

**EXCAVATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
BUILDING SURVEY AT THE ROBIN  
ROOM, BISHOP'S PALACE,  
CHURCH LANE, KILKENNY 2011 (11E157):  
*PRELIMINARY REPORT***



**KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGY**

Archaeological Consultants

THREECASTLES, KILKENNY. P/F. 056 7752200. E. [info@kilkennyarchaeology.ie](mailto:info@kilkennyarchaeology.ie) [www.kilkennyarchaeology.ie](http://www.kilkennyarchaeology.ie)



<b>Client</b>	The Heritage Council, Church lane, Kilkenny
<b>Document title</b>	Excavation and Archaeological Building Survey at the Robing Room, Bishop's Palace, Church Lane, Kilkenny 2011 (11E157): <i>Preliminary Report</i>
<b>Document type</b>	Building recording and limited excavation
<b>Issue number/date</b>	draft 1/25 <sup>th</sup> September 2011
<b>Irish national grid</b>	250292 156423
<b>Archaeological licence reference</b>	11E157
<b>Planning reference</b>	06/01; PL 62.131051
<b>Kilkenny Archaeology job no.</b>	11/034
<b>RMP reference</b>	RMP KK 019-026123 <i>ecclesiastical remains</i>
<b>Archive location</b>	Kilkenny Archaeology, Threecastles, Kilkenny
<b>Finds location</b>	Kilkenny Archaeology, Threecastles, Kilkenny
<b>Archaeological licence holder</b>	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil MA, MIAI
<b>Excavation team</b>	Dr. Richard Jennings DPhil, Philip Kenny
<b>Building survey drawings</b>	Phelim Manning
<b>Report author</b>	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil MA, MIAI
<b>GIS mapping</b>	Dr. Richard Jennings DPhil
<b>Digital illustrations</b>	Philip Kenny

*All recommendations and contents of this report are subject to the approval of the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and Tourism and the National Museum of Ireland.*

© Kilkenny Archaeology and the Heritage Council 2011

*Cóilín Ó Drisceoil*

-----  
**CÓILÍN Ó DRISCEOIL MA MIAI**

*Archaeological licence holder*

*25/09/2011*

# Contents

<b>Figures</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Statutory protections	1
Organisation of the report	1
<b>2. Research setting</b>	<b>5</b>
Previous archaeological excavations	5
Previous studies of the Robing Room	5
Research questions	7
<b>3. Methodology</b>	<b>13</b>
Building analytical record and excavation	13
<b>4. The archaeological sequence</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Period 1 Early Medieval c.500-1169 AD</b>	<b>17</b>
Archaeological and Historical Background	17
Archaeological findings	21
Period 1A	21
Analysis of worked antler and bone from the Robing Room by Maurice Hurley	24
Period 1B	28
<b>Period 2 Late Medieval 1169-1550 AD</b>	<b>29</b>
Archaeological and Historical Background	29
Archaeological findings	33
<b>Period 3 Post-Medieval Bishop's Palace garden, c.1550-1740 AD</b>	<b>34</b>
Archaeological and Historical Background	34
Archaeological findings	41
<b>Period 4 c.1740-1900</b>	<b>41</b>
Archaeological and Historical Background	41
Archaeological findings	55
Period 4A	55
Period 4B	65
The Robing Room and its context	74
<b>5. Conclusion</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>79</b>

## Figures

FIGURE 1: SITE LOCATION MAP	2
FIGURE 2: SITE LOCATION ON VERTICAL AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE IRISHTOWN OF KILKENNY (2005)	3
FIGURE 3: THE ROBIN ROOM BENEATH THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF SAINT CANICE'S CATHEDRAL. IN THE BACKGROUND ARE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY MANSE HOUSE OF THE PREBENDARY OF BLACKRATH, WHICH BECAME A PUBLIC SCHOOL FOUNDED BY THE EIGHTH EARL OF ORMOND (DIED 1539), AND SAINT CANICE'S LIBRARY. THIS STRUCTURE WAS BUILT IN 1679 AND INCORPORATES THE MURAL TOWER 'BLACK RATH CASTLE' (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL).	4
FIGURE 4: THE ROBIN ROOM FROM NORTH (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL)	4
FIGURE 5: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYOR PHELM MANNING DRAWING THE INTERIOR SOUTH ELEVATION OF THE ROBIN ROOM, MAY 2011 (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL)	14
FIGURE 6: EXCAVATIONS UNDERWAY IN CUTTING 1, MAY 2011 (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL)	15
FIGURE 7: VERTICAL AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ST. CANICE'S PRECINCT SHOWING THE POSSIBLE LINES OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL ENCLOSURES. THIS CONJECTURAL LAYOUT USES THE CONTOURS OF THE HILL ON WHICH SAINT CANICE'S WAS PLACED TO DEFINE THE SOUTH AND EAST SIDE OF THE OUTER ENCLOSURE, ITS WESTERN ARC FOLLOWS THOMAS STREET AND CHURCH LANE. THE LOCATION OF THE NORTHERN SECTION IS THE MOST PROBLEMATICAL AND THIS MODEL USES DRYSDAL'S LANE AS IT OCCURS ON ROCQUE IN THE NORTH-EAST AND CHURCH LANE IN THE NORTH-WEST. THE LINE OF THE INNER ENCLOSURE IS AGAIN HIGHLY CONJECTURAL. ONE SMALL SECTION OF ITS DITCH WAS FOUND IN THE PRECENTOR'S ORCHARD TO THE SOUTH OF THE CATHEDRAL AND THE REMAINDER MAY FOLLOW THE LINE OF THE TOWN WALL IN THE WEST AND CHURCH LANE IN THE EAST AND NORTH.	18
FIGURE 8: THE ROUND TOWER AT SAINT CANICE'S CATHEDRAL IS KILKENNY'S OLDEST STANDING BUILDING AND WAS PROBABLY BUILT TO CELEBRATE KILKENNY'S STATUS AS EPISCOPAL SEE AT THE SYNOD OF RATHBRASSIL IN 1111 (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL)	19
FIGURE 9: PLAN OF CUTTING 1, PIT [010] AND SECTIONS	22
FIGURE 10: PHOTO OF PIT [010], POST-EXCAVATION, FROM WEST (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL)	23
FIGURE 11: POT-BOILERS FROM THE FILLS [019] (LEFT) AND [011] (RIGHT) OF PIT [010], SCALE 20CM	24
FIGURE 12: ANTLER TINES AND CUT ANTLER FROM PIT [010] AND DEPOSIT [007]	25
FIGURE 13: REPRODUCED FROM MACGREGOR ET AL 1999, P.1905	27
FIGURE 14: CUTTING 1 EAST-FACING SECTION SHOWING THE DISTINCTIVE ORANGE CLAY [007] OF WHAT IS PROBABLY THE LEVELLED EARLY MEDIEVAL MONASTIC BANK (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL).	29
FIGURE 15: THE RATHER AUSTERE GEORGLAN FAÇADE TO THE BISHOP'S PALACE HIDES A COMPLEX SERIES OF BUILDING PHASES, BEGINNING AS A MID-FOURTEENTH CENTURY MEDIEVAL HALL AND TOWER, WITH SUBSTANTIAL ALTERATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES. THE LOCATION OF THE EPISCOPAL MILLS ON THE RIVER NORE AT BISHOP'S MEADOWS CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL).	30
FIGURE 16: RECONSTRUCTION MAP OF MEDIEVAL KILKENNY BASED ON BRADLEY 1990 AND VARIOUS OTHER SOURCES SHOWING SITE LOCATION (KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGY).	31
FIGURE 17: A THIRTEENTH-FOURTEENTH CENTURY CROSS-SLAB REUSED FOR A STEP ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE ROBIN ROOM (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL).	33
FIGURE 18: A PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CLOSE AND RELATED BUILDINGS, COMPILED CHIEFLY FROM ROTHE'S C.1640 ACCOUNT, THE CIVIL SURVEY AND ROCQUE'S 1758 MAP.	36
FIGURE 19: THE BISHOP'S PALACE, ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL AND BISHOP CANTWELL'S 1526 BRIDGE AS DEPICTED BY HENRY PRATT, 1708, 'THE CITY OF KILKENNY', IN A MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND NEWLY CORRECTED AND IMPROVED... WITH PLANS OF THE CITIES AND FORTIFIED TOWNS...; LONDON [REPRINTED DUBLIN 1732].	38
FIGURE 20: SAINT CANICE'S CATHEDRAL AND A RATHER SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE AS DEPICTED IN HARRIS'S WARE (1739, 397)	39



- FIGURE 21: 1739X48 JAMB FOR ONE SIDE OF A GATE THAT GAVE ACCESS TO THE BISHOP'S PALACE GROUNDS AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY BLOCKED FOR THE ROBIN ROOM, THE 'DRAGGED' ASHLAR BOW OF WHICH CAN BE SEEN ON THE LEFT (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 40
- FIGURE 22: JOHN ROCQUE'S 'SURVEY OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY', SCALE 200 FEET TO AN INCH, PUBLISHED 1758 (SCAN COURTESY TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MAP LIBRARY). 43
- FIGURE 23: DETAIL FROM JOHN ROCQUE'S 'SURVEY OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY', SCALE 200 FEET TO AN INCH, PUBLISHED 1758 (SCAN COURTESY TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MAP LIBRARY). 44
- FIGURE 24: PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PAGE IN THE CHAPTER BOOK OF ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL THAT RECORDS THE PERMISSION GRANTED IN MARCH 1758 TO BISHOP POCOCKE TO WIDEN THE GATEWAY BETWEEN THE CHURCH YARD AND THE PALACE AND TO CONSTRUCT THE 'COVERD WAY' THAT LATER BECAME KNOWN AS THE 'COLONNADE' (CHAPTER BOOK 1672-1758, 347) (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL, COURTESY THE DEAN OF SAINT CANICE'S CATHEDRAL). 45
- FIGURE 25: THE REMAINS OF IRON BOLTS THAT TIED THE COLONNADE INTO THE WALLS EITHER SIDE OF THE NORTH DOOR OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT AT SAINT CANICE'S CATHEDRAL (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 46
- FIGURE 26: ACCOUNT OF THE REMOVAL OF THE COLONNADE WRITTEN BY JOHN PRIM IN 1865 (KILKENNY MODERATOR 22.11.1865) (PHOTO: C Ó DRISCEOIL, COURTESY KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY). 47
- FIGURE 27: THE CATHEDRAL AND BISHOP'S PALACE DURING POCOCKE'S RESIDENCY C.1760 AS SHOWN IN THOMAS MITCHELL'S VIEW OF KILKENNY (NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND) (PHOTO: C. O DRISCEOIL). 48
- FIGURE 28: THE ROBIN ROOM ON THE 1842 FIRST EDITION ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP 1:10560 (ENLARGED) 49
- FIGURE 29: THE ROBIN ROOM AS SURVEYED ON THE FIRST EDITION 1846 LARGE SCALE (1:1056) MAP 140 (COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES IRELAND) 50
- FIGURE 30: DETAIL OF THE ROBIN ROOM AND POCOCKE'S COLONNADE AS MARKED ON THE FIRST EDITION (1846) ORDNANCE SURVEY (COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES IRELAND) (ENLARGED FROM 1:1056) 51
- FIGURE 31: THE ROBIN ROOM ON THE IRISH HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS RECONSTRUCTION MAP OF KILKENNY C.1842 (BRADLEY 2000, MAP 1) 52
- FIGURE 32: THE ROBIN ROOM ON THE ANNOTATED GRIFFITH'S VALUATION MAP OF KILKENNY 52
- FIGURE 33: THE ROBIN ROOM ON THE 1872 1:1056 SCALE ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP OF KILKENNY 53
- FIGURE 34: THE ROBIN ROOM ON THE 1900 1:2500 SCALE ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP OF KILKENNY 53
- FIGURE 35: EXTRACT FROM AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF KILKENNY 1967 (CUCAP 1967) SHOWING THE ROBIN ROOM BETWEEN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND THE CATHEDRAL. THE RECENTLY DEMOLISHED NORTH-EAST SERVICE WING CAN BE SEEN TO THE LEFT OF THE PALACE. 54
- FIGURE 36: THE ROBIN ROOM C.1977 (REPRODUCED FROM LANIGAN AND TYLER 1977, 31) 55
- FIGURE 37: PHASED PLAN OF THE ROBIN ROOM AND LOCATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL CUTTINGS 1-3 57
- FIGURE 38: ELEVATION OF INTERNAL SOUTH WALL, PHASED BELOW. 58
- FIGURE 39: ELEVATION OF INTERNAL NORTH-EAST WALL AND CUTTING 1 SECTION, PHASED BELOW 59
- FIGURE 40: ELEVATION OF INTERNAL NORTH WALL, PHASED BELOW 60
- FIGURE 41: THE CURVING EXTERIOR OF THE PERIOD 4A WALL [048], TAKEN FROM NORTH (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 61
- FIGURE 42: NORTH-EAST (FRONT) WALL OF THE ROBIN ROOM SHOWING THE PERIOD 4A BRICKWORK [034], WHICH HAD BEEN TRUNCATED IN PERIOD 4B (PHOTO: COLM MURRAY) 62
- FIGURE 43: CUTTING 1, CONSTRUCTION TRENCH [008] AND STONE FOOTINGS [042] FOR PERIOD 3 WALL OF ROBIN ROOM, FROM SOUTH-WEST (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL). 62
- FIGURE 44: THE SOUTH WALL [029] OF THE SEMI-BASEMENT WITH THE EXTENSIVE REPAIR INFILL [030] VISIBLE TO THE LEFT OF THE RANGING ROD, PHOTO TAKEN FROM THE SOUTH (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 63
- FIGURE 45: PHOTOGRAPH OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE BASEMENT LEVEL SHOWING CUTTING 3, THE PERIOD 4A WALL [037] AND ENTRANCE [051]. TO THE LEFT OF THE RANGING ROD IS THE PERIOD 4B FIREPLACE [054] (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL). 63
- FIGURE 46: THE COBBLED FLOOR [021] OF THE ROBIN ROOM BASEMENT, TAKEN FROM EAST (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 64

- FIGURE 47: PERIOD 4B WALL [045] WITH STORE-CUPBOARD NICHE [056] TO THE RIGHT, TAKEN FROM SOUTH 66
- FIGURE 48: INVERTED BRICK ARCH [058] CONTAINING HEATING FLUE WITHIN THE MASONRY BLOCK [057],  
TAKEN FROM WEST (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 67
- FIGURE 49: FIREPLACE [054] ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE TO THE BASEMENT. THIS  
WAS CONNECTED TO A FLUE THAT BROUGHT THE HEATED TO THE TIMBER BENCHES AT GROUND  
FLOOR LEVEL (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL). 68
- FIGURE 50: THE GARDEN FAÇADE OF THE ROBIN ROOM, FROM NORTH. PART OF THE NORTHERN ASHLAR  
BOW CAN BE SEEN ON THE RIGHT (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL). THE REMAINDER OF THE STRUCTURE IS  
RENDERED IN RULED PORTLAND CEMENT. 68
- FIGURE 51: THE ASHLAR BOW AT THE ROBIN ROOM (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 69
- FIGURE 52: QUOINS [046] AND FORMER ENTRANCE DOOR TO THE COLONNADE BUILT BY BISHOP POCOCKE  
FROM THE ROBIN ROOM TO CHURCH LANE. 71
- FIGURE 53: THIS SIXTEENTH CENTURY ORNAMENTAL DOORCASE IS THE WORK OF THE FAMOUS O'TUNNEY  
SCHOOL OF STONE CARVERS. IT WAS PLACED HERE ALONG WITH A SECTION OF WALLING TO FILL  
THE GAP LEFT BY THE REMOVAL OF THE COLONNADE AFTER 1865. THE DOOR PROBABLY DERIVED  
FROM ONE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HOUSES OF THE CLOSE. 72
- FIGURE 54: BLACKENED GRANITE FIREPLACE IN THE SOUTH-WEST WALL OF THE ROBIN ROOM (PHOTO: C. Ó  
DRISCEOIL) 73
- FIGURE 55: THE ROBIN ROOM AT THE END OF THE AXIAL GRAVEL WALKWAY OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE  
GARDEN (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 75
- FIGURE 56: THE ROBIN ROOM (FAR RIGHT OF PICTURE) FORMS A CRITICAL ELEMENT IN THE DESIGNED  
LANDSCAPE THAT WAS CONSTRUCTED AROUND THE PALACE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE  
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 76
- FIGURE 57: VIEW OF THE ROBIN ROOM TO THE WEST WINDOW OF THE PALACE (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 76
- FIGURE 58: VIEW THROUGH THE ONLY WINDOW ON THE FIRST FLOOR IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE THAT LOOKS  
OUT TO THE ROBIN ROOM. THIS ROOM APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A PRIVATE STUDY FOR THE BISHOP  
OF OSSORY (PHOTO: C. Ó DRISCEOIL) 77



## Acknowledgements

Funding for the project was provided by the Heritage Council and the assistance of Ian Doyle, Colm Murray, Martina Malone and Ger Croke of this organisation is gratefully acknowledged. Dr. Tony Hand very kindly provided information on the links between Bishop Richard Pococke and William Colles and discussed the latter's work in the Robing Room. Elizabeth Keys, administrator of Saint Canice's Cathedral, facilitated inspection of the Cathedral Chapter Books. Dr Rachel Finnegan, Waterford I.T., is sincerely thanked for having provided a copy of Pococke Papers BL Add.Mss. 22,979 folio 39. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the work of the excavation staff of Philip Kenny and Dr. Richard Jennings, and Phelim Manning who produced the survey drawings. Dr. Maurice Hurley, archaeological consultant, compiled the specialist report on the worked bone and antler. Figures 18 and 37-40 were digitally drawn by Philip Kenny.

# 1. Introduction

This report documents the preliminary findings from an archaeological building recording and excavation project that was undertaken in April-May 2011 at the Robing Room, Church Lane, Kilkenny (Figure 1). The Robing Room is a little-known neo-classical garden pavilion situated amongst a suite of medieval and early modern ecclesiastical buildings in the Close of Saint Canice's Cathedral. It is located within the grounds of the former episcopal Palace of the Diocese of Ossory, now the headquarters of the Heritage Council, and is considered to have been built around 1758 as a component of an elaborate processional colonnade that linked with the entrance to the north transept of the Cathedral, 25m to the south. As part of a wider conservation scheme for the historic environment of the Heritage Council's headquarters repairs to the Robing Room commenced in 2010 and will continue into 2011 and 2012. Kilkenny Archaeology were commissioned by the Heritage Council to employ archaeological techniques to study the building with a view to gaining a better understanding of its architectural history and its immediate archaeological context. This report provides a preliminary description of the investigations and their results, and will be supplemented in due course by specialist reports and further interpretation.

## Statutory protections

The Robing Room forms part of the recorded monument RMP KK 019-026123 *ecclesiastical remains* and is situated inside the Saint Canice's Cathedral Architectural Conservation Area as defined in the Kilkenny City Development Plan 2008-13. It is not specifically listed as a protected structure but can be considered to form part of the curtilage of the Bishop's Palace, which is listed as a protected structure in the City Development Plan (reference B19).

## Organisation of the report

The research setting and agenda for the project is described in Section 2 below, with an outline of the archaeological investigations that have been previously carried out in the site's environs. Section 3 describes the fieldwork methodology and Section 4 provides an account of the historical and archaeological sequence by chronological period. Section 5 offers some concluding thoughts.



