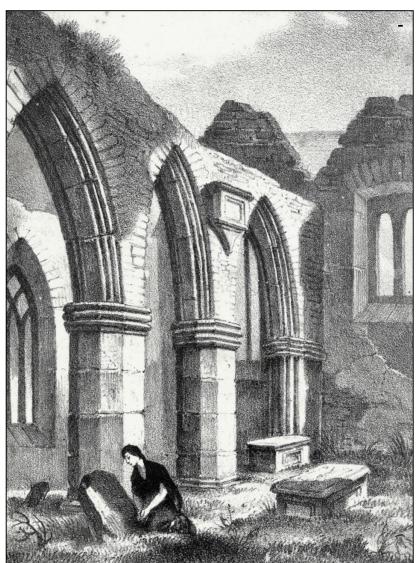
The Graves of St Audoen's Church

by Neil Moxham, Guide, St Audoen's Church

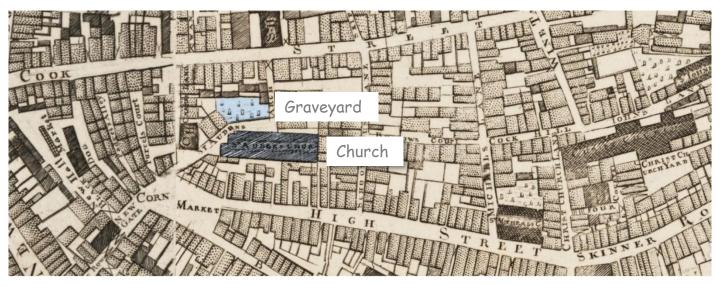
Death was ever-present in the medieval parish of St Audoen's; the average lifespan for most Dubliners was about 40 years. The Christian religion offered some comfort with the prospect of a better life in heaven. The ground closest to the church was believed to be the most sacred and that burial here improved a person's chances of getting into heaven. That's why older Irish churches were traditionally surrounded by graveyards. By the 13th century, it also became common for Irish churches to add burial vaults and crypts beneath the floor of the building for the interment of the more prominent members of the community. The vaults of St Audoen's Church were in use from at least the 16th century until the late 19th century.

In the first few centuries of St Audoen's Church very few people would have been memorialised with gravestones or monuments. The idea of 'purgatory', a period

of atonement for sins before the soul could enter heaven, was only formalised by the Western Catholic Church in the 13th century. After that, Christians were encouraged to pray for the souls of the dead in order to help them on their way. It was from this practice that memorials first developed to remind people to pray for the dead. In a time when most people were illiterate, imagery proved more useful than text. The largest number of memorials here date from the 17th century, when the church was particularly associated with the wealthy merchant class of Dublin. However, paupers, knights, bishops, lords, lord mayors and even two 'blessed martyrs' all found their eternal rest at St Audoen's Church.



'The Ruins of St Audoen's Church' (T.J. Mulvany, 1829)



St Audoen's Church and Graveyard, 1756 (John Rocque)

St Audoen's Parish graveyard was a small area between the ancient city walls of Cook Street and St Audoen's Lane (known locally as 'The Forty Steps'). As many as 30,000 people may have been buried there over the centuries. The medieval graveyard wasn't a sombre place; it was used as a playground by children, a dump for household rubbish and a grazing area for pigs. People tended to avoid the graveyard after dark and especially at All Hallow's Eve, when the spirits of the recently-deceased were believed to take revenge on their enemies before moving on to the afterlife. All Hallow's Eve later evolved into Halloween. The Forty Steps continued to have a spooky reputation among the local population; children still run through the lane as quickly as possible.

The Church of Ireland parish of St Audoen's had declined by the 19th century and graveyard burials became less frequent. The last burial took place in 1883. At that stage it was decided that the graveyard was overcrowded and was a danger to public health. The parish handed it over for conversion into a public park in November 1888 and it now forms one corner of St Audoen's Park, maintained by Dublin City Council. Although the gravestones are no longer to be seen, the bodies of countless generations of Dubliners remain just below its grassy surface.



