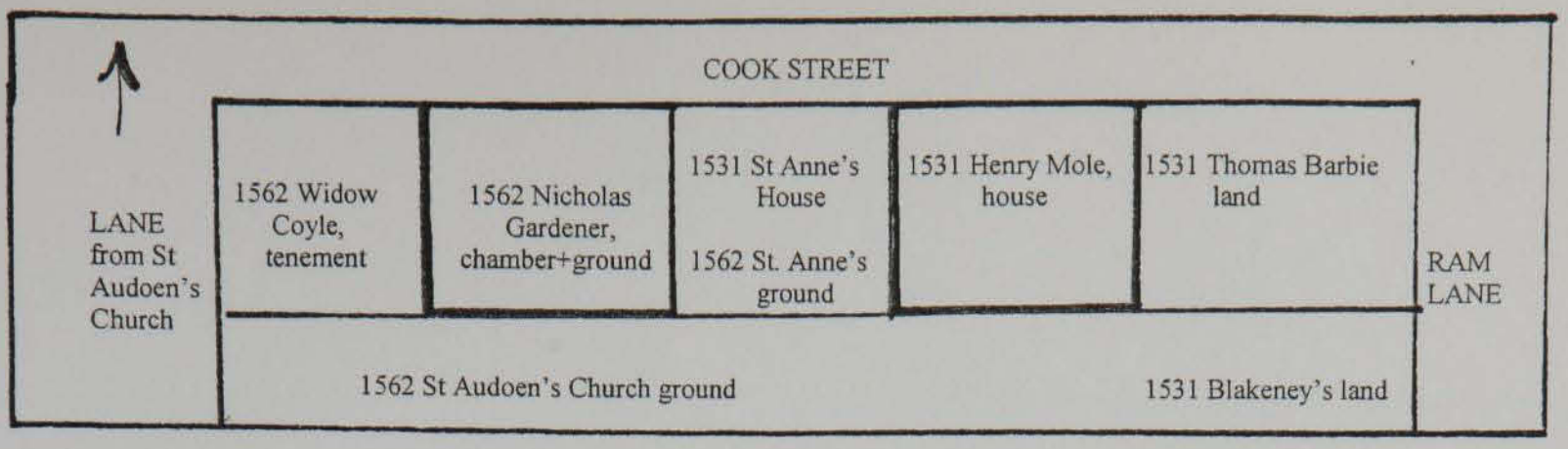
Cal. St Anne's Guild. nos. 7, 116–8.

Fig. 3.6 North-west of St Audoen's Church (conjectural plan)



Cal. St Anne's Guild nos.41, 44.

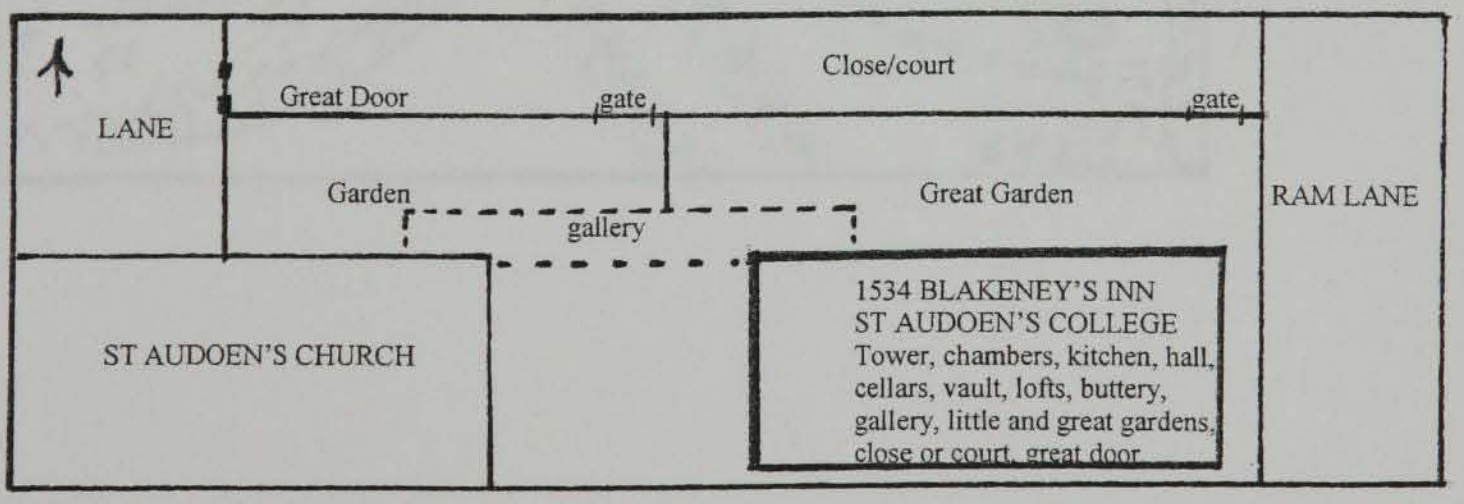
Fig. 3.7 North of St Audoen's Church, south of Cook Street (conjectural plan)



Cal. St Anne's Guild no.43b.

Fig. 3.8 North and north-east of St Audoen's Church and south of Cook Street (conjectural plan)

In 1534 property owned by the guild in Saucerstown, near Swords, north county Dublin together with a sum of money, was given to James Blakeney in exchange for '…a tenement called Blakeney's Inns …'. (Fig. 3.9). The premises were used to house chaplains to the guild, for example Sir James More, chaplain, in 1535 was '…to have the second chamber of the tower of Blakeney's Inns, that is the chamber next to the vault….' and the guild were also responsible for keeping it in good order. Six years later he was given, for his life, '…. a new chamber built over the kitchen… with the little garden next the chancel and portion of the great garden… . By 1554 the premises are referred to as the '..college…' or '…St Audoen's college….'.



Cal. St Anne's Guild nos. 8–9, 16, 23–9, 31, 32–3.

Fig. 3.9 St Audoen's College / Blakeney's Inns (conjectural plan)

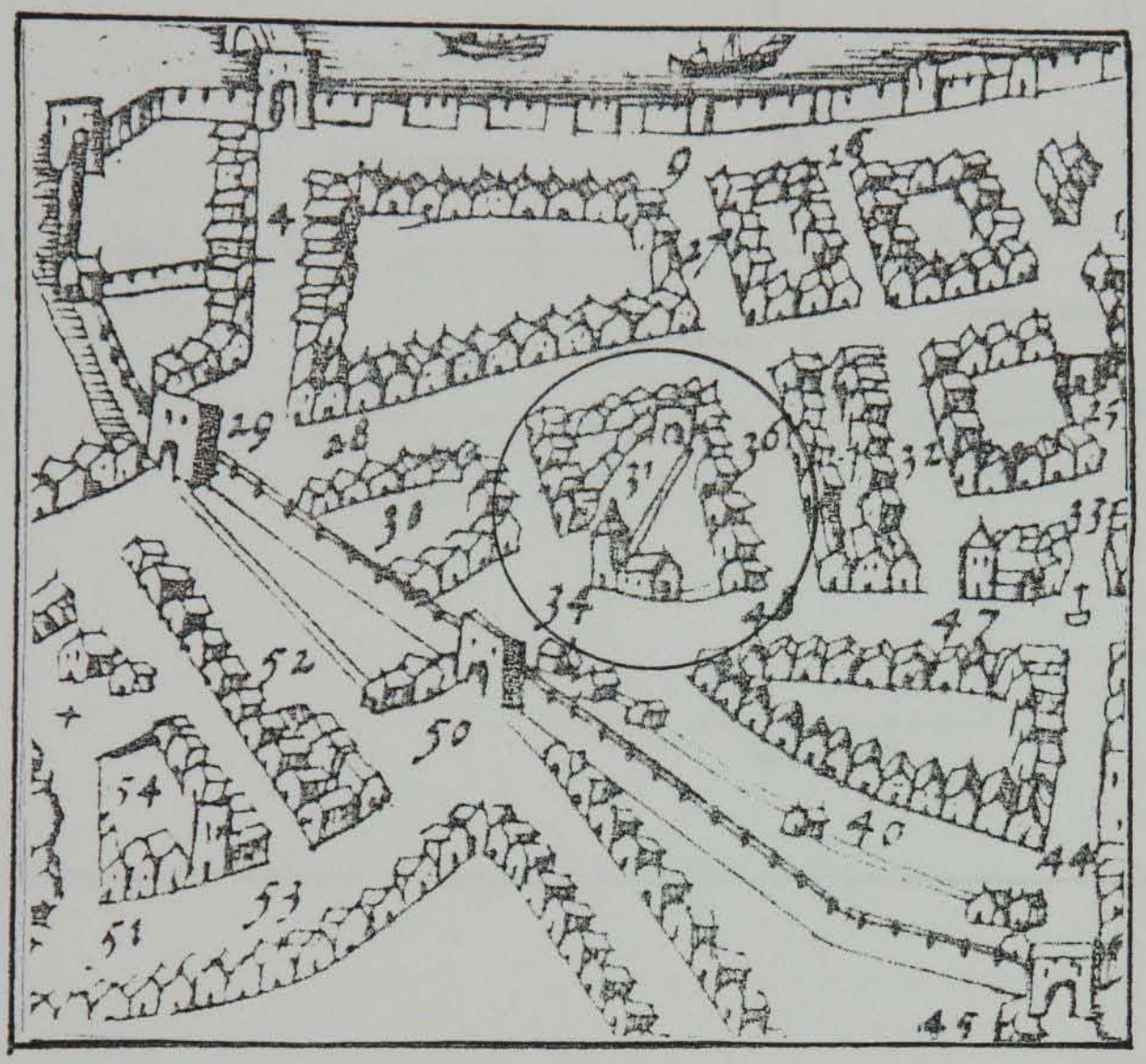


Fig. 3.10 John Speed 1610 (enlarged detail)

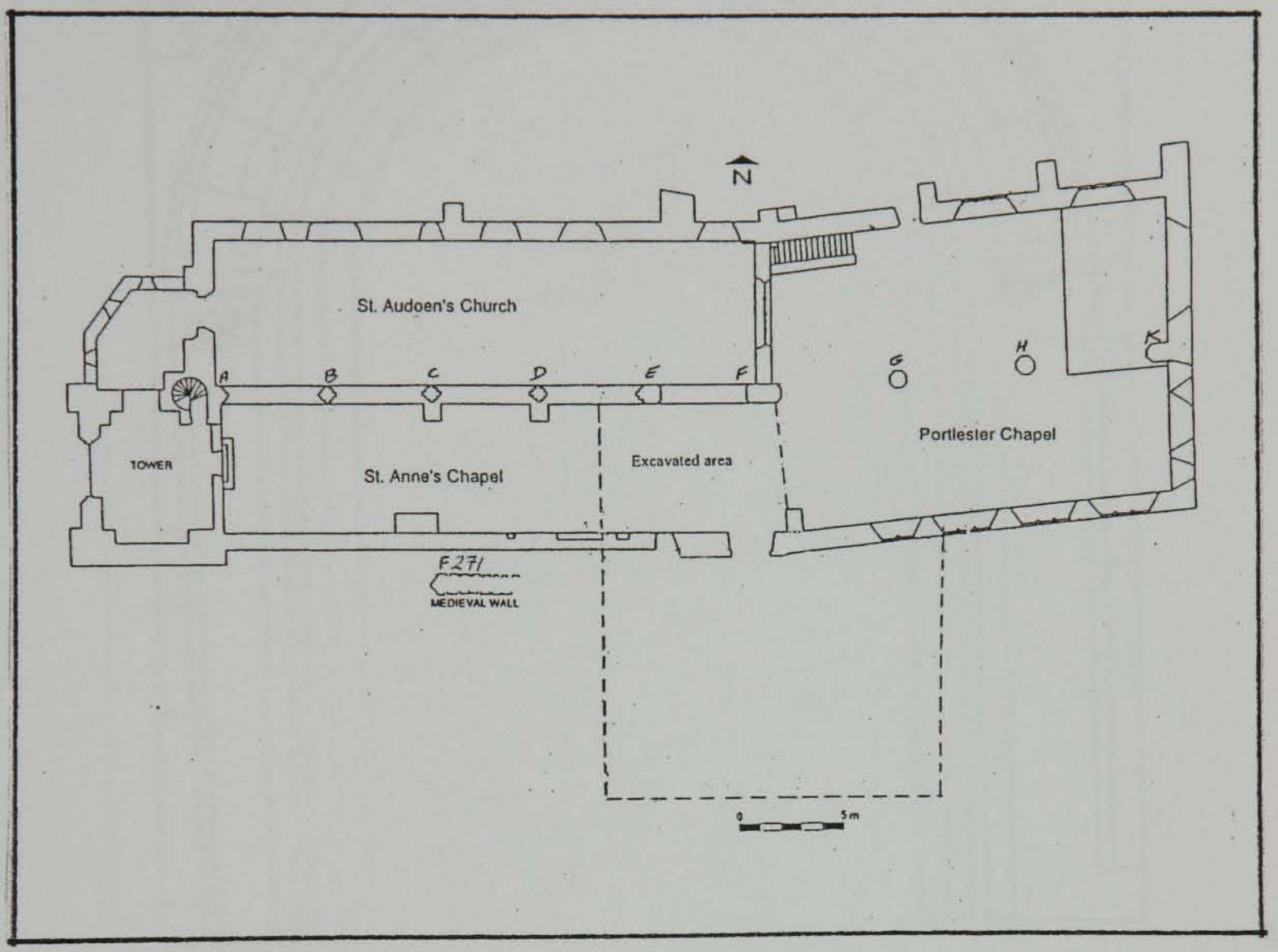
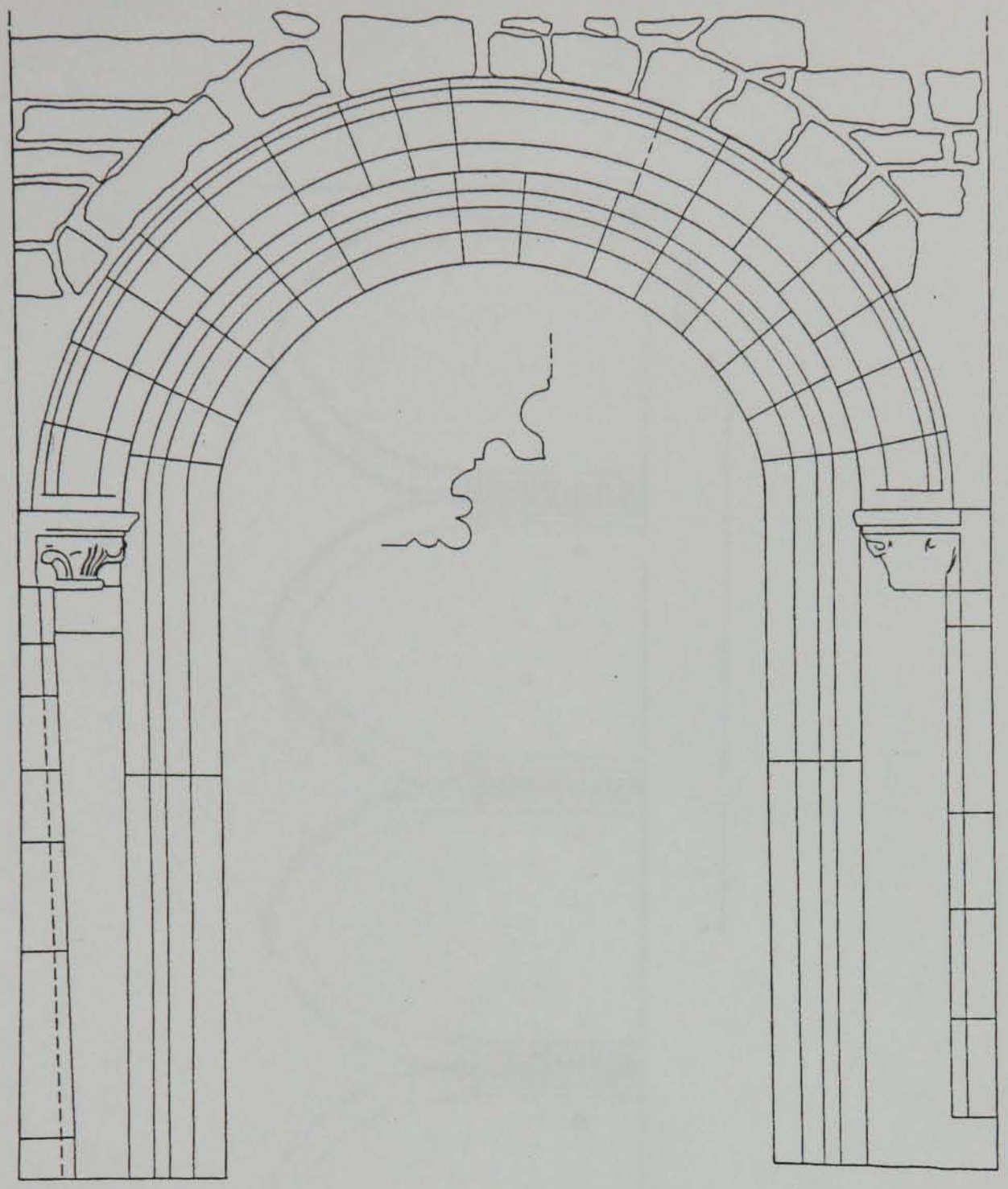