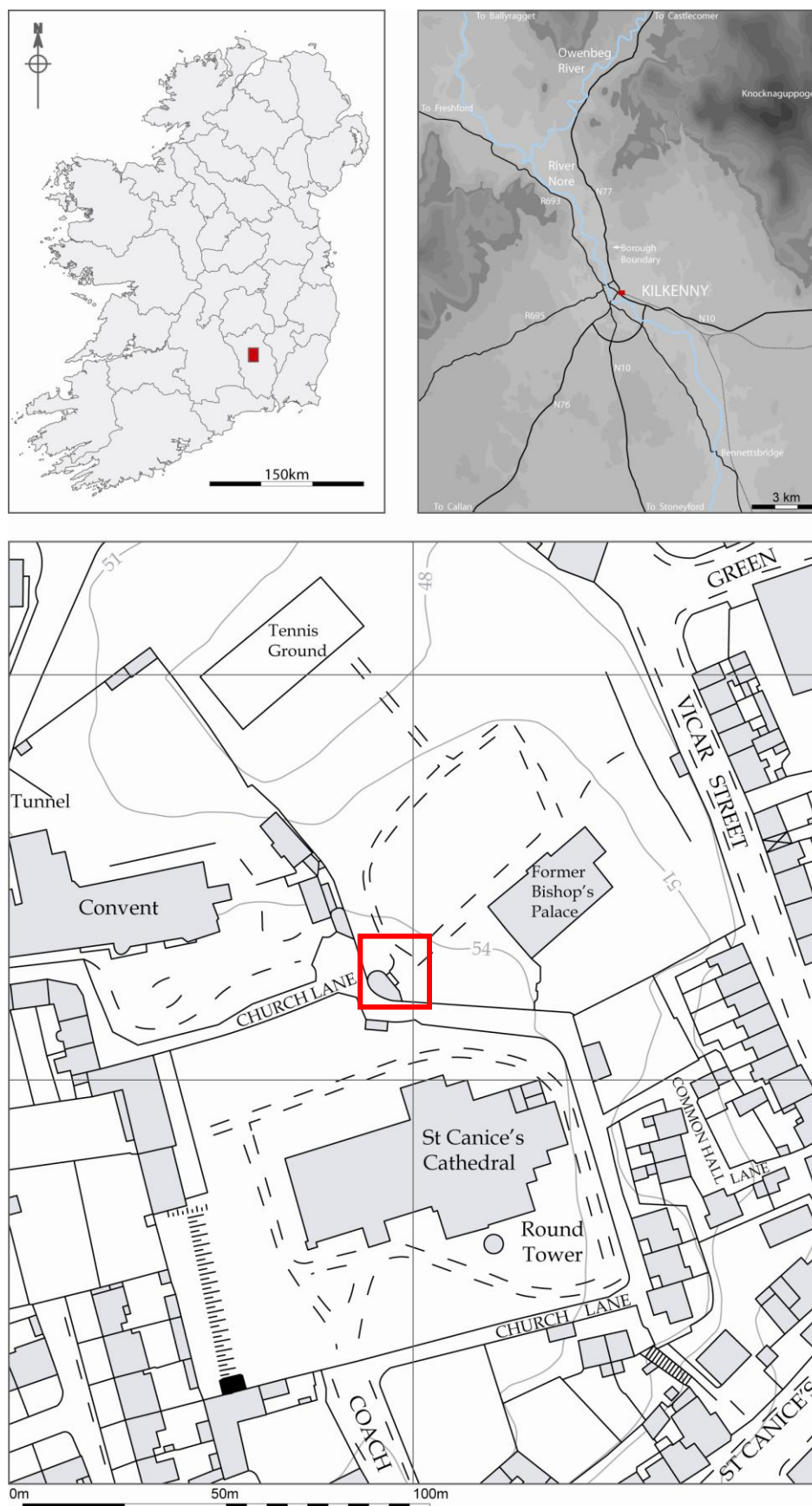
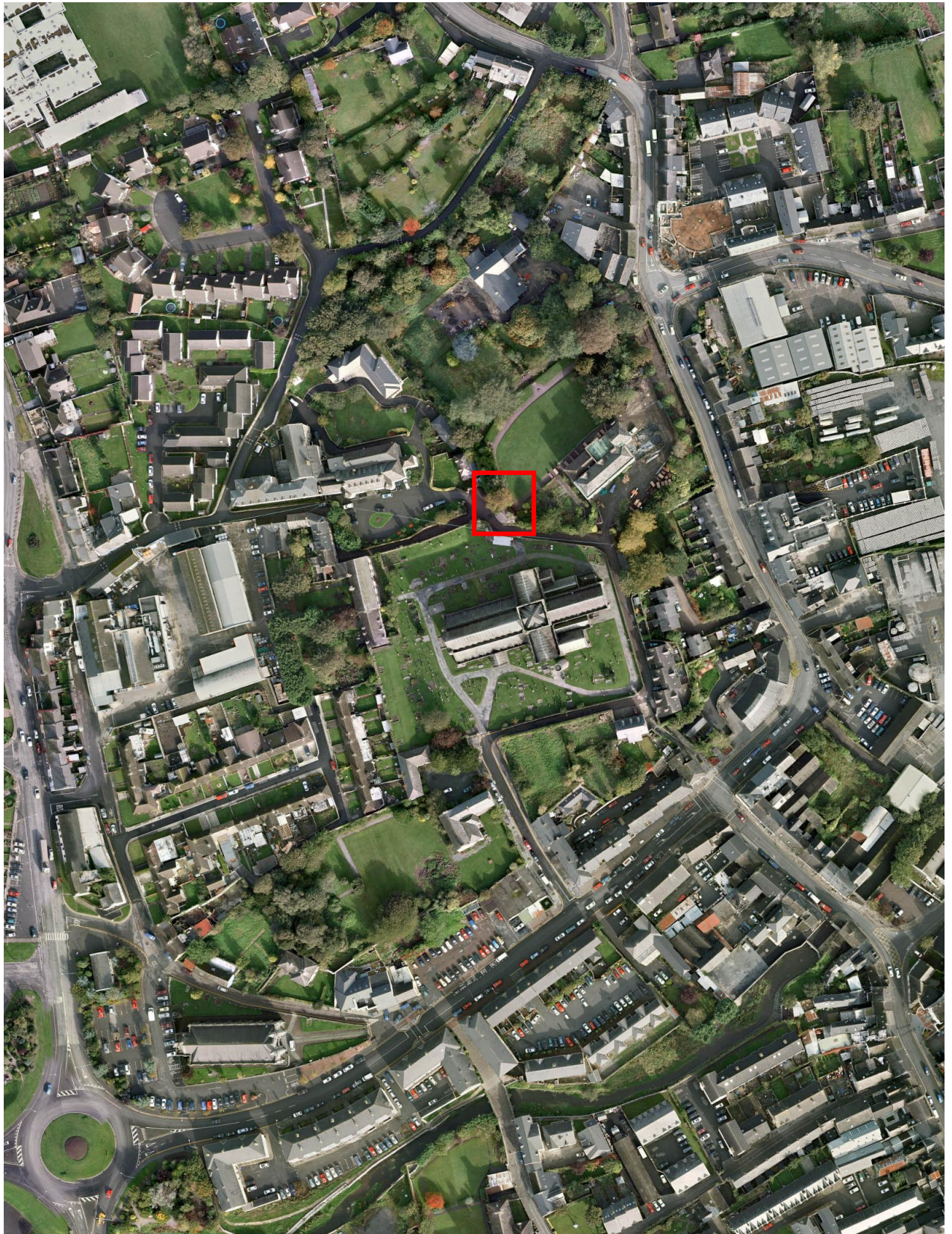


Figure 1: Site location map





*Figure 2: Site location on vertical aerial photograph of the Irishtown of Kilkenny (2005)*





*Figure 3: The Robing Room beneath the north transept of Saint Canice's Cathedral. In the background are the thirteenth century Manse house of the Prebendary of Blackrath, which became a public school founded by the eighth Earl of Ormond (died 1539), and Saint Canice's library. This structure was built in 1679 and incorporates the mural tower 'Black Rath castle' (photo: C. O Drisceoil).*



*Figure 4: The Robing Room from north (photo: C. O Drisceoil)*

## 2. Research setting

### Previous archaeological excavations

Some of the earliest 'rescue' excavations to have taken place in Ireland were carried out at Saint Canice's Cathedral at the time the antiquarian and co-founder of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society James Graves was treasurer to the chapter. The excavations were in response to the major restorations that took place under Dean Charles Vignoles (1843-1867) and the progress of these investigations is recorded meticulously in the local 'Kilkenny Moderator' newspaper, in Dean Vignoles' personal papers and in the monumental and still-unequalled study of the Cathedral that Graves co-authored with John Prim, *'The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny'* (Lynas 1997). Following the deaths of Graves and Prim no further excavations happened on the site, though the occasional artefact was reported upon (Table 2). Since 2002 there has been one open-area excavation, seven test-excavations, seven watching briefs, one building survey and two geophysical surveys conducted within the Close. These are summarised in Table 1. The information recovered during these various projects has much to contribute to questions of topography, religious landscapes, economy and society in the medieval and post-medieval periods but perhaps its most important contribution is to understanding the origins of Kilkenny as a town and its wider relationship to the rise of the Irish and European town. A synthesis and further targeted research is required, however, to achieve this.

### Previous studies of the Robing Room

The Robing Room has not been the subject of archaeological excavation or survey prior to this, and as previously noted, of all the historic structures within the Close it has been one of the least studied. The first scholarly notice of it does not occur until 1963 – it is not mentioned in Graves and Prim's 1851 *opus* - when two separate papers mention it, the first by Peter Smithwick who referred to it for the first time in print as a 'Robing Room' and considered it an integral part of Pococke's colonnade (Smithwick 1963); the second by Maureen Hegarty drew the same conclusion (Hegarty 1963, 50). Nine years later it is mentioned and dated to 1760 in the Automobile Association's *Treasures of Britain and Ireland* (Automobile Association 1972, 615) and De Breffney and ffolliott again state it was built by Pococke (De Breffney and ffolliott 1975, 109). Bence Jones' *Irish Country Houses* state it was incorporated into the colonnade (Bence Jones 1978, 167) and Lanigan

and Tyler's *Kilkenny Its Architecture and History* reproduce a fine photograph of the building, ascribe it to Pococke and describe it as a 'gem of the eighteenth century' that was 'worthy of restoration' (Lanigan and Tyler 1977, 31).

A slightly earlier date during the episcopacy of Bishop Este (1735-41) was suggested by the Integrated Conservation Group in their conservation plan for the Bishop's Palace, based on similarities between the panelling, windows, fittings in the Robing Room and those attributed to Este in the stairwell of the Palace (Integrated Conservation Group 2003, 47, 52). In particular the same form of 'bolection-moulded' window joinery is shared at both places. The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage entry for the building provides a detailed written description of its architectural elements and states, without evidence, that it was designed by Saunderson Miller for Pococke 1756-8.<sup>1</sup> An archaeological assessment of the Robing Room was undertaken as part of the Kilkenny City Walls conservation plan process and the compilers ascribed it to Bishop Este, c.1755 (*sic.*), and state that 'parts of the fabric (substantial ashlar quoins visible on Church Lane) appear to be older than the 18<sup>th</sup> century and may be the base of a medieval tower associated with the medieval (mid 14<sup>th</sup> century) Bishop's Palace (remaining inside the existing 18<sup>th</sup>-century building) and with the Irishtown defences' (Oxford Archaeology 2005, 141). An unpublished historical study of the Bishop's Palace by Dr. Margaret Murphy the Robing Room is again attributed to Pococke and she considers it was 'most probably constructed along with the colonnade in the late 1750s' (Murphy 2006, 23). The most comprehensive study of the Robing Room was carried out by Dave Pollock in 2006 as part of an historical landscape study of the grounds (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 24-6). The assertion that the structure incorporated part of a medieval tower on the Town Wall he discounted for lack of evidence. All of the visible masonry, including the curved exterior of the Robing Room to Church Lane and a possible jamb for a gateway or arch, were considered contemporary and of early eighteenth century date. The structure had been attached, and was therefore later, than the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century pilastered wall that forms the southern boundary of the Palace, and was thought to be contemporary with the boundary wall extending northwards. An infilled opening or rebate in this wall was contemporary with the Robing Room. Finally, a recent report by

---

<sup>1</sup> [buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12003011](http://buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12003011)



Colm Murray on the conservation works at the building echoed the suggestion of an early-eighteenth century date and outlined the evidence for a prior structure on the site (Murray 2010, 5). He proposed that whilst this building may have been connected with the Town Wall there was no definite evidence of this and he raised the interesting, though at present unprovable, suggestion that the earlier building may have been that referred to in David Rothe's *De Ossoriensi Dioecesi* as the 'Paradise' house between the north transept and the Bishop's Palace where the eighth Earl of Ormond did penance at Easter (quoted in Carrigan 1905 iii, 9 and see Ledwich 1781, 387).

## Research questions

It is clear from the above that there are significant questions to be asked of the written and material evidence relating to this small but interesting building. These break down into two distinct categories:

### The Robing Room's chronology, function and evolution

The evidence regarding the exact date at which the building was constructed is far from clear. Is there documentary and archaeological support for the assertion that it was built by Bishop Pococke with the colonnade c.1758? Or alternatively, was it constructed during the substantial remodeling of the Palace by Bishop Este (1735-40)? The earliest written account of the Robing Room being used as an episcopal vestry is as recent as 1963 (Smithwick 1963). Was this the primary function of the structure? How did it evolve and change over time?

### The site before the Robing Room

Was there an earlier building incorporated into the Robing Room and if so, what was its age and is there evidence to back up the suggestions that it related to the Irishtown town wall or indeed the 'Paradise' house of the sixteenth century? And if not, what was it? The Robing Room would lie within the north-eastern quadrant of the Early Medieval monastic enclosure of *Cill Chainnigh*, near to where antler tines, perhaps indicative of Early Medieval comb working, have been made in the past (Bradley 1990, 65). Thus, was there any archaeological evidence, of a similar nature or otherwise, that could be related to this early phase of the site's history? And likewise how was the area used prior to the 1350s when it became part of the episcopal court? And finally, how did it fit into what is known of the topography of the medieval episcopal palace?

*Table 1: Archaeological investigations in the Cathedral Close 1840-2010*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Excavator</i>	<i>Licence (where applicable)</i>	<i>Investigation form</i>	<i>Overview</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
East end of Cathedral chancel, interior and exterior	John Prim and Dean Vignoles	n/a	Excavation	Excavations conducted by Prim and Vignoles in 1840 at the east end of the chancel uncovered what is probably the foundations of the Romanesque Cathedral of Saint Canice that was taken down for the construction of the Anglo-Norman Cathedral in around 1210: 'ancient foundations [which] would appear to have formed the nave of the more ancient church, its chancel extending eastward, beyond that of the existing structure' (Graves and Prim 1857, 32). During these excavations burials were noted and numerous artefacts including stained glass and leads from the smashed east window of the Cathedral were recovered and put on display in the society's museum in Butler House (Lynas 1997, 185; Bassett 1884, 45-8).	Graves and Prim 1857, 32; Bassett 1884, 45-8; Lynas 1997, 185; Corlett 2007
Base of round tower	James Graves	n/a	Excavation	In 1847 the removal of 'accumulated rubbish' that had filled up the lower part of the round tower to within 0.7m of the entrance door was overseen by Graves, who reported that the base of the tower was paved and built on a 0.6m deep stone plinth foundation that itself rested on a 'considerable depth' of a 'thickly peopled' graveyard (Graves and Prim 1857, 114-20; KM 8.6.1892). Four skeletons were examined by Graves, two children (one male and one female) in a wooden coffin and two adult males. Most of the bones were subsequently placed back in the tower in a specially constructed cist that was dug at the base but the skulls were retained and housed in the Kilkenny Museum and are now presumably in the National Museum collection (Bassett 1884, 45-8).	Graves and Prim 1857, 114-20; KM 8.6.1892; Bassett 1884, 45-8; Corlett 2007
Precentor's Orchard, east side of Coach Road	Andrew Gittens	02E0845	Test trenching	Five cuttings were opened in the former walled garden to the rear of the Precentor's house at the top of Saint Canice's steps.	Gittens 2003

				A possible Early Medieval phase (period 1) was represented by a layer of orange clay, possibly the leveled Early Medieval enclosure bank. A late medieval phase (Period 2) included a stone corn-dryer and an extensive deposit of butchery waste. Post-medieval (Periods 2, 3) introduced gardening horizons sealed the earlier material. Two graves, one containing a juvenile, had been dug into one of these horizons. Evaluation of the orchard's surrounding walls indicated they were of eighteenth century date.	
Site of new See house, north-west of Cathedral Close	Teresa Bolger, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd.	02E593	Test trenching	Medieval ironworking and a pit in the backlands of property plots on the former Drysdal's Lane; post-medieval landscaping connected with the incorporation of the site into the Bishop's Palace grounds.	Bolger 2003
Area of pavilion, North East corner of Bishop's Palace	Ian Doyle, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd.	02E593 ext.	Test trenching	Foundation walls, paved floor surfaces and a brick kiln for ancillary service range to Palace, in use between the late seventeenth - early-eighteenth century and 1960.	Doyle 2003
Area to east of round tower and chancel and crossing of Cathedral	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	04R026	Geophysical survey	Resistance survey and Ground Penetrating Radar indicated the presence of a large rectangular stone building, c.30m x 10m, to the east of the round tower. It may be interpreted as a previously unrecorded church, or possibly a secular Palace. Inside the Cathedral burial vaults were located.	Ó Drisceoil 2004b
Church Lane	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	04E1535	Monitoring	Monitoring of a gas pipeline between the boiler house on the north-east side of the chancel, through the eastern boundary wall of the graveyard and southwards on Church Lane to the top of Saint Canice's steps indicated the presence of at least 1.2m of 'graveyard earth' with disarticulated human bone between the chancel and the boundary wall. On Church Lane the glacial subsoil was reached at a depth of 0.6m, above which was a 0.4m deep graveyard deposit with frequent disarticulated, fragmented, human bones, that evidently preceded the construction of Church Lane in the seventeenth century and are probably of Period 1 or 2 date. No individual graves were noted. 463 bone fragments were recovered, representing a MNI of six adults and one juvenile. Pathologies included periostitis and various proliferative bone formations.	Ó Drisceoil 2004a
Garden to west of Palace	Heather Gimson	05R012	Geophysical survey	Predominantly post-medieval landscaping with anomalies of	Earthsound 2005

	and James Bonsall, Earthsound			likely archaeological origin identified.	
Garden to west and south of Palace	Dave Pollock	05E0652	Test trenching	As part of an historic landscape study eight test pits were excavated. Post-medieval ground levels were identified and one eighteenth century garden bed. Deep backfilled quarry pits noted in north-west of site.	Pollock and Jupp 2006
See house and associated service trenches	Dave Pollock	05E0652	Monitoring	Nothing of archaeological interest noted.	Pollock 2009
Pavilion, North East corner of Bishop's Palace (Area 1), area of lift shaft (Area 2) and entrance lobby (Area 3).	Ian Doyle	06E0189	Open area excavation and test trenching	Area 1: Excavation revealed the full plan of the north eastern service range for the Palace including its wall foundations, paved floor surfaces and fireplaces. Area 2: West wall of tower exposed to foundations, which rested on natural gravel and had been inserted into a pre-existing ditch. Area 3: A test-pit revealed the step foundation for a masonry pier and showed that all historic floor surfaces had been removed in the 1960s renovations.	Doyle 2006
Area between Bishop's Palace and Vicar street	Brenda O'Meara	06E0189 ext.	Test-trenching	Area A opened adjacent to the site of Troy's gate revealing a section of ditch, 1.25m wide x 0.5m deep, containing thirteenth-fourteenth century ceramics. Inserted into the ditch was a 1m thick masonry wall dated by pottery to the late medieval period, and underneath an eighteenth century rebuild. Both the wall and ditch represent separate medieval phases of the Palace enclosure, it was suggested the wall was possibly a remnant of the Town Wall. Area B opened against the boundary wall with Vicar street and revealed a 1.1m-1.4m thick masonry wall interpreted as a 'significant property boundary'.	O'Meara 2006; O'Meara 2009a
Precentor's Orchard, east side of Coach Road	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	06E0306	Test trenching	Further testing on the site involved opening six cuttings to build on the results obtained by Andrew Gittens in 2002 (02E0845). Early Medieval activity (Period 1) was situated in the northern half of the site and indicated this area was formerly largely within an outer enclosure ( <i>sanctior</i> ) of the Early Medieval monastic precinct. The suggestion made by Gittens that strata from the leveled gravel and clay bank of the inner	Ó Drisceoil 2006; Ó Drisceoil 2009a

				<p><i>vallum</i> of the monastic precinct survived within the site is strengthened by the discovery of antler tines within it and related stratigraphic evidence. The stone corn-dryer found by Gittens cut the bank material and a Class 2 watch-winder stick pin (c.975-1100 AD) and an antler tine from its backfill are indicative of a Period 1 date, and therefore by extension the slighted embankment. Sealed under the bank material was a section of what may be the monastic ditch, which was 2.1m wide x 0.9m deep, and backfilled with gravels and clay layers with antler tines. Other archaeology of similar age included a pit with antler tines. Substantial evidence for antler working was recorded throughout the northern half of the site in the form of tines, though these were all from secondary contexts. Another Period 1 find was a fragment (6g) of hacksilver, though from a secondary context. Human skeletons related to Period 2 and imply the medieval cemetery was much larger than its present make-up. The bulk of the excavated area was subsequently covered by a roughly metalled yard and deep orchard and garden soils. Associated coins and tokens indicate a mid to late seventeenth century date (Period 3) and the yard was probably attached to the residence of the Dean and the gardens of the Precentor.</p>	
Coach Road	Patrick Neary	06E0075	Monitoring	Monitoring of street repairs at the top of Coach road brought to light disarticulated human bones and line-impressed floor-tile fragments. A layer of orange clay, similar to that recorded in the adjacent Precentor's orchard was interpreted as a portion of the leveled Early Medieval enclosure bank.	Neary 2009
Cathedral east wall of chancel, exterior	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	Unlicensed	Monitoring and survey	Repointing of the east wall of the chancel was monitored. The wall was drawn in elevation and features such as mason's marks, put-log holes and re-used architectural stones, including a Romanesque capital, were located. The arrangement of put-log holes allowed the scaffold-lifts to be reconstructed.	Ó Drisceoil 2008a
Cathedral, town wall rampart	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	Unlicensed	Monitoring	A section was revealed through the north end of the earthen rampart inside the town wall during works to the adjoining organist's house, the former Blackrath prebendal manse. The	No report



				layers that formed the rampart were of eighteenth-nineteenth century date and were comprised, in the main, of redeposited graveyard soils with an abundance of human bone, funerary monument fragments and stones. The dating of the embankment suggests it is not to be interpreted as a town wall rampart but instead as the 'handsome terrace walk' described by Chetwood in 1748 (Chetwood and Luckombe 1748, 174).	
Garden of the Vicar's Choral, Church Lane/Common Hall Lane	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	09E457	Test trenching	A single test trench was excavated in what was formerly the rear garden of the Vicar's choral on Vicar street. At the base there was a post-hole and a pit sealed by a layer of made-up ground with associated thirteenth-fourteenth century pottery. Post-medieval surfaces and introduced garden horizons overlay the medieval layers.	Ó Drisceoil 2009b
The Deanery	Cóilín Ó Drisceoil	Unlicensed	Monitoring	Excavations for drainage around the rear walls of the Deanery revealed the stone off-set footings for the building.	Ó Drisceoil 2010
Service trenches Bishop's Palace	Brenda O'Meara	06E0189 ext.	Monitoring	Post-medieval made-up-ground and continuations of walls previously identified as part of the service range were noted. The removal of eighteenth century pine floor-boards on the building's second floor revealed a sub-floor of reused oak joists and structural beams that were dendro-dated to the late fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century. The removal of render from the exterior of the building revealed medieval and post-medieval windows, including a rectangular timber window on the north side of the tower.	O'Meara 2009b; O'Meara 2010
Troy's Gate entrance to Bishop's Palace	Bernice Molloy	06E0189 ext.	Monitoring	Fragments of a building associated with the service range and marked on the first and second edition OS maps revealed.	Molloy 2010

*Table 2: Artefacts from the Cathedral Close recorded in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (JRSAI), historical newspaper accounts (KM, KJ), the catalogue of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society museum (RH) and the topographical files of the National Museum of Ireland (NMI).*

<b>Find(s)</b>	<b>Find Discovery Location</b>	<b>Reference(s)</b>
'Richly ornamented' pin	Drysdal's Lane	KM 8.9.1849
Two skulls	Ormonde vault, St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 4.10.1854
'pin of 1698'	Ormonde Vault, east transept, St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 7.7.1855
Stained glass fragments	St. Canice's Cathedral	Graves and Prim 1857, 73, Bassett 1884, 45-9
'Money of necessity'	St. Canice's Cathedral	JRSAI 1860
'Siege piece', cannon stamped with castle	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 12.5.1860
Key	In well beneath chancel arch, St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 12.10.1864
Two inscribed oak beams, one 1597, the other 1763	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 8.7.1865
Shortal tomb	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 31.5.1865
Skeleton found beneath Honorina Grace tomb	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 8.7.1865
Tile kiln, wasters and antler tines	North-west of St. Canice's Cathedral	JRSAI 1866 part III, 411-2
Grave in hermit's cell	St. Canice's Cathedral	KJ 14.4.1866
Stone cup	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 20.4.1867
'Ancient guard ring'	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 23.10.1869
Lead cramp	St. Canice's Cathedral	JRSAI 1870b
Spindle-whorl	St. Canice's Cathedral	JRSAI 1871a
Skeletons	From beneath round tower St. Canice's Cathedral	Graves and Prim 1857, 115; Bassett 1884, 45-9; KM 8.6.1892
Deer antlers and offcuts, tile kiln waste	Bishop's Palace, St. Canice's Cathedral	Graves 1875
Carved painted capitals	'Old' St. Canice's Cathedral	NMI 1887:447, 449
Limestone holy water font	St. Canice's Cathedral	KM 215.1890
Statue fragment and moulding	St. Canice's Cathedral	NMI A1898:129, 130
Prebendary Plate, brass mounting 'Blackrath'	St. Canice's Cathedral	RH 66/29
Penal Cross, found at St. Canice's Cathedral September 1969	St. Canice's Cathedral	RH 70/5

### 3. Methodology

A research methodology was tailored to specifically address the research agenda as set out above. This involved a detailed study of primary and secondary documentary sources in tandem with an analysis of the Robing Room's structure. Finally, limited excavation was targeted at providing chronological evidence for the building's key structural phases, as well as unearthing material that predated its construction.