St Audoen's church today



Burial shrouds in a Dublin church memorial, 17th century (Monumenta Eblanae)

For the vast majority of burials in medieval times, the dead were wrapped in linen shrouds or 'winding-sheets'. The shroud would be filled with sweet-smelling herbs, and with flowers which represented rebirth. This evolved into the modern practice of placing a wreath of flowers on a grave. Coffins were initially reserved for high-status people, with elaborately-carved stone coffins the most exclusive form of all. Burials were carefully aligned with feet pointing east and head pointing west, except for church clerics who were buried in the opposite direction. Bodies were placed with the face looking up; burying a body face-down was considered highly disrespectful. During the political upheavals of the mid-17th century it was reported that the bodies of the dead were dug up and either turned upside-down or thrown into ditches. Today, the desecration of graves remains a very sensitive issue.

Medieval burial was a simple and modest event, typically happening between two and four days after death. During periodic outbreaks of plague, it was advisable to bury people more rapidly to contain the spread of disease. Early on, there was no concept of a family burial plot in the graveyard, and pressure for space sometimes led to bones being cleared out and dumped into a charnel pit. At St Audoen's, a suspected charnel pit was uncovered in the 1990s containing the jumbled-up remains of at least 48 people. The very poor were generally buried with little ceremony and children were often buried privately. The child of Sir Philip Percival was buried in his grandfather's vault under St Audoen's Church at 9 o'clock at night.



Fragments of a stone coffin-lid in St Audoen's Church. Photo courtesy of Neil Moxham.

The number of burial vaults beneath St Audoen's is unknown. We have descriptions of two vault excavations in the late 20th century, both under the present visitor centre. One had a curved roof and partition walls made of red-brick. The floor was paved with terracotta tiles. The chamber measured 10 feet long, 7 feet wide and about 4½ feet at its highest point. Access was through a



Brick burial vaults under St Luke's Church, The Coombe (Archaeological Projects Ltd)

hole under a flagstone in the church floor. That vault contained the remains of 9 adults and 4 children. The second vault contained 14 adults and 3 children, all laid out east-to-west and with remnants of wooden coffins and metal coffinhandles still in situ. These vaults had been partially filled-in with soil in recent centuries to strengthen the floor.



A 17th century Dublin 'hearse' (Funeral Entries of the Ulster King of Arms)

The burial vaults were bought from the parish church and became essentially the private property of a family. The vestry records from 1637 give us a rare glimpse of the procedure, when the parish granted permission to Sir William Ussher to build his vault "under the Arch that is on the South side of the high Alter eight foote in length next adjoyning to the East pte of the said Arch and fower foote in bredth on the north side of the Tombe belonginge to Eustace of Portlester". The funerals of very prominent figures in the 17th century often involved elaborate rituals. The poor were paid to take part in a very formal procession to the church and were given black clothes to wear: black clothes are still a feature of modern funerals in Ireland. The family coat-of-arms was presented to the heir of the deceased, and a 'hearse' – which then meant a large wooden frame over the burial place – was used to display candles and heraldry. The final entry in St Audoen's burial

register was Mrs Anna Whitfield Cornwall (née Tyndall) in April 1885. She was probably interred in the Tyndall family vault below the visitor centre. When the graveyard was closed in 1888, the parish also decided to cease all burials under the church.

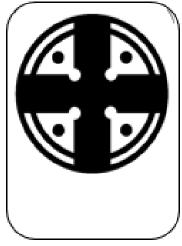
The purpose of grave markers and memorials changed over the centuries, and their design can be divided into a number of distinct phases. For the vast majority of medieval burials there was no permanent grave marker other than a wooden cross or a large rock. The oldest known carved memorial stones in St Audoen's Church are each somewhat mysterious.

The granite slab carved with a 'Greek Cross' symbol on both sides is likely to date back to the 9th century. 'Cross slabs' usually marked the burial place of an important figure, but were sometimes also used as boundary markers for a religious site. This upright stone may have been the latter. It is a forerunner of the more famous 'Celtic High Cross', which had the same dual purpose. It may not have originated at this site but rather have been brought here by the

Norman church builders to provide a

link to an earlier Christian community.

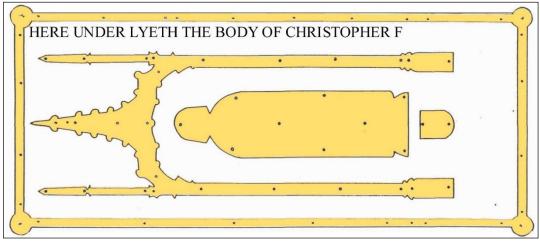




The 'Lucky Stone', Photo and illustration showing the 'Cross Slabs'. Illustration by Neil Moxham.