Fig. 4.1 Church plan



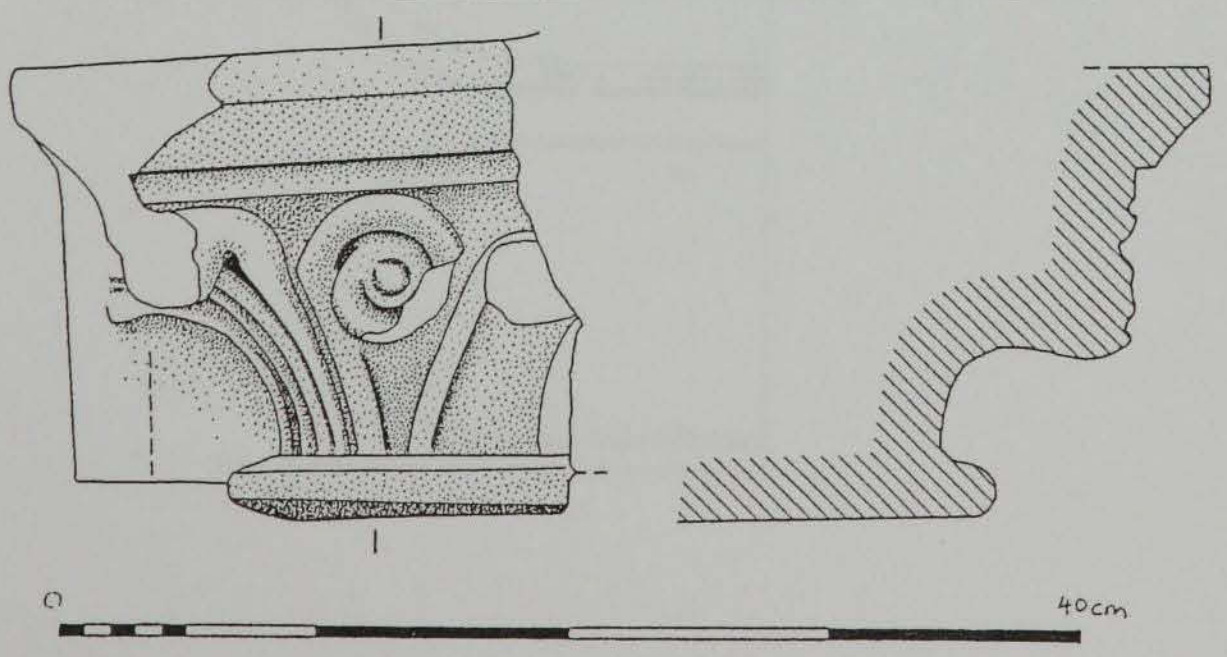


Fig. 4.2 a) **North aisle - doorway in west wall**
b) **Doorway capital**

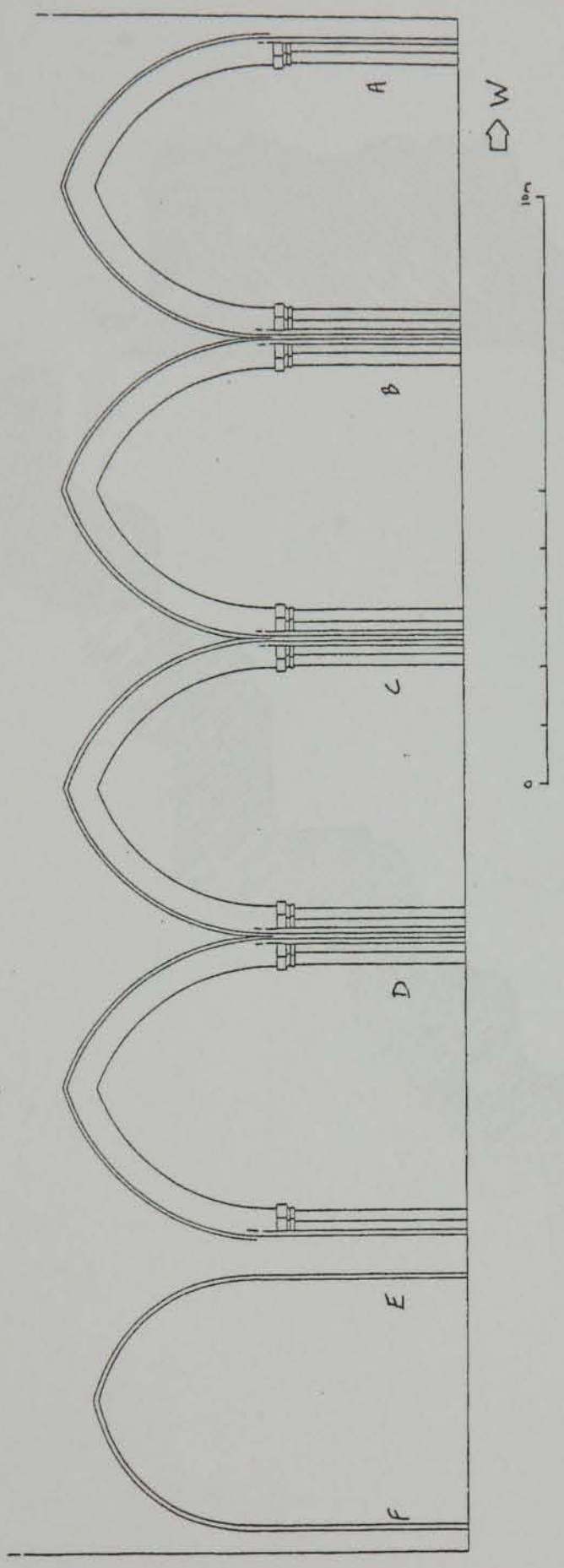


Fig. 4.3 Blocked arcade - north face

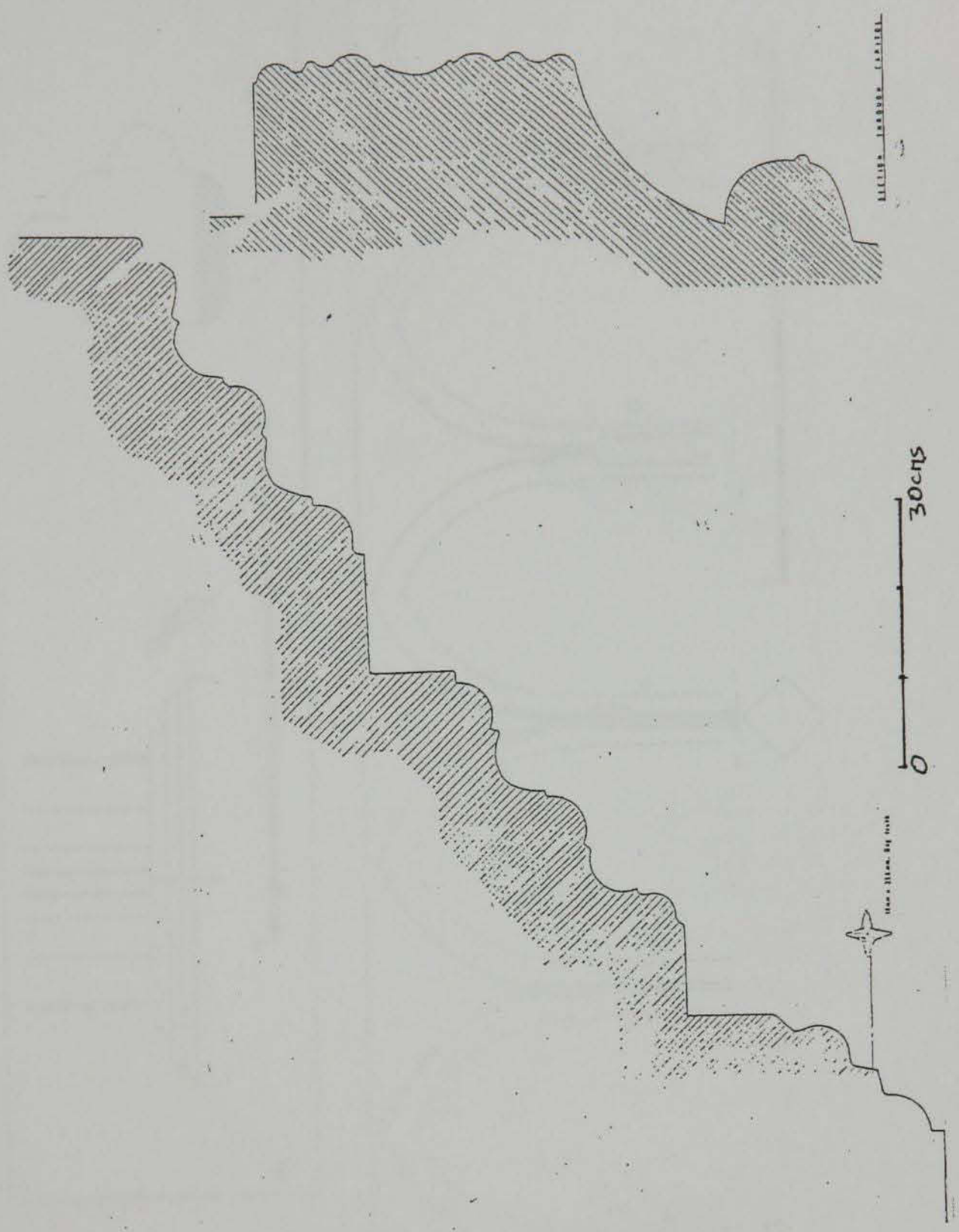


Fig. 4.4 Arch and capital mouldings - blocked arcade

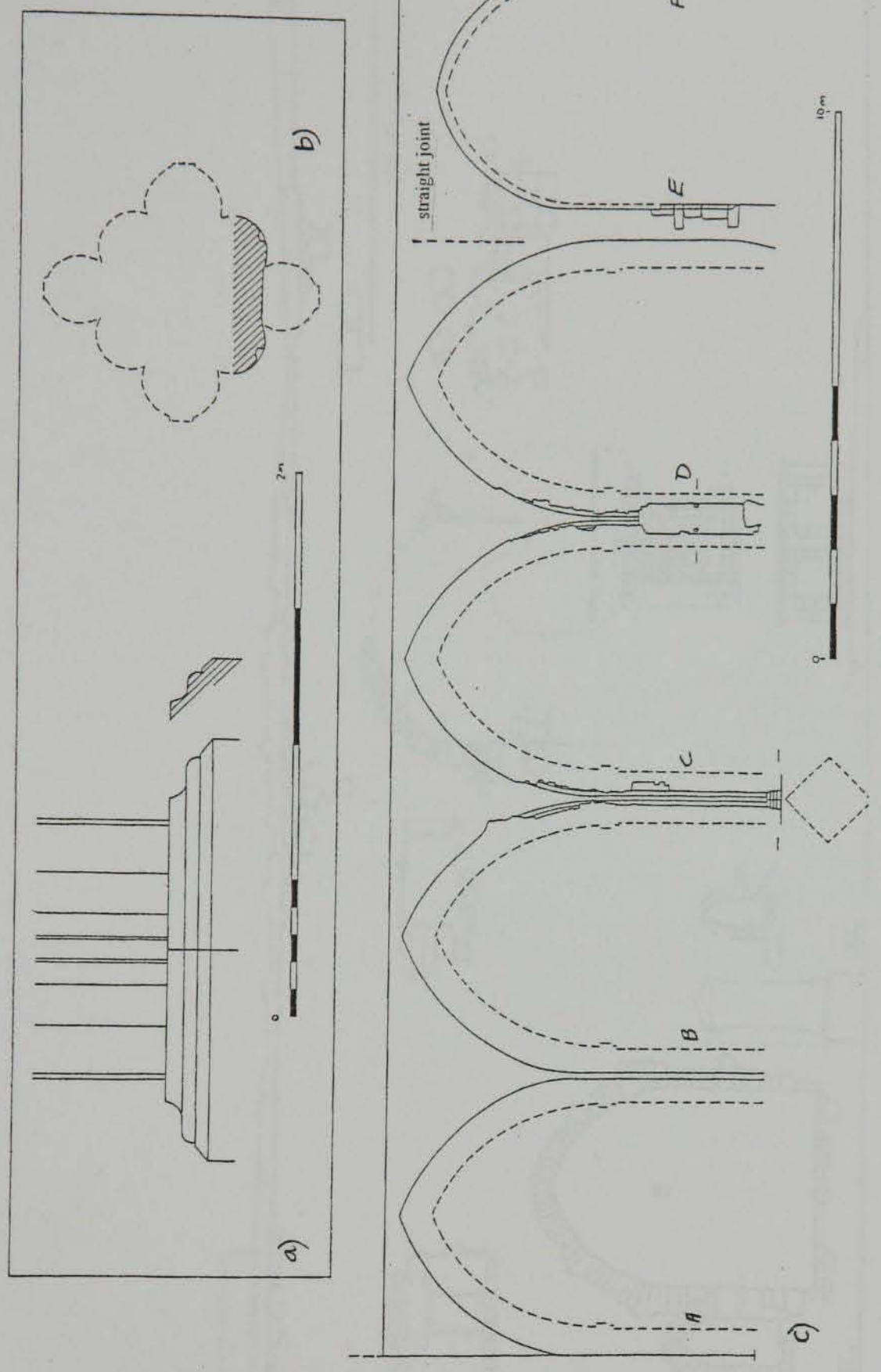


Fig. 4.5 a) Pier C and base - blocked arcade, south face
b) Pier D - blocked arcade
c) Blocked arcade - south face

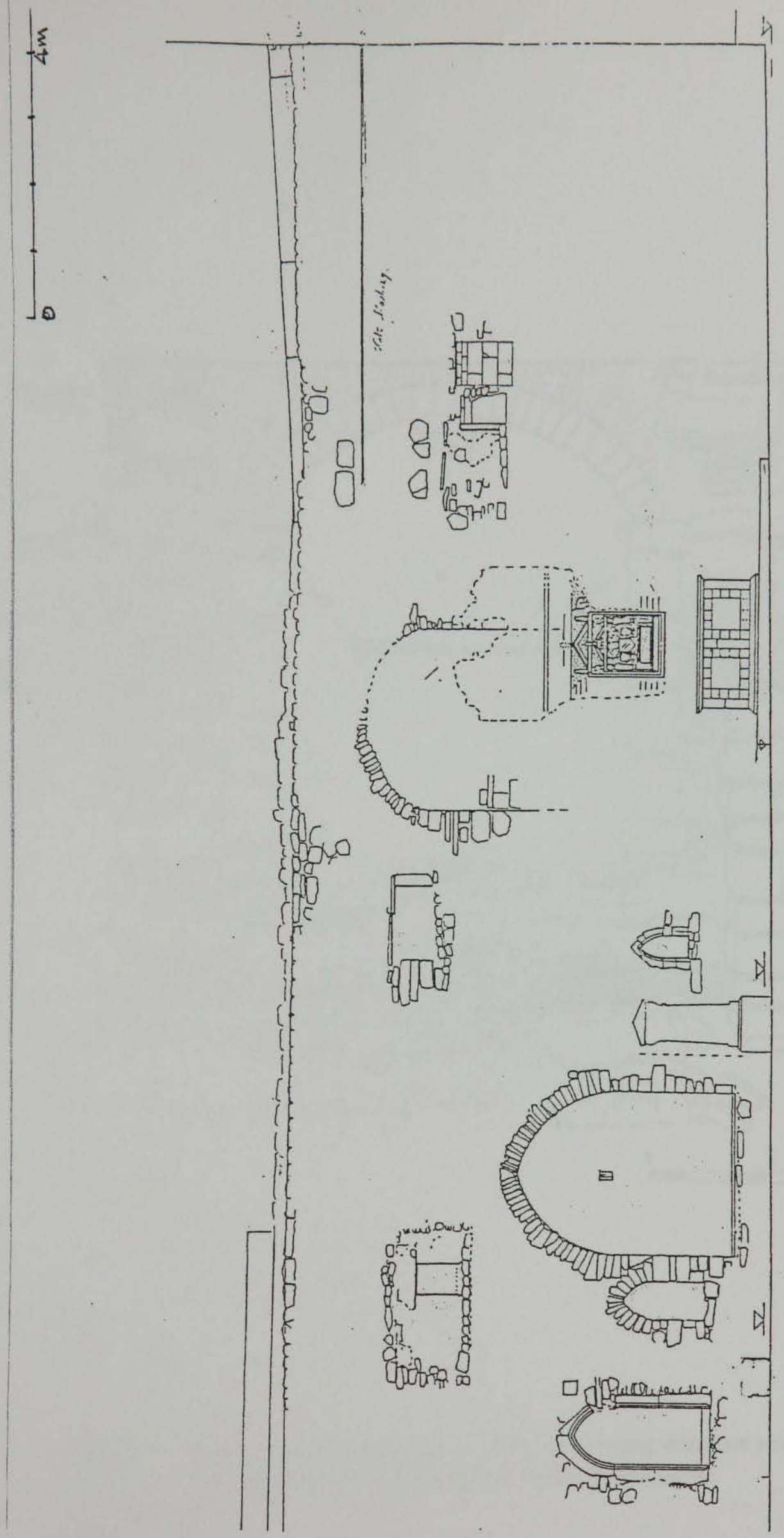


Fig. 4.6 South wall elevation - south aisle

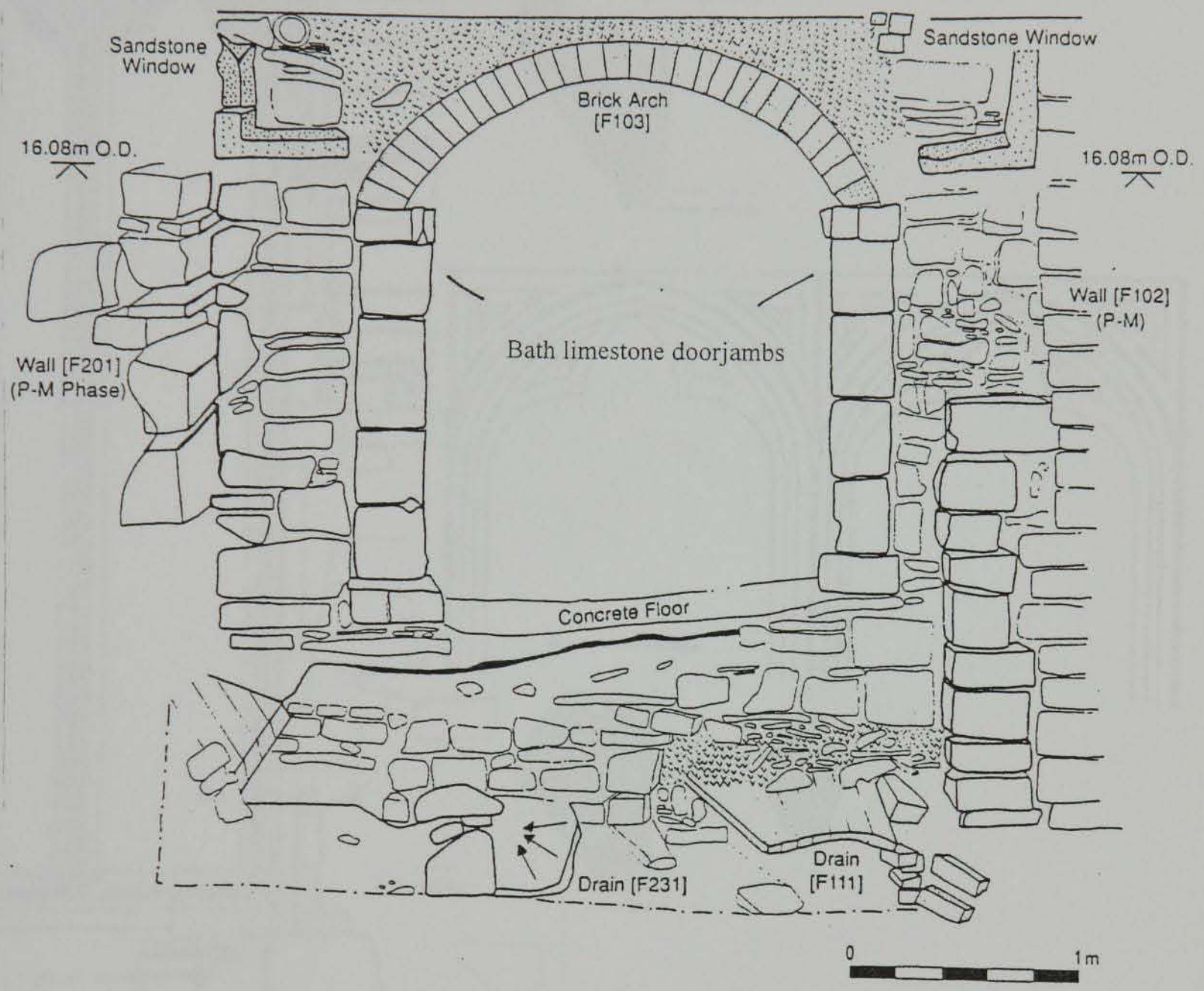


Fig. 4.7 South wall elevation (external) showing window mouldings in wall fabric and Bath limestone doorjambs

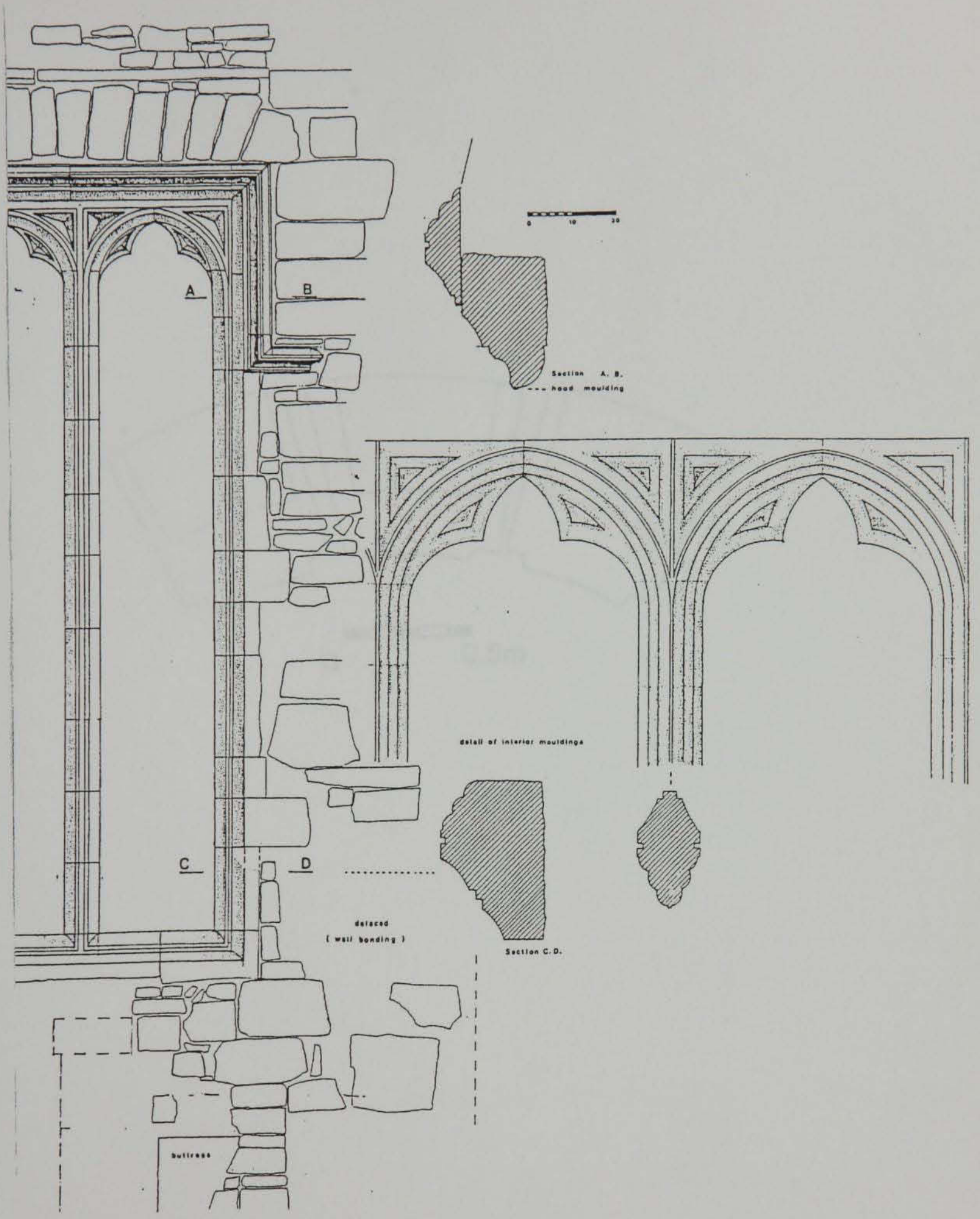


Fig. 4.8 Detail of reconstructed window - south wall (south aisle)