#### Building analytical record and excavation

The building analytical record utilised a combination of a drawn survey, written record, photographic record and archaeological excavation to produce a phased study of the

structure (to English Heritage Level III, English Heritage 2006, 5.3). The drawn survey consisted of hand drawn, stone-by-stone elevations and plans of the structure as follows:

- Ground plan and combined plan of basement level, scale 1:20 (Figure 36)
- Elevation of internal south wall, scale 1:20 (Figure 37)
- Elevation of internal north wall, scale 1:20 (Figure 38)
- Sectional elevation looking east, scale 1:20 (Figure 39)



*Figure 5: Archaeological surveyor Phelim Manning drawing the interior south elevation of the Robing Room, May 2011 (photo: C. O Drisceoil)*

A photographic survey recorded by a 35mm black-and-white print camera and 35mm digital SLR each wall and structural element in the building, to correspond with the drawn and written records. Off-prints of the digital photographs and black-and-white photographs and their negatives are stored in an archival stable format. The written record described each structural element in the building and was cross-referenced with the drawings and photographs. The archaeological excavation involved the digging by hand of three individual cuttings. Cutting 1 was 2.7m x 2.2m and was placed directly against the north-western external elevation, chiefly to assist in determining the building's structural chronology but also to assess the survival of earlier horizons. Cutting 2 was 0.5m x 0.5m and was placed in the basement level at the junction between the south and east walls. Cutting 3 (0.5m x 0.5m) was also situated in the basement, in the corner

between the south and west walls. Both aimed to date walls in the basement and the cobbled floor.



*Figure 6: Excavations underway in Cutting 1, May 2011 (photo: C. O Drisceoil)*

The excavation drawn and written recording techniques were based largely on the single-context recording system as outlined in the Museum of London Archaeological Service Site Manual (MoLAS 1994). To provide an integrated written record the building, as well as the archaeological strata, was broken down into its component stratified parts with each element provided with a context number. All archaeological objects were retrieved and their positions relative to the excavation stratigraphy recorded by context. The position of finds of particular and special interest were recorded in three dimensions. All deposits were metal-detected. All finds and animal, bird and fish bone was retained and all excavated soils from the pit [010] were coarse dry-sieved (for finds and animal bone) to 2mm grade. Two 10 litre soil samples were also retained from the pit for future palaeoenvironmental analysis. In addition samples of mortar were taken systematically from the standing walls of the building as an aid to characterising building phases.

## 4. The archaeological sequence

The archaeological excavation, though limited in extent, has provided important new information on the chronology and development of the Robing Room and the changing character of landuse in this sector of the Cathedral Close. Seventy individual contexts were recorded and four distinct periods were defined, based on the written and/or archaeological evidence as outlined in Table 3. This chronology should be regarded as *preliminary* in the absence of specialist reports, and in particular a radiocarbon date from pit [010].

Table 3: Outline summary chronology

Archaeological Period	Phase	Land-use	Historical period	Dates
1		<i>Sanctor of Cill Chainnigh</i>	Early Medieval	c. 500-1169 AD(?)
	1A	Pitting for bone and antler-working waste disposal		c. 800-1200 AD(?)
	1B	Leveling of possible monastic enclosure bank		c. 900-1200 AD(?)
2		<b>Medieval Bishop's Palace garden</b>	Late Medieval	c.1169-1550
		All layers removed in Period 4, medieval artefacts		
3		<b>Post-medieval Bishop's Palace walled garden</b>	Early Modern-Georgian	c.1550-1740
		Construction of precinct wall		1739x48
4		<b>Robing Room in Georgian walled garden</b>	Georgian-Victorian-Modern	c.1740-c.1900
	4A	Construction and use of rectangular garden pavilion/summer-house		c.1739x48 - 1758
	4B	Partial demolition, rebuilding and use of ovoid garden pavilion/summer-house		c.1758-



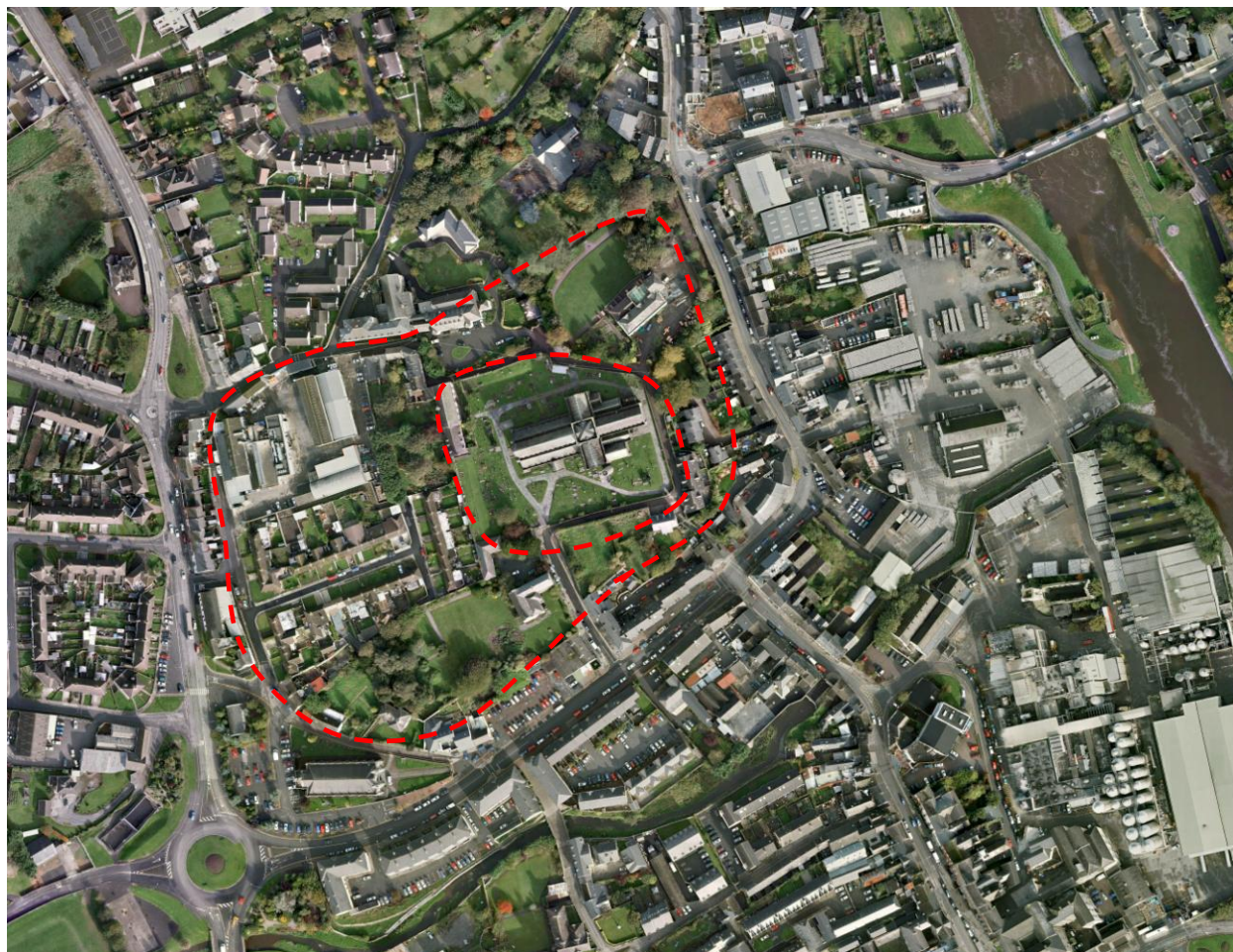
# Period 1 Early Medieval c.500-1169 AD

## Archaeological and Historical Background

Between the ninth and twelfth centuries the rather marginal monastery (or cult centre) that had been founded by Saint Canice in the sixth century became the chief church of the kingdom of Ossory and the principal ecclesiastical power in Leinster outside Dublin. In so doing it surpassed its earlier rival at *Domhnach Mór*, now St. Patrick's graveyard, 2km to the south. St. Canice's rise to prominence has been largely attributed to the transfer of the see of Ossory from Agahboe to Kilkenny but new research has proven that this was an invention of the seventeenth century and had never actually occurred (Bradley *forthcoming*). The rise of Kilkenny can instead be put down to geo-political factors and chiefly its patronage in the late ninth century by the 'powerful and ambitious' Cerball mac Dúnlainge (Bradley 2000, 1). In common with the pattern echoed at monasteries throughout Europe the accumulation of wealth and the development of a protected marketplace for the exchange of goods was the genesis of the monastic town. Settlement followed in the environs as evidenced by the twenty-one ringforts and five other early church-sites that occur within a two mile radius of the city. Archaeological excavation of one of these, at Leggetsrath West, revealed a 54m diameter enclosure which was occupied in the eighth to tenth century AD and again in the twelfth century (Lennon 2006). Finds from the excavation such as sherds from a Mediterranean Bii amphora and a fine copper-alloy ring-pin, were suggestive of the type of high-status residents that would have associated themselves with a centre of influence like *Cill Chainnigh*.

At the core of the settlement hierarchy was what it thought to have been a substantial monastic town. Hogan suggested that a number of *slighe* or ancient roads converged on the site, taking advantage of a fording point over the Nore at what is now Green's Bridge (Hogan 1884, 157). There is still very little known about Early Medieval *Cill Chainnigh* but both antiquarian and recent excavations do shed some light on its topography and economy. It has been put forward that in common with many Early Medieval monastic foundations *Cill Chainnigh* was defined by concentric circular enclosures, the outermost (*sanctior*) of which can be inferred from the curving street-pattern of Vicar Street, St. Canice's Place, Dean Street, Thomas Street and Drysdal's lane (Hogan 1884, 157; Bradley 1990). An inner enclosure (*sancticimus*) would have encircled the round tower (the only standing building from Kilkenny's Early Medieval past), a principal church, graveyard and perhaps a number of oratories, and a small section of what may be its bank and ditch

measuring 2.1m wide x 0.9m deep, was recorded 40m south of the round tower in the Precentor's orchard (Ó Drisceoil 2009a).



*Figure 7: Vertical aerial photograph of the St. Canice's precinct showing the possible lines of the Early Medieval ecclesiastical enclosures. This conjectural layout uses the contours of the hill on which Saint Canice's was placed to define the south and east side of the outer enclosure, its western arc follows Thomas Street and Church Lane. The location of the northern section is the most problematical and this model uses Drysdal's lane as it occurs on Rocque in the north-east and Church Lane in the north-west. The line of the inner enclosure is again highly conjectural. One small section of its ditch was found in the Precentor's orchard to the south of the Cathedral and the remainder may follow the line of the town wall in the west and Church lane in the east and north.*

This model is not without its problems however as much of the postulated southern extent of the outer vallum envelops low-lying, wet, floodplain and there is no archaeological evidence that settlement had encroached onto this terrain prior to the Anglo-Norman conquest. Instead, both stratigraphy on Dean Street and dendrochronology dates on reclamation revetments in the foreshore of the river Breaghagh at Irishtown have demonstrated that no settlement occurred here before the

early thirteenth century (Cotter 1992; Ó Drisceoil 2003; Doyle 2005, 1).<sup>2</sup> It would therefore seem more plausible that the monastic town was confined to the hill above the floodplain, extending northwards to include what was to become the grounds of the Bishop's Palace and perhaps, though by no means certainly, terminating at the former Drysdal's lane, as Bradley suggested.



*Figure 8: The round tower at Saint Canice's Cathedral is Kilkenny's oldest standing building and was probably built to celebrate Kilkenny's status as episcopal see at the synod of Rathbrasil in 1111 (photo: C. O Drisceoil)*

At the same time a stone church decorated in the Hiberno-Romanesque style stood 20m north-east of the round tower. It was demolished in the early thirteenth century but its foundations survive beneath the east end of the chancel and were noted by Graves and Prim during the 1847 restorations (Graves and Prim 1857, 114-20). A collection of thirteen ornamental carved stones, capitals, jambs and voussoirs, from this church are present on the site and one capital is built into the south wall of the south transept, another has been recently discovered built into the east wall of the chancel (JRSAI 1886, 417; Harbison 1974; Ó Drisceoil 2008a). Also in the twelfth century the Mac Gilla Pátraic kings of Ossory had a palace at Kilkenny (*Song of Dermot and the Earl*, 101; Bradley

<sup>2</sup> An organic silt layer at the junction of Irishtown and Saint Canice's Place has been put forward as having been of pre-Anglo-Norman but there is no dating evidence to back up this interpretation (Bradley 2000, 1).



2000, 1) and it is possible that a large rectangular stone building - at c.30m x 10m it is probably too large to be a church - identified by geophysics 10m to the south-east of the round tower was this structure, meaning that like their royal contemporaries at Cashel both secular and ecclesiastical power may have co-existed (O'Keefe 2003, 137).<sup>3</sup> The graveyard is also evidently older than the twelfth century round tower as burials were found beneath its foundations in 1847 (Graves and Prim 1857, 32) and it is possible that at least some of the various skeletons unearthed on Church Lane (Ó Drisceoil 2004a) and in the Precentor's orchard were of Early Medieval date, though there are no radiocarbon dates to support this.

Virtually nothing is known of the economy of the early monastic site but it is striking the quantity of antler-working waste, most of it presumably associated with the Early Medieval comb manufacturing, that has been found throughout the Cathedral Close with a particular concentration in the sector to the north of the church. 'Numerous portions' of antlers, some 'half finished', were found with floor tile wasters in a kiln - evidently the tile kiln had cut through a layer of antler waste - to the north-west of the Cathedral (JRSAI 1866, 411-2) and a 'great quantity' of antlers, all 'sawn or cut up' were found 'about the roots of an old evergreen oak, in the grounds attached to the Episcopal Palace' (Graves 1875, 434-5; KM 10.7.1875). Where exactly this oak was situated is not known but it may have been one of the large trees in the episcopal garden to the south of the house that is marked on the 1846 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 29). The craft seems to also have been practiced at the south side of the Cathedral as tines were found in the levelled Early Medieval enclosure bank at the Precentor's orchard and Coach Road; from the former a complete set of antlers was found in a waste pit (Neary 2009; Ó Drisceoil 2009a). Incidentally, what might have been one of the products from its workshops was found during excavations at No.1 Irishtown (Doyle 2004, 104). A Class 2 watch-winder stick pin (c.975-1100 AD) and an antler tine were found in the backfill of a stone corn-dryer in the Precentor's orchard, which points to grain processing in this area in the Early Medieval period. One other find, a hack-silver ingot, hints at trade between the site and the Vikings but unfortunately it was found in a post-medieval context in the Precentor's orchard.

---

<sup>3</sup> Previous claims that this residence was uncovered during excavations at Kilkenny castle (Bradley 1990; 2000a, 1; Murtagh 1993) would appear unlikely as the horizon in question was unequivocally associated with Leinster Cooking Ware pottery, which does not occur before 1175 and furthermore there is very little evidence from south-east Ireland (and none from Kilkenny) that this form of pottery was used by the native population (Ó Floinn 1988).

The evidence, such as it is, points to an Early Medieval settlement of quite modest size in comparison to other contemporary monasteries, but with a large resident population. Certainly it was considered of sufficient scale and status to have been worth attacking and burning in 1085 and again in 1114. In 1146 the Annals of the Four Masters note that '*Gillaphadraig, the grandson of Donnchadh, lord of Osraighe, was killed by the O'Braenains, by treachery, in the middle of Cill-Cainnigh*'. That Kilkenny could be described as having a 'middle' may again indicate the presence of a sizeable settlement at this time and this is also alluded to the *Song of Dermot and the Earl* which describes the arrival in 1169 of the first contingent of some 200 Anglo-Norman adventurers under Maurice de Prendergast: 'The English at Kilkenny/Remained that night/With great joy and in great commotion.../To their *hostels* they returned/Where they were before *lodged*' (Orpen 1892, i, 1, 338). Although the *Song* may be exaggerating somewhat Kilkenny clearly had the resources in 1169 to accommodate a large band of soldiers and also presumably their camp followers. In any event at the time of the Conquest Kilkenny was the 'largest and most important inland settlement in south-east Ireland' (Bradley 2000, 1).

## Archaeological findings

### *Period 1A*

At the base of Cutting 1 and cutting the gravel and clay glacial subsoil was an oval pit [010], 1.45m north-south x 1.25m x 0.65m deep (Figures 9, 10). Around 95% of its extent was exposed in the cutting, a further c.0.1m extended outside the northern limit of excavation. Two deposits filled the pit, the earliest was a 0.32m deep, dark-brown (10 YR 3/3) sandy-clay dump of burnt 'pot-boilers' (21kg) and animal bone (much of it burnt) [019] (Figure 11). One sliver of an antler tine was also recovered and will be radiocarbon dated. Lumps of lime-mortar were present in small quantities, as were fragments of slate. The secondary fill [011] had a similar content but differed in colour, being an olive brown (2.5 Y 4/4) sandy-clay dump of burnt pot-boilers (20kg) and animal bone, both burnt and unburnt. A hollow cut bone cylinder, three antler tines and a beam were within the deposit and again occasional lime-mortar lumps and flecks of charcoal were noted.

The presence of antler tines and off-cuts, animal bone and numerous pot-boilers within the same pit provides evidence for waste disposal (or manufacturing debris) associated with the fabrication of objects made of bone and antler. Both these materials were frequently worked on the same site, as at Dooley, Co. Donegal, and the pot-boilers are

thought to have been first heated on a fire – many of the examples from the Bishop's Palace show clear evidence for burning – and were then immersed in a container or trough of water (Edwards 1990, 83). The resultant hot water was used to soften the bone, allowing it to be manipulated more easily. A cursory inspection of the Bishop's Palace animal bones shows no diagnostic evidence (such as saw-cuts) for working but analysis by a specialist may alter this (MacGregor 1991, 363). Given the fact the material was in a pit and it is the third find of antler tines from the northern sector of the Close, there is a growing likelihood that a bone and antler workshop, like those excavated at Armagh and Clonmacnoise, was located somewhere close by.

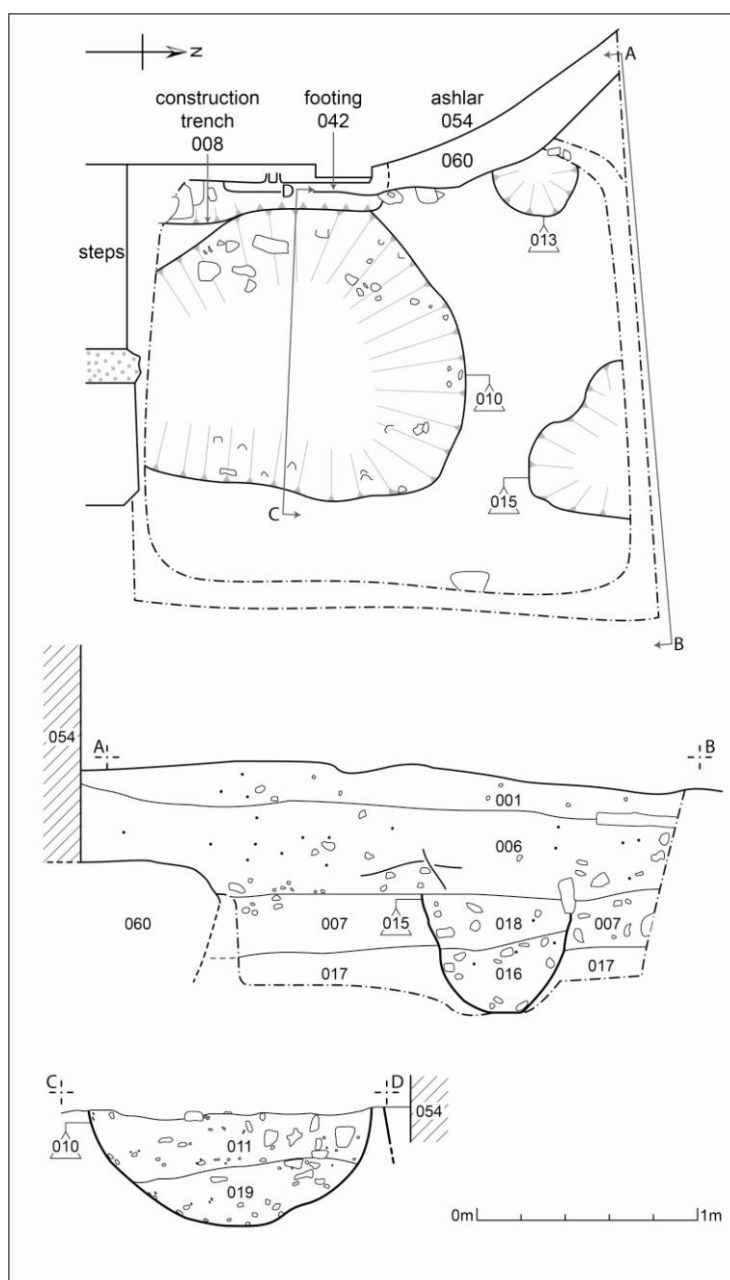


Figure 9: Plan of Cutting 1, pit [010] and sections



*Figure 10: Photo of pit [010], post-excavation, from west (photo: C. O Drisceoil)*





*Figure 11: Pot-boilers from the fills [019] (left) and [011] (right) of pit [010], scale 20cm*

## *Analysis of worked antler and bone from the Robing Room*

by Maurice Hurley

**11E157:011:1**-Antler tine (red deer). Sawn-off, polished from natural wear. L. 85mm. Diam. 30mm (max).

**11E157:011:3**-Antler beam (red deer). Off-cut. Wedge shaped piece of beam. Sawn at both ends, discarded piece probably due to high amount of spongy tissue in the core. Thickness 32mm (max), 4mm (min). Diam. 42mm (max).

**11E157:011:5**-Antler tine (red deer). Sawn-off. L. 141mm. Diam. 32mm (max).

**11E157:011:4**- Antler tine (red deer). Forking tine, off-cut. L: 122mm. Diam. 26mm (max).

**11E157:001:001**-Antler tine (red deer). Waste from antler working, one spur-tine attached to section of beam, sawn at both ends. L. of spur: 39mm. L. of beam: 26mm. Diam of beam: 32mm (max).

**11E157: 007:003**-Antler tine (red deer). Waste from antler working. L: 157mm. Diam: 24mm (max), one saw nick on tine, 1.5mm thickness.



*Figure 12: Antler tines and cut antler from pit [010] and deposit [007]*

**11E157: 007: 4**-Antler tine (red deer). Waste from antler working. L: 143mm. Diam: 36mm (max).

**11E157: 007: 001**-Antler tine (red deer). Waste from antler working. L. 121mm. Diam. 28mm (max). Tine split in half probably by inserting a wedge in the cellular tissue of the core.

**11E157: 007: 002-** Antler burr (red deer) with pedicel and part of skull attached (i.e. antler removed from slaughtered animal). Sawn above the burr; two cuts at right angles, one of beam and one of brow-tine. Diam of pedicel, 38mm. Diam of shaft, 41mm. Diam of brow tine, 20mm. Dimensions suggest a young stag, less than three years old.