It continues to be regarded as a talisman of good fortune, nicknamed the 'Blessed' or 'Lucky' stone.

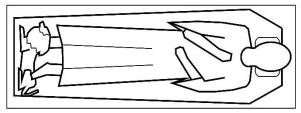
A large limestone floor-slab from the mid-15th century retains the clear outline of a decorative brass 'matrix' set into the surface. The valuable brass has long-since been removed, but the 600-year-old lead plugs and copper rivets can still be seen. The outline suggests the robes of a senior church cleric, but without the brass detail his identity is unknown. A worn inscription at one side is in modern English and was probably added in the 17th century - an early example of recycling!



This illustration of the brass matrix stone is adapted slightly from one by Edward Bourke, which first appeared in an article titled 'Irish Memorial Brasses to 1700' in a Royal Irish Academy journal from 1994.

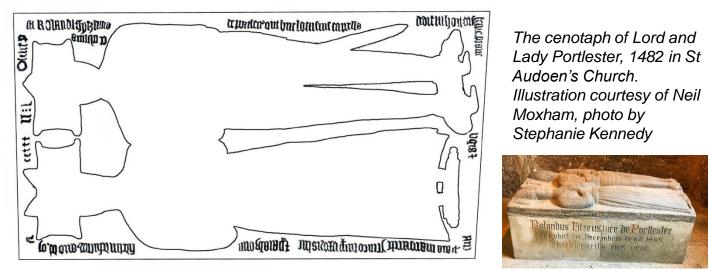


Photo and illustration courtesy of Neil Moxham



A weathered effigy carved from Purbeck Marble was long thought to be that of a medieval bishop

but is now understood to represent a military or civilian dignitary from the 1330s, with a miniature lion at his feet. Such symbolism became increasingly common as memorials developed.



The granite effigy of Lord and Lady Portlester, dated 1482, includes a written Latin inscription asking us to pray for their souls and save them from purgatory. This is the earliest surviving text in the church. The image of a dog represents loyalty, and a scroll/cushion represents learning/wealth. This effigy may have originally stood upon an elaborate plinth depicting saints, as did a similar effigy of the couple at New Abbey, County Kildare.



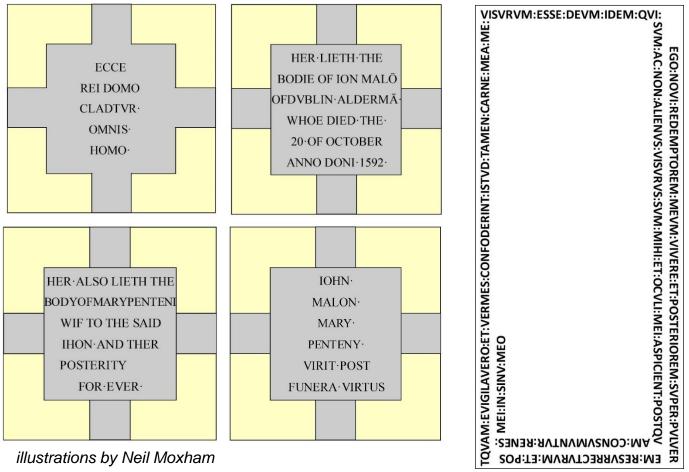
A close associate of Lord Portlester, John Burnell, is remembered with a 'ledger stone' dated 1495. Ledger stones were placed flat in the graveyard or set into the floor of the church. At this time the church was an open room without permanent seating. Though more subtle than the raised effigies, Burnell's ledger stone is no less ornate, with a large intricate cross and a Latin inscription laid out in straight lines.

> A fragment of a ledger stone in the floor of the church porch displays a broadly similar design.