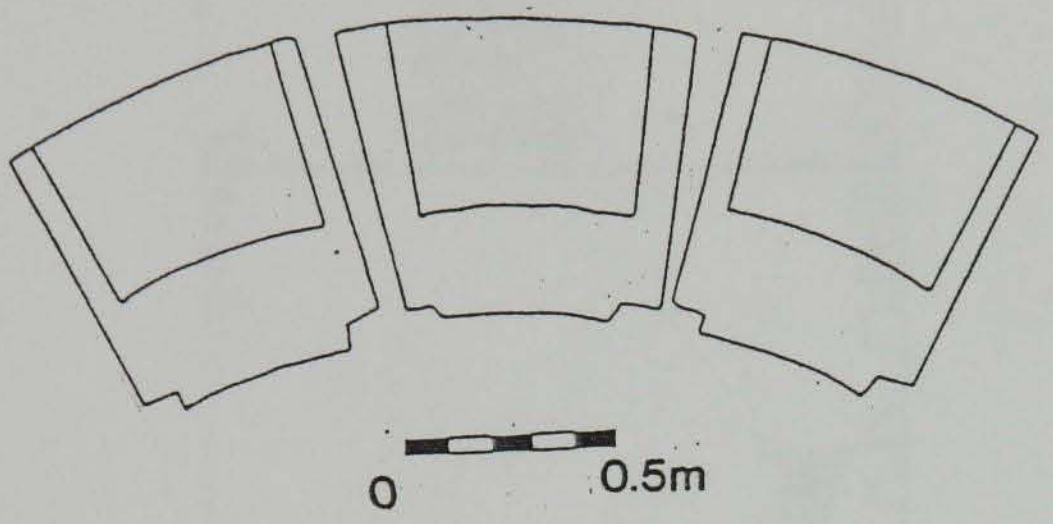


Fig. 4.9 Voussoirs - Bath limestone

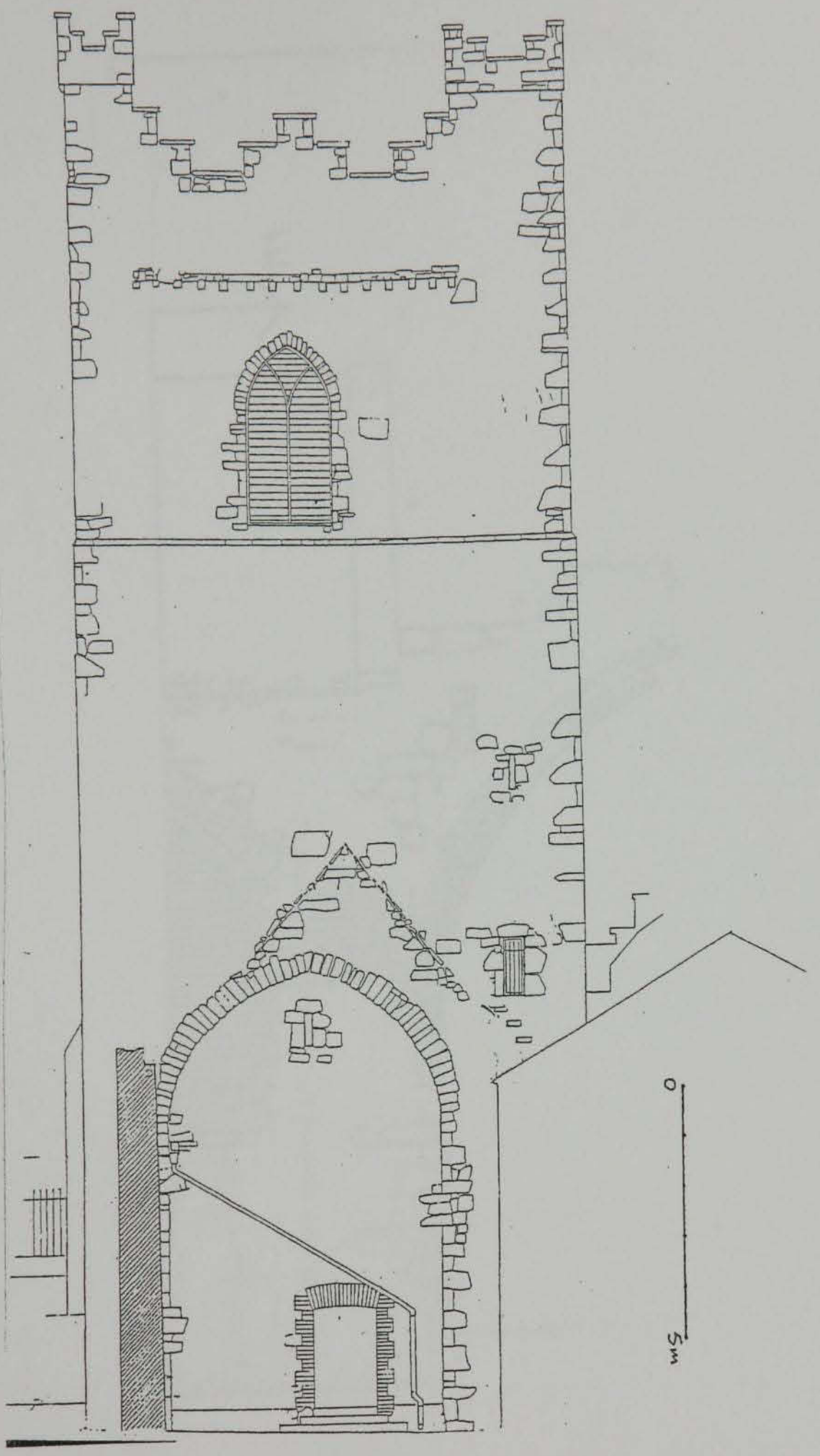


Fig. 4.10 Tower - west face

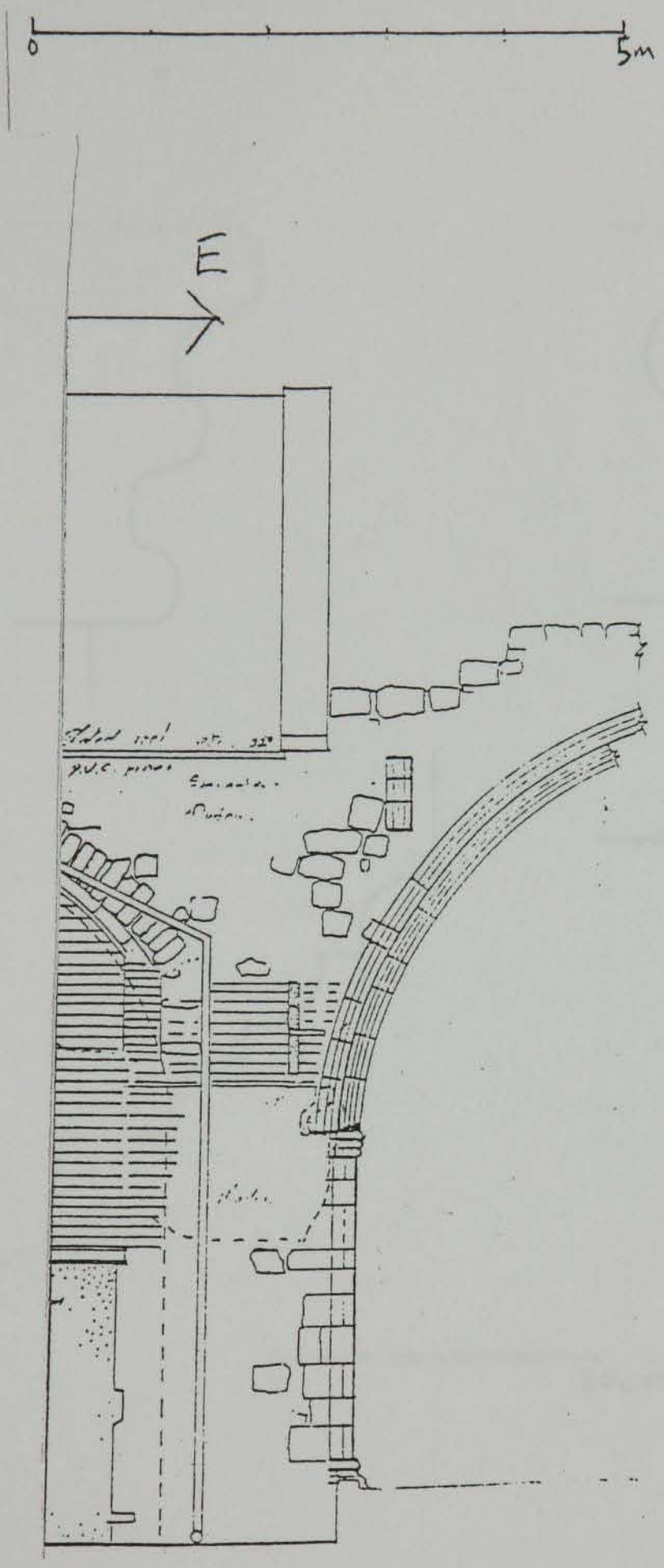


Fig. 4.11 Arcade junction (west and east end), column F

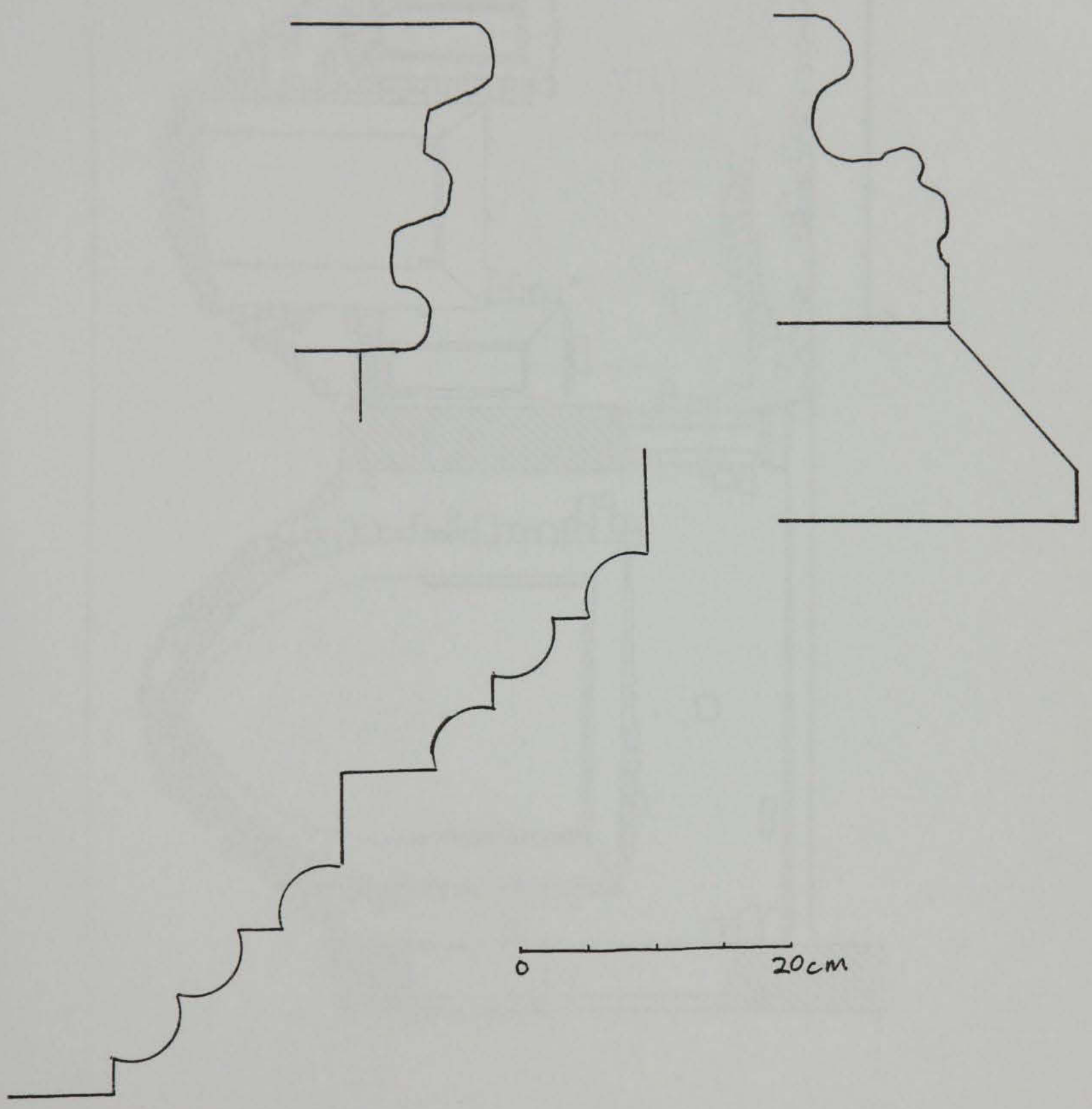


Fig. 4.12 Capital, base and arch mouldings - arcade (east end)

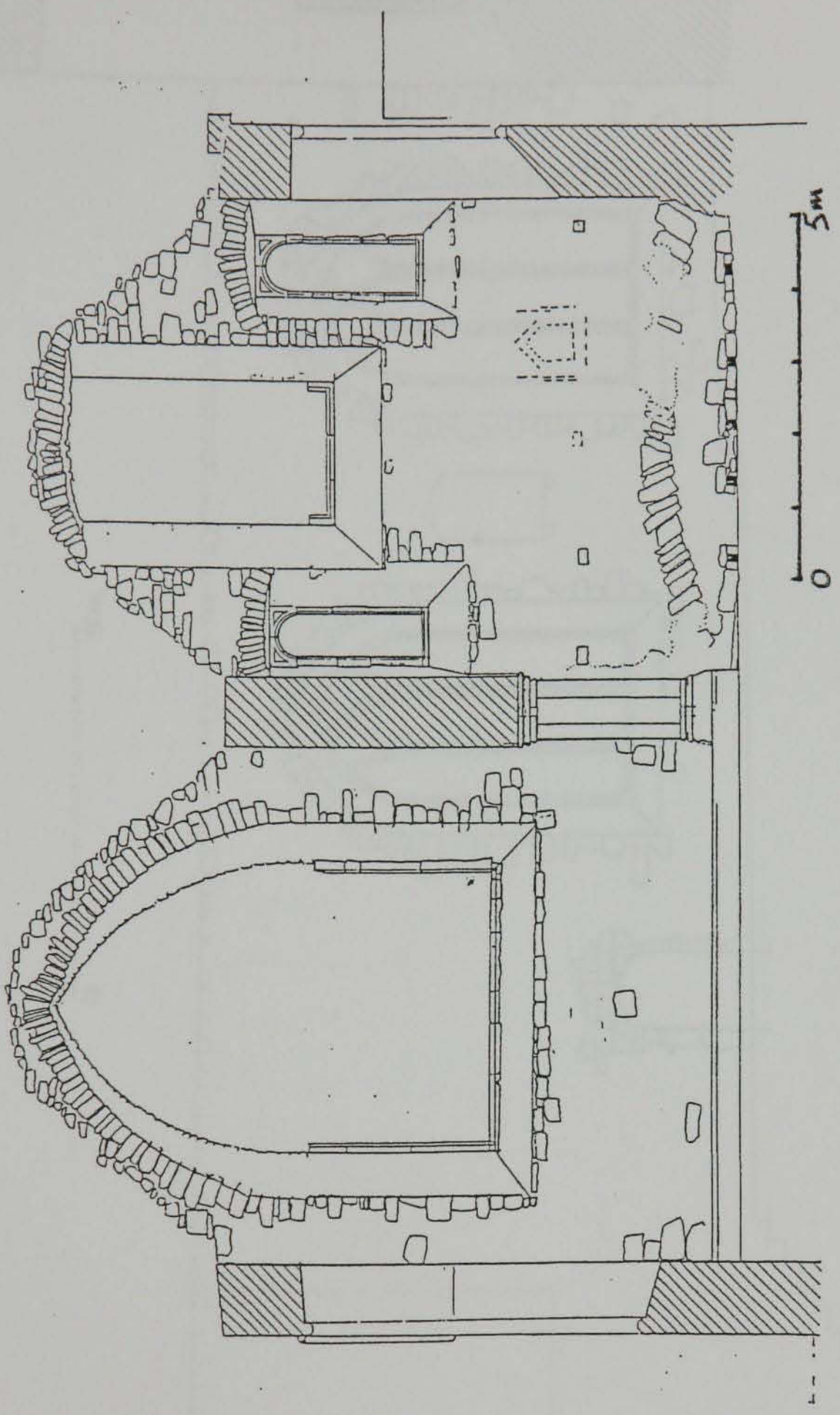


Fig. 4.13 East wall - north and south aisles with engaged column K (east end)