**11E157: 011: 2-** Hollow cut bone cylinder. From long bone of large mammal. Sawn at both ends and, probable off-cut from bone working. L: 28mm. Diam. 29mm (max).

**11E157: 019: 001-Sliver.** (Red deer). Cut from the shaft of antler tine. Cellular tissue removed for centre. Guttered surface paired from the outside to leave faceted surface. The piece may have been deliberately worked to create a gaming piece, however this seems unlikely as the working is minimal and the finish crude. Diam. 19mm (max). Thickness, 8mm. Diam of central hole, 8mm.

## Discussion

Red deer (*Cervus elaphus* L.) was found in association with a few bits of sawn bone and sheep/goat horncores on excavation of the Robing Room site in the precincts of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. All of the material can be described as waste (or manufacturing debris) from antler and bone working. No item could be classified as an artefact, although one sliver of antler (11E157:019:001) received some secondary modification possibly for use as a gaming piece. The piece is crude and is not comparable to any positively identified gaming pieces from medieval contexts in Ireland and Britain where such items are characteristically finely worked and decorated (Hurley 1997a 666-7 & 1997b 250-254, Hurley 2003, Breen 2003, 347, McGregor 1985, 138).

The off-cuts indicate that antler and possibly bone and horn also, were worked on site. It is likely that antler working, probably for the production of composite antler combs was a significant craft or industry in the Cathedral precincts/vicinity as several finds of antler-working debris were made in the area. It was reported in the 'Proceedings' of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1866. 5, 404-24) that 'numerous portions of deer's antlers [were] found together in a portion of the cemetery of St. Canice on the north-west side of the Cathedral'. The discovery of the antler in association with medieval tiles led to speculation that the antlers may have been used as part of the tile production process (*ibid*, 412 & *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 'proceedings 1875. 3, 434-5). Links in manufacturing processes between tiles and antlers

is spurious and it is now clearly obvious that two crafts produced unrelated products and merely dumped their discarded debris in the same places. The note in the Proceedings of 1885 is interesting in the context of the antler under review for the description mentions 'great quantities of sawn-up fragments of deer's horn' (*ibid* 434).

The process by which unusable antler was discarded by craftsmen is now well documented (Hurley 1997a & 1997b and MacGregor 1999). The making of composite antler combs (of the type found by Doyle (2004, 104) in an early 13<sup>th</sup> century house at Irishtown) was central to the antler working industry. Animal bone and horn was ancillary to this industry and few medieval combs appear to have been made from horn as the tensile strength of antler far superior. Horn, that is the outer keratin layer of bovines and sheep/goat, was in use for combs throughout medieval times but due to its highly perishable nature rarely survives. The use of horn for combs appears to have increased from the 14th century onwards and most surviving horn-combs are of 17<sup>th</sup> century or later in date (Dunleavy 1988, 345; Hurley 1997a, 256-8, Hurley 1997b, 240, 245-7).

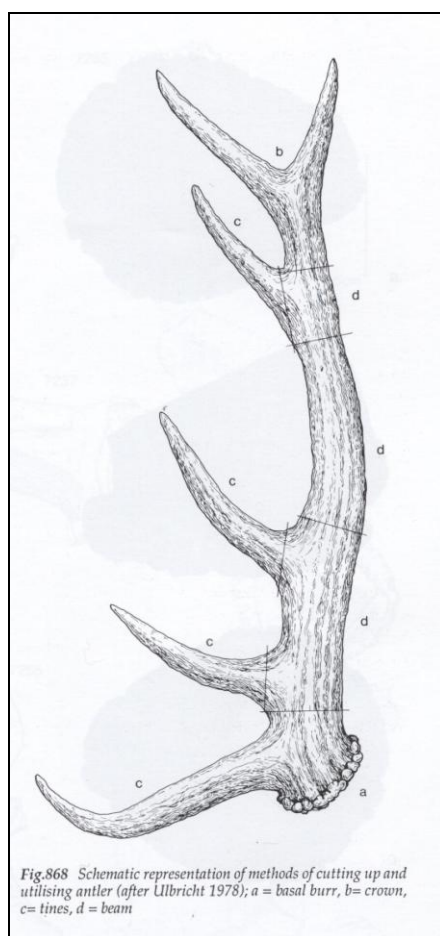


Figure 13: Reproduced from MacGregor et al 1999, p.1905



The off-cuts from the vicinity of St. Canice's Cathedral, in common with evidence from Waterford and Cork (Hurley 1997a, 256-8, Hurley 1997b, 240, 245-7), reveal that complete antlers were sawn-up and the longer straight segments of the beam were used while the tines and burrs were discarded (Figure 15). It is likely that naturally shed antler was collected and this is demonstrated by the presence of ruptured burrs. Some evidence points to the use of antler from slaughtered animals as one burr is attached to the pedicle and part of the skull (11E157:007:2). The slaughtered animal was a young stag as the antler was of relatively small size. The antler from the Robing Room indicates that antler was in plentiful supply in medieval Kilkenny as complete crowns and large tines were discarded. The antler beams were, however, cut close to the burrs and the brow tines were always removed indicating the value placed on the raw material. In short the evidence indicates that antler was plentiful but highly valued raw material.

The association of antler with horn cores and cut up long bones of large mammals (cows and horses) indicates that the makers of antler combs probably also made bone and horn combs or produced other objects in related materials. Horn could be moulded into large flat sheets. Single piece combs could therefore be made more easily from horn than any other material. The increase in popularity of horn combs may also have been due to a decline in the number of red deer in the late 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century period. A similar situation has been noted at York (MacGregor 1978, 47). Archaeological evidence (Hurley 1987) and documentary sources (Barry 1977, 23-5) show an intensification of Anglo-Norman rural settlement in the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Kilkenny area. This rural development led to extensive clearance of remaining forested areas (Aalen 1978, 122) and consequent destruction of the natural habitat of the red deer, forcing the deer into more marginal environments with a resulting decline in numbers.

## ***Period 1B***

Sealing the pit [010] and overlying the natural subsoil was a 0.3m thick layer of bright orange (2.5YR 6/8) sandy clay [007] (Figure 13). Within it were four antler tines, as well as animal bone. One sherd of eighteenth-nineteenth century glazed red earthenware and a small sherd of post-medieval window glass were the only other finds recovered and given the many tree-roots that infiltrated the deposit it is reasonable to deduce that these were introduced from later layers. Though only a small sample of this deposit was uncovered, its distinctive bright orange colour and the presence of antler working waste

within it is exactly what has been recorded previously on the opposite side of the Cathedral (Neary 2009; Ó Drisceoil 2009a). Here it was interpreted as the levelled clay bank of the inner monastic enclosure, the *sancticivimus*, and although a larger sample would be required to validate this theory it is possible a similar scenario pertains with regard to layer [007]. If it is correct it helps to reconstruct the line of the northern inner enclosure as having been roughly along what is now Church Lane.



*Figure 14: Cutting 1 east-facing section showing the distinctive orange clay [007] of what is probably the levelled Early Medieval monastic bank (photo: C. O Drisceoil).*

## Period 2 Late Medieval 1169-1550 AD

### Archaeological and Historical Background

In the decades immediately following the Conquest the topography of Saint Canice's appears to have changed little, probably as a result of the relative independence afforded the bishop of Ossory whose lands around Kilkenny he was allowed to retain in demesne (their annexation would have brought unwanted conflict with Rome). His chief church became the centre of the new borough of Irishtown and although there is no evidence that the episcopal residence was at Saint Canice's before the mid thirteenth century there must have been some form of presence next to the diocesan Cathedral. There was

certainly a 'bishop's manse and lodging' present on Vicar Street and during the episcopacy of Geoffrey St Leger (1260-1287) it was granted to the chapter for a Common Hall (Murphy 2006, 6). A new residence must have been built as a replacement and Margaret Murphy has suggested it was the 'Oldcourt' Close to the Nore or Breaghagh rivers in the city (Murphy 2006, 9). The appointment in 1202 of Hugh de Rous as the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ossory heralded a new era of transformation and it was most probably he who demolished the Romanesque church and began the task of constructing the new Cathedral (Barry 1985, 26). The secular Cathedral chapter emerged in the 1190s and was expanded under de Rous and his immediate successors (White 1936, 302). The members of the chapter required separate lodgings within the Close and this, along with the raising of the new Cathedral, must have necessitated a grand reorganisation of the area in the thirteenth century. Where exactly the excavation site slotted into this is not known but it is interesting to speculate that the current division in the Close between Diocesan land to the north of Church lane and that of the chapter to the south finds its origins at this time.



*Figure 15: The rather austere Georgian façade to the Bishop's Palace hides a complex series of building phases, beginning as a mid-fourteenth century medieval hall and tower, with substantial alterations in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The location of the episcopal mills on the river Nore at Bishop's meadows can be seen in the background (photo: C. O Drisceoil).*



The bishop's move to the site of the Bishop's Palace occurred in the late 1350s during the episcopacy of Richard Ledred (1317-*c.*1361) who replaced the Oldcourt with the Nova Curai or New Court and famously, he knocked three suburban churches to build his new residence (Carrigan 1905 i, 281; Murphy 2006, 13). Much of Ledred's palace, a three-storied fortified tower (with solar) that, in the manner of a fortified church, was attached to an earlier two-storey hall-house, has been documented in various archaeological and architectural investigations and survives today incorporated into the Georgian residence (*see* Table 1).

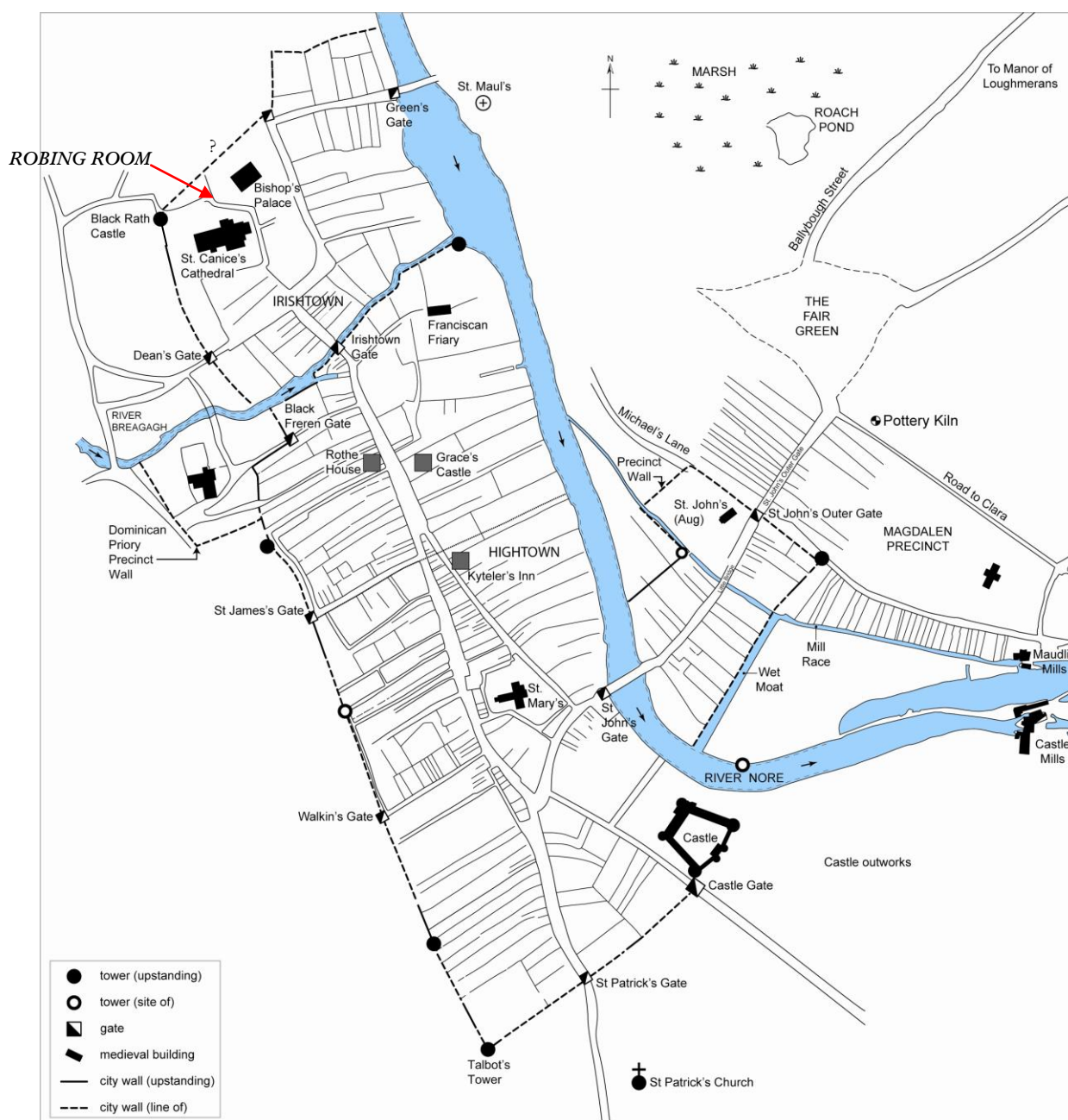


Figure 16: Reconstruction map of medieval Kilkenny based on Bradley 1990 and various other sources showing site location (Kilkenny Archaeology).



Though it is not specifically referred to in any of the medieval documents the area between Ledred's palace and the Town Wall (see below) must have been used for the benefit of the bishop, most likely as gardens/orchards. To judge by contemporary gardens attached to houses of similar status these would have included a productive area, an orchard and an enclosed ornamental garden (Jennings 2004, 29-44). Previous archaeological excavations here have failed to unearth any medieval gardening layers, a result of the extensive landscapings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it has been pointed out by Dave Pollock that much of the post-medieval make-up incorporated high status ceramic and floor-tiles that may have originated in soil that was redeposited from the bishop's gardens (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 97). The new Palace may also have subsumed earlier burgage plots that ran off of Vicar Street; these are thought to have influenced the curious alignment of the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century north-east service range (O'Meara 2009a). Test-excavations by Teresa Bolger on the site of the former Drysdal's lane found evidence of small-scale medieval iron-smelting of a type typically found in the urban backlands of Kilkenny and elsewhere (Bolger 2003).

Irishtown possessed its own Town Wall, the earliest murage for which dates to 1377 (Thomas 1992 ii, 131; Oxford Archaeology 2005, 135-160). In reality there must have been some form of defence, perhaps of earth-and-timber, around the borough from an earlier date and this was probably an amalgam of the borough *enceinte* with the precinct defences of the Cathedral Close/Bishop's Palace. The line of the wall is thought to have traversed the grounds of the Palace but the vast bulk of it was removed as part of the nineteenth century landscaping. Consequently its exact position is far from clear and various different scenarios have been put forward (Bradley 1976; Thomas 1992 ii, 129; Oxford Archaeology 2005, 139-141 and *see* Jupp and Pollock 2006, 16-17). Subsequent excavations in 2006 adjacent the Vicar Street/Green Street entrance to the Palace uncovered what was tenuously interpreted as a section of the wall (O'Meara 2009a). It followed the line of the eastern end of the former Drysdal's lane, was 1m thick and had been inserted into a ditch that contained thirteenth-fourteenth century pottery. The absence of a substantial ditch at this point however – that excavated was just 1.25m wide – does not accord with any of the excavated sections of the Town Ditch from the city and suggests this was not Town Wall but was rather part of the Palace's medieval precinct, probably that referred to by David Rothe in the 1640s (see below). However that is not to say it was not incorporated into the borough defences, as occurred at the Dominican 'Black' Abbey in the Hightown. The position of the north-western section of

the Town Wall as it joined to the standing mural tower known as 'Black Rath castle' is even less clear and as noted above it has been suggested the Robing Room formed part of its circuit (Oxford Archaeology 2005, 141).

## Archaeological findings

No archaeology of Period 2 date was found, nor was there any evidence that could link the Robing Room with the Town Wall. The absence of layers of Period 2 date is probably a result of scarping of the ground associated with post-medieval landscaping. Medieval artefacts in a secondary context comprised just one body-sherd of Leinster Cooking Ware and a locally-produced peg tile fragment.



*Figure 17: A thirteenth-fourteenth century cross-slab reused for a step on the west side of the Robing Room (photo: C. O Drisceoil).*

A thirteenth-fourteenth century limestone cross-slab was found reused for one of the steps that descended to the basement level of the Robing Room (Figure 18). The stone was about 80% of what was originally a coffin-shaped graveslab that presumably was taken from the adjoining Cathedral, where some six similar examples are still to be seen (Bradley 1995). It was incised with the shaft of a cross, which terminated in a fleur-de-lis.

No inscription was visible and its top cross-head was missing; the dexter had been cut back to form a rectangle.

## Period 3 Post-Medieval Bishop's Palace garden, c.1550-1740 AD

### Archaeological and Historical Background

The Palace became the headquarters of the Protestant bishops of Ossory following the Reformation, apart from a short period in the 1640s when the Catholic bishop David Rothe was in residence (Carrigan 1905 iii, 173-4). In May 1642 Rothe hosted the Confederate ecclesiastical conference at the Palace, a contemporary account of which implies that fine gardens were attached to the residence: 'as soon as each meal was over, the assembled ecclesiastics walked for an hour in the Bishop's garden, after which the discussion on the present crisis was resumed' (Carrigan 1905 i, 100).<sup>4</sup> The 1654 Civil Survey describes the Palace at this time (Simington 1942, 543):

	Length	breadth	Rooms	Value in 1640
A house called ye Bishops Court Cont At ye north East Corner of wh joynes a small Castle Cont ye lower rooms are onely fit for Cattle	68 16	17 15	7	20 li
A yard Cont 40 pches and one Garden on ye back sid of ye house 133 pches small measure				
A parcel of Ground belonging to ye sd house being severall Gardens and wast Ground Cont 1 acre 34 pches and one orchard 55 pches small measure				
On which wast ground stands a house fit for a small family which ye walls are Stone pt and pt wattles and clay and the ruffe Thatch Cont	40	14	4	
There is likewise upon ye Ground 4 other small thatch Cabbins wherein lives poor people				

With just seven rooms it was still quite a modest building, particularly in relation to contemporary town houses like that of John Rothe fitzPiers with 26, and it accords well with Bishop John Parry's 1672-7 description of it as 'being very small' (quoted in

<sup>4</sup> Rothe's residence in the Hightown has been suggested as the setting for this meeting but Bradley (2000, 25) prefers the episcopal Palace.

Integrated Conservation Group 2003, 37). Of interest is the description in the Civil Survey of the extensive grounds around the palace. These included a large garden to the rear of the house which is recorded as having measured 0.8 acres. This tallies well with the extent of the grounds - 0.9 acres – between the Palace and the former Drysdal's lane and must mean that it is this northern area that is referred to. Significantly, there is no mention made of any structure that could be equated with an earlier phase to the Robing Room in this garden and to judge by the level of detail entered for other properties in Kilkenny it would have been included by the surveyors if it had existed. Archaeological excavations at Rothe House garden have demonstrated that the privileged classes at this time were building ornamental pleasure gardens to compliment their townhouses and it is likely a similar scenario pertained at the Palace (Ó Drisceoil 2008b). In this regard it is interesting that test-excavations (trench 9) by Dave Pollock showed that a gravel and pebbles path, typical such gardens, that was walked upon in the late sixteenth-seventeenth century still survives about half a metre below present ground level (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 79). Also noted in the Civil Survey was a 0.25 acre<sup>5</sup> court at the front of the house and separate from the house, probably further to the north, were 'severall' gardens, a piece of waste ground and an orchard (0.35 acres).

According to Blighe (1963, 46-7) the Palace underwent extensive repairs following its sacking by the Cromwellian forces and in 1661 the Protestant Bishop Griffith Williams recorded how he had found the 'house all ruined, and nothing standing but the bare walls, without roofs, without windows, but with holes, and without doors' (quoted in Integrated Conservation Group 2003, 37). During the five years of his episcopacy between 1672-7 Bishop John Parry invested heavily in the residence, to the tune of 4,000 shillings - forty times its valuation at the time of the Civil Survey (Integrated Conservation Group 2003, 37). A building contract between Parry and a group of carpenters dated 1672 records a range of works to be executed at Palace and importantly for this study, demonstrates that the rear (north) garden was an orchard at this time (NLI De Vescy papers MS 38,881/1; reproduced in Murphy 2006, Appendix 3).

Elsewhere in the Cathedral Close about a dozen new stone houses was built in the then fashionable Tudor-Jacobean style for the Cathedral dignitaries (Hogan 1884, 13, 391;

---

<sup>5</sup> The perch unit of area is used in the Civil Survey, equal to 0.00625 of an acre or 25.29m<sup>2</sup>.



Farrelly et.al. 1993, 28-33). These were arranged in a quadrangle around the Cathedral and were described thus by Bishop David Rothe c.1640:

*'The area containing the church is enclosed by a quadrangular wall three cubits high at one corner of which is the Palace of the Bishop, and at the opposite corner the residence of the Dean; and besides, there are along the enclosure, one after the other, the house of the Precentor, treasurer, and Archdeacon, so that the Dignitaries are thus at hand to discharge the sacred functions of Divine worship and the church. The Chancellor's house is situated in the adjoining street'* (Carrigan 1905 iii, 8).

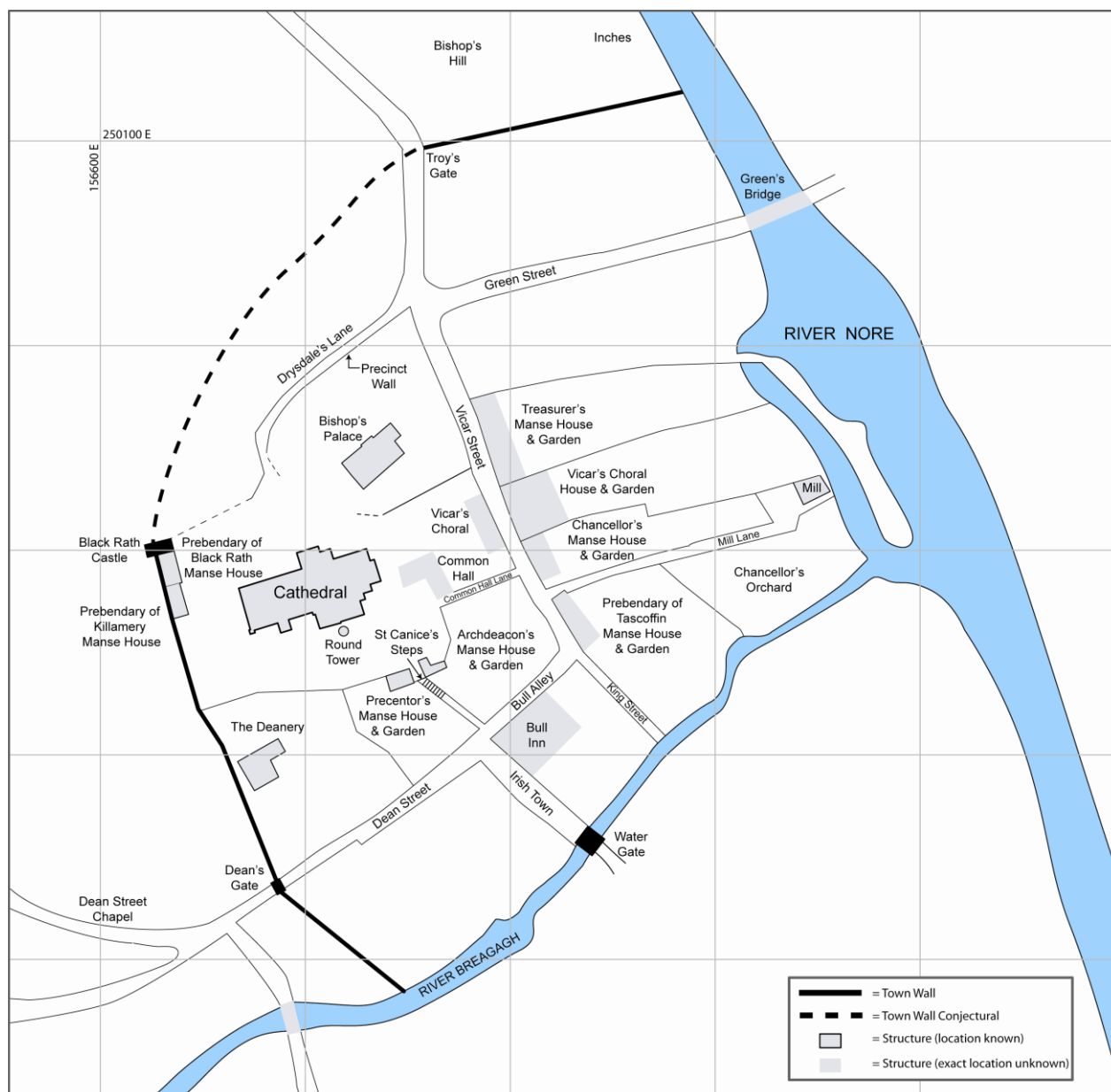


Figure 18: A preliminary reconstruction plan of the Cathedral Close and related buildings, compiled chiefly from Rothe's c.1640 account, the Civil Survey and Roque's 1758 map.