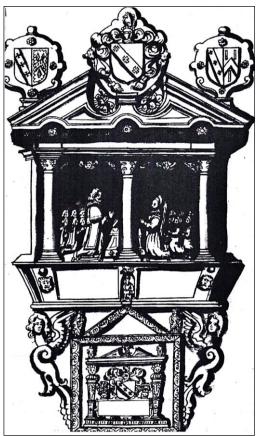
John Burnell, 1495, illustration by Neil Moxham

illustration by Neil Moxham



illustrations by Neil Moxham

In 1536 King Henry VIII had himself declared head of the Christian Church in Ireland, and St Audoen's has remained an Anglican church since then. In practice, the early Anglican Church was 'Catholicism without the Pope'; prayers for the King instead of the Pope were the only major obstacle for the congregation. Under Henry's successors, however, the religion adopted many Protestant traits; replacing Latin with English or Gaelic, ending the use of saintly images and rejecting the idea of purgatory. Each of these had an influence on the design of memorials, particularly in St Audoen's where up to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the parishioners hoped the church would eventually be brought back under Papal authority. The Malone family were among this group, and their memorial from the 1590s reflects a mixture of styles; the altar-like chest tomb was associated with pre-Reformation religion, but here the saintly images were replaced with decorative geometric panels of grey and yellow stone, with inscriptions in both English and Latin. A stone panel on the wall above it features the family coat-of-arms, skulls and figures representing the classical virtues of Faith, Justice & Charity - all features which became common in the church over the following century. Some Latin inscriptions continued to be used as a sign of piety or education. One very unusual ledger stone set into the medieval altar platform features just a Latin version of the Biblical passage Job 19: 25-27, without any apparent name or arms. The wording probably dates it to the late 16th or early 17th centuries. It translates as: 'I know that my Redeemer lives, and that at the last He will stand upon the earth. Even after my skin has been destroyed, yet in my flesh I will see God. I will see Him for myself; my eyes will behold Him, and not as a stranger. How my heart yearns within me!



Although English Protestants favoured simple funerary monuments, the Protestant minority in Ireland, especially the newer colonial settlers, were anxious to assert their right to govern the Roman Catholic majority. A period of ostentatious and elaborate memorials set Irish Protestants apart from those of other nations during the 17th century. 'Memento Mori', particularly skulls and cross-bones, were intended as a gruesome reminder of death and a warning against sin.



Two monuments to the Malone family, 1592 & 1635 (Monumenta Eblanae)

In contrast, subjects were no longer shown as dead bodies lying flat, but as living people kneeling in prayer, often wearing the long sleeves of civic officials. The inclusion of children and of coats-of-arms emphasised a dynastic claim to authority, and allegorical symbols highlighted the status and virtues of the deceased, with less concern given to prayers for their salvation.

Justice and Death guard the body of Alson Humphrey (Monumenta Eblanae)

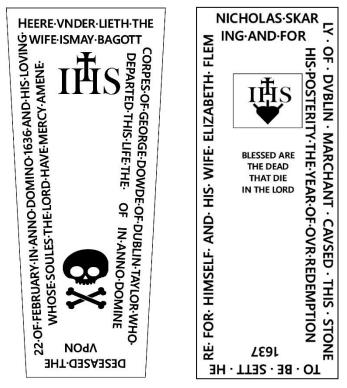


Memento Mori (Funeral Entries of the Ulster King of Arms)

Plaster, as a cheaper and more versatile alternative to stone, was used to construct the largest memorials in St Audoen's Church. They were built onto the interior walls, above the seating pews that had now become common. The family of Edmond Malone, though Roman Catholic, built a Protestant-style memorial above his parent's tomb. The plaster has since eroded down to its metal brackets.



Ledger stones became especially popular in this period, and they can be seen in the floor throughout the site. From the 17th century, inscriptions were almost exclusively in English and used Arabic rather than Roman numerals. Inscriptions typically followed a 'corkscrew' direction around the edge of the stone, gradually working inwards. Both Amye Usher and Ismay Bagott left blank spaces for the dates of their death, which were never completed. In the early part of the 17th century coats-of-arms were a regular feature on ledger stones in St Audoen's Church.



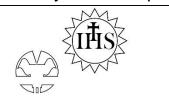
The trade of the deceased was also often included; both Bartholomewe Conran and George Dowde were tailors, but the most frequentlymentioned trade was that of merchant. Membership of a trade guild conferred respectability, and the guild members directly elected much of Dublin Corporation; the council which governed Dublin from the 13th century until 2002. Symbols like the 'IHS', thought to come from the first three Greek letters of Jesus' name, are very common and provide a link to the religious focus of pre-Reformation memorials.