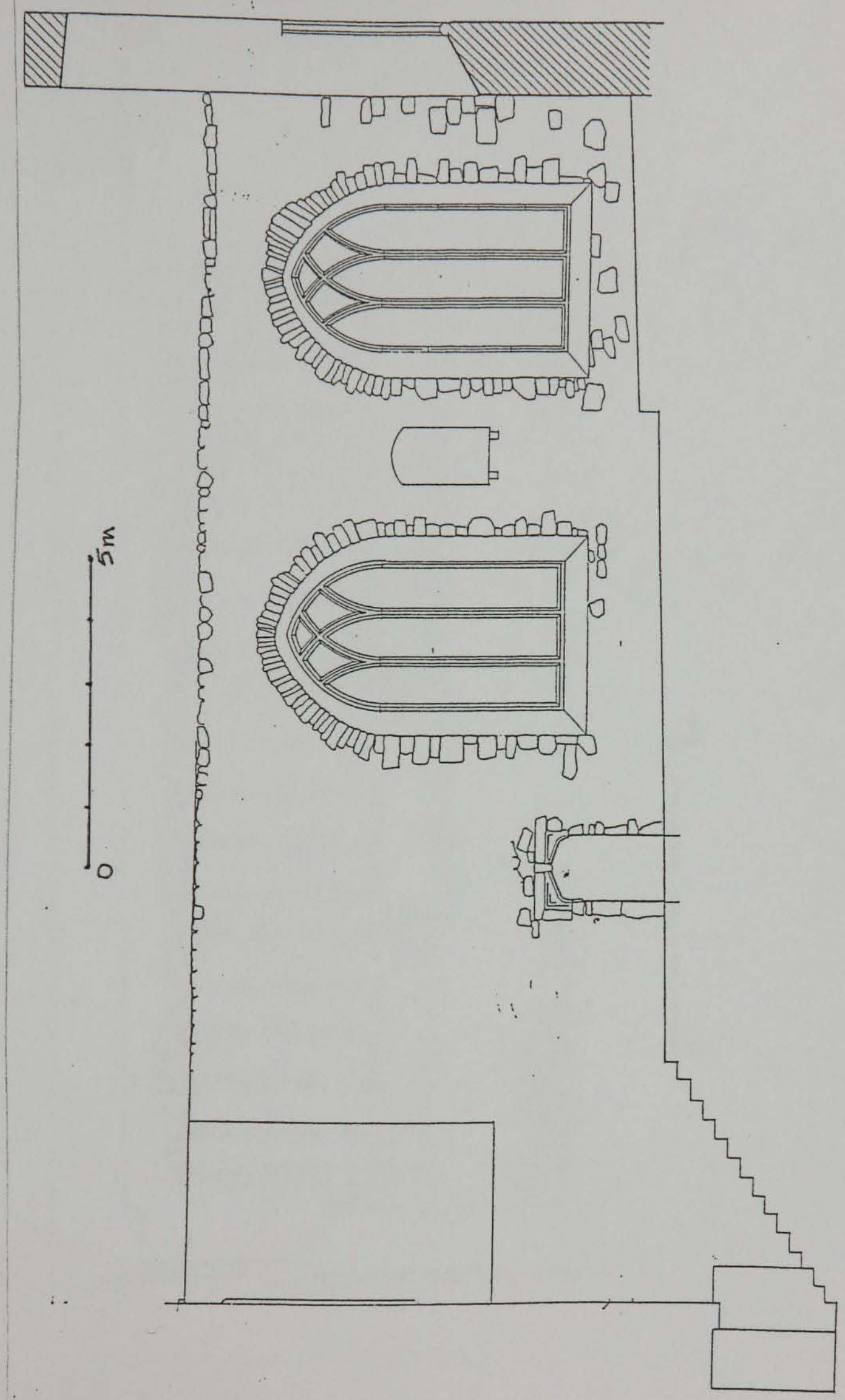


Fig. 4.14 North wall - east end

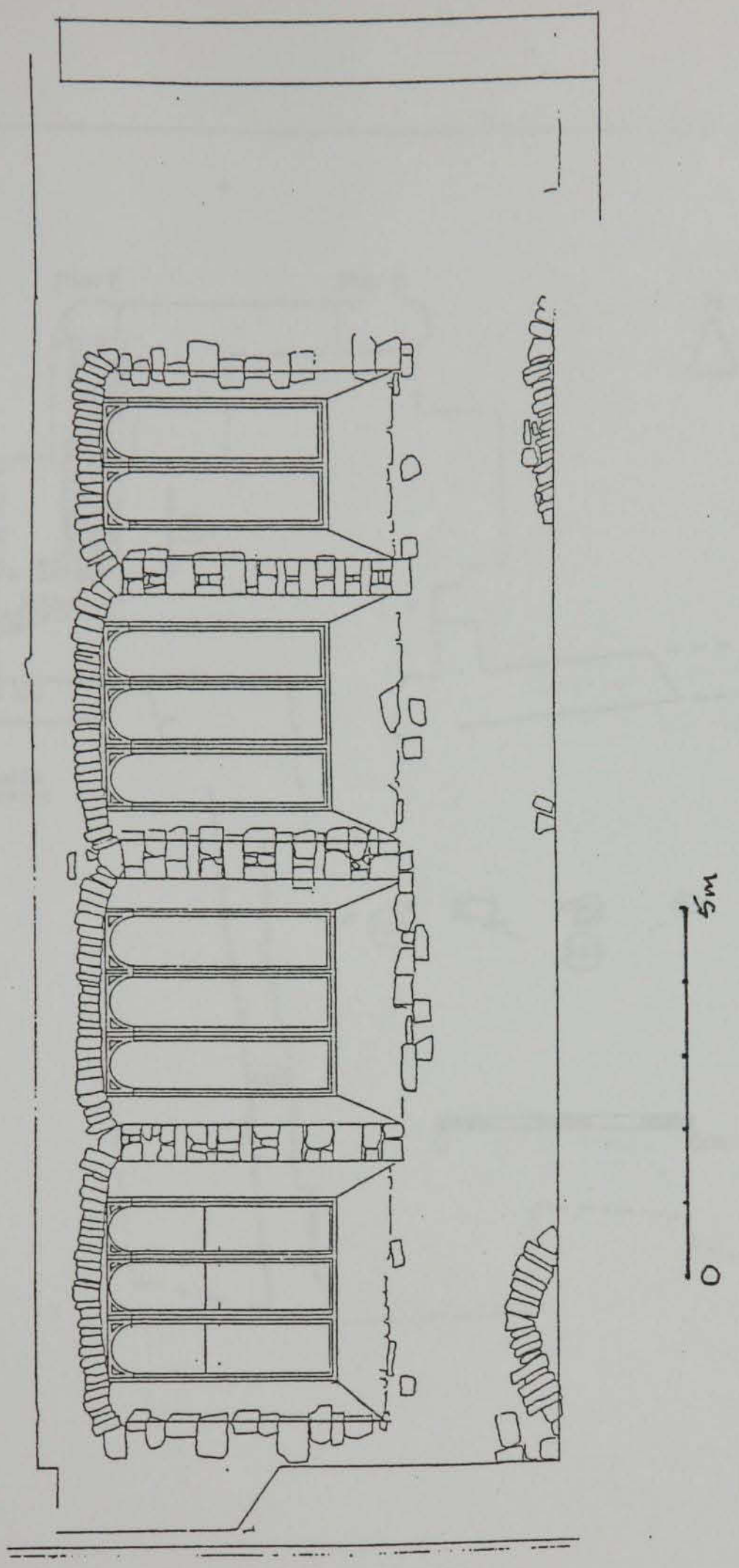


Fig. 4.15 South wall - east end

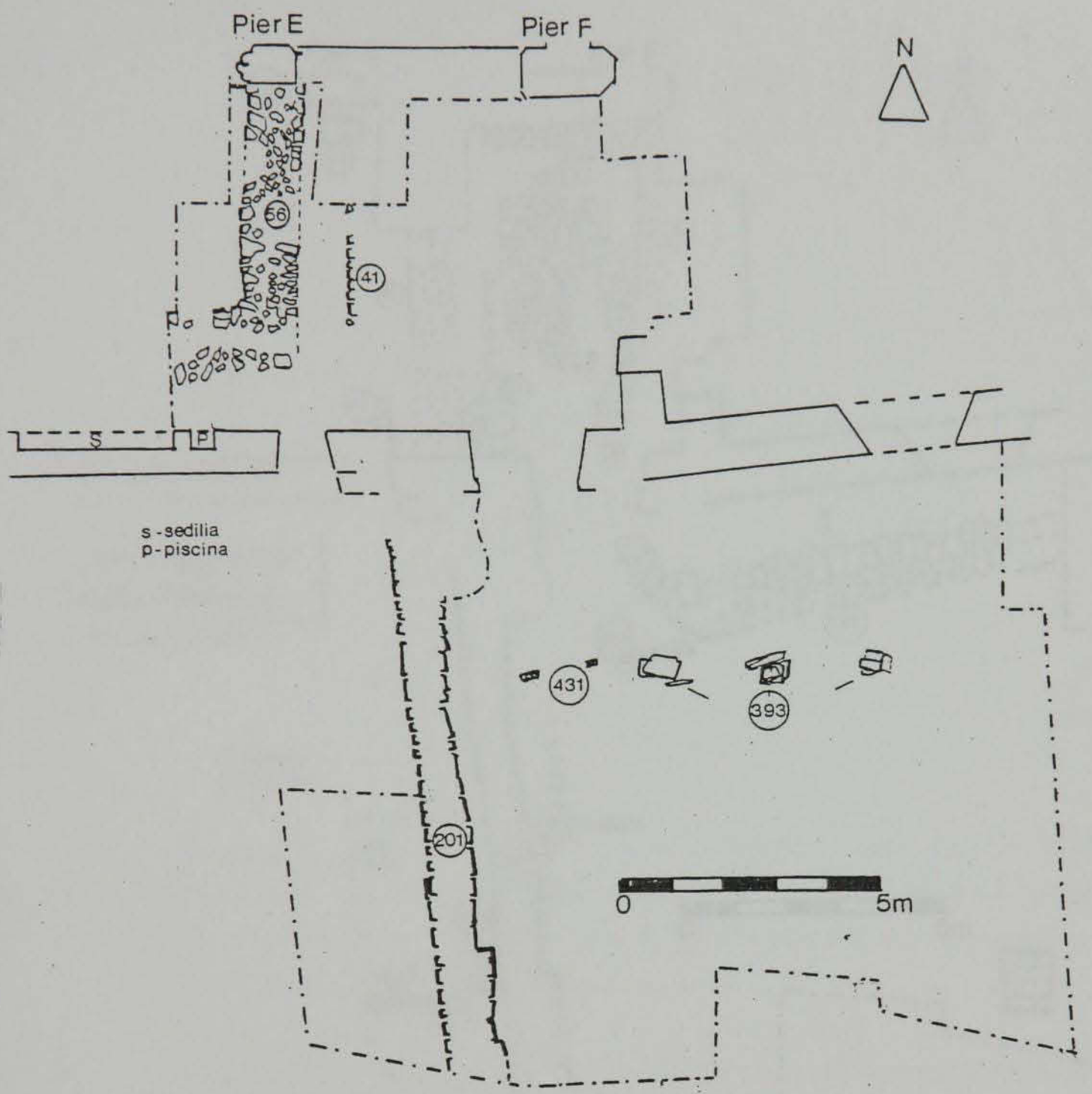


Fig. 5.1 **Phase 1 - archaeological excavation**

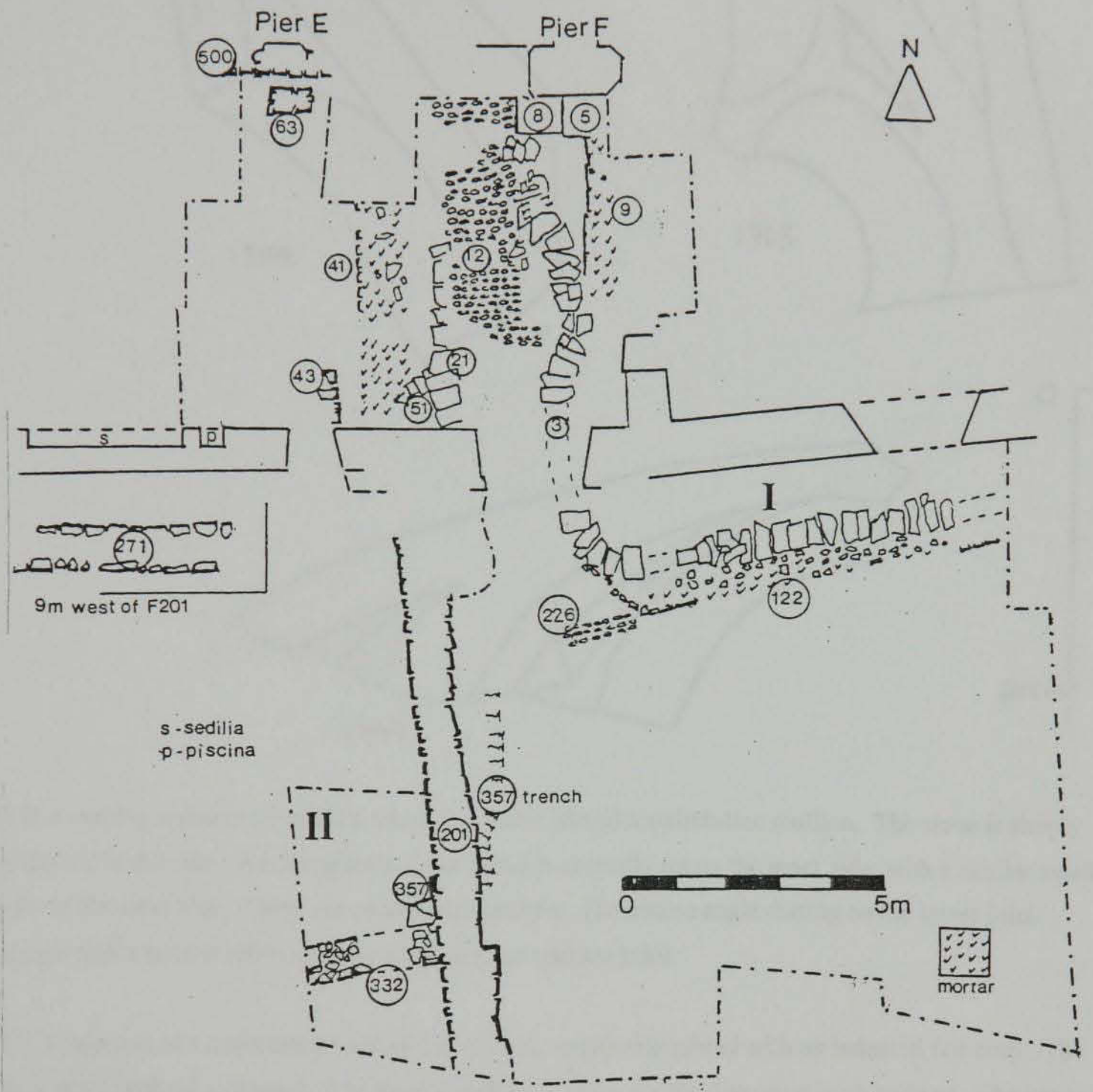
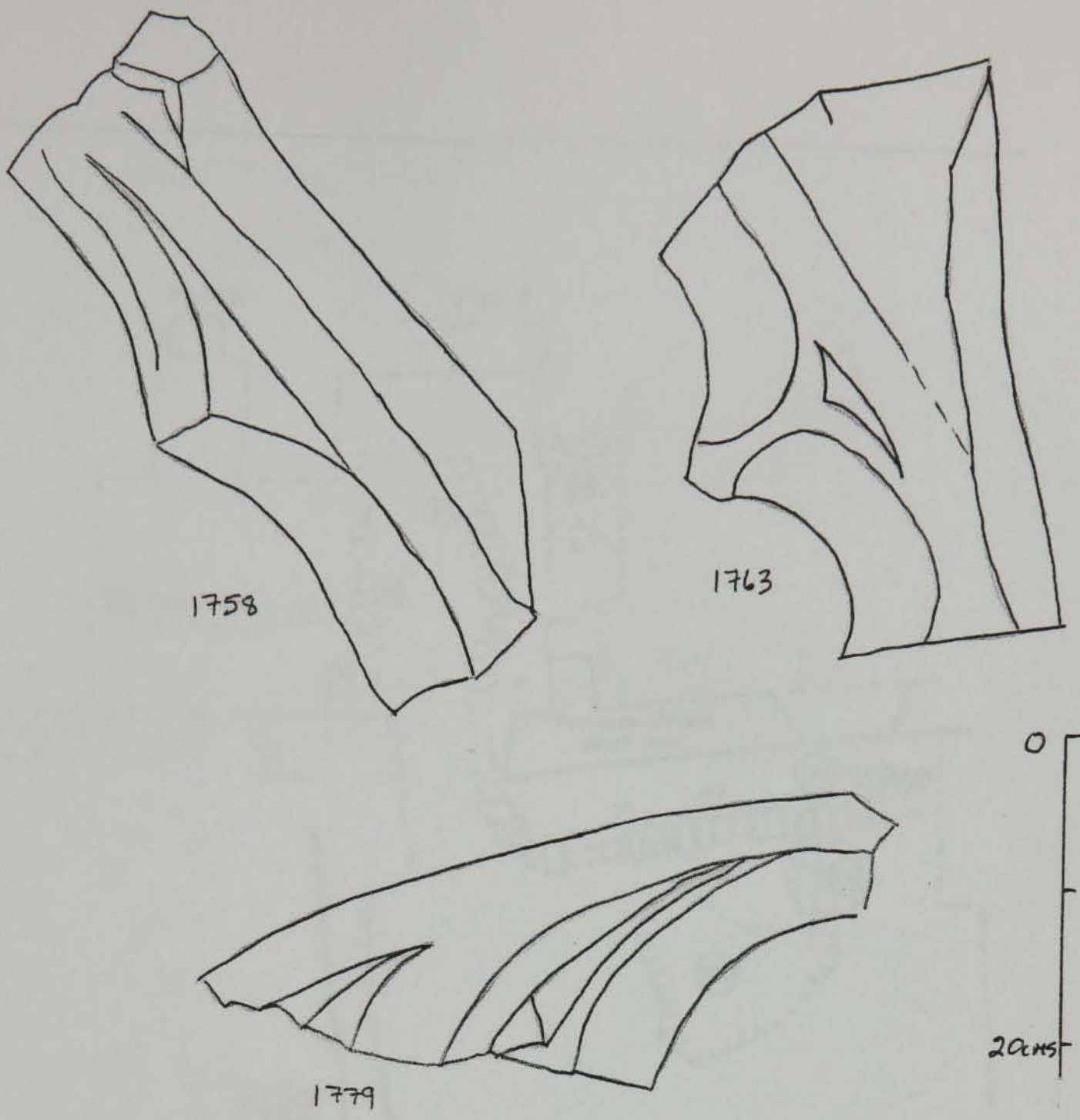


Fig. 5.2 Phases 2 and 3 - archaeological excavation



E497:1758 is a curving segment of window tracery, possibly part of a switch-line mullion. The stone is simply chamfered leaving broad nibs. An elongated indented cusp is centrally set on the inner side, with a similar small cusp set high on the outer side. There are no glazing channels. The obtuse angle cutting on the lower joint surface suggests that a similar opposite stone abutted at the mullion joint.

E497:1763 is a segment of a trefoiliated window tracery bar, simply chamfered with an indented full cusp. The glazing stile is plain without a channel. The stone broadens to allow for the diverging jamb and bar. The upper joint surfaces are sharply tapered so as the stone forms a wedge.

E497:1779 is a segment of window tracery with a fork of a cusped trefoiliated head and the extended part of the main arch jamb. The piece is simply chamfered and the cusp is indented. the joint surfaces are slightly damaged.

Fig. 5.3 Window tracery fragments

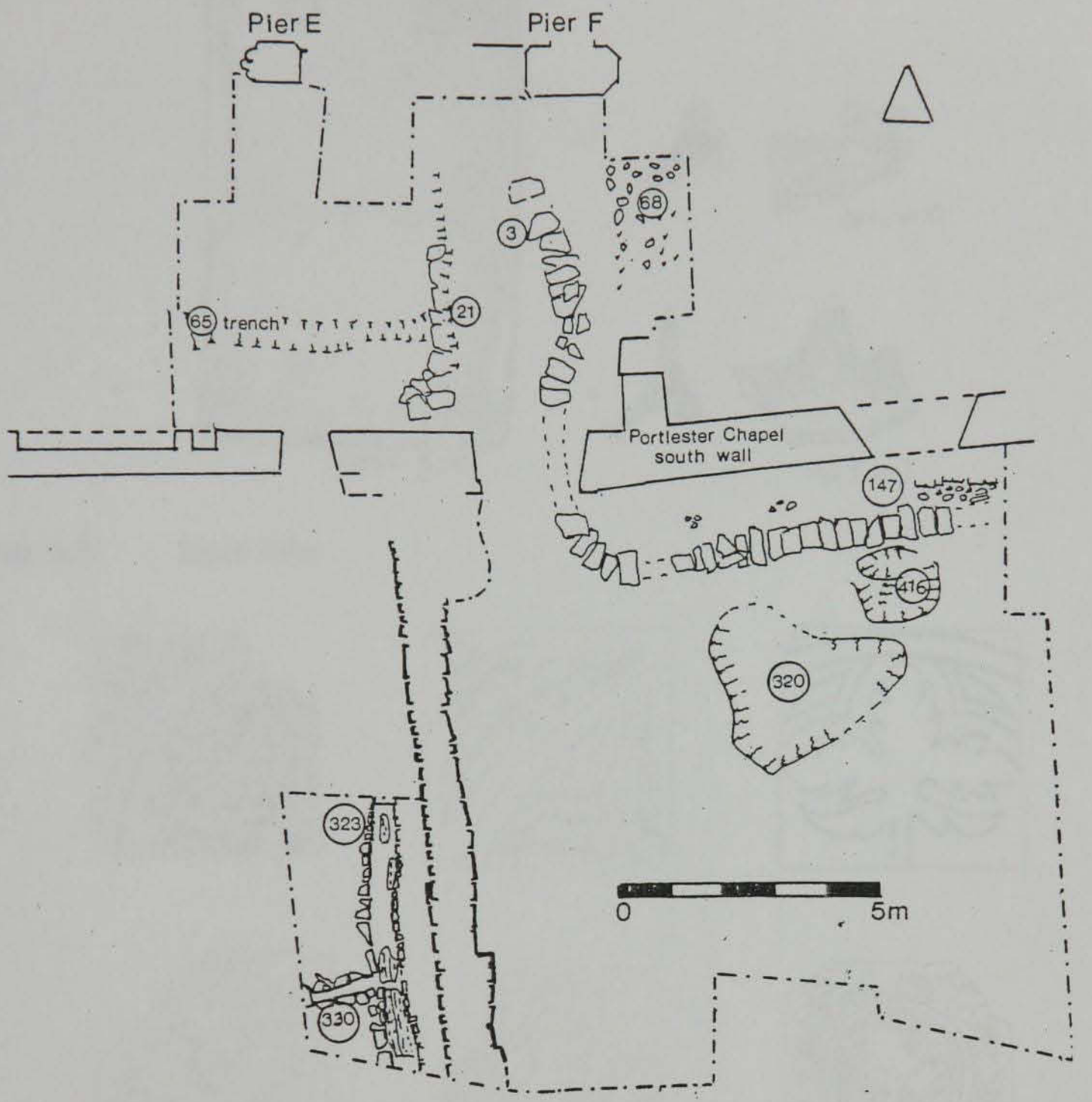


Fig. 5.4 **Phases 4 to 6 - archaeological excavations**

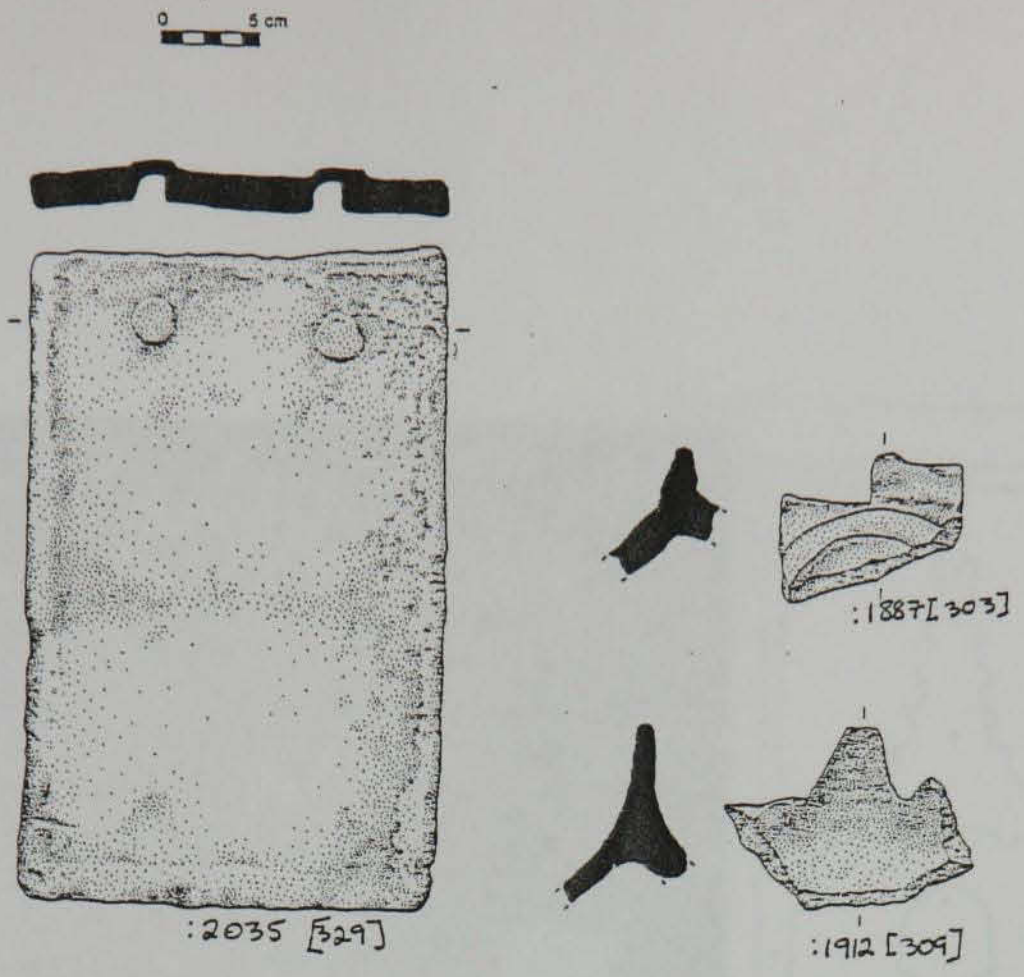


Fig. 5.5 Roof Tiles



Fig. 5.6 Floor tiles



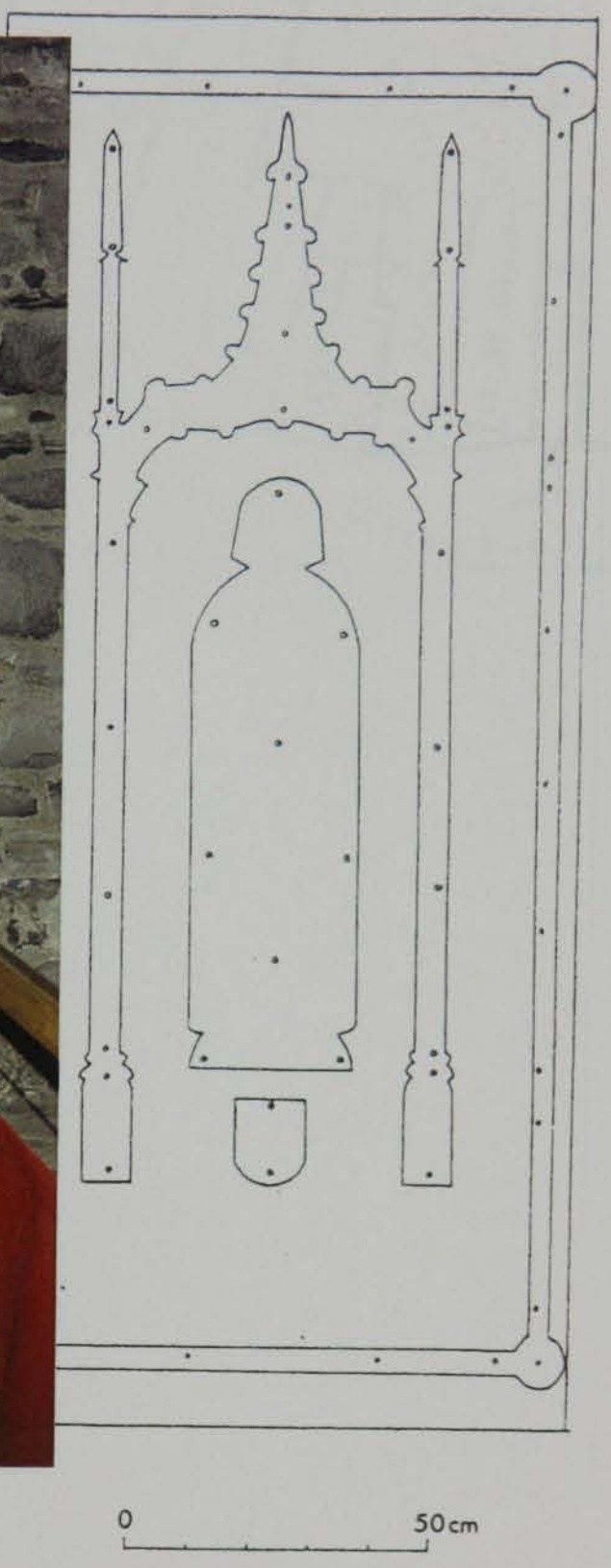


Fig. 6.1 **Brass matrix- indent shows ecclesiastic standing under a canopy (early fifteenth century)**