Significantly, Rothe's account makes it clear that both the Palace and Cathedral were enclosed within the same stone wall, which was 3 cubits or  $\approx 1.5\text{m}$  high, and presumably included much of the lost northern wall, and the north-eastern section excavated in 2006 (O'Meara 2009a; Jupp and Pollock 2006, 22). In the late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century a re-organisation of the routeways into and around the Cathedral Close took place. Prior to this there were two public access routes, one was from the Irishtown via Saint Canice's steps and the other a 'tedious way through the Butts', inferring there must have been some form of gateway through the section of Town Wall between Troy's Gate and Blackrath castle (Graves and Prim 1857, 53). Logically this must have been at the point where Drysdal's lane and Church lane coincided, ie. at or near the Robing Room, but there is no further evidence for this. The new access roads included the Coach Road between Dean Street and the south side of the Cathedral, which was permitted by the chapter in September 1689 'for the convenience of the Duke of Ormond's family and other persons of quality' (Graves and Prim 1857, 53). A new lane joined the top of Coach road to St. Canice's steps – recent excavations have demonstrated this was put through the former graveyard (Neary 2009). The section of Church Lane from the entrance to Saint James' Park (now the Good Shepherd Hostel) to the main entry to the Palace, running past the exterior of the Robing Room, was also built around this time. Its construction necessitated a new enclosure wall around the north side of the Palace and this is most probably the origin of the pilastered perimeter wall to Church Lane (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 23). A copper plate in Harris' *Ware* dated 1739 shows no walls between the Cathedral and Palace (Figure 20) but they were in place by 1748 when they are referred to by Chetwood (Chetwood and Luckomber 1748, 178). Assuming Harris is in any way accurate this would therefore date the pilastered wall and the garden wall extending northwards to sometime between 1739 and 1748, making it most probably the work of Bishop Este.

Further 'improvements' to the Palace were made by Bishops Hartsonge ( $\approx 1693$ ) and Vessey ( $\approx 1714$ ) and the north-east service range excavated by Ian Doyle could be attributed to either of their tenures (Doyle 2006, 12; Integrated Conservation group 2003, 38). Pratt's 1708 view of Kilkenny presents the Palace with a more Georgian façade and, interestingly, appears to show Ledred's medieval tower as freestanding (Figure 19). Before he was translated to the see of Waterford in 1740 Bishop Charles Este (1735-40) undertook substantial works to the building. These included the addition of four apartments and a main staircase at a cost of £1956 (Ledwich 1781, 460) and it has been

suggested that a set of undated plans of the building (but unfortunately not of the grounds) may have been executed following the completion of this campaign (RCB library, D11/1/9, quoted in Murphy 2006, 21). Harris' *Ware* shows the Palace following Este's work (Figure 20) and also states that the bishop carried out modifications 'both within side and without' (Harris 1739, 433). Nothing is known of what he did externally but this presumably included a new garden.

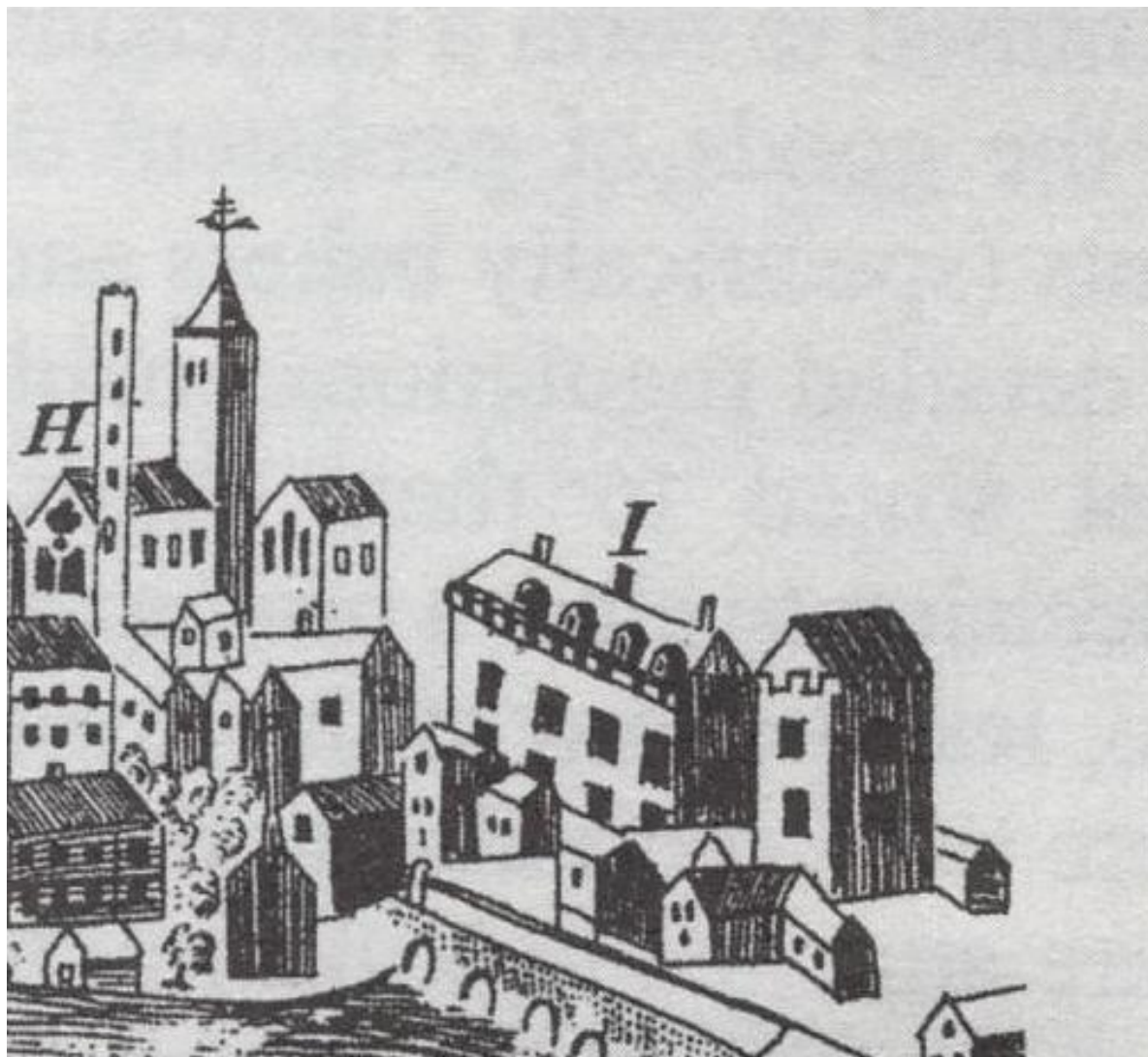


Figure 19: The Bishop's Palace, St. Canice's Cathedral and bishop Cantwell's 1526 bridge as depicted by Henry Pratt, 1708, *The City of Kilkenny*, in *A map of the kingdom of Ireland newly corrected and improved... with plans of the cities and fortified towns...*, London [reprinted Dublin 1732].

A quote from Chetwood's 1748 tour referred to the Palace thus: 'The Bishop's Palace is new built, inclosed with a high Wall, with two Gates, one of which leads out of the Church-yard, and the other into a back Street. It is a very handsome building, but whitened on the Southside, which, to me, glares a Meanness I do not like; but every one to their own Fancy. The present Person that fills this Bishoprick is Docotr C---x [Cox], newly translated there' (Chetwood and Luckomber 1748, 178). Bishop Michael Cox, writing in 1750, noted that 'the mansion house of the see of Ossory, situated near the Cathedral church of the said see, has within these last few years past been enlarged and greatly improved by myself and my predecessors' (RCB library, D11/1/1).

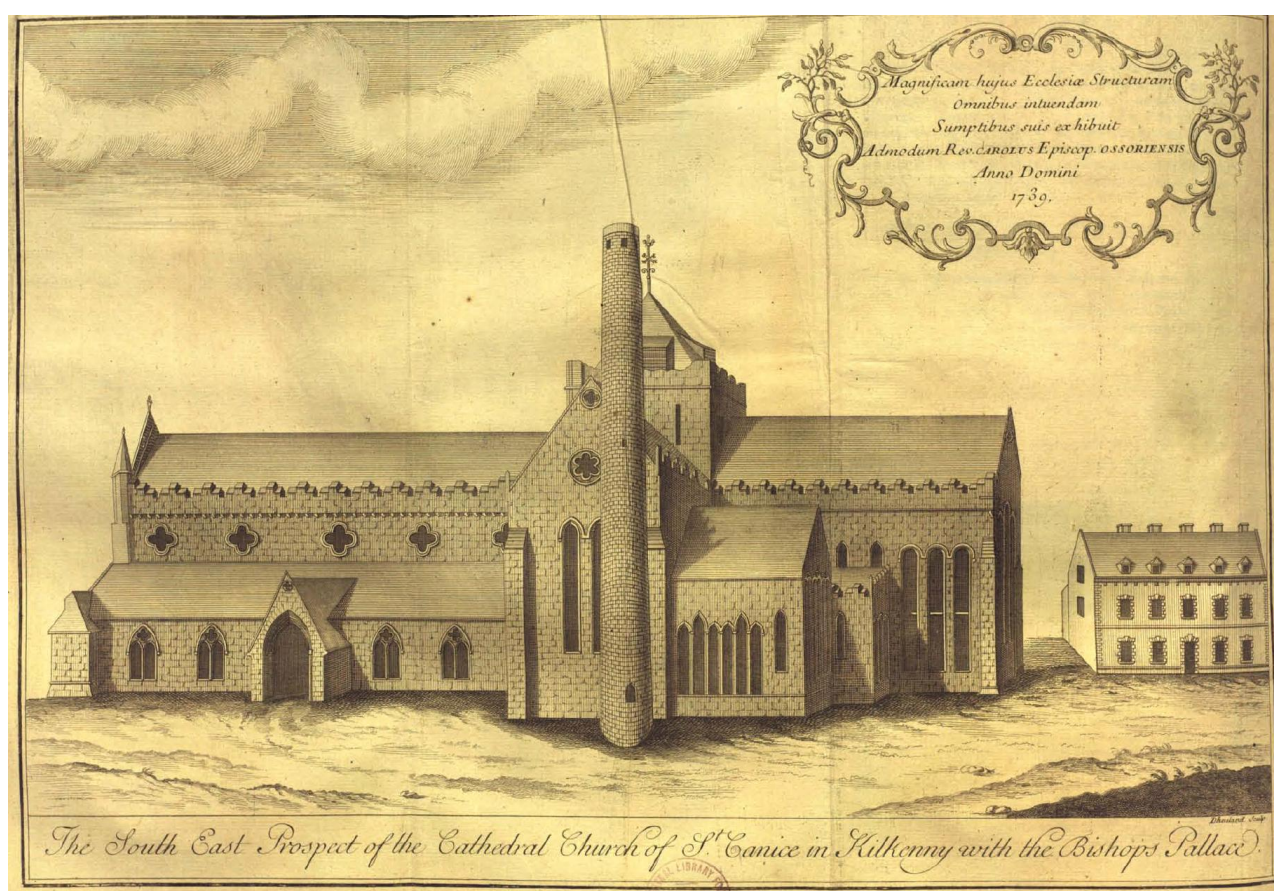


Figure 20: Saint Canice's Cathedral and a rather schematic representation of the Bishop's Palace as depicted in Harris's Ware (1739, 397)





*Figure 21: 1739x48 jamb for one side of a gate that gave access to the Bishop's Palace grounds and was subsequently blocked for the Robing Room, the 'dragged' ashlar bow of which can be seen on the left (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*

## Archaeological findings

The precinct wall to the north of the Robing Room terminates at a 2.2m high jamb [047] 1.5m before the Period 4B ashlar bow (Figures 21, 38). No diagnostic dressing was visible on the jamb; its external face was covered over by modern render. As argued above, this part of the enclosure wall probably dates to between 1739 and 1748 and was built at the same time as the wall with pilasters to the south-east. The jamb represents one side of an opening for a gate that gave entry from the lane into the See grounds. The opposite jamb of the gate was not found and is either concealed beneath later masonry or more likely, was removed for the construction of the Robing Room. It is almost certainly the gate that 'leads out of the Church-yard' that Chetwood referred to in 1748. Rocque shows the opposite gate into the Cathedral precinct around 1758 and prior to the construction of the 'covered way' for the Colonnade (Figure 22-3). The foundations [070] for the wall and jambs had been undermined in Period 4A. It was possible to work out from the base of the jamb that ground level in Period 3 was 0.65m above modern ground level, an indication that this area had been scarped in the past, probably during Period 4. No layers were excavated that could be dated to Period 3. However Seville coarseware was recovered from a later gardening layer [006].

## Period 4 c.1740-1900

### Archaeological and Historical Background

John Rocque's 'Survey of the city of Kilkenny', published in 1758, provides the first accurate map of the Palace and though much of the landscaping shown is probably rather schematic, there is no reason to doubt that there was an ornamental Georgian garden on the site (O'Neill 1988) (Figure 22). Dave Pollock's excavations in the garden brought to light separate periods of eighteenth century landscaping and gravel paths and perhaps as Rocque shows, this was an ornamental garden flanked on either side by orchards (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 97-100). Most significantly for the purpose of this report however is the building that Rocque depicts at the Robing Room site (Figure 23). This helps to narrow down the date of the structure to between 1739x48 when the precinct wall was built – the building post-dates the wall - and 1758, the date of the map. It is worth noting also that Rocque depicts a rectangular structure and not the ovoid building that presently exists (see below for further discussion).

Rocque surveyed the site shortly after Richard Pococke (1756-65) was elevated to the position of Bishop of Ossory in 1756. In the decade in which Pococke remained at the Palace he undertook major (and controversial) alterations to the Cathedral, improved many of the diocesan churches and established a linen-weaving school at Lintown, a mile outside the city (Finnegan 2008). Shortly following his appointment he described his new abode thus: 'every one as well as myself thinks I have got the sweetest situation in Ireland, a most exceeding good house, a pleasant garden, wt, we call a noble Cathedral, and good neighbourhood, in a fine country, with a good river running through it' (Warwickshire County Record Office 125B/798, quoted in Finnegan 2008, 23). A detailed account of his work to the Cathedral is to be found in Finnegan (2008). The construction of the Robing Room has been attributed to Pococke by most writers on the subject (see above) on the basis that it was an integral part of the 'Colonnade'. There is however no mention of the Robing Room to be found in any of the bishop's personal or episcopal papers and there no other primary documentary evidence could be found that would link him with the building.

It is however, known for certain that Pococke was responsible for the construction of the Colonnade because the Chapter Book of the Cathedral records permission being granted him to erect it in March 1758 (Figure 24):

'At the request of the Lord Bishop of Ossory it is unanimously agreed upon by the Revd. Dean & Chapter that his Lordship may at his own expence widen the Gate way leading from the Church yard to the Pallace & put up Gates thereto which are to be kept locked and also that his Lordship may at his own expence make a coverd way from the North Door of the Cathedral to the Walls opposite thereto and make a door in said Walls upon condition that the same be always kept in proper repaid by the present Lord Bishop of Ossory and his successors' (Chapter Book St. Canice's Cathedral 1672-1758, 347).



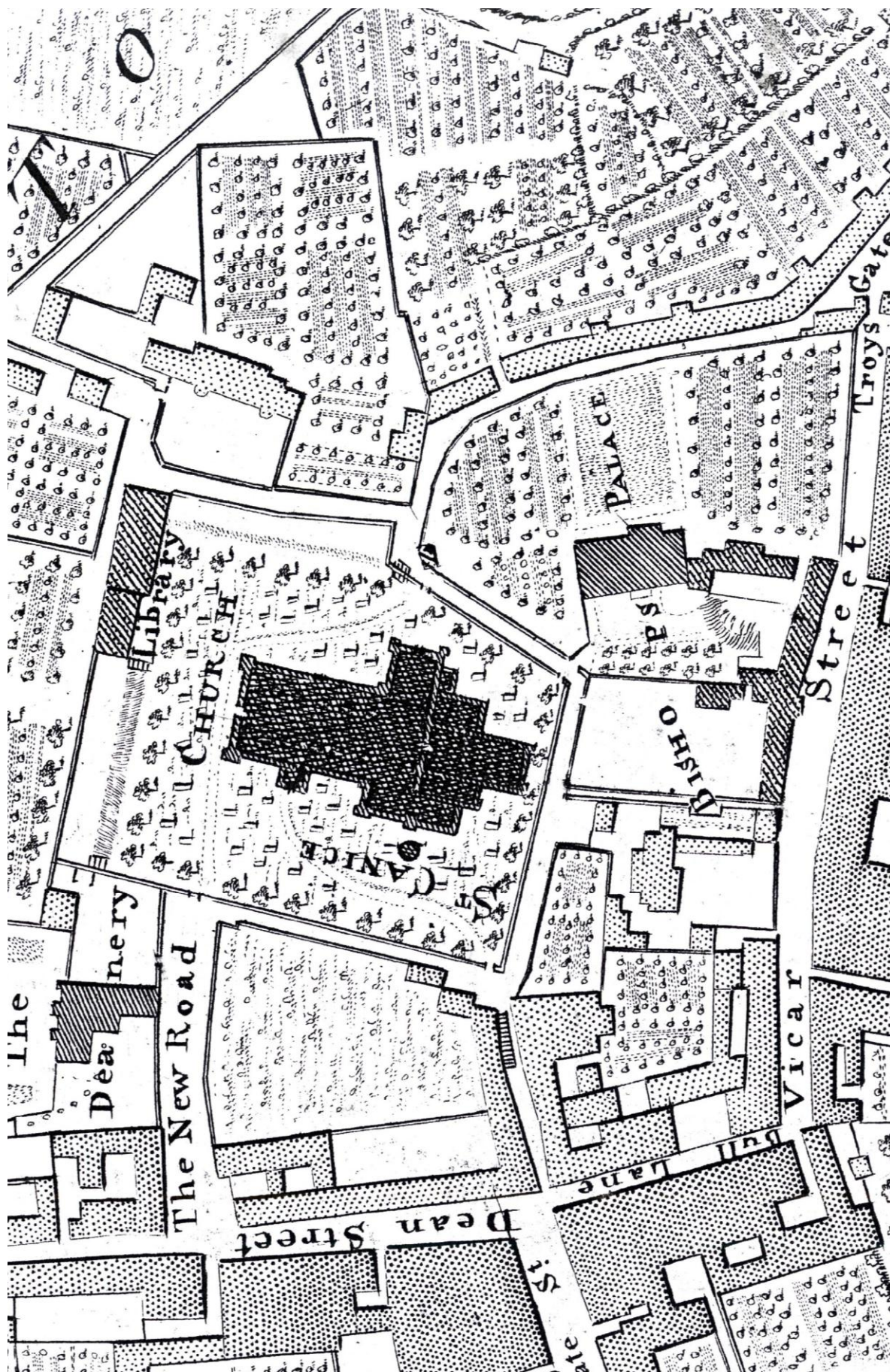
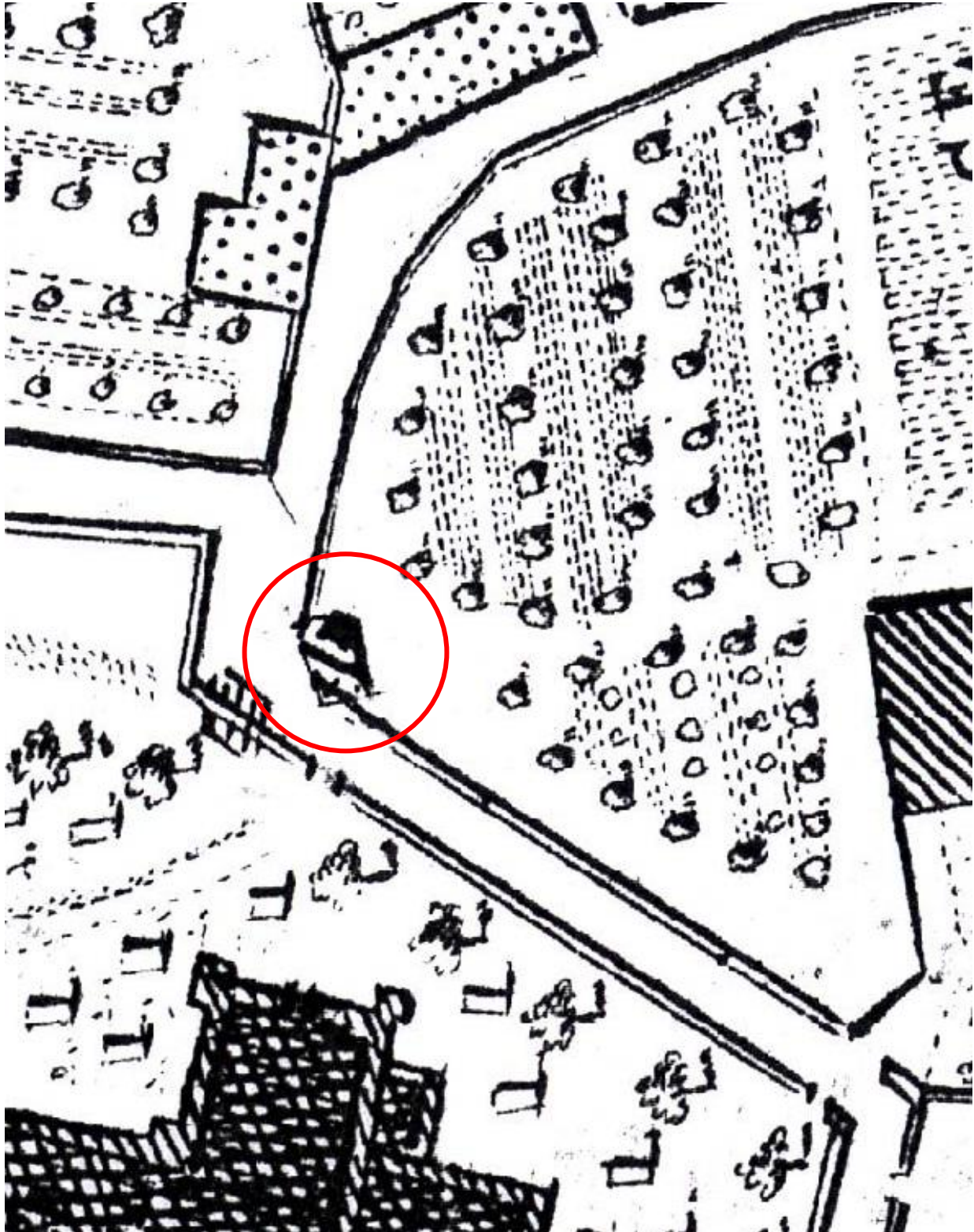


Figure 22: John Rocque's 'Survey of the city of Kilkenny', scale 200 feet to an inch, published 1758 (scan courtesy Trinity College Dublin map library).