CERE THOMAS HARVYE AND **CERE** · UNDER · LYETH · THE By the end of the 17th ELINOR HIS WIFE DOE LYE. SHE BODY · OF · M^r · OSAMUEL century the victory of DYED AT Y^e AGE OF 17, JUNE 22, DISMYNERS · SON · TO · ALMⁿ King William III and the 1673, HE AT THE AGE OF 32 ~ OHN · DISMYNERS · WHO YEARES AT LAZIE HILL MARCH 19, introduction of the Penal **DEPARTED** · THIS · LIFE · THE 1677 13. OF. NOVEMBER. 1690 Laws had secured Protestant rule in Ireland. One effect was that the Guild of St Anne, a **Roman Catholic** influenced fraternity dedicated to saving souls from purgatory, which was based within St Audoen's Church since 1430, evolved from a Catholic chantry to a protestant charity for the relief of the poor of Dublin. No longer needing to prove their status, the elaborate funerals and monuments of

No longer needing to prove their status, the elaborate funerals and monuments of the Protestant community at St Audoen's Church soon passed out of fashion. Ledger stones continued to be made, but the design now became very simple and economic. Here are four ledger stones from the church ranging over about 50 years which show a very consistent style of inscription.

CERE LIETH THE BO DY OF JOHN CROCKE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN ESQUIRE WHO DECEAS ED THE 19th OF JUNE 1711 AGED 55 YEARS

Here also lieth the body of Iohn Trocke son of the above named Iohn Trocke, who de parted this life the first of Febru ary Anno^D 1714, aged 25 years



Chis STone & Burial Place Belongs To Alderman Edmund Reilly of ye Citty of DuBlin ~ Merchant for Him & his Posterity The stone dedicated to Thomas and Elinor Harvye reveals something of the social norms and life expectancy of the era. For the keen-eyed, the stone of John Trocke senior and junior has a carving correction on the word 'ESQUIRE THIS·STONE·WAS·ERRECTED BY·JAMES·CLEARE·OF·DVBLIN MARCHANT·FOR·HIM·AND·HIS POSTERITY·ON·WHOME·PRAY GOD·HAVE·MERCY·AND·HIS·WIF E·MARGREAT·CLEARE·ALIAS VENEABLES·

HERE·LIETH·ALSO·THE·BODY OF·ELINOR·CONRAN·BEING HIS·FORMER·WIFE 16 1 RICH^d CLEARE MERCHANT DEC THE·27 OF FEBRUARY 1733-4

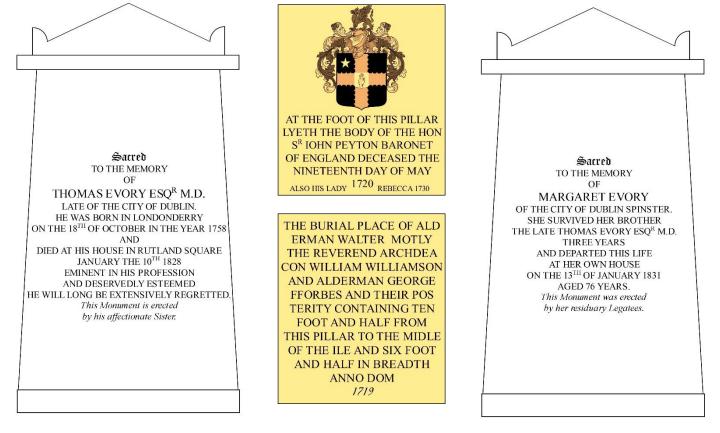
> Here Lieth the Body of Mr ANDREW LEDSAM who Died 10 of Feb^y 1804 Aged 75 Years Also Mrs SARAH LEDSAM his Wife Died 20 of June 1804 Aged Years

Here Lyeth the body of Mr Thom^s Mason of Chester late of the City of Dublin Merchant who departed this life on the 25th Day of May 1759 for him and his Posterity.