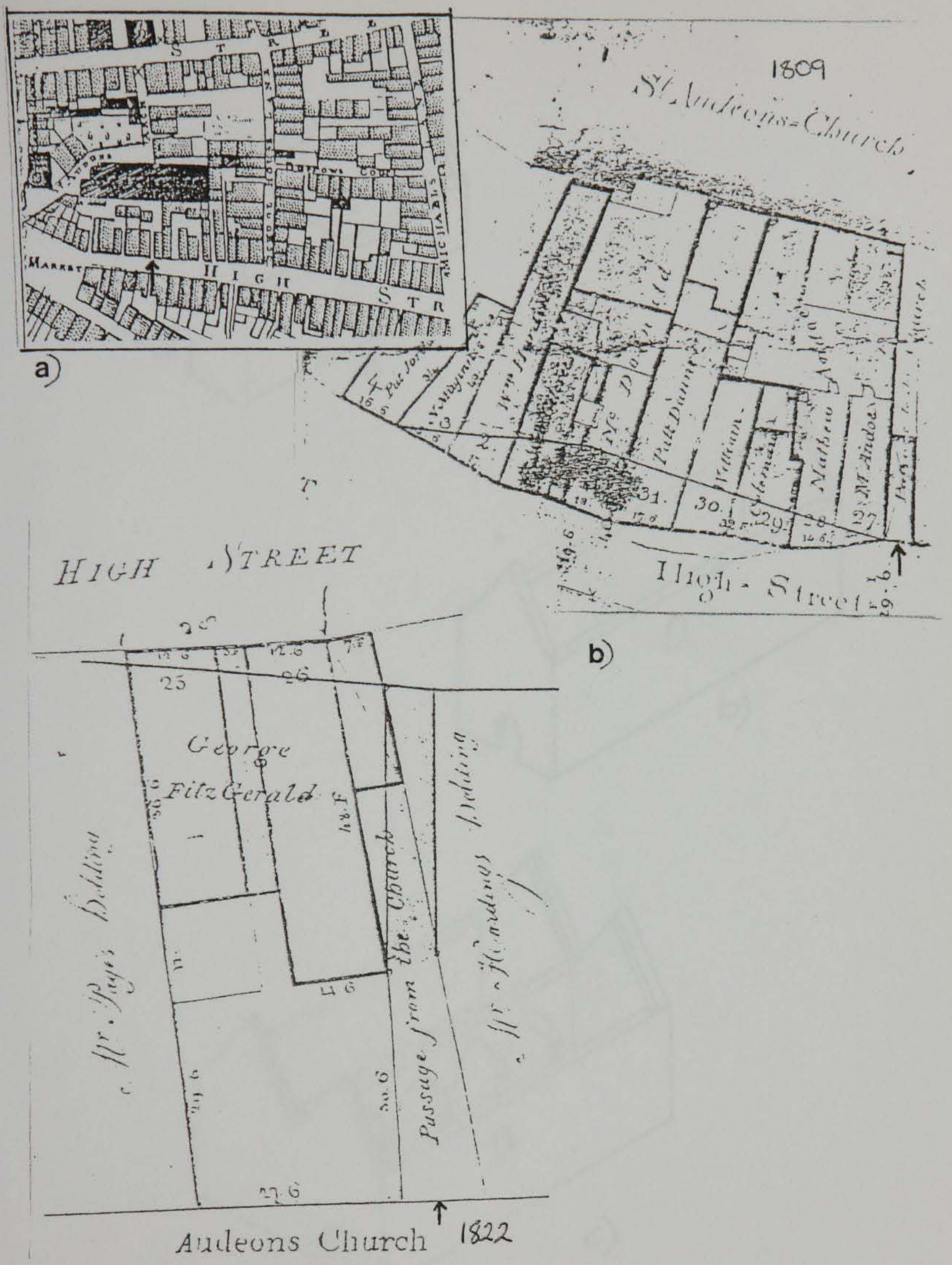


Fig. 6.2 a) **Rocques map (1756) - lane from High Street**
b) **Wide Streets Commission maps (1809 and 1822) - passage from High Street**

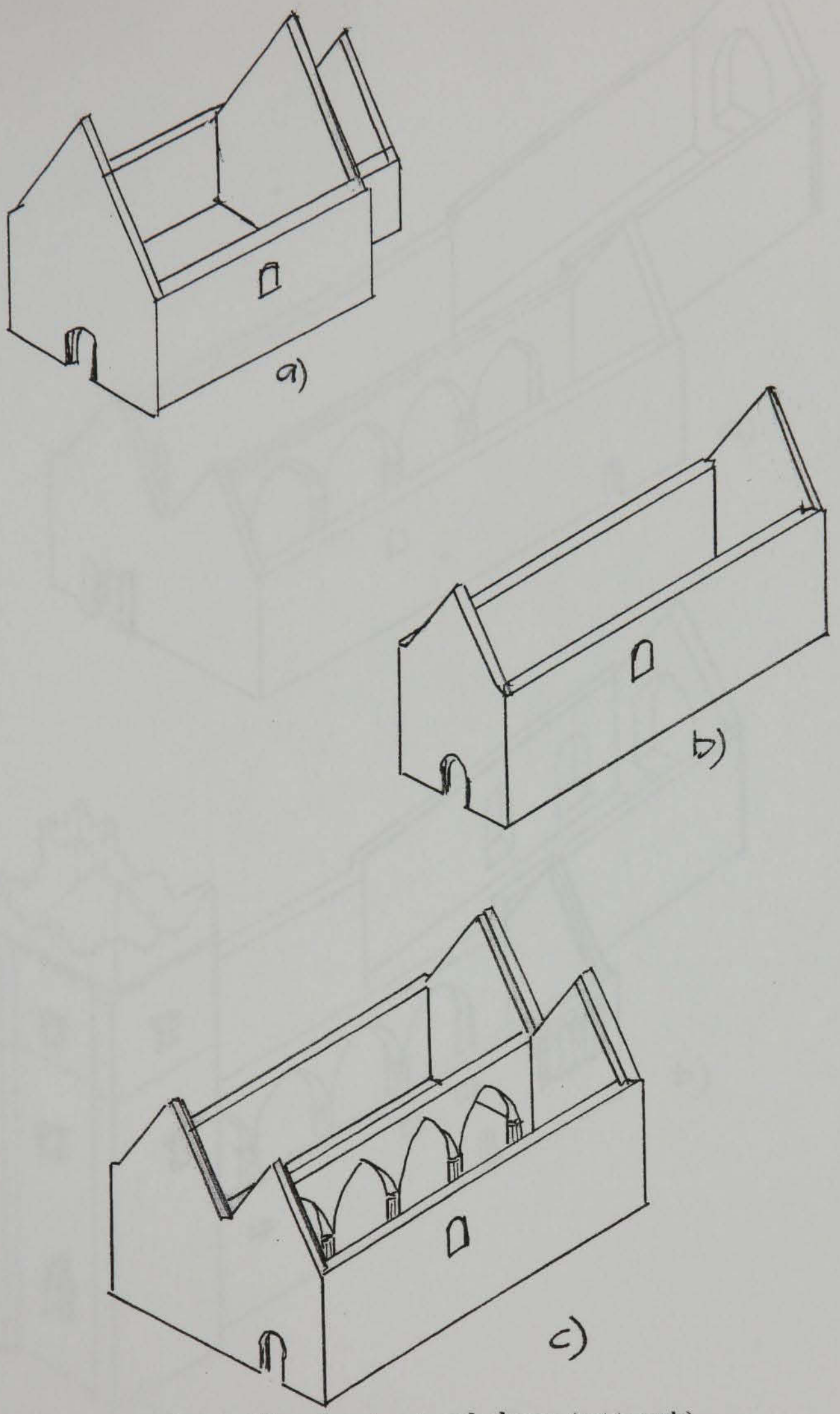


Fig. 6.3 **St Audoen's Church - structural phases** (not to scale)

a) *c.* 1200 AD
b) mid 13th century
c) late 13th / early 14th century

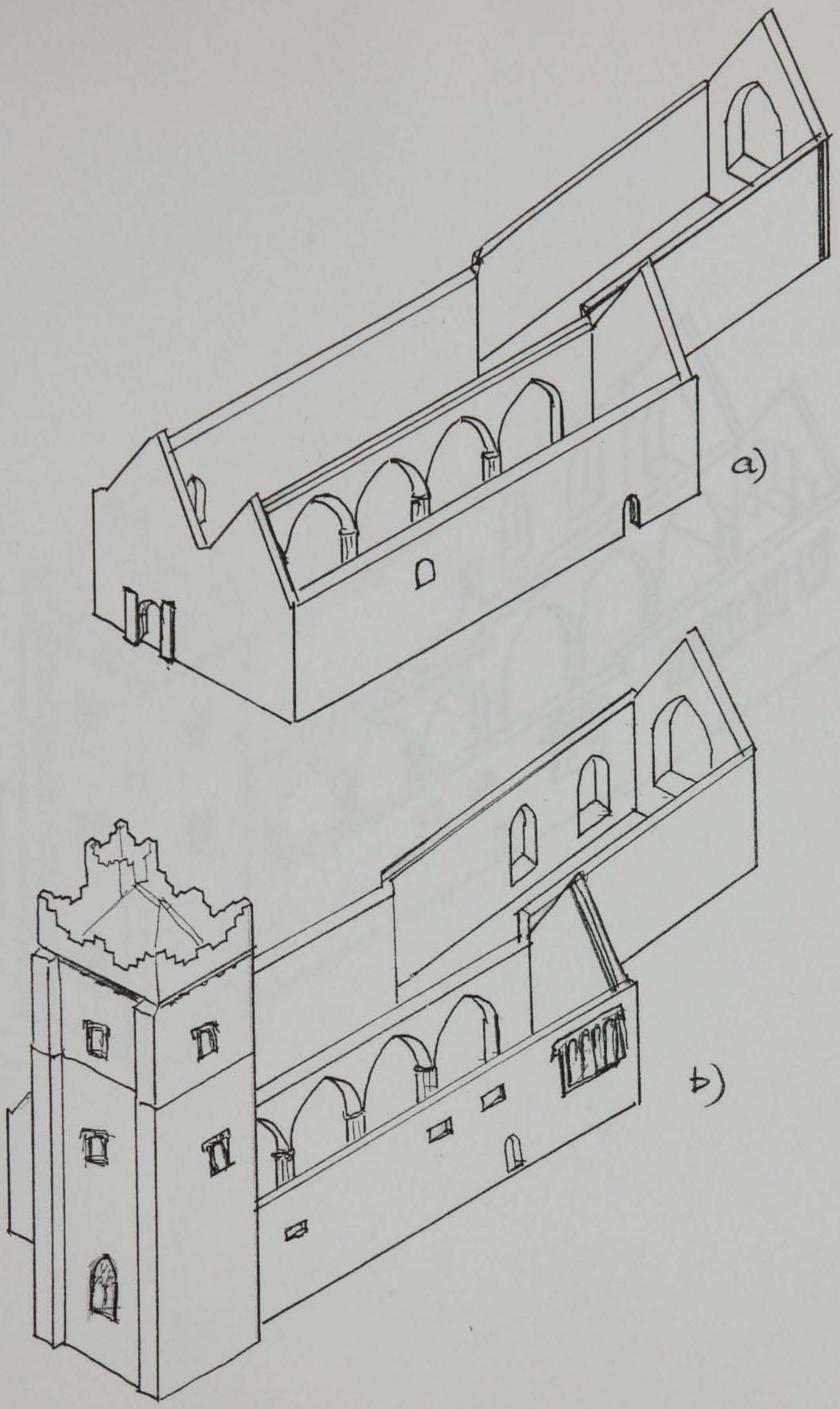


Fig. 6.4 **St Audoen's Church - structural phases** (not to scale)

a) **early – mid 14th century**

b) **early – mid 15th century**

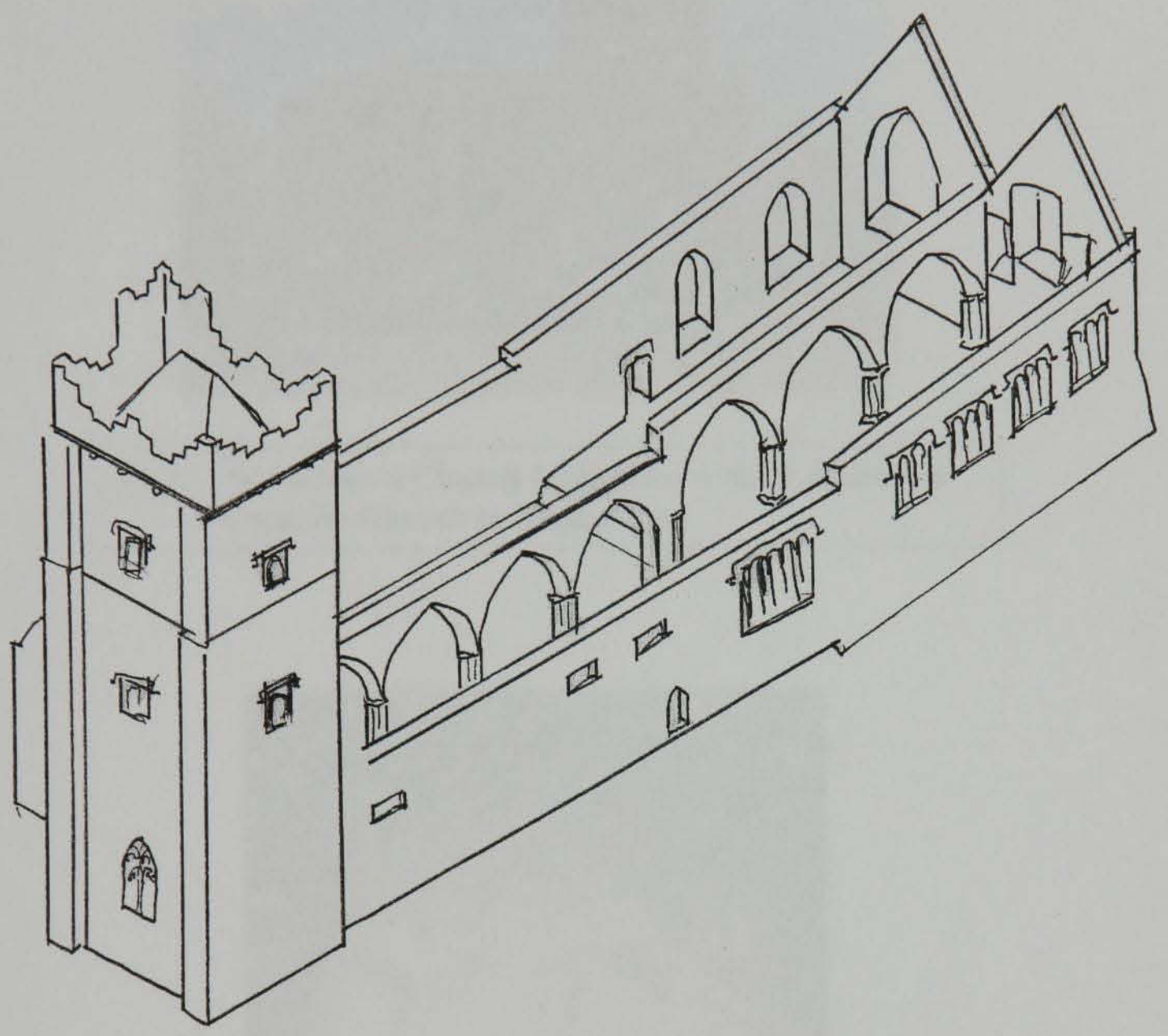
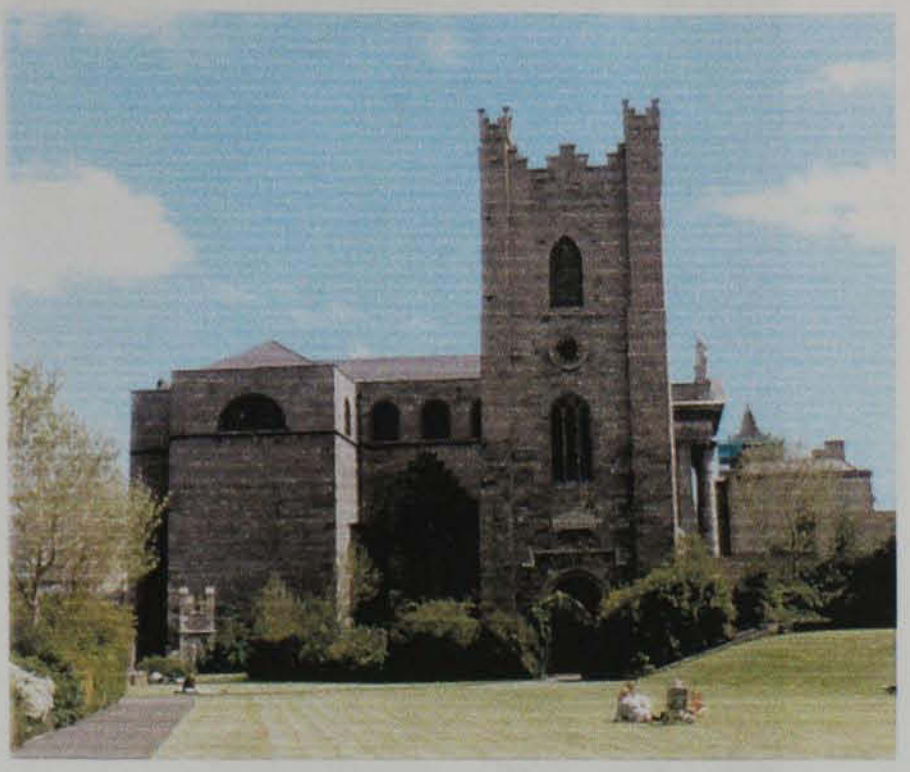


Fig. 6.5 **St Audoen's Church - structural phases** (not to scale)
15th and 16th century



Pl. I St Audoen's Church facing east with St Audoen's Catholic Church in background



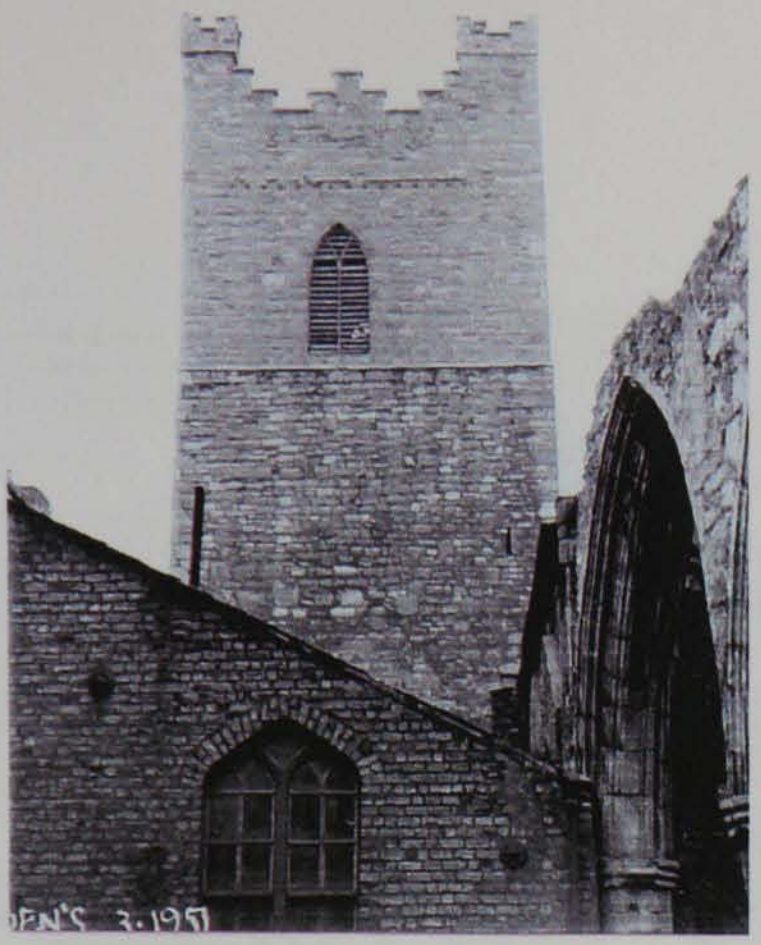
Pl. II FitzEustace cenotaph



Pl. III FitzEustace mensa, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare



Pl. IV St Audoen's with cast iron pinnacles erected 1826 (photo *c.*1913)

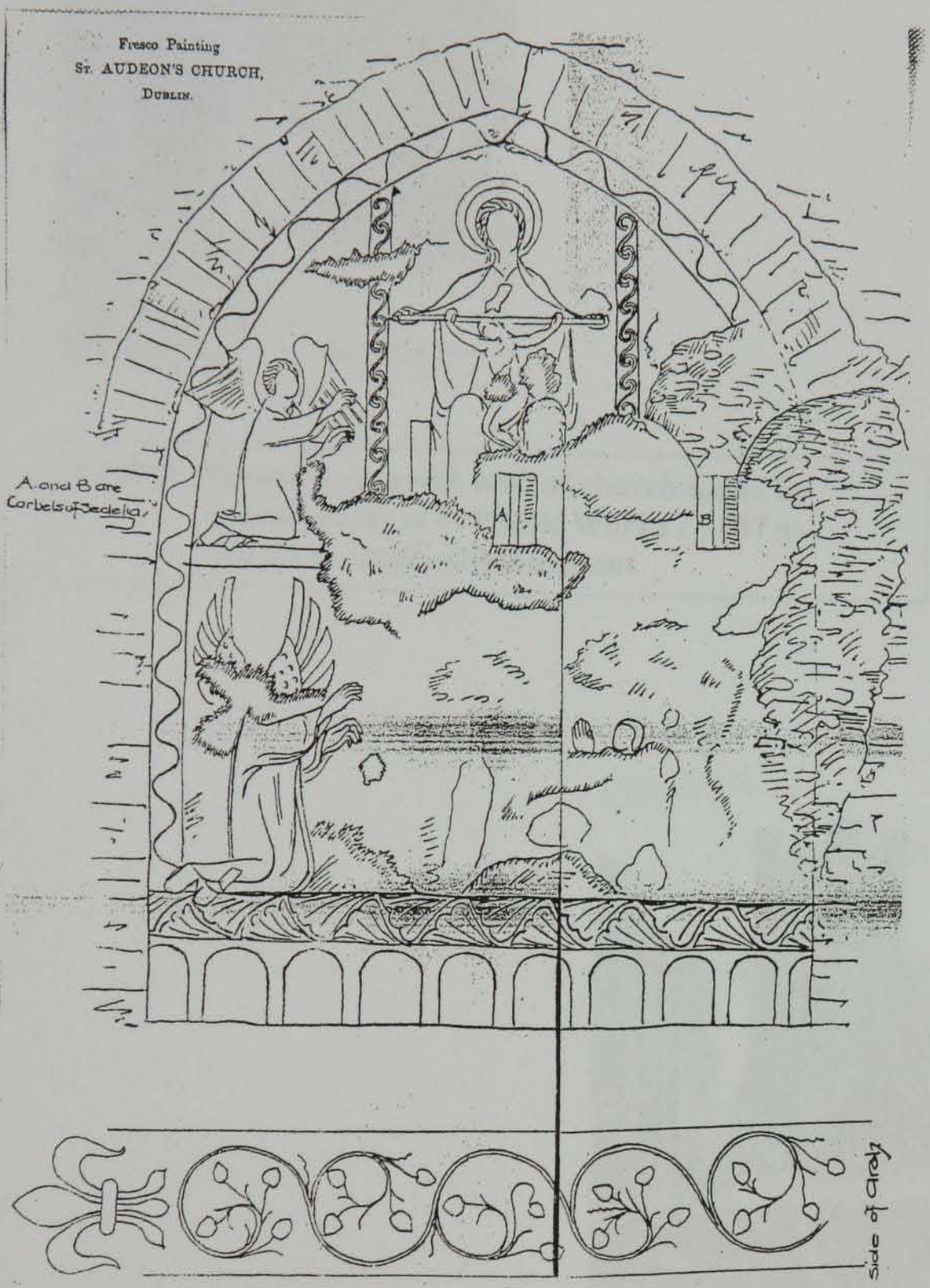


a



b

Pl. V **a)** **Vestry in south aisle, facing west**
b) **Vestry in foreground, facing east**