*Figure 23: Detail from John Rocque's 'Survey of the city of Kilkenny', scale 200 feet to an inch, published 1758 (scan courtesy Trinity College Dublin map library).*



Figure 24: Photograph of the page in the Chapter Book of St. Canice's Cathedral that records the permission granted in March 1758 to Bishop Pococke to widen the gateway between the church yard and the Palace and to construct the 'coverd way' that later became known as the 'Colonnade' (Chapter Book 1672-1758, 347) (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil, courtesy the Dean of Saint Canice's Cathedral).

The 'coverd way' was an eighteenth century reworking of the medieval ambulatory. It comprised a roofed passageway in the 'Grecian Doric' style between the north door of the North transept to the north gate of the churchyard. From here it was necessary to cross Church Lane and enter the see grounds via a doorway at the Robing Room. No illustrations of the Colonnade survive but it is possible to reconstruct it with some accuracy from a variety of sources. Its plan was captured for the 1846 Ordnance Survey map and this shows it comprised six columns (Figure 30), which Graves and Prim described it as forming 'a handsome structure, in the Grecian Doric style [which] completely disfigured the gable of the north transept, very much concealing the fine door from view, and hiding the lower part of the windows by its roof' (Graves and Prim 1857, 57-8 and *see* Hogan 1884, 336). In June 1865 the 'Tuscan columns and entablature' of the Colonnade were put up for sale by the Chapter (KM 21.6.1865) and some five months later it was removed, which occasioned an opinionated newspaper account of its history (KM 22.11.1865). This repeated the earlier description that it had extended to the height of the windows of the north transept, and it must therefore have stood 4.4m high above ground level. Its width is recorded on the 1846 map as 5.5m and no side walling is shown between its columns, according with the statement that it 'supplied but little shelter in



inclement weather'. The Colonnade was attached to the walls of the transept with two iron bolts, the remains of which survive on with side of the door (Figure 25). The 1865 article also alluded to the interesting fact that the great Kilkenny industrial entrepreneur William Colles designed and built the structure. Colles had undertaken a substantial body of work – that included providing 245 feet of flags for coping and 7 feet of hearth flags - for the bishop in 1758 and had also provided Tuscan columns for the Tholsel on High Street (Pococke Papers BL Add.Mss. 22,979 folio 39). The 1871 map shows the Robing Room in some detail (Figure 33) and indicates there was a covered walkway across Church Lane to the church yard. In 1881 Hogan was of the view that this was a remnant of the Colonnade, which had been removed six years previously (Hogan 1884, 336).



*Figure 25: The remains of iron bolts that tied the Colonnade into the walls either side of the North door of the North transept at Saint Canice's Cathedral (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



Perhaps the greatest improvement which will strike the eye of any visitor to the Cathedral since the restorations commenced, is the removal of the colonnade which connected the entrance of the north transept with the north gate of the cemetery. The fine proportions of the north gable are now manifest for the first time for a century. The very interesting doorway, possessing the peculiar feature of a round arch beneath a pointed one, is brought more prominently into view; and the fine double lancet window above it, is restored to its legitimate proportions, the lower extremities having hitherto been covered by the colonnade roof. This colonnade—although in itself, if away from the Gothic building to which it had been attached, not by any means an unsightly or ill-proportioned structure—was an incongruous addition to the Cathedral, being in the Doric style of Grecian architecture. Its date was very modern, the order on the Chapter Book, authorising Bishop Pococke to have it erected, being made on the 30th of May, 1758. Alderman William Colles, the great grandfather of the ex-Mayor, was the designer of and contractor for the work, which Bishop Pococke had originally intended to have carried on from the Cathedral to the Palace, so as to have a covered passage from his residence direct to the Church. However, the design was only partially carried out and would much better have never been entered upon at all, as it could have supplied but little shelter in inclement weather. and its incongruity in architectural style no less than its hiding portions of the most striking features of the gable of the north transept, made it altogether a most unsightly and undesirable adjunct. We perceive that a plan for another colonnade, to replace that just taken down, has been before the Chapter. We shall be very sorry, however, to see any arrangement of the kind carried out. Of course a colonnade, somewhat of a cloister character, could be erected in consonance with the architectural style of the Cathedral itself, which would thus avoid the anomalous association of a Gothic with a classic

Figure 26: Account of the removal of the Colonnade written by John Prim in 1865 (*Kilkenny Moderator* 22.11.1865) (photo: C Ó Drisceoil, courtesy Kilkenny Archaeological Society).





*Figure 27: The Cathedral and Bishop's Palace during Pococke's residency c.1760 as shown in Thomas Mitchell's view of Kilkenny (National Gallery of Ireland) (photo: C. O Drisceoil).*

Shortly after he arrived as the new Bishop of Ossory in 1775 William Newcome (1775-9) wrote a letter to his brother in London, in which he describes the Bishop's residence and its surrounding grounds in some considerable detail:

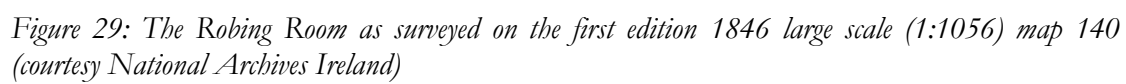
'In the front of the house is a court planted with trees large enough for carriages to turn in and adjoining to the rear is a pleasant garden, well walled in and well planted with shrubs and well laid down with gravel walks and lawn, as any one would wish to be master of. In the garden is a summer-house of a very good size with a fireplace, fit for drinking tea or a glass of wine and from this room a covered way leads to the best Cathedral in Ireland' (RCB library 762/1, quoted in Murphy 2006, Appendix 4).

This reference is of importance because it makes clear that the 'Robing Room' was used at this time as a summer-house within an ornamental garden setting and also that it was linked to the Colonnade.

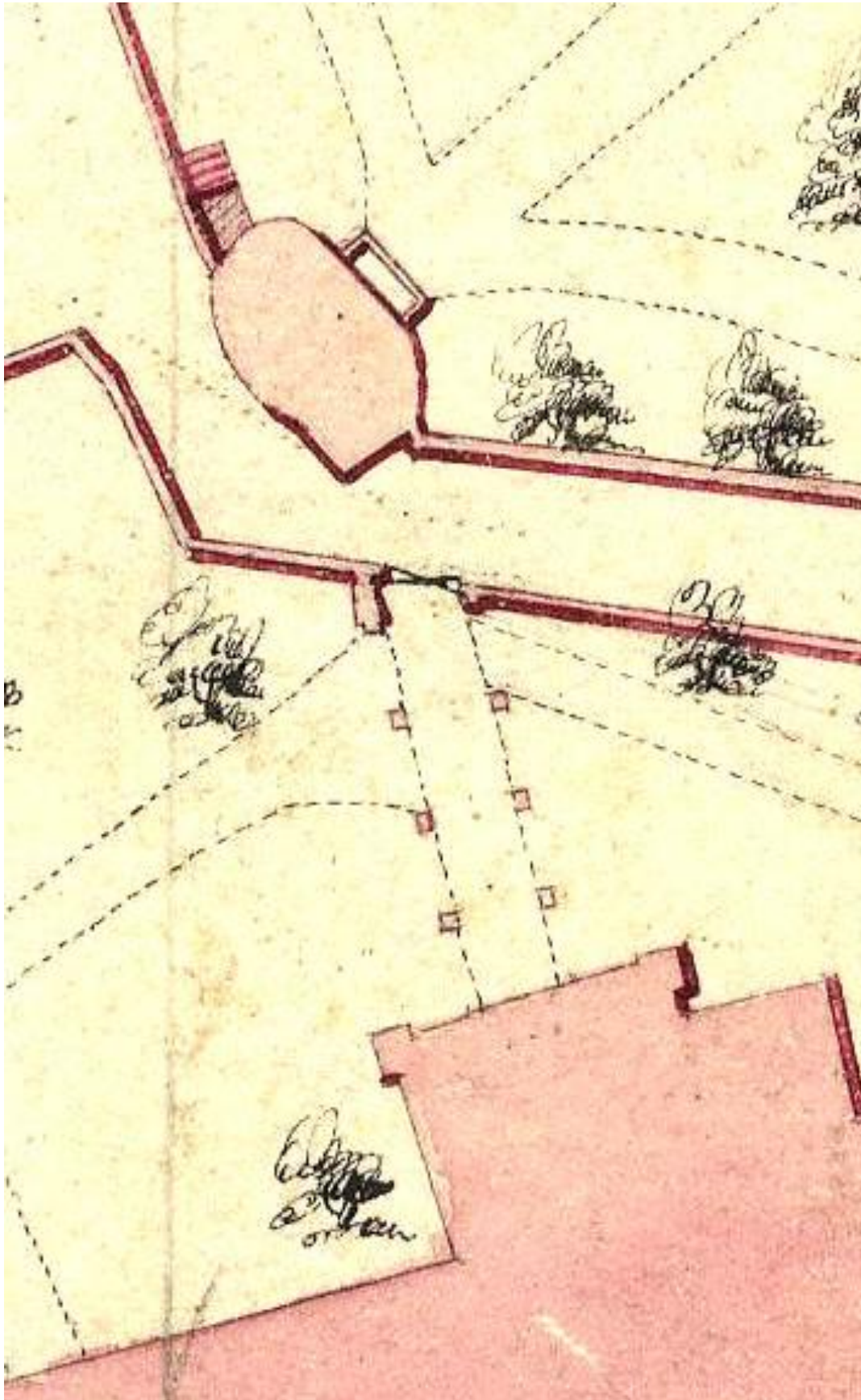
[illegible]

49









*Figure 30: Detail of the Robing Room and Pococke's Colonnade as marked on the first edition (1846) Ordnance Survey (courtesy National Archives Ireland) (enlarged from 1:1056)*



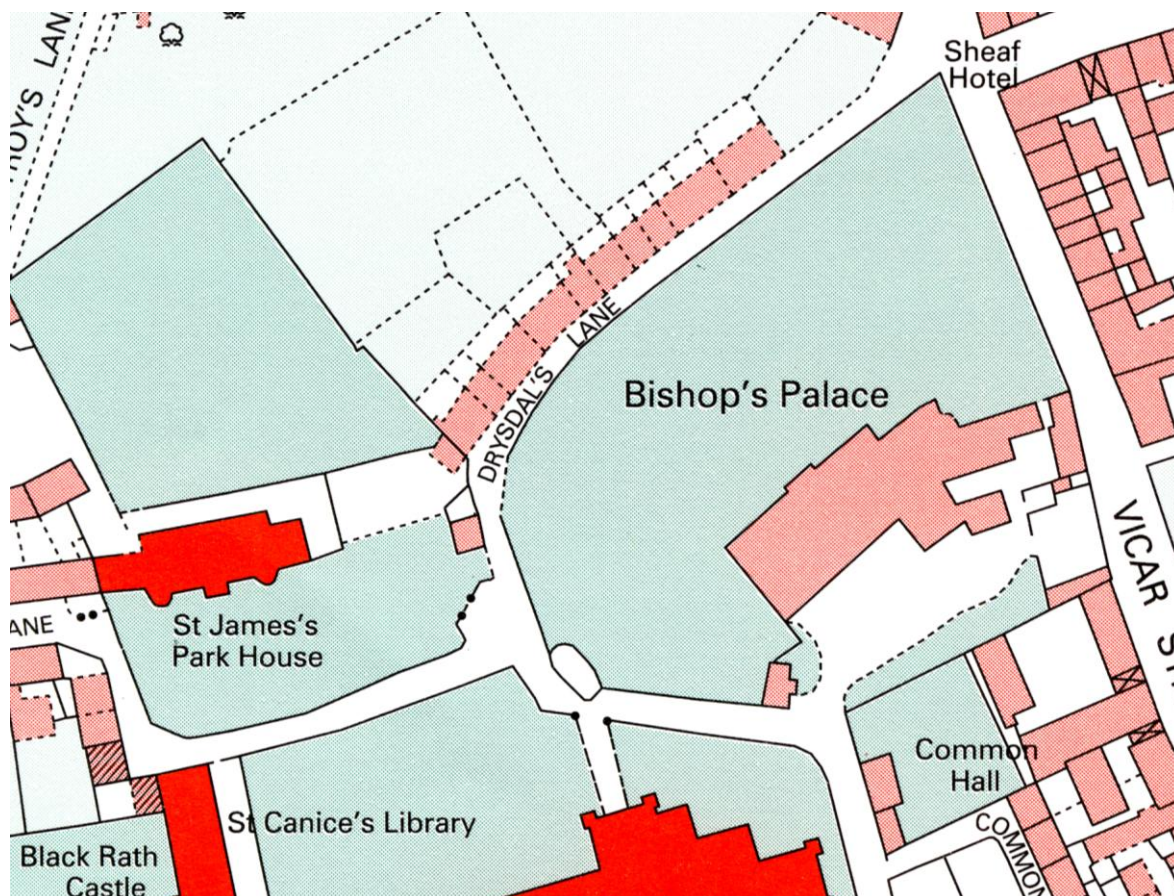


Figure 31: The Robing Room on the Irish Historic Towns Atlas reconstruction map of Kilkenny c.1842 (Bradley 2000, map 1)

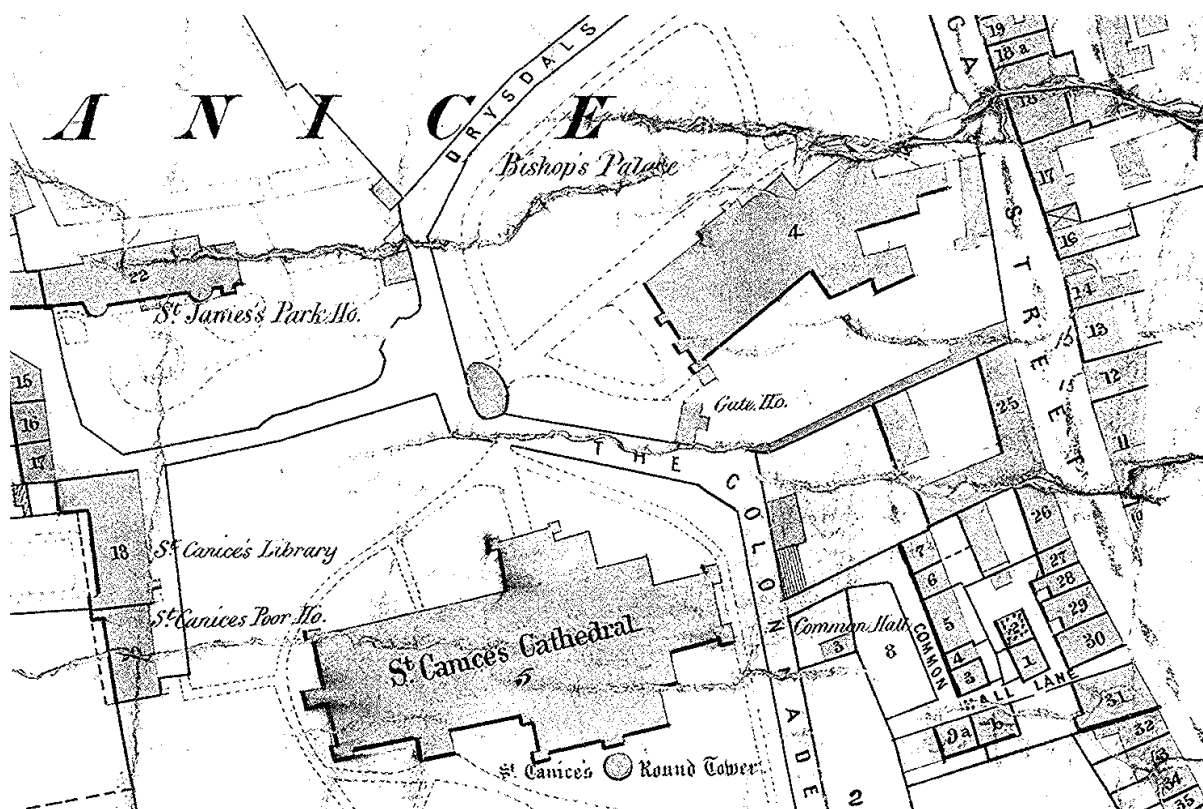


Figure 32: The Robing Room on the annotated Griffith's Valuation map of Kilkenny



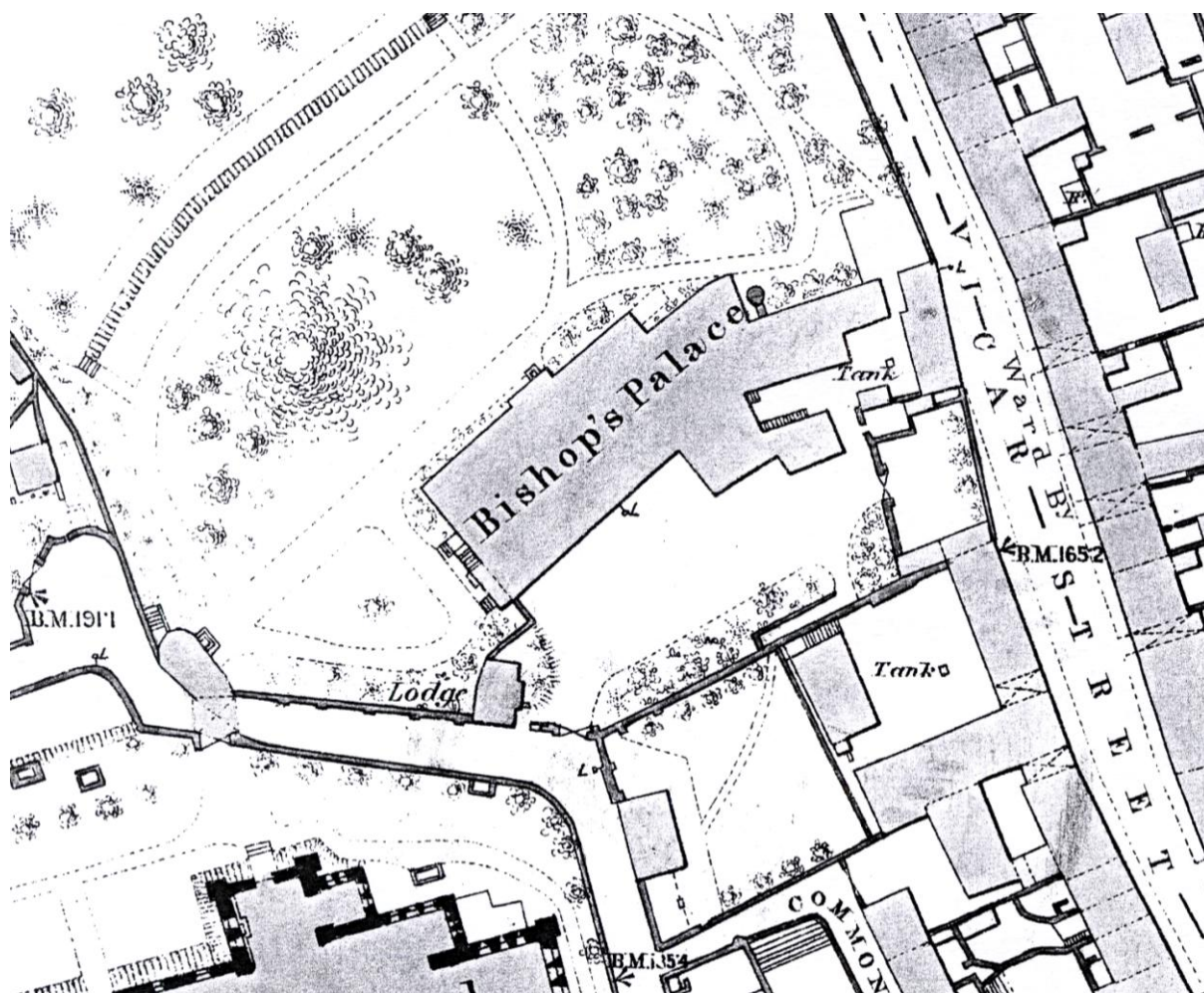


Figure 33: The Robing Room on the 1872 1:1056 scale Ordnance Survey map of Kilkenny

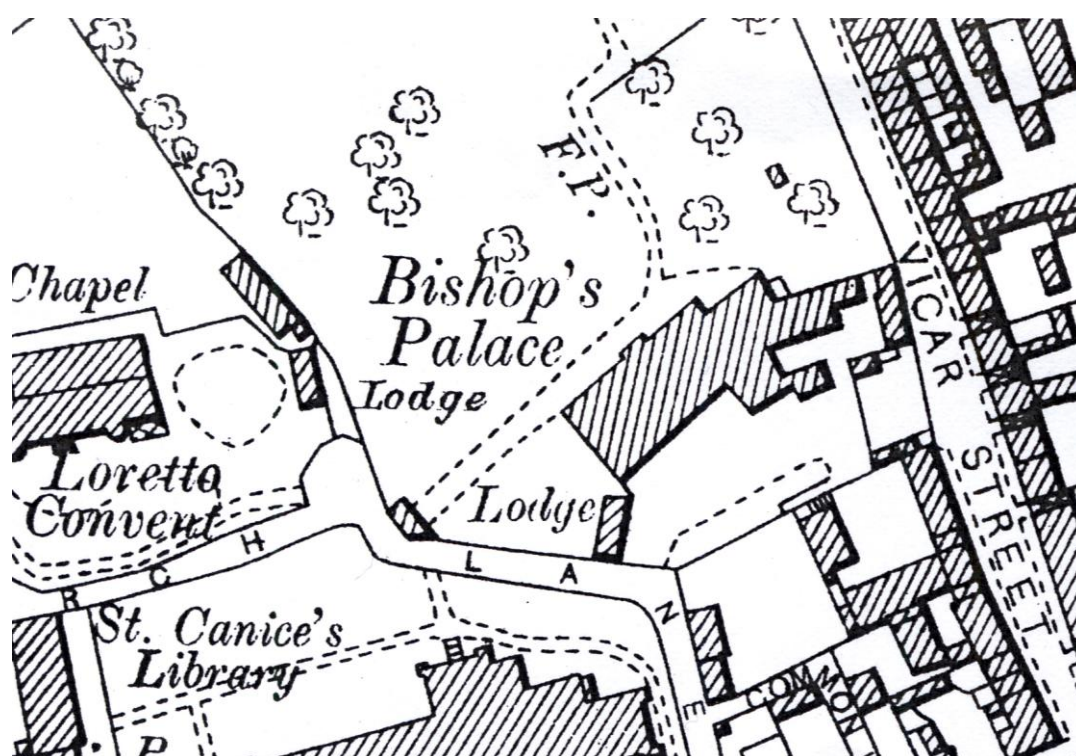


Figure 34: The Robing Room on the 1900 1:2500 scale Ordnance Survey map of Kilkenny



*Figure 35: Extract from aerial photograph of Kilkenny 1967 (CUCAP 1967) showing the Robing Room between the Bishop's Palace and the Cathedral. The recently demolished north-east service wing can be seen to the left of the Palace.*





*Figure 36: The Robing Room c.1977 (reproduced from Lanigan and Tyler 1977, 31)*

## Archaeological findings

### *Period 4A*

The earliest structural phase of the Robing Room is the lower half of a rectangular semi-basement building, a summer-house, with internal dimensions in the order of 4.6m x 4.3m (Figure 37). The building was incorporated within the garden wall, in a similar manner to the summer-house at Castle Bromwich (Currie 2005, 50), between 1739x48 and 1758 and its plan accords well with a structure marked on Rocque's map at this point (Figure 23). The new building occupied a 12m long breach [055] that was made in the 1739x48 pilastered precinct wall and the former gate to the Palace grounds [047]. The truncation extended from the gate's jamb, to 1.5m from the opposite side of the Robing Room.