Kind to his Friends & Faithfull to his trust, Such was the man now Mouldering into Dust, the Paths of Virtue having faithfull trod, He now Enjoys his Great Reward with God. Here also Lyeth the Remains of Mrs Catherine Townson Wife of Thoms Townson of Dolphins Barn lane Tanner Nice of the above Thom^s Mason who Departed this life the 19th day of November 1773 aged 42 Years. Also the Remains of Mrs Margaret Johnson wife of John Johnson of Marlborough street and Clark of St Thomas's Dublin Niece of the aforesaid Thom^s Mason & Sister of the above Catherine Townson who departed this life the 5th day of August 1779

This stone is sacred to the memory of Sir Anthony King K^{nt} Alderman of the city of Dublin who departed this life 1st Sept^r Anno 1787 His Spirited and unwearied Exertion as a Magistrate for the Peace and Welfare of the city will ever be remembered with gratitude. The tears of the poor, whose necessities he was wont to relieve, best speak his private virtues. This stone is also designed to perpetuate the memory of Sarah Atkinson, other wise King, wife of the above Sir Anthy King. Here lyes also the body of Anthony King Esq. son of the above named Sir Anthony King who dyed the 19th day of September Anno 1797, aged years. Simulator nunquam et probitatis at charita tis pro virili cultor Expectavit dum fuit in mundo exitium quod vita etiam innocua ne quis conciliare possit spe caelestium spretia terrenis quiescit tandem in pace. And beneath this stone rest the remains of Mrs Jane King, wife of Anthony King Esq. who died Anno 1812 Aged 60. Also much esteemed and regretted. Filius ejus natu maximus tutoram maerens posuit

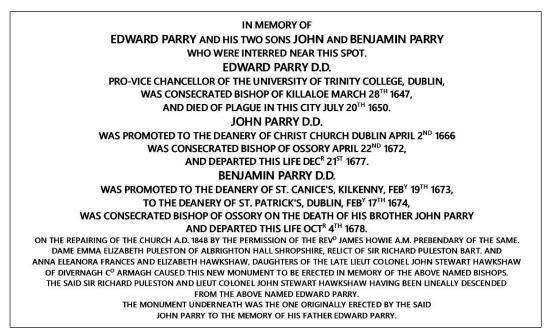
Most memorials from 18th century St Audoen's contain little more than the basic details of their subjects' lives, but a few ledger stones were filled with poetry or Latin prose celebrating their achievements. Many had names added over the decades as more members of the extended family were buried. The date of Richard Cleare's death is given as '1733-4'. Historically the 'civil' year started on 25 March, yet common practice was to count the new year from 1 January. To avoid confusion, records of events between 1 January and 25 March often gave both the 'old style' and 'new style' year. In 1752 the civil new year was moved to 1 January, and Ireland switched from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, skipping eleven days that September as a result. In the 19th century so many of Dublin's undertakers were based in nearby Cook Street that it was nicknamed 'Coffin Street'.



Ledger stones appear to have fallen out of use in St Audoen's in the early 19th century (at least within the church). A number of wall panels of various styles, but more modest in scale than the effigial memorials of the 17th century, are dotted around the church. Surviving early 18th century brass wall panels are rare in Ireland, but two can be found on a pillar inside the current church. Walter Motly was appointed Lord Mayor of Dublin when King William seized the city in 1690. Sir John Peyton was Governor of the military barracks at Ross Castle, Killarney.



James Ward was Dean of Cloyne, and the use of Latin in his memorial denotes his high education. His death in 1736 was over 80 years before the construction of the wall on which it is now mounted; it was presumably moved from elsewhere for safekeeping.



HERE STOOD A MONUMENT TO WILLIAM MOLYNEUX F.R.S. WHICH HAVING BEEN REMOVED FOR REPAIR BY HIS GRAND NEPHEW THE 2ND SIR CAPEL MOLYNEUX BART. WAS, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS AND HIS WIFE'S DEATH, SOON AFTER UNFORTUNATELY LOST. THIS TABLET IS ERECTED A.D. 1869 IN LIEU THEREOF BY THEIR NIECE ELIZABETH MARGARET WIDOW OF THE HON^{BLE} HENRY CAULFIELD. WILLIAM MOLYNEUX

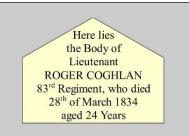
WHOM LOCKE WAS PROUD TO CALL HIS "FRIEND" WAS AUTHOR OF "THE CASE FOR IRELAND STATED", OF THE "DIOPTRICA NOVA". LONG THE STANDARD AUTHORITY IN OPTICS AND OF MANY OTHER SCIENTIFIC WORKS. HE DIED 11TH OCTOBER 1698 AT THE AGE OF 42 YEARS TO THE GRIEF OF FRIENDS AND TO THE LOSS OF HIS COUNTRY. HIS REMAINS WITH THOSE OF MANY DISTINGUISHED ANCESTORS & KINSMEN REST IN THE ADJOINING VAULT OF THE **USSHER & MOLYNEUX FAMILIES.** WILLIAM MOLYNEUX MARRIED LUCY DAUGHTER OF SIR WILLIAM DOMVILE AND LEFT AN ONLY SON SAMUEL NOT LESS DISTINGUISHED AS A STATESMAN & PHILOSOPHER. HE WAS SECRETARY TO FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES AND THE FOUNDER OF THE CELEBRATED OBSERVATORY AT KEW. HE MARRIED LADY ELIZABETH DIANA CAPEL AND DIED 1727.