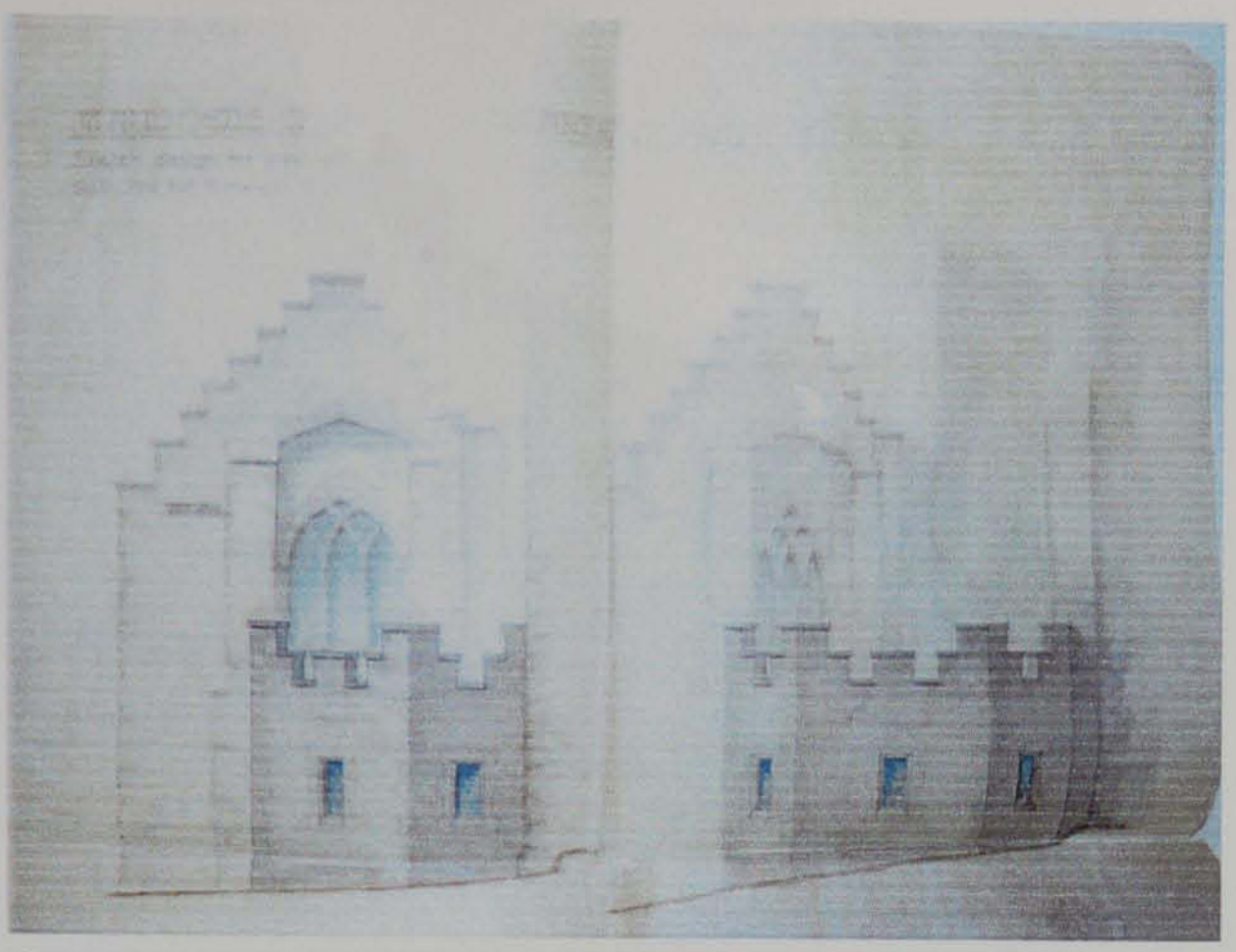
Pl. VI **Sketch of Fresco painting**
(copied from *Fifty-fifth annual report of Commissioners.....*)



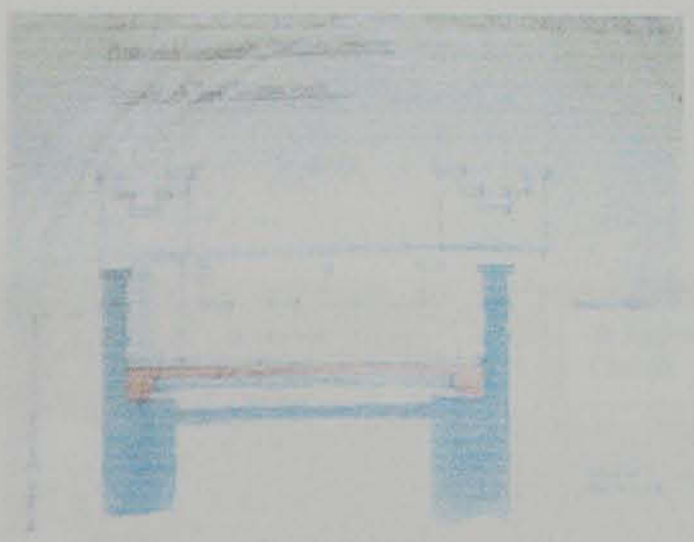
Pl. VII **Entrance in north wall of church made by Commissioners of Public Works *c.*1887 as Access to National Monument**



Pl. VIII **Tower with new parapets (The Fr Browne S.J. Collection 1930)**



a

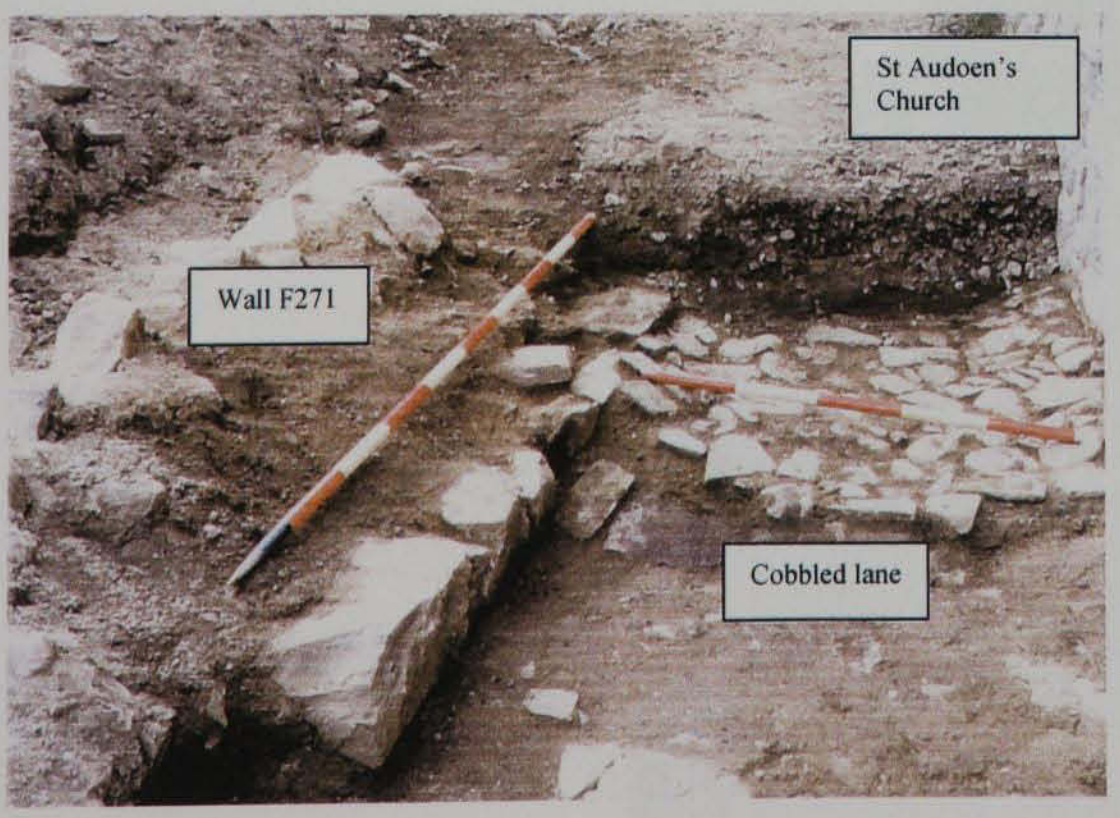


b

Pl. IX a) **Drawings of proposed porch (1930)**
b) **Drawing of proposed concrete roof to tower (1930)**
(R.C.B.L. *MS P116.28.1*)



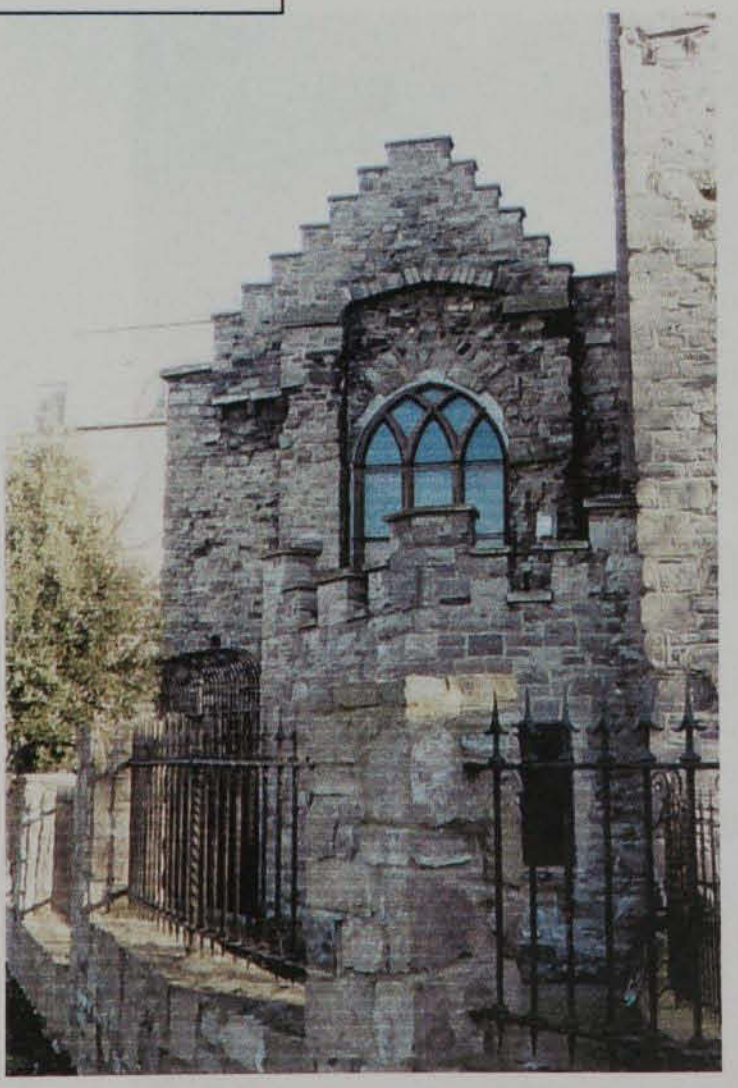
Pl. X Town wall with St Audoen's Gate (south of Cook Street)



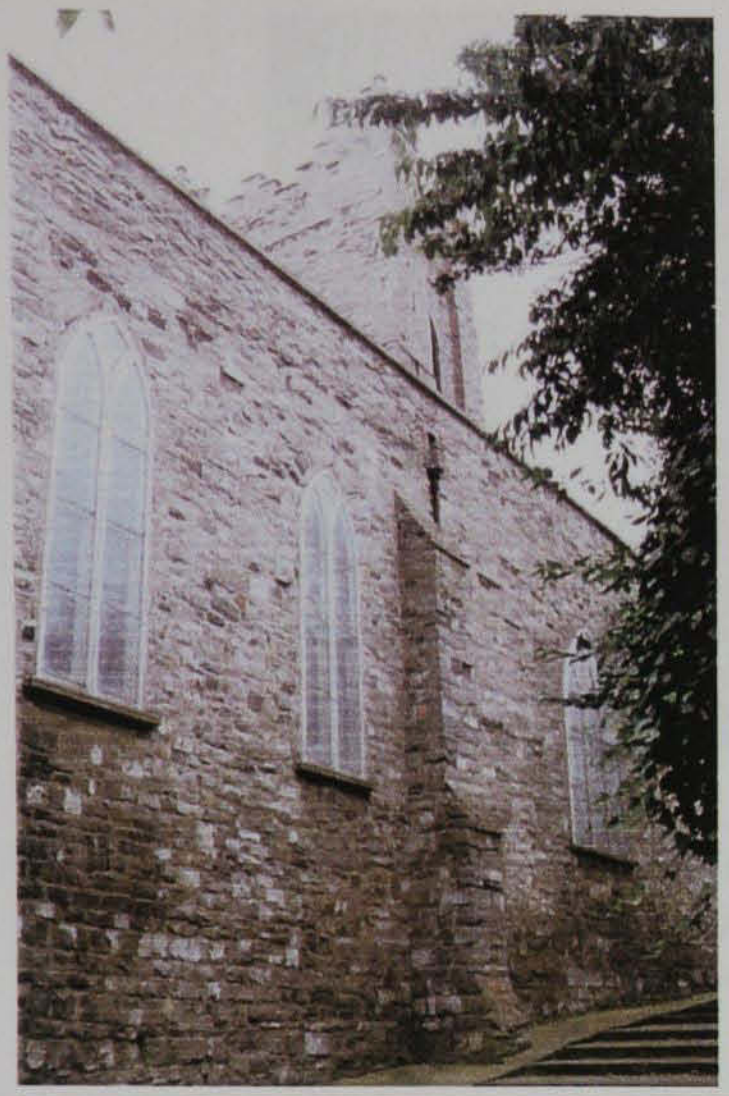
Pl. XI 16th century cobbled lane (facing west)



Pl. XII West doorway – north aisle



Pl. XIII West wall – north aisle



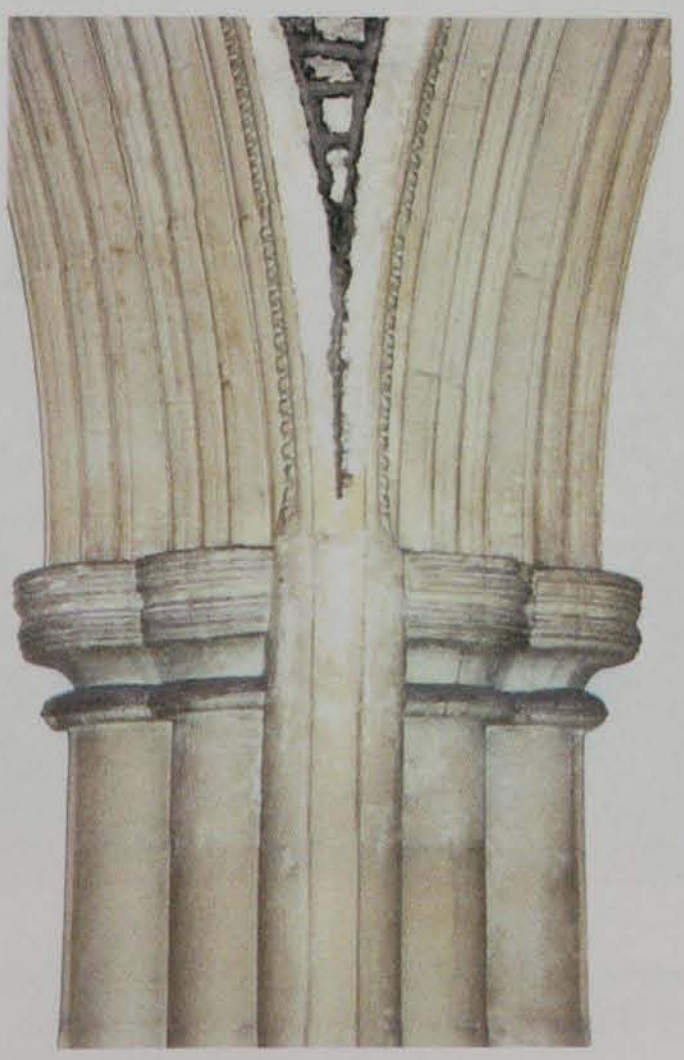
Pl. XIV North wall (ext.) – north aisle



Pl. XV Blocked ope – north wall



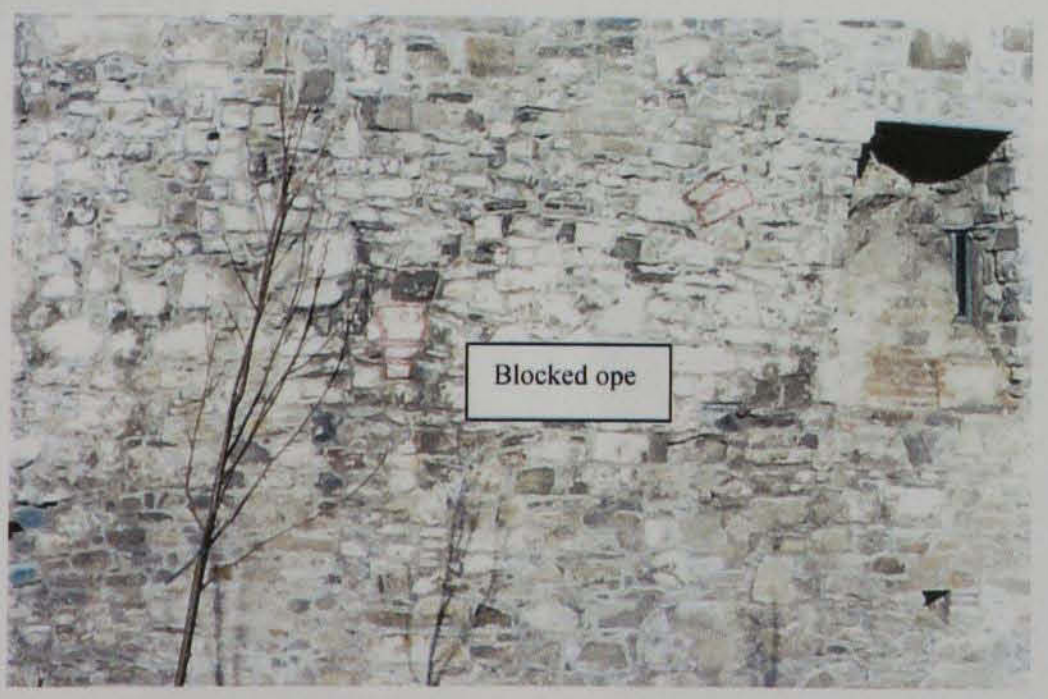
Pl. XVI East window (Church of Ireland) and Arcade (east end)



Pl. XVII Arcade, west end – north face



Pl. XVIII **5th bay – south face**



Pl. XIX **South wall (ext.) St Anne's Chapel – blocked window ope**



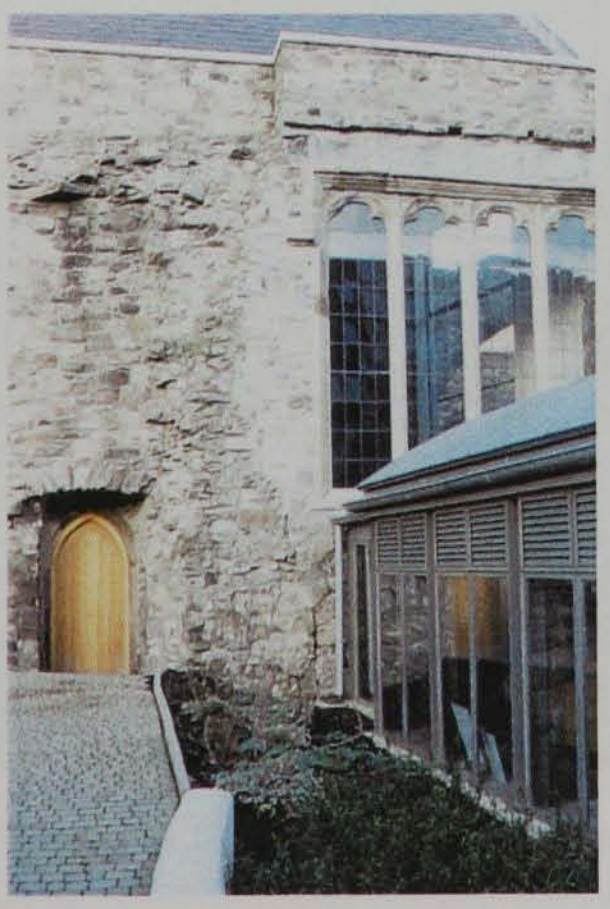
Pl. XX South wall, St Anne's Chapel – recess with wall painting and two corbels (photo 1951)



Pl. XXI South wall, St Anne's Chapel – recess (single corbel), two piscinas



Pl. XXII South wall (ext.) St Anne's Chapel



Pl. XXIII Reconstructed window and blocked doorway below



Pl. XXIV Column H, Portlester Chapel – arcade, east end



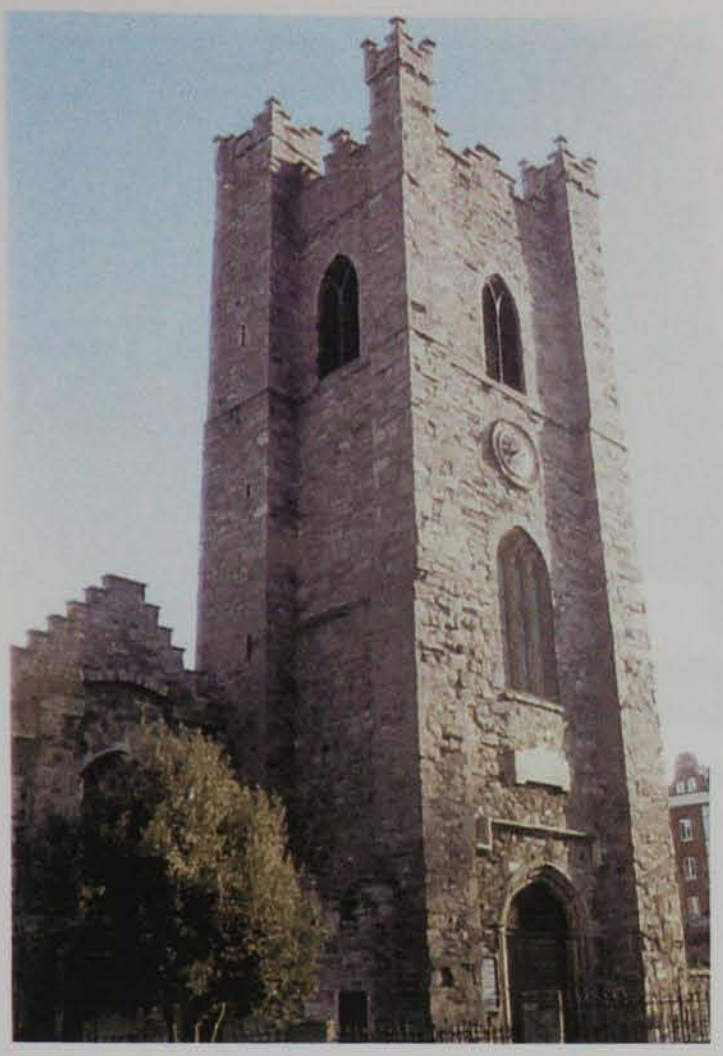
Pl. XXV Column K, Portlester Chapel – arcade, east end



Pl. XXVI Column K, north face, piscina



Pl. XXVII East window – north aisle



Pl. XXVIII Tower, west and north face



Pl. XXIX North wall – east end (ext.)