The new building filled the gap [047] with an 8.5m long x 0.45m thick curved wall of limestone rubble and rounded cobbles [048] that formed the back wall of the new structure (Figure 41). Since there is no obvious structural reason why this wall was curved it must have been done for aesthetic reasons, as was the case at Hatley Manor, County



Leitrim (Howley 1993, 121). Limestone steps [049], one of which was a reused medieval graveslab (Figure 18), were inserted to the basement level and in the process undermined the former gate jamb [047]. To prevent collapse the exposed soil face beneath the wall was revetted with a  $\approx$ 0.2m thick rough skim of red-brick and masonry [050].

To accommodate the new structure first the ground was scarped [062] to the level of the Period 1 orange clay deposit [007]. This was the plane of construction for the building and mortar and other building debris had accumulated on its surface. A large rectangular construction pit [008] was subsequently dug through [007], and into the underlying glacial subsoil to a depth of 0.35m to create a semi-basement some 0.9m beneath the contemporary ground-level. A timber framework was put in place, one rough support hole [027], 0.55m x 0.3m x 0.15m deep, for which was noted in Cutting 3 on the north-west corner of the building. Two pits in Cutting 1, [013] and [015] may have had a similar function. Before the walls were built the base of the cut was leveled with an 80mm thick orange gravel [028]; this was subsequently covered with a thin layer of mortar and stone chips [023] from their construction. The construction cut [008] extended for between 70mm and 0.2m outside the north-east wall [031] and accommodated a rough off-set footing [042] that was founded directly onto the leveling deposit [028] (Figure 9, 43).

The Period 4A walls were chiefly of roughly coursed limestone rubble, the bulk of which was reused facework, bonded by a hard, tightly-packed off-white lime-mortar and ( $\approx$ 10%) gravel mix with moderate lumps of lime throughout. Occasional hammer-dressed stones were present, indicating some salvage had taken place from late medieval or Early Modern buildings. The joints were generally wide and pinning stones were frequently used. The north-east wall [031], fronting onto the Palace garden, was 0.48m thick x 5.6m long and stood to a height of 1.15m (Figures 39, 40). The external north-west corner of the wall was uncovered in Cutting 1 and there was no evidence that the wall had continued further than this point. Internally it continued upwards for an additional 0.7m in red brick [034], at which point it had been truncated [043] in Period 4B (Figure 42). The red brick represents the remains of the internal face of the original wall of the building and it was indistinguishable in form and size to the Period 4B brickwork. Tied into [031] was its southern return [029], which was 0.55m thick x 3.45m x 1.75m high to its truncation line [043] and a large rebuild [035]; it was also set directly on the glacial gravel (Figures 37, 44).

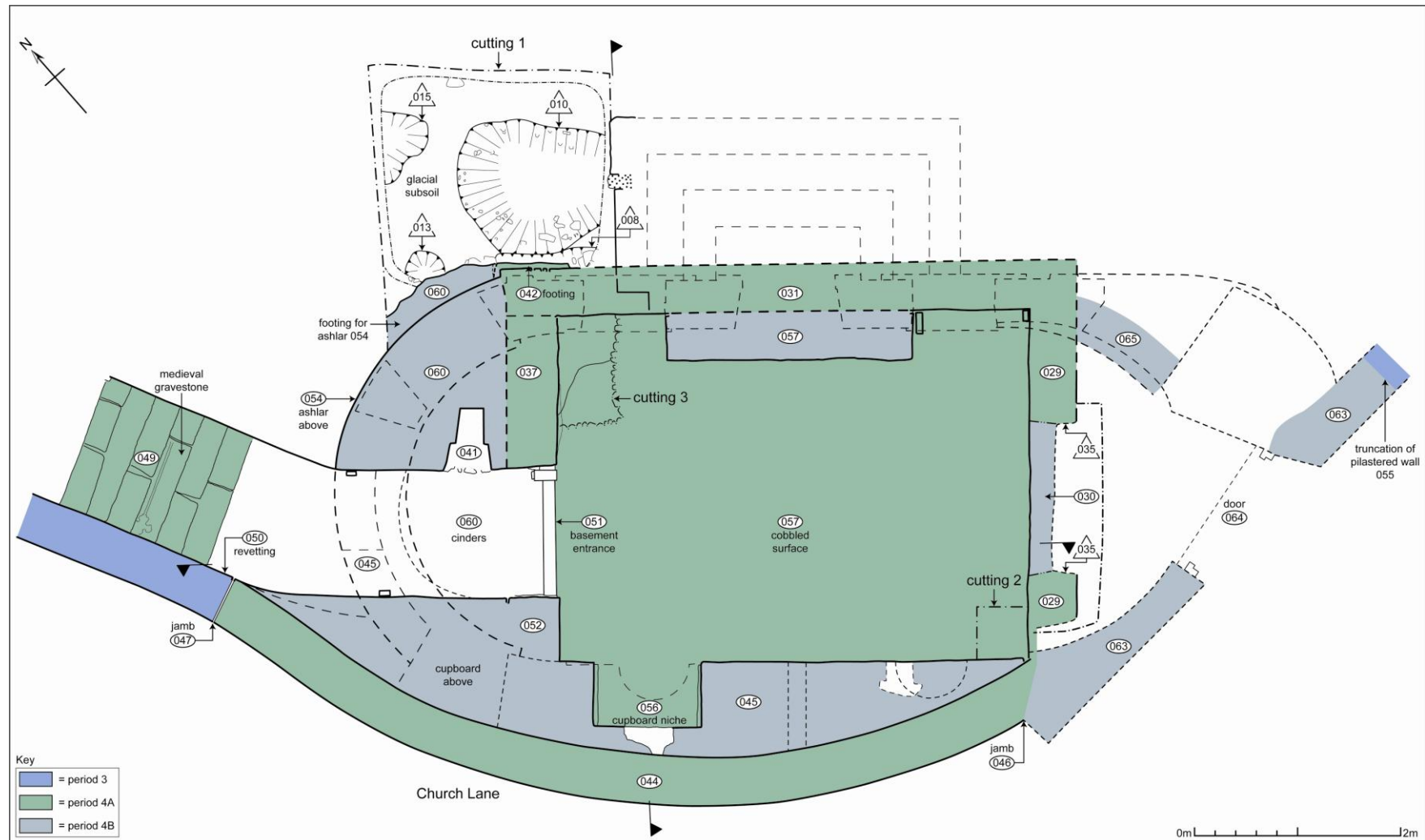


Figure 37: Phased plan of the Robing Room and location of archaeological cuttings 1-3



Figure 38: Elevation of internal south wall, phased below.

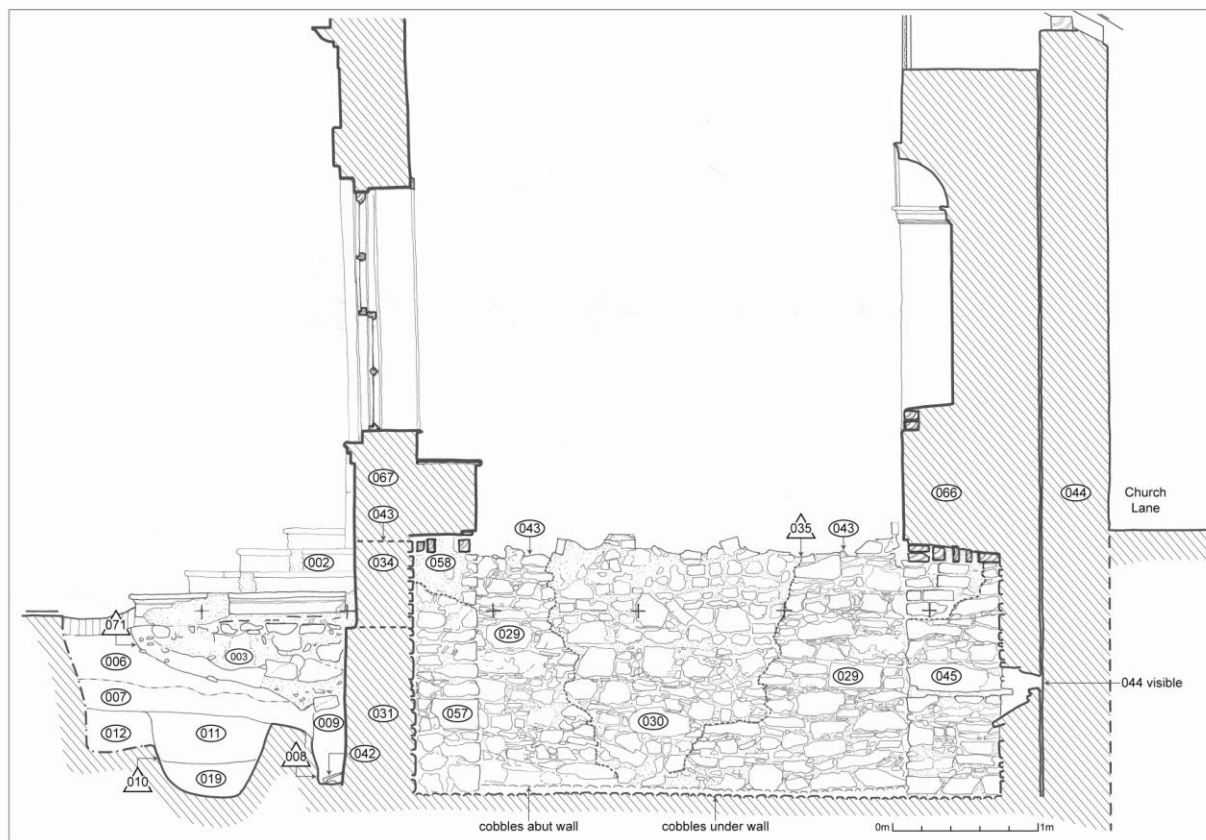


Figure 39: Elevation of internal north-east wall and Cutting 1 section, phased below



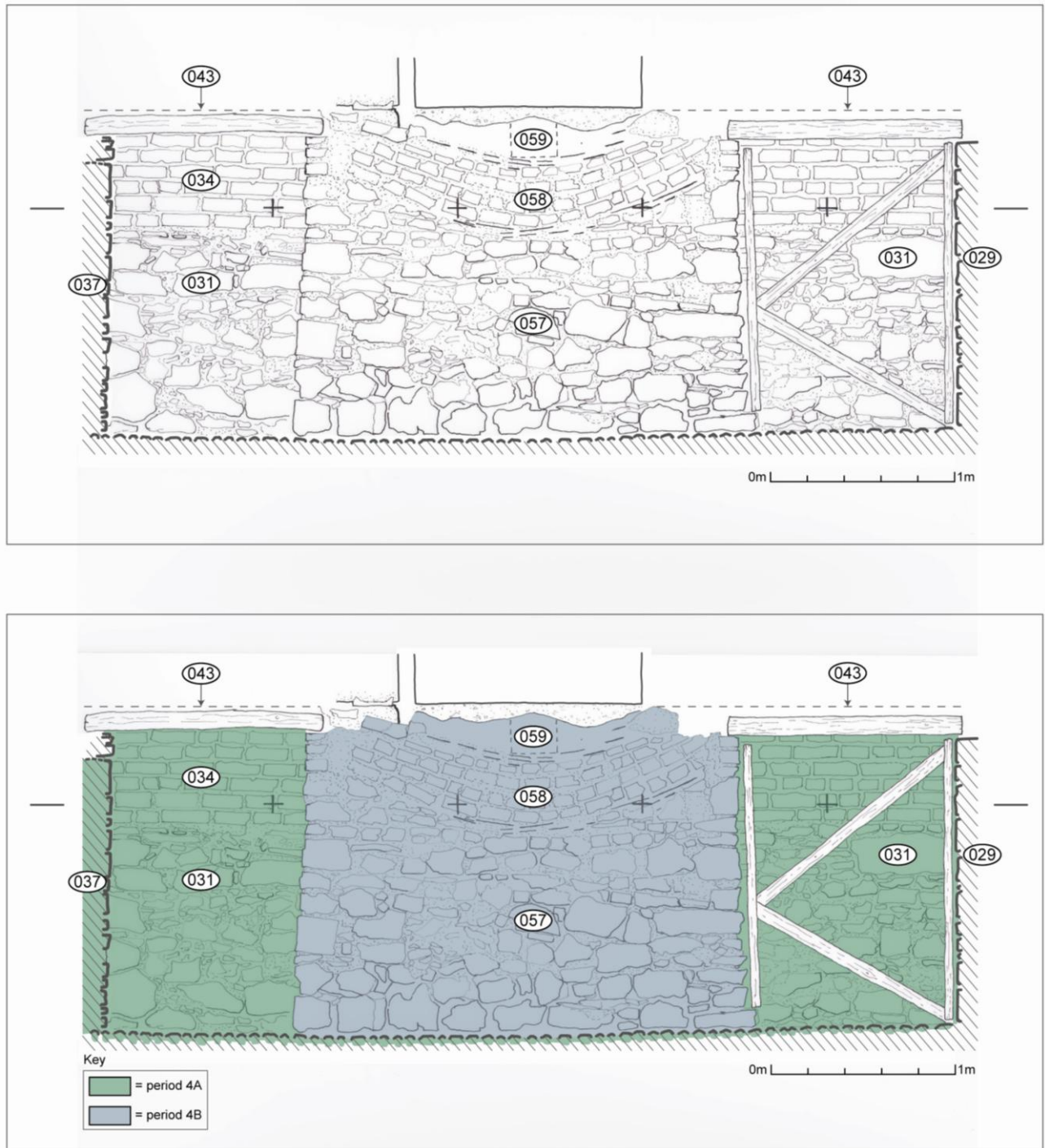


Figure 40: Elevation of internal north wall, phased below

The west wall (to Church Lane) had been cut back and refaced in Period 4B and all but small fragments [044] of it were visible internally behind the later facework [045]. In the south-west corner [044] was at a distinctive 45 degree angle to the south-east wall [029] and it was possible to 'join the dots' between the visible fragments to form curving wall c.5m in length x a 0.5m thick (Figure 37). This was of a similar plan to the curving wall 1.8m above on Church lane and is likely to be contemporary with, if not the same build as, the gate-blocking wall [048]. The north return [037] of the front wall [031] presents a problem in that its base course was abutted by the cobbles [021] and it also overlay the gravel leveling [028] but it had not been tied into the front wall [031], apart from at one point where a tie was formed by breaking through into the latter wall (Figure 45). [037] was 0.5m thick x 1.8m high x 1.45m long to the basement entrance [051]; its continuation to the south had been replaced by the wall [052] in Period 4B. The configuration of the Period 4A entrance to the basement is difficult to determine because of the later modifications but it can be assumed that it was of similar proportions, ie. 1.25m wide.



*Figure 41: The curving exterior of the Period 4A wall [048], taken from north (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*





*Figure 42: North-east (front) wall of the Robing Room showing the Period 4A brickwork [034], which had been truncated in Period 4B (photo: Colm Murray)*



*Figure 43: Cutting 1, construction trench [008] and stone footings [042] for Period 3 wall of Robing Room, from south-west (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil).*





*Figure 44: The south wall [029] of the semi-basement with the extensive repair infill [030] visible to the left of the ranging rod, photo taken from the south (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



*Figure 45: Photograph of the north side of the basement level showing Cutting 3, the Period 4A wall [037] and entrance [051]. To the left of the ranging rod is the Period 4B fireplace [054] (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil).*





*Figure 46: The cobbled floor [021] of the Robing Room basement, taken from east (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*

After the walls were complete the remainder of the cut [008] outside the wall [031] was backfilled with soil and waste construction debris [009], a dark-brown (7.5YR 3/3) sandy clay that contained animal bone, a silver wire-drawn pin of round cross-section with a spherical wound-wire head (24mm long x 1.64mm wide at head) and a 15mm x 1.18mm thick fragment of a window quarry. None of these items can be closely dated, other than to say they could have been in use any time between 1400 and 1700. A 50mm deep bedding level [020] and [022] for a cobbled floor was then laid over the leveling deposit [028] and the gravel substratum, in the process backfilling the scaffold-pit [027]. Red brick fragments, mortar chunks and a fragment of a window quarry, 23mm x 1.39mm thick, were recovered from the deposit. Into this layer the cobbled floor [021] was set (Figure 46): these abutted the lowest course of three of the basement walls, [029], [031] and [037] and underlay many of the Period 4B walls, thus providing useful stratigraphic evidence.

## *Period 4B*

The Period 4A structure underwent substantial alteration shortly after it was completed. To begin with the entire structure above ground level was demolished [043] leaving three of the semi-basement walls, [031], [037] and [029], standing (Figures 37-40). The back wall [048] was left relatively intact. Demolition rubble from this operation was identified in Pollock's trench 7 (context 709), 15m from the Robing Room (Jupp and Pollock 2006, 109). The demolition damaged the southern basement wall [029] and it required an extensive repair [030] that was carried out with a poor mix of red-brick and limestone rubble (Figure 44). New additions were then introduced at basement level to provide for the new ground plan and its internal arrangements. These included the addition of a new block of limestone rubble masonry [045] that was placed in front of the curved wall [044] and over the cobbles [021] (Figures 38, 49). It extended from the base of the steps [049] as far as the south-west corner of the basement, a distance of 7.5m. Eighteenth century bottle glass was embedded in its mortar and there was noticeably more red brick in its fabric than in the Period 4A walls. There was however, no difference discernable between its mortar, nor indeed any of the Period 4B work, and that used in Period 4A, an indication again of the slight time-lag between the building episodes. The wall stood to a height of 1.65m, and had a maximum thickness of 0.9m. The construction included a new store-cupboard niche [056], 1.1m wide x 1.6m high x 0.6m deep. Some of its original timber framework survives in-situ, as did a slot for a shelf. Two beam-holes were present in the wall, at a height of 1.5m above the cobbled floor.

A new block of masonry [057], 2.4m x 0.7m high x 0.5m thick, was also placed in front of the north-east basement wall [031] and the brickwork [034] (Figures 39, 48). A curious inverted brick arch [058] was built into the top of the wall and contains the continuation of a heating flue for the timber benches above and also acted as a support for a floor beam, the hole [059] for which survived beneath the door threshold. Another wedge of limestone and brick rubble masonry [060] was placed on the north side of the passage into the basement, behind the wall [037]. This contained a narrow round-arched brick fireplace [041], which was connected to the aforementioned brick flue that conveyed heat to the timber benches on either side of the entrance (Figure 49). In Cutting 1 the exterior of [060] was visible and was employed as a curving footing for the ashlar bow [054]. It abutted the Period 4A basement wall [031] and had cut through the Period 1 deposit [007] and into the gravel subsoil. It had also truncated the pit [013]; this contained no finds.



The general truncation level [043] and the tops of the new basement walls were built off of for the new ground floor level. This was a simple ovoid plan with internal dimensions of 8m x 4.3, that presented a three-bay classical façade to the garden. All of the walls were of brick apart from at the northern end where ‘dragged’ ashlar blocks [054] up to 2m in length were used (Figure 50-1). This stone, and most probably the Gibbsian door case, the steps, pediment and window-heads, were products of the William Colles Marble Mills at Maddockstown (Tony Hand *pers. comm.*) (see Hand 2008). Links between Bishop Richard Pococke and Colles have already been noted above in relation to the Colonnade and other works in the Close and since there is no evidence that Colles was providing material for any of the previous or subsequent bishops, this link could be used to bolster the argument that Period 4B dates to Pococke’s tenure, ie. 1756-65. However, there is always the possibility that Colles was in fact dealing with the other bishops but no record of these transactions survive. The ashlar is conspicuous in its absence from the remainder of the building and although this may be explained by a need to economise it has been argued that it was confined to the north of the building because this was its ‘public face’ to the former Drysdal’s lane (Murray 2010, 9).



Figure 47: Period 4B wall [045] with store-cupboard niche [056] to the right, taken from south (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)



*Figure 48: Inverted brick arch [058] containing heating flue within the masonry block [057], taken from west (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



*Figure 49: Fireplace [054] on the north side of the entrance passage to the basement. This was connected to a flue that brought the heated to the timber benches at ground floor level (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil).*





*Figure 50: The garden façade of the Robing Room, from north. Part of the northern ashlar bow can be seen on the right (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil). The remainder of the structure is rendered in ruled Portland cement.*





*Figure 51: The ashlar bow at the Robing Room (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*

Red brick was employed for the bulk of the ground floor walling [066], [067] at the Robing Room. All the brick (bar modern replacements) exhibited the irregular edges, quality and colour that characterises clamp kiln manufacture and as none of it was supposed to have been open for view it was laid quite poorly in a rough Flemish bond. In the few instances where complete measurements were obtainable a regular 230mm x 115mm x 65mm was noted. Studies of British brickwork have demonstrated that the bricks can be dated (with certain caveats) based on their size and context but how exactly this translates to Ireland is not entirely clear at present and there is 'as yet, no simple and clear-cut dating method for bricks' (O'Brien 2009). In the late sixteenth century a standard size of brick was set for the London area and this quickly became widespread - 9 inches (230mm) x 4 ¼ inches (110mm) x 2¼ inches (60mm) (Warren 1999, 52). The Georgian period (1714-1830) sees a suite of royal regulations governing the use and size of bricks. In 1725 the width was increased to 4½ inches (115mm) for place bricks and 2¼ (66mm) for stock bricks. It is the former that appears to be represented at the Robing Room but further study would be required for verification.