Bishop Edward Parry and philosopher William Molyneux, because of their academic achievements, were each remembered with lengthy Latin inscriptions on 17th century wall panels. Parry's memorial was heavily damaged soon after, perhaps deliberately, while Molyneux's was removed for repair around 1820 and then lost. Both were replaced in the 19th century with Englishlanguage memorials paid for by their distant relatives.



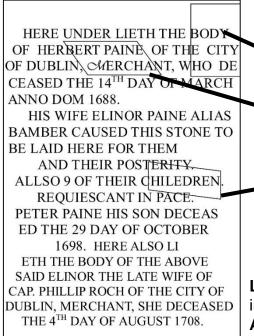
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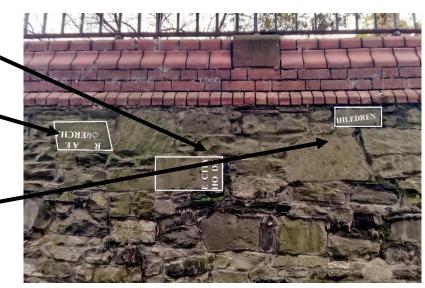
SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF COLONEL JOHN STAUNTON ROCHFORT OF CLOGRENANE, COUNTY CARLOW, WHOSE MORTAL REMAINS LIE INTERRED IN THE ADJOINING GRAVE. HE DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE 5TH OF MAY 1844 AGED 81 YEARS.



During the 18th century the aristocratic and merchant classes left the parish of St Audoen's for the new suburban townhouses outside the medieval city walls. Almost ³/₄ of the medieval church was abandoned, though the vaults and graveyard remained in use who departed this life April 20th 1828 The type of upright gravestones familiar today began to appear after this time, some of them inside the abandoned part of the church, such as those for the Tyndall family of Merchant's Quay and for a colonel of the prominent Rochfort family of Carlow. Also dating to this period is an unusual box tomb dedicated to Roger Coghlan – a young soldier from a very wealthy family.

Erected by Peter and Frances Hallion in memory of their beloved Son George Peter Hallion who departed this life April 23rd 1822 aged 13 Years. Also Ann sister to the above aged 35 Years. Here also the remains of the said Peter Hallion father of the above children who departed this life on the 7th January 1837 Aged 74 Years. Also the remains of the Said Frances Hallion, mother of the above children, who departed this life on the 14th May 1851 Aged 84 years.





Left: the Paine family grave reconstruction from the grave inscription transcribed in 1881. Above: The wall of 'The Forty Steps', showing fragments of

the Paine family gravestone.

It is recorded that when St Audoen's Graveyard was closed in 1888 most of the gravestones were buried beneath a deep layer of new topsoil, while the parish gave permission for some of the older gravestones to be simply broken up and used as rubble to raise the wall along 'The Forty Steps'. Some fragments matching the 18th century Paine family ledger stone (as transcribed by Rev. Christopher McCready in 1881) can still be spotted today. Only a handful of gravestones seem to have been moved into the ruined part of the church; for example, the gravestones of the Hallion and King families were recorded in the graveyard during a mid-19th century survey. Both survive today in the floor of the OPW visitor centre.

The parish had been moving gravestones as far back as 1673. Canon Crawford surveyed the ledger stones in 1986, and many are in different locations today. Almost ²/₃ of the memorials on the site today cannot be identified, and as time takes its toll that figure will increase, but among those others we can trace over 1000 years of changing ideas about death. The tradition has not entirely ended, with the most recent plaque in the church dating from just 1998 reading 'The Red Altar Frontal. To the glory of God and in memory of John George Lane McCormack, died 1st December 1996 aged 39 years. He found peace in this place. AD 1998'.