Pl. XXX **North wall, doorway – east end (int.)**



Pl. XXXI **Tower (int.), blocked ope, west wall ground floor**



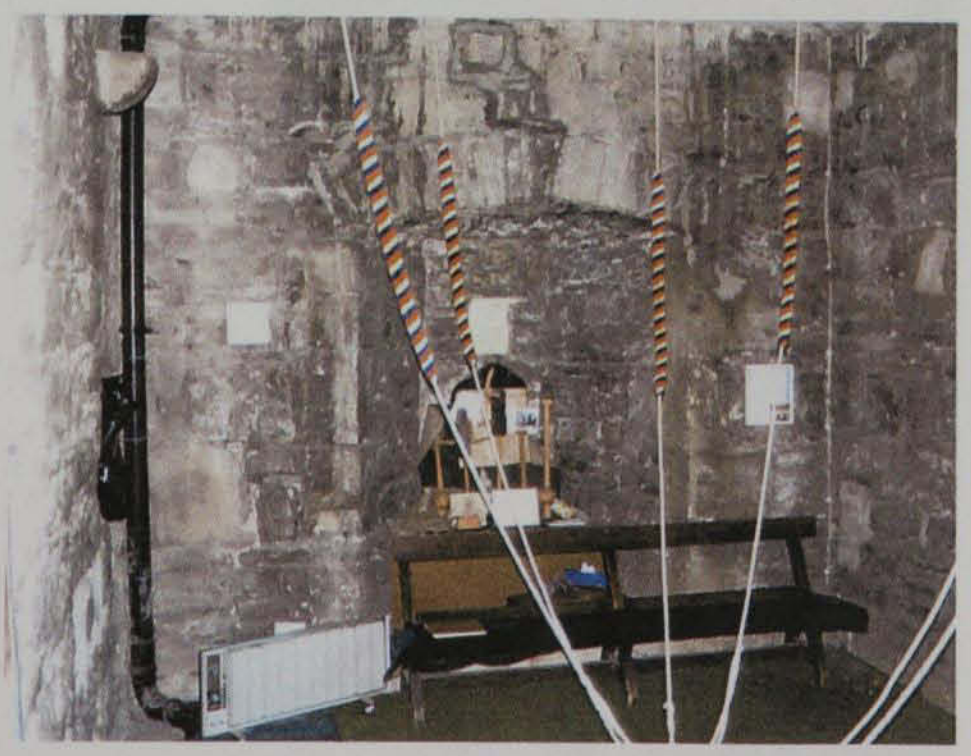
Pl. XXXII **Tower (int.), doorway, north wall, ground floor**



Pl. XXXIII **Tower, doorway to stairs**



Pl. XXXIV Tower - doorway, bellringers' chamber (int.)



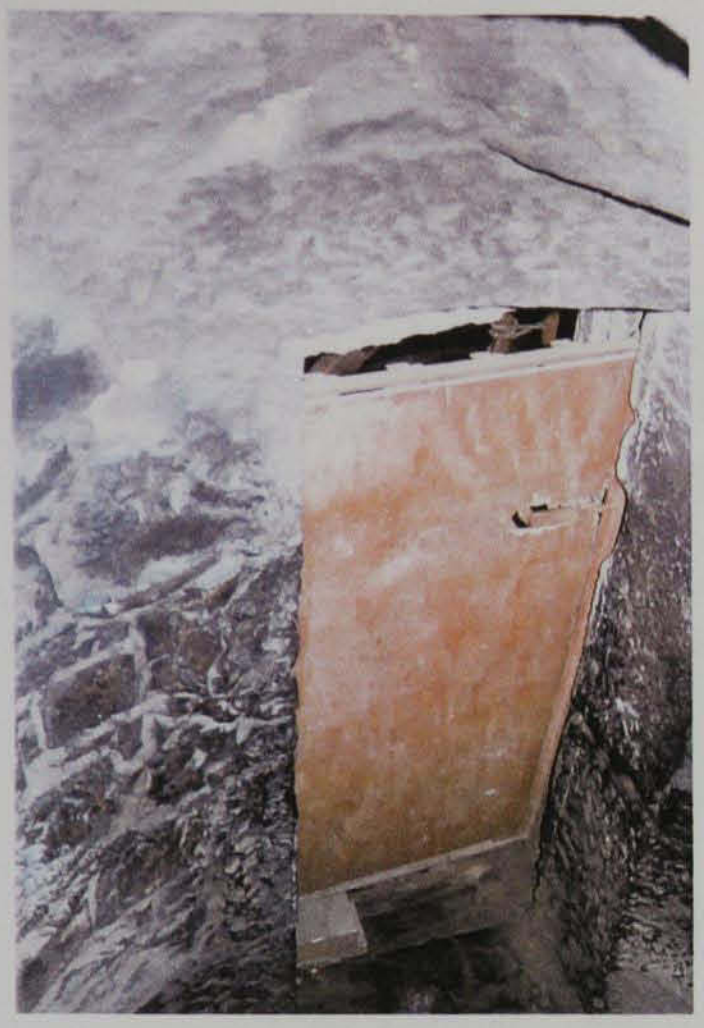
Pl. XXXV Tower - blocked ope, bellringers' chamber, south wall



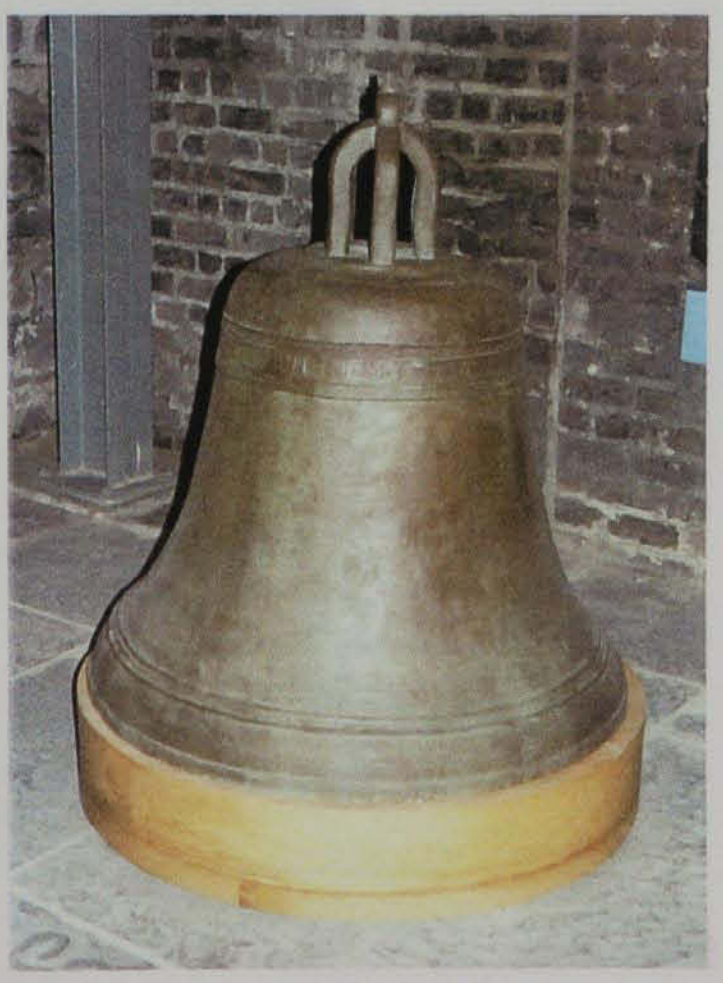
Pl. XXXVI **Tower - splayed ope, bellringers' chamber, west wall**



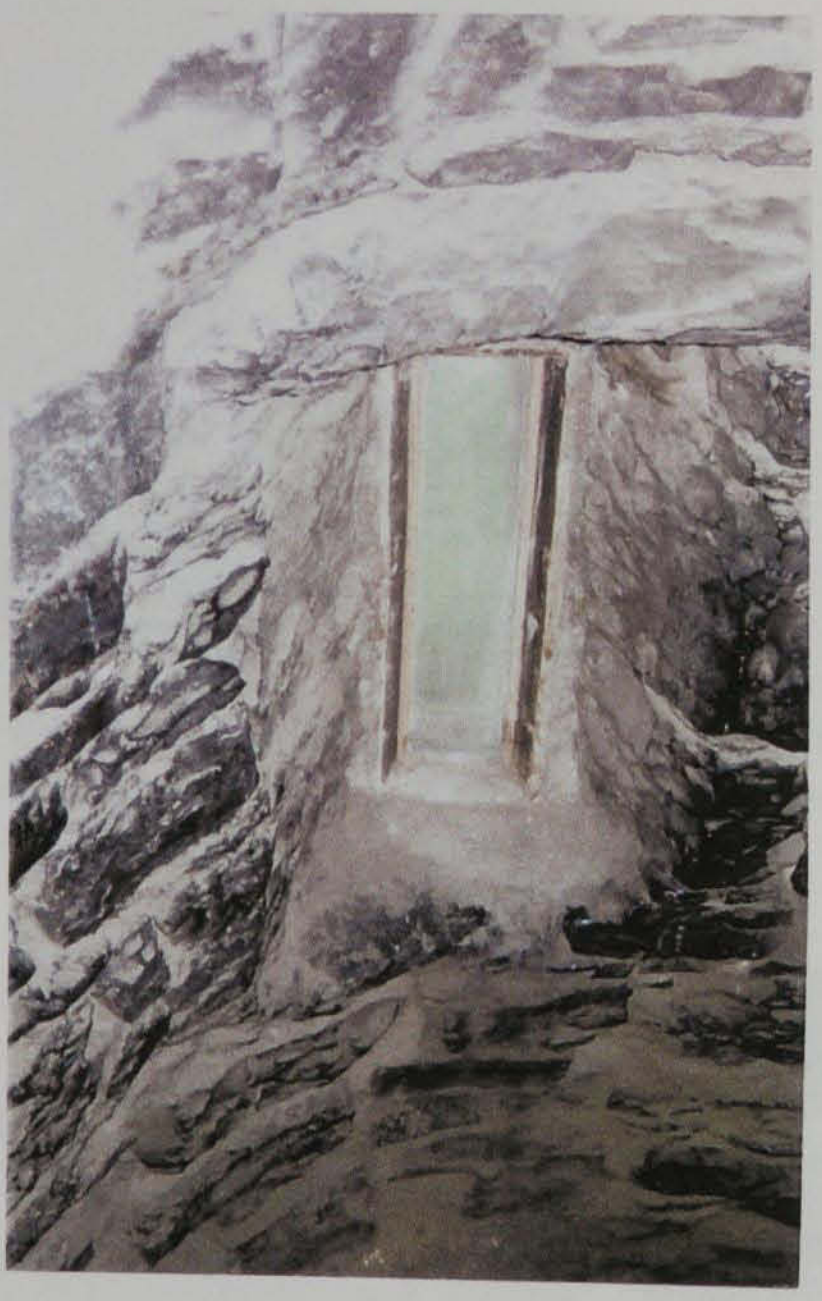
Pl. XXXVII **Tower - doorway to clock chamber (ext.)**



Pl. XXXVIII Tower - doorway to bell chamber (ext.)



Pl. XXXIX Replica bell (1423)



Pl. XL **Tower - slit ope, stair turret**



Pl. XLI Phase 1: east wall and south return F56 and wall F41



Pl. XLII Phase 1: east wall and south return F56, facing east



Pl. XLIII Phase 1: east wall and south return F56, facing west



Pl. XLIV Phase 1: junction of east and north wall F56



Pl. XLV Timber pathway



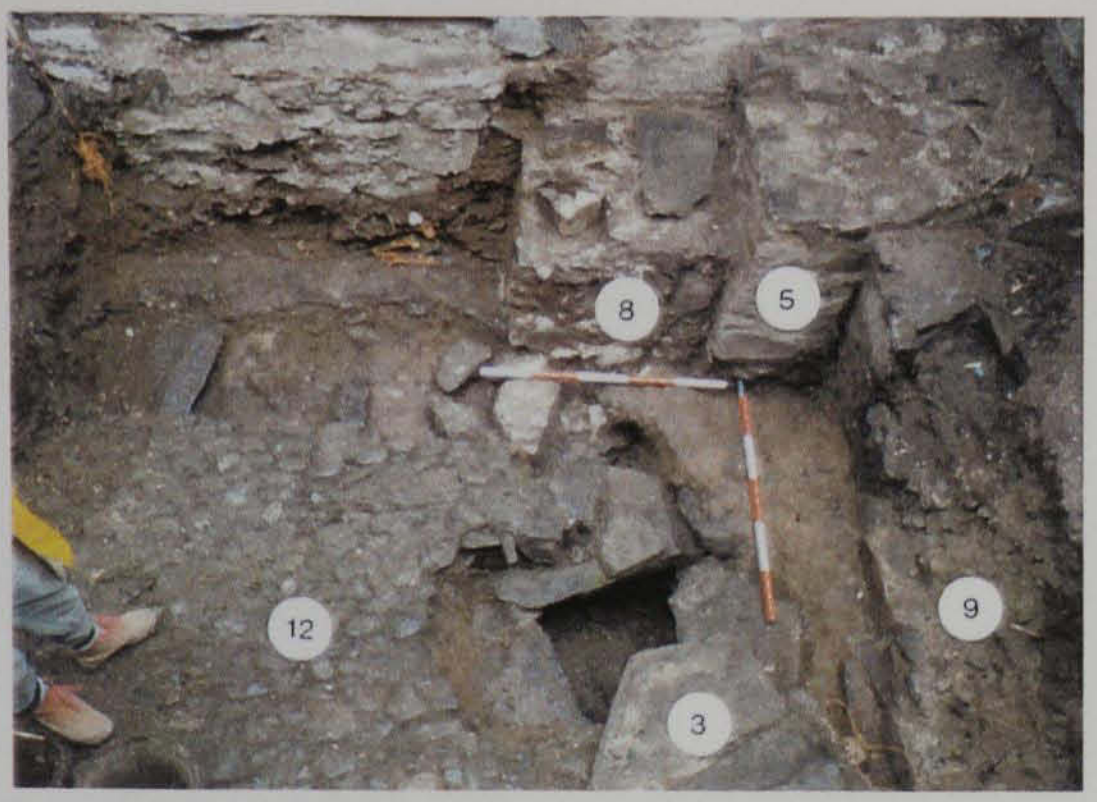
Pl. XLVI Phase 2: wall F41 cut by drain F65



Pl. XLVII Phase 2: plinth F63 sitting on east wall F56



Pl. XLVIII Aerial view inside church, facing north



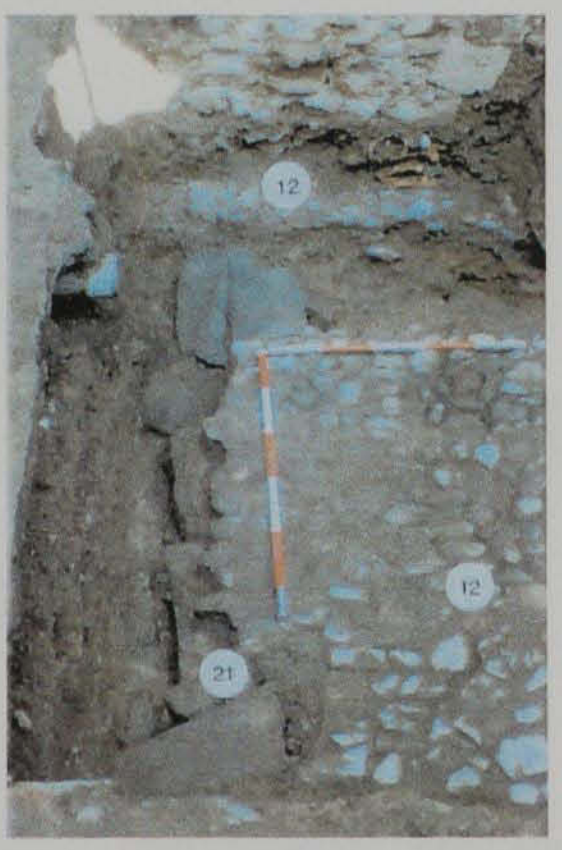
Pl. XLIX **Cobbled lane F12, drain F3, wall F9 (building I), facing north**



Pl. L **Wall F122 (building I), drain F3, facing north**



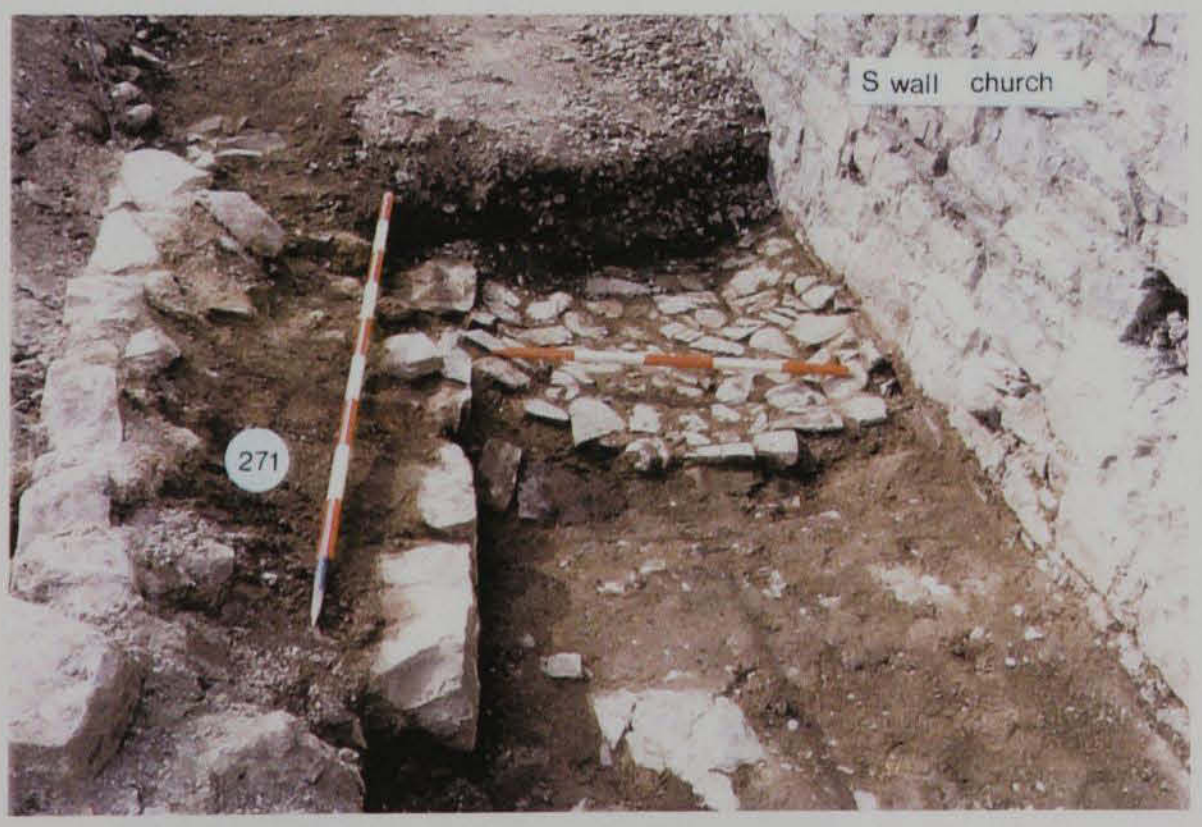
Pl. LI Y-shaped junction of drains F21 and F51, facing south