There has been very little research carried out into the history of Kilkenny's brick and the following should be considered a preliminary outline. Bricks were being made in Kilkenny in the mid-fourteenth century for kiln furniture at Highhays pottery kiln (Devine and Ó Drisceoil *forthcoming*) but there is no evidence for its use in construction prior to the 1560s when it was employed for the tenth earl of Ormonde's rebuilding campaign at Kilkenny castle. Whether this was imported or manufactured locally is not however known and nor are the form and dimensions of the brick used. The 1654 Civil Survey of Kilkenny has multiple allusions to brick houses, porches, outbuildings but to date its use has not been documented with certainty in any of the late-medieval - Renaissance-period merchant mansions of the city. During the Georgian period, as occurred elsewhere in Ireland and Britain, brick became more widespread in Kilkenny. It was not now the sole preserve of the wealthy and was used in both public and private buildings. However, Kilkenny limestone was still preferred and Kilkenny 'marble', most of which came from the Colles mills, was still the preferred medium for fine works. Because of this, brick did not become as popular in the city as it did in Dublin, for example. There are however many fine examples of Georgian brickwork in the city – of particular note are P.T. Murphy, High Street (c.1725), 40-43 Parliament street (c.1775) and the terrace of houses on the west side of the Parade (c.1790). The Victorian era (1837-1901) in Kilkenny city saw the widespread use of brick in both the housing stock



and also in large public projects such as the Kilkenny railway station (1847). St. Francis abbey brewery house, Parliament street (1882) and Parliament House, Parliament street (1903) are good examples of Victorian brickwork in the housing stock. From a cursory study it would appear that the bulk of the Victorian brick work is machine made, unlike the earlier examples which are clamp kiln bricks.



*Figure 52: Quoins [046] and former entrance door to the Colonnade built by Bishop Pococke from the Robing Room to Church lane.*





*Figure 53: This sixteenth century ornamental doorcase is the work of the famous O'Tunney school of stone carvers. It was placed here along with a section of walling to fill the gap left by the removal of the Colonnade after 1865. The door probably derived from one of the ecclesiastical houses of the Close.*

To provide an entrance from the Palace grounds into the newly built Colonnade a 4.6m long section of straight wall [063] was built with a central door-ope [064] at the south side of the Robing Room onto Church lane (Figure 52). Permission for this was specifically sought by Pococke and granted by the Cathedral chapter in 1758 (see above). An external line of quoins [046], which were thought to have related to a gate jamb for the Town Wall, was in fact simply a finish for one side of the new wall (Figures 52). Like many other parts of the building it incorporated reused hammer-dressed limestone.



*Figure 54: Blackened granite fireplace in the south-west wall of the Robing Room (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*

Also of note is the fireplace [069] set into the south-west wall of the Robing Room (Figure 54). This was partially covered over by a layer of plaster prior to this study and when exposed was found to be of granite, rather than the expected limestone. Granite was not worked in the Colles manufactory and it is a later insertion as the Period 4B brickwork had been broken through to facilitate its introduction. It had evidently replaced a pre-existing fireplace, probably that referred to in 1775 by Newcome, because the chimney was found to be integral to the Period 4B brickwork.

## The Robing Room and its context

The Robing Room in Period 4B, and probably in its Period 4A guise, can be considered a 'summer-house'. These buildings have their origins in the mid-fifteenth century and are generally isolated structures, 'intimate pleasure pavilions' in a garden or park designed to provide a cool shady place in the heat of the summer (Howley 1993, 120). Summer-houses were also used for taking sweet-breads and wine as part of the social round and this was the role it held for Bishop Newcome when he described it as such in 1775. As such it would make sense to have a store for the required accoutrements, wine and suchlike, within the building, rather than having to bring them over each time it was used. This would explain the function of the semi-basement with its cup-boards and cobbled floor that would have assisted in keeping the place dry. Such an arrangement is quite common in summer-houses and is also to be found, for example, in the contemporary pleasure house (the 'tea-house') on Bateman quay in the city (Lanigan and Tyler 1977, 40). Summer-houses often formed integral components, 'prominent garden ornaments', of Georgian gardens and it is within this context that the Robing Room should also be seen. Its location at the end of an axial walkway of the eighteenth century garden, resting beneath the Palace and Cathedral, presents an impressive set piece when viewed from the exterior and enhanced the view beyond the boundary walls (Figures 55-6). Of equal importance was its prospect from the west window of the Palace's first floor (Figure 58-59). In around 1740 this was a private chamber, adjacent the withdrawing room, and it is tempting to speculate that the well-framed view of the Robing Room from its window also influenced its siting.

In essence summer-houses were a component of a new approach to garden architecture that was anchored in Italianate Renaissance ideology and had developed by the mid-1700s into the Landscape Movement. Such gardens have a long history in Kilkenny. Formal pleasure gardens with summer-houses were attached to a number of the Tudor-Jacobean mansions such as that of John Rothe FitzPiers on Parliament street and Sir Richard Shee on High Street. The first Duke of Ormond included a summer banqueting house as part of his Le Notre inspired transformation of Kilkenny castle's parkland. Quite a few instances of Georgian summer-houses were attached to landed estates in the county (eg. Woodstock, Cullintra House) (NIAH 2006, 29-31) and the first edition Ordnance Survey map for the City includes examples near the Black Abbey and a remarkable series of dual pleasure/boating houses on what is now Bateman quay.





*Figure 55: The Robing Room at the end of the axial gravel walkway of the Bishop's Palace garden (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



*Figure 56: The Robing Room (far right of picture) forms a critical element in the designed landscape that was constructed around the Palace in the first half of the eighteenth century (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



*Figure 57: View of the Robing Room to the west window of the Palace (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*





*Figure 58: View through the only window on the first floor in the Bishop's Palace that looks out to the Robing Room. This room appears to have been a private study for the Bishop of Ossory (photo: C. Ó Drisceoil)*



## 5. Conclusion

Though rather limited in its extent this project has nevertheless provided new evidence for the changing pattern of medieval land-use in the northern sector of the Cathedral Close, as well as clarifying the chronology, function and evolution of the Robing Room. Further specialist work is required but the following broad archaeological outline can be presented. The earliest activity was represented by pit-digging for the disposal of waste from antler and bone working, probably from a nearby composite comb-making workshop. This was taking place just inside the *sanctor* boundary, a remnant of which may have been identified. This craft appears to have been quite significant within the Cathedral precincts and the inclusion of numerous pot-boilers in the waste adds to an understanding of the working processes (O'Sullivan et.al. 2010, 133-7). Kilkenny is one of just fifteen monastic towns that are thought to have existed in Ireland by the mid-twelfth century but the role of the monastic settlement as the primary catalyst for the earliest urban development outside the Viking towns (by the tenth century) is contested (Doherty 1980 and 1985; Swift 1998; Valante 1998; Bradley 1998; 1999; 2008; O'Sullivan et.al. 2010, 136). Craft-working, trade and industry at sites like Clonmacnoise and Armagh has been put forward as confirmation of Early Medieval urban traits. At Kilkenny the evidence to date has been far less convincing but there are hints that there was specialisation taking place within a centre of power (both political and spiritual) that was sufficiently populous to support full-time craftsmen. The forthcoming radiocarbon determination will provide the first chronological fix on the antler and bone-working craft in the Close. It would be expected, given analogies at monastic towns like Kildare (Radner 1978, 167), Armagh (Gaskell-Brown and Harper 1984, 127-8; Lynn and McDowell 1988, 60) and Clonmacnoise (King 2009, 339), that it was being practiced between the ninth and twelfth century, with perhaps a continuation up to the time the precinct was restructured under bishop Hugh de Rous.

As a consequence of scarping of the ground in advance of the construction of the first phase of the Robing Room, no Anglo-Norman archaeology was encountered (apart from a thirteenth-fourteenth century graveslab that had been recycled as a step). There was no evidence whatsoever that would link the Robing Room with the medieval Town Wall and its trace can now be said to have extended further to the north. Sometime around 1740, and probably during the bishopric of either Charles Este (1735-40) or Michael Cox

(1743-54), a small rectangular summer-house with a semi-basement store was built into the then recently-completed episcopal precinct wall. Some short years after the building was finished its ground-storey was demolished and replaced with the ovoid neo-classical pavilion to be seen today. This cannot be attributed with certainty to Bishop Richard Pococke but the evidence points in his direction for two chief reasons. Firstly, the new building included a connection to the Colonnade, which Pococke had built around 1758, and secondly, the industrial entrepreneur William Colles designed and executed the Colonnade and stone from his Marble Mill was used in the Robing Room. Pococke is the only one of the mid-eighteenth century bishops who is known to have had strong links with Colles. It is interesting to speculate that the destruction of the earlier summer-house may have coincided with the bishop's well-documented switch from the use of Gothic architecture to Palladian in the Cathedral (Finnegan 2008, 30). As to the use of the building, no evidence was found that it was actually ever employed as a robing room – the first mention of this in print occurs in 1963 – and instead an account from 1775 specifically refers to it as a 'summer-house'. This formed an integral part of a Georgian garden layout, a designed landscape and vista that was created around the Palace.

## Bibliography

Aalen, F.H.A., 1978, *Man and the landscape in Ireland*, London.

Automobile Association, 1972, *Treasures of Britain and Ireland*, London.

Barry, S., 1985, 'The Architecture of the Cathedral', in A. Empey, J. Bradley and S. Barry (eds.), *A Worthy Foundation: The Cathedral Church of St. Canice*, Kilkenny, 25-48.

Barry, T., 1977, *Medieval moated sites of southeast Ireland*, BAR S35, Oxford.

Bassett, G.H., 1884, *Kilkenny City and County Guide and Directory*, (Facsimile edition 2001), Kilkenny.

Bence-Jones, M., 1978, *Burke's Guide to Country Houses*, London.

Blighe, A., 1963, 'Some Georgian architecture in town and county', *Old Kilkenny Review* 15, 43-8.

Bolger, T., 2003, 'Bishop's Palace, Troy's Gate/Vicar Street, Kilkenny' in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2002*, Wordwell, Bray, no.1030.

Bradley, J., 1976, 'The Town Wall of Kilkenny (part 2)', *Old Kilkenny Review* 1(3), 209-18.

- Bradley, J., 1990, 'The Early Development of the Medieval Town of Kilkenny', in W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society, Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of and Irish County*, Geography Publications, Dublin, 63-74.
- Bradley, J., 1995, 'The Medieval Tombs of Saint Canice's Cathedral', in A. Empey, J.
- Bradley, J., 1998, 'The monastic town of Clonmacnoise' in H. A. King (ed.) *Clonmacnoise Studies 1: Seminar Papers 1994*, Wordwell (Bray), 42-55.
- Bradley, J., 1999, 'Urbanization in early medieval Ireland' in C. E. Karkov, K. M. Wickham-Crowley and B. K. Young (eds), *Spaces of the living and the dead: an archaeological dialogue* (American Early Medieval Studies 3, Oxford, 1999), 133-47.
- Bradley, J., 2000, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas No.10: Kilkenny*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Bradley, J., 2008, 'Towards a definition of the Irish monastic town' in Catherine Karkov and Helen Damico (eds), *Aedificia Nova: studies in honor of Rosemary Cramp* (Medieval Academy of America, Kalamazoo, MI, 2008), 325-60.
- Bradley, J., *forthcoming*, 'Pulp facts & interpretative cores: the alleged move of the Cathedral of Ossory from Aghaboe to Kilkenny', in *Festschrift for Donnchadh Ó Corráin* (forthcoming).
- Bradley and S. Barry (eds.), *A Worthy Foundation: The Cathedral Church of St. Canice*, Kilkenny, 49-103.
- Carrigan, Rev. W., 1905, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols., Dublin.
- Chapter Book St. Canice's Cathedral 1672-1758 (Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny)
- Chetwood, W.R. and Luckombe, P., 1748, *A Tour Through Ireland in Several Entertaining Letters*, London.
- Corlett, C., 2007, 'The Kilkenny Museum (1849-1910) of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland', *Old Kilkenny Review* 59, 80-97.
- Cotter, C., 1992, 'Archaeological Excavations in Dean Street, Kilkenny 1990', *Old Kilkenny Review* 4 (4), 1065-1075.
- Currie, C., 2005, *Garden Archaeology*, CBA, London.
- De Breffny, B. and ffolliott, R., 1975, *The Houses of Ireland*, Thames and Hudson, London.
- Devine, E. and Ó Drisceoil, C., *forthcoming*, *A fourteenth century pottery production centre at Highbays (Kilkenny Railway Station) Kilkenny*.
- Doherty, C., 1980, 'Exchange and trade in Early Medieval Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110, 67-89.
- Doherty, C., 1985, 'The monastic towns in early medieval Ireland', in H. Clarke & A. Simms eds. *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales*,



*Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, Vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45–75.

Doyle, I.W., 2003, 'Bishop's Palace, Troy's Gate/Vicar Street, Kilkenny' in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2002*, Wordwell, Bray, no.1031.

Doyle, I. 2004. *River Nore (Kilkenny City) Drainage Scheme: Archaeological Excavations at the rear of No. 1 Irishtown, Kilkenny*, M. Gowen & Co. Ltd (unpublished report)

Doyle, I.W., 2005, *River Nore (Kilkenny City) Drainage Scheme: Archaeological Excavations at the rear of No.1 Irishtown, Kilkenny (02E1592), Specialist reports on dendrochronological analysis, macroscopic plant remains, faunal remains and timber*, unpublished report by M. Gowen and Co. Ltd. for Kilkenny County Council.

Doyle, I.W., 2006, *Archaeological Excavations at the former Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny City, 2006*, licence 06E0189, unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

Dunleavy, M. 1988 'A classification of early Irish combs' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 88C, 341-422

Earthsound, 2005, *Bishop's Palace gardens, Saint canice's Parish, Kilkenny City, County Kilkenny: Archaeological Geophysical Survey*, unpublished report for the Heritage Council, licence no. 05R012.

Edwards, N., 1990, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*, Routledge, London.

English Heritage, 2006, *Understanding Historic Buildings, A Guide to Good Recording Practice*, English Heritage.

Farrelly, J., O'Reilly, B. and Loughran, A., 1993, *The Urban Archaeological Survey of County Kilkenny*, unpublished report by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland/OPW.

Finnegan, R., 2008, 'Bishop Pococke's improvement to St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies, Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* XI, 12-55.

Gaskell-Brown, C. and Harper, A.E.T., 1984, 'Excavations on Cathedral Hill, Armagh, 1968', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (third series) 47, 109-61.

Gittens, M., 2003, 'Saint Canice's Orchard, Coach Road/Church Lane', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2002*, Wordwell, Bray, no. 1006.

Graves, J., 1875, 'Deer antlers and offcuts found at the Episcopal Palace, Kilkenny, and St. Canice's Cathedral, and evidence for a tile kiln at St. Canice's', *JRSAI*, xiii (part 2), 434-435.

Graves, J. and Prim, J.G.A., 1857, *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny*. Dublin. Hodges, Smith, and Company.

Hand, T., 2008, 'Doing Everything of Marble wch can be Done with it: some descriptive accounts of the Kilkenny Marble Works', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies, the Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* 11, 75-99.

Harbison, P., 1974, 'Carved stones from the twelfth century predecessor of St. Canice's

Cathedral' *Old Kilkenny Review*, 6(1), 26-9.

Harris, W., 1739, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Revised and Improved*, 2 vols., Dublin.

Hegarty, M., 1963, 'Dr. Richard Pococke', *Old Kilkenny Review* 15, 48-54.

Hogan, J., 1884, *Kilkenny, The Ancient City of Ossory, The Seat of Its Kings, The See of Its Bishops and the Site of Its Cathedral*, Kilkenny.

Howley, J., 1993, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Hurley M.F., 1987, 'A corn-drying kiln at Kilferagh, Co. Kilkenny', in *Archaeological Excavations on the Cork-Dublin Gas Pipeline (1981-82)*, Cork, 88-100.

Hurley M. F. 1997a., 'Artefacts of Skeletal Material' in M. F. Hurley & O. M. B. Scully, *Late Viking Age Medieval Waterford Excavation 1986-1992*, Waterford City Council, 630-699.

Hurley M. F. 1997b., 'Artefacts of Skeletal Material' in R. M. Cleary, M. F. Hurley & E. Shee-Twohig, *Skiddy's Castle and Christ Church, Cork Excavations 1997-1997*, 239-273, Cork Corporation.

Integrated Conservation Group, 2003, 'The Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny', *Old Kilkenny Review* 55, 30-53.

Jennings, A., 2004, *Medieval Gardens*, English Heritage, London.

*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1860, 'Proceedings', *JRSAI* 6 (part 1), 82

*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1866, 'Proceedings', *JRSAI* 5, no. 3, 405-24

*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1875, 'Proceedings', *JRSAI* Vol. 3, no. 23, 433-9

*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1886, 'Proceedings', *JRSAI* 17, part 2, 417

Jupp, B. and Pollock, D., 2006, *Historic and Archaeological Landscape Study of the Bishop's Place garden, Kilkenny, including test excavations (05E652)*, unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

King, H.A., 2009, 'The economy and industry of Early Medieval Clonmacnoise: A preliminary view' in N. Edwards (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, Leeds, 333-49.

KM, *Kilkenny Moderator newspaper*, (Rothe House library)

Lanigan, K.M. and Tyler, G., 1977, *Kilkenny Its Architecture and History*, Kilkenny.

Ledwich, E., 1781, 'The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny', in *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, Luke White, Dublin, 349-562.

Lennon, A.-M., 2006, 'Excavation of a ringfort at Leggetsrath West, County Kilkenny', in J. O'Sullivan and M. Stanley (eds.) *Settlement, Industry and Ritual*, proceedings of a public seminar on archaeological discoveries on National Roads schemes, September 2005, 43-52, National Roads Authority, Wordwell, Dublin.

Lynas, N., 1997, 'The restoration of St. Canice's Cathedral 1844-1867 under Dean Vignoles' in John Kirwan (editor) *Kilkenny: Studies in honour of Margaret M. Phelan*, Kilkenny, 183-191.

Lynn, C. and McDowell, J.A., 1988, 'The Oldest City in Ireland: Armagh' in A. Hamlin and C.J. Lynn (eds.), *Pieces of the Past: Archaeological Excavations by the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland 1970-86*, Belfast, 23-4.

MacGregor A., 1985 *Bone, antler, ivory and horn*. London & Sydney

MacGregor, A., 1991, 'Antler, Bone and Horn', in J. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds.), *English Medieval Industries, Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, London, 355-378.

MacGregor A., Mannon A. J. and Rogers N.S.H., 1999 *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Bone, antler, ivory and horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and medieval York*. C.B.A. York

MoLAS, 1994, *Museum of London Archaeological Site Manual*, London.

Molloy, B., 2010, *Archaeological monitoring at the former Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny, County Kilkenny, licence 06E189 ext.*, unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

Murphy, M.M., 2006, *The Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny- History and Context*, unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

Murray, C., 2010, *The Robing Room Conservation Works 2010*, unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

Murtagh, B., 1993, 'The Kilkenny Castle Archaeological Project 1990-1993: Interim Report', *Old Kilkenny Review* iv (5), 1101-1117.

Neary, P., 2009, 'Coach Road, Kilkenny', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2006*, Wordwell, Bray, no. 1053.

NIAH, 2006, *An Introduction to the Architectural Heritage of County Kilkenny*, DoEHLG, Dublin.

NMI, *National Museum of Ireland Topographical Files*.

O'Brien, E., 2009, 'The Use of Brick in Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland* 87 (Spring 2009), 35-37.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2003, 'Kilkenny reclaimed: the archaeological evidence for medieval reclamation in Kilkenny city', *Old Kilkenny Review* 55, 58-69.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2004a, *Archaeological Monitoring: Gas Pipe Trench Church Lane, Kilkenny, licence 04E1535*, Kilkenny Archaeology unpublished report.



Ó Drisceoil, C., 2004b, 'Probing the past: a geophysical survey at Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny', *Old Kilkenny Review* 56, 80-106.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2006, *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Testing at the Deanery (Precentor's) Orchard, Coach Road, Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, 06E0306*, Kilkenny Archaeology, unpublished report for the Dean of Ossory.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2008a, *Archaeological monitoring of repointing works to the east wall of the chancel, Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny*, Kilkenny Archaeology unpublished report for the Dean of Ossory.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2008b, 'The Rothe Family Garden Rediscovered: An Interim Report on the 2007 Archaeological Excavation Project', *Old Kilkenny Review* 60, 34-47.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2009a, 'Deanery Orchard, Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2006*, Wordwell, Bray, no.1062.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2009b, *Archaeological Assessment Report: Proposed Resource Centre Church Lane, Saint Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny*, Kilkenny Archaeology, unpublished report for the Diocesan office, Diocese of Ossory.

Ó Drisceoil, C., 2010, *Archaeological monitoring at the Deanery, Coach Road, Kilkenny*, Kilkenny Archaeology, unpublished report for the Dean of Ossory.

O' Floinn, R., 1988, 'Handmade medieval pottery in South East Ireland: 'Leinster Cooking Ware'', in P. Wallace and G. MacNiocaill (eds.), *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney*, Galway, 325-48.

O'Keefe, T., 2003, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century*. Four-Courts-Press, Dublin.

O'Meara, B., 2006, *Additional Archaeological Excavations October 2006 at the Former Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny City, licence 06E0189 ext.*, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd., unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

O'Meara, B., 2009a, 'Former Bishop's Place, Troy's Gate/Vicar Street, Kilkenny', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2007*, Wordwell, Bray, no.1067.

O'Meara, B., 2009b, *Archaeological Monitoring at the Former Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny City licence 06E0189 ext.*, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd. unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

O'Meara, B., 2010, 'Former Bishop's Place, Troy's Gate/Vicar Street, Kilkenny', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2007*, Wordwell, Bray, no.974.

O'Neill, J., 1988, 'John Rocque as a guide to gardens', *Garden History* 16, 8-16.

O'Sullivan, A., McCormack, F., Harney, L., Kinsella, J. and Kerr, T., 2010, *Early Medieval Dwellings and Settlements in Ireland, AD400-1100*, 2 vols., Early Medieval Archaeology Project (EMAP) Report 4.2, University College Dublin (available on [emap.ie](http://emap.ie)).

Orpen, G.H., 1892, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl: An Old French Poem*, Oxford.

Oxford Archaeology, 2005, *Heritage Conservation Plan, Kilkenny City Walls*, Heritage Council, Kilkenny.

Pollock, D., 2009, 'Bishop's Palace Grounds, Kilkenny', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2006*, Wordwell, Bray, no.1052.

Pollock, D. and Jupp, B., 2006, *Historic and Archaeological Landscape