Pl. LII Drain F21, cobbled lane F12 cut by later trench, facing north



Pl. LIII **Walls F201 and F332 (building II) and drain F357, facing east**



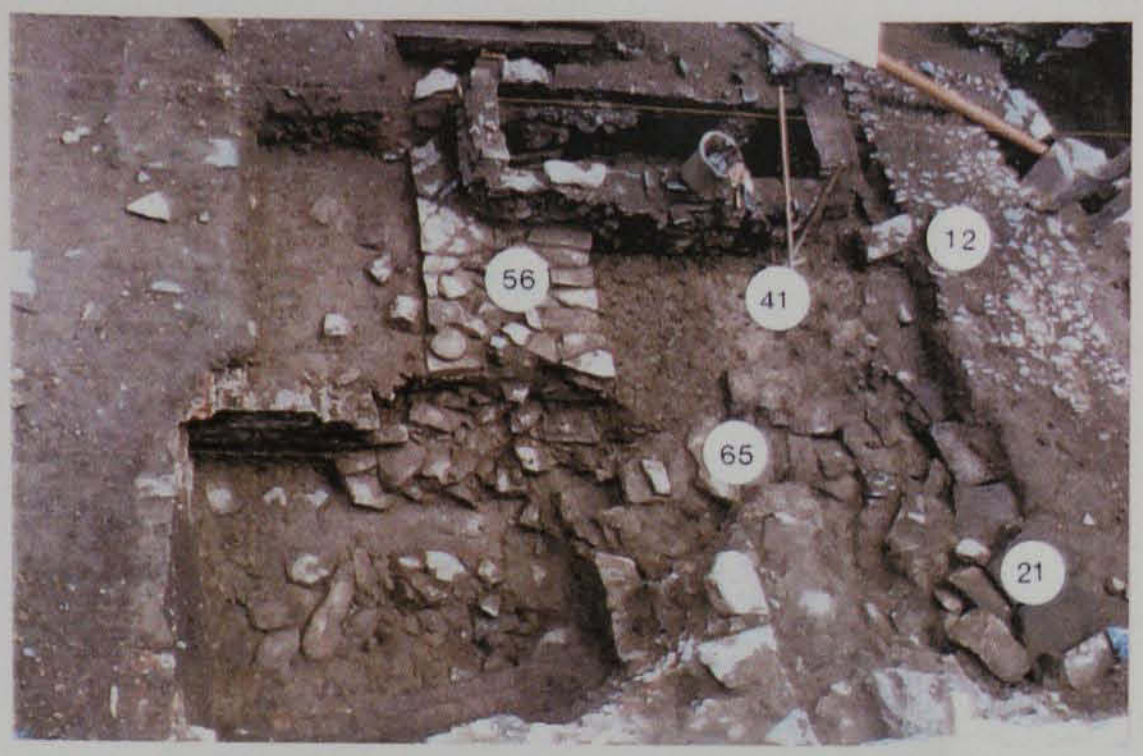
Pl. LIV **Wall F271 (building II) parallel with church wall, facing west**



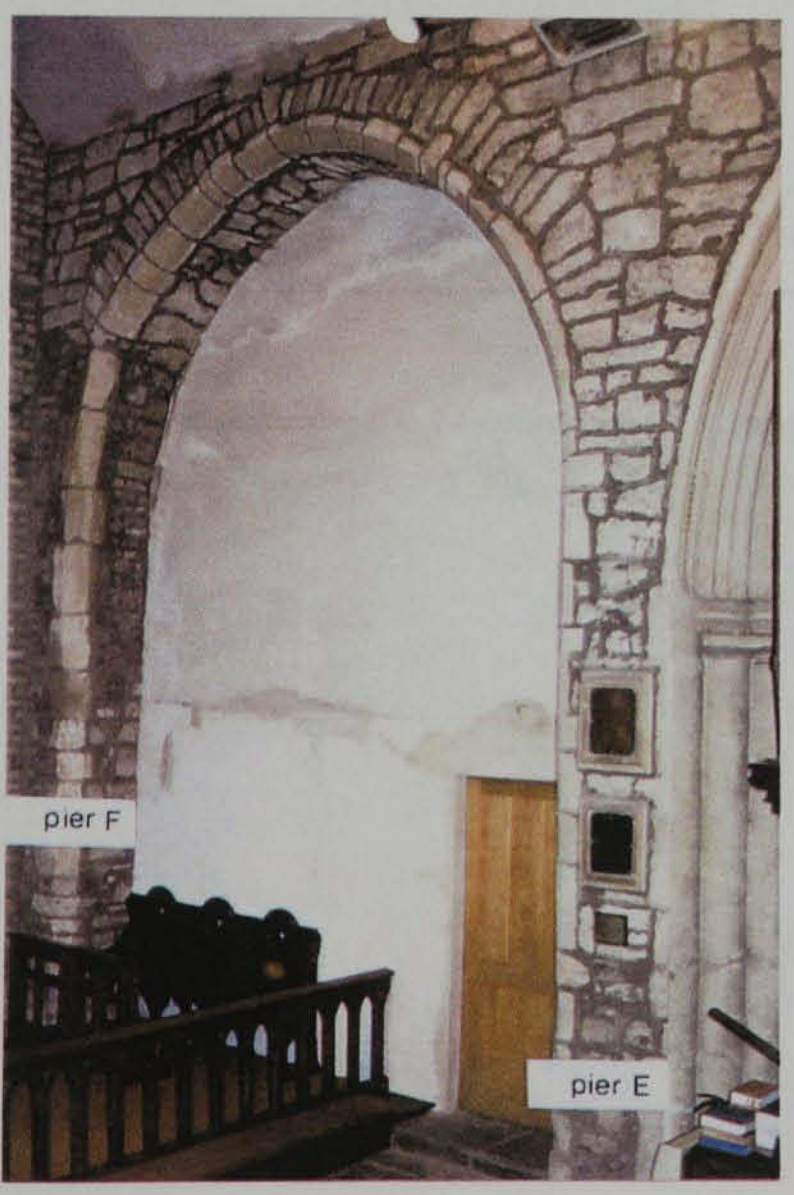
Pl. LV **Phase 3: base of pier C projecting south over wall F500, facing north**



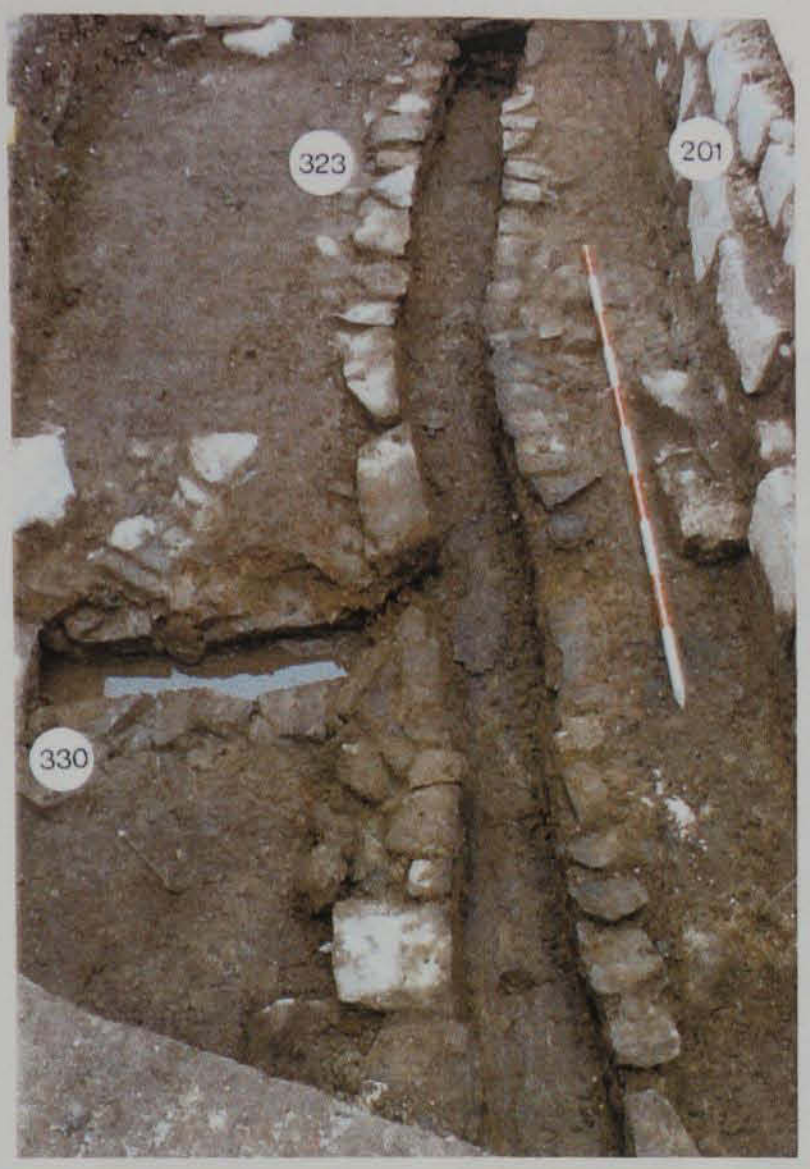
Pl. LVI **Phase 3: Pier E above plinth F63 and wall F56, facing north**



Pl. LVII **Phase 4: Drain F65 cutting across walls F56 and F41 and emptying into drain F21**



Pl. LVIII **Phase 4: piers E and F of fifth bay of blocked arcade, facing south**



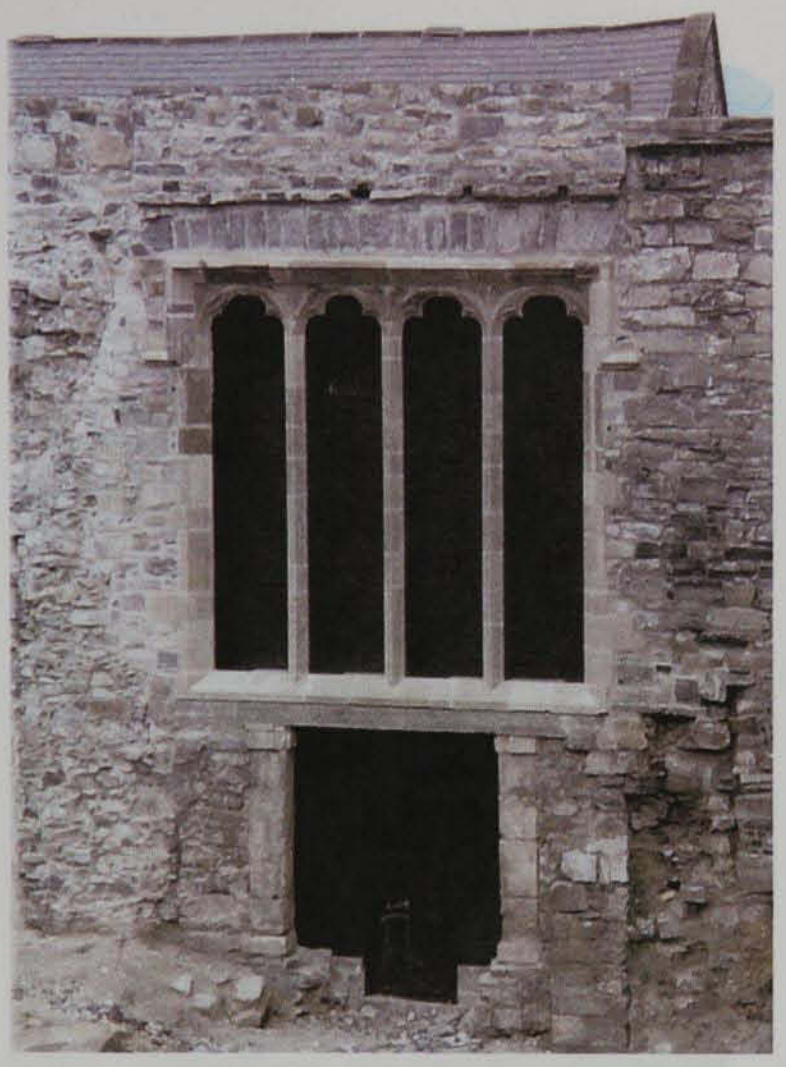
Pl. LIX **Timber-lined drain F323 and drain F330, facing north**



Pl. LX **Phase 5: reconstructed window in south wall, overlooking new visitor reception centre, facing north**



Pl. LXI **Phase 6: south wall of Portlester Chapel with foundation material F147, facing west**



Pl. LXII 18th century entrance (jambstones of imported Bath stone) below reconstructed 15th century window in south wall



Pl. LXIII **9th century grave slab in porch of St Audoen's**



Pl. LXIV **Late 12th century font in St Audoen's**



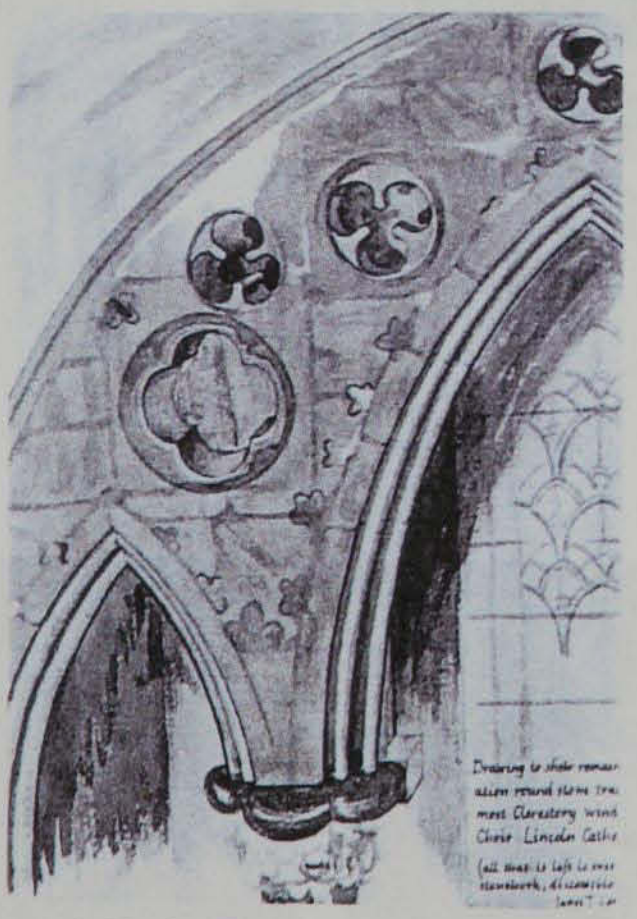
Pl. LXV	Christ Church Cathedral trefoil-headed recess



a



b



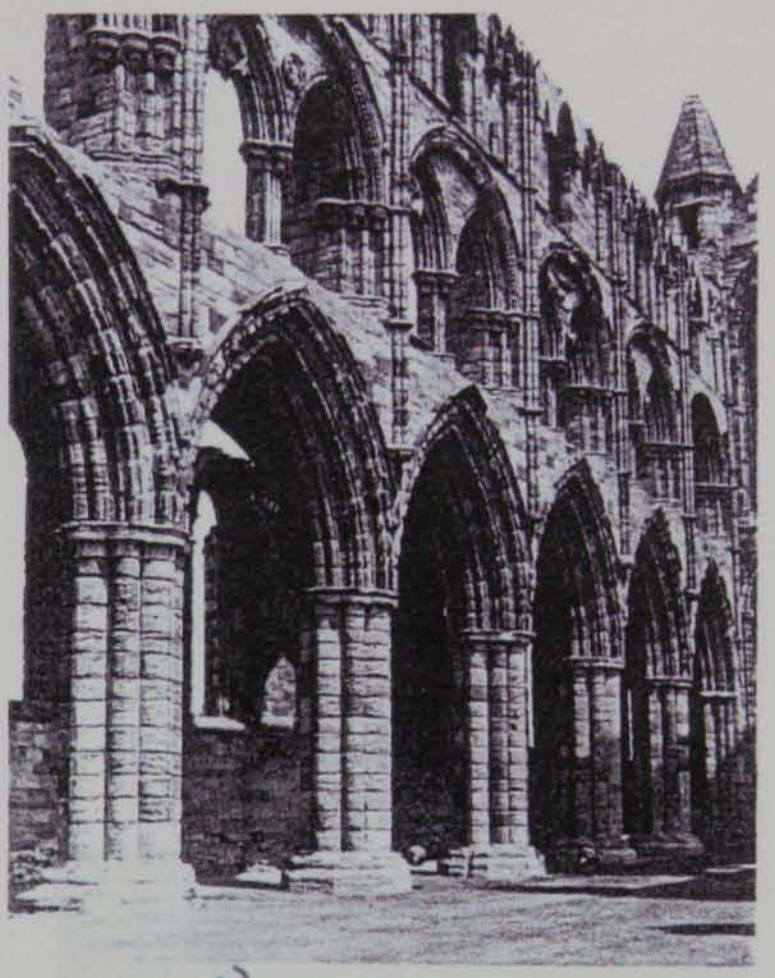
St Hugh's Choir: painting on clerestory.
Detail of copy by Janet Lenton
© *Dr E. Clive Rouse*

c

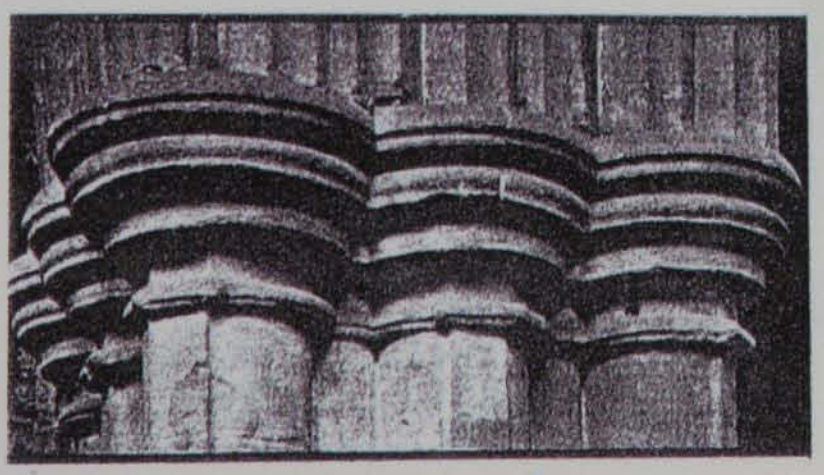
Pl. LXVI
a) Christ Church Cathedral: capital
b) Durham Castle: capital
c) Lincoln Cathedral: wall painting

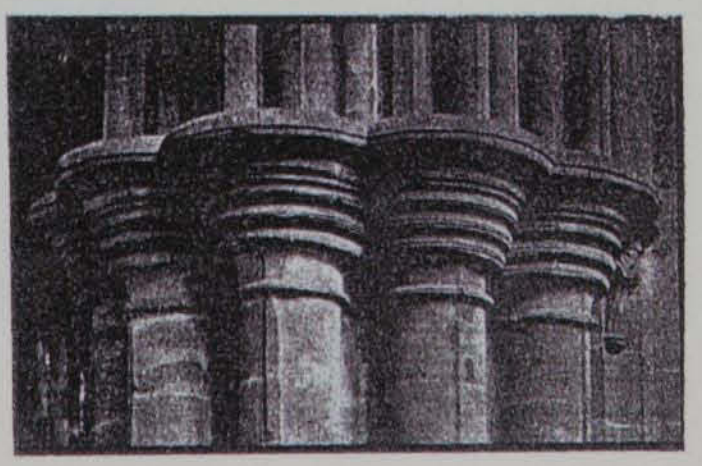


a) St Andrews Cathedral: south choir pier



b) Whitby Abbey. North choir elevation





c) Chester Cathedral : Chancel

Pl. LXVII
a) St Andrews' Cathedral: south choir pier
b) Whitby Abbey: north choir arcade
c) Chester Cathedral: chancel

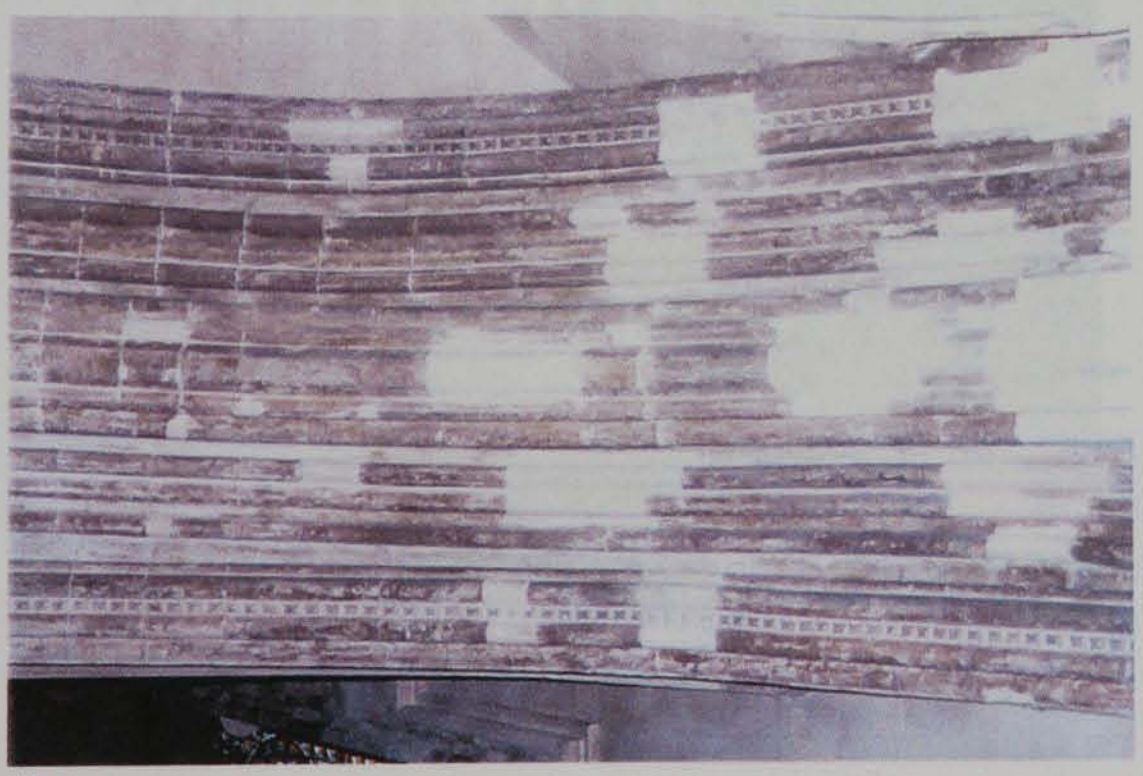




Pl. LXVIII a) **Christ Church Cathedral: nave**
b) **St Audoen's Church: arcade**



a



b

Pl. LXIX a) Sainte Chapelle, Paris: lower chapel
b) Christ Church Cathedral: nave (6th bay arch)



Pl. LXX **Seal of guild of St Anne**
R.I.A. *MS 12S 29/29a* Deed no. 616
dated 8th October 1600



a



b



c

Pl. LXXI	**a) St Patrick's, Trim: south wall** **b) Balrothery** **c) Malahide**



a)



b)

Pl. LXXII a) St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick: south façade
b) Portraine, Co. Dublin: west tower



a)



b)

Pl. LXXIII a) **Slane parish church, Co. Meath: west tower and doorway**
b) **Slane parish church: tower roof line**



a)



b)

Pl.LXXIV a) **Malahide, Co. Dublin**
b) **St Mary's Abbey, Howth, Co. Dublin**



a)



b)



c)

Pl. LXXV a) St Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris: screened side chapel
b) St Mary's Abbey, Howth: college
c) Slane, Co. Meath: college



a)



b)

Pl. LXXVI a) **Slane college**
b) **Howth college**



a)



b)

Pl. LXXVII a) **Malone tomb and wall memorial (photo taken *c.*1951)**
b) **Sparke and Duff restored wall memorials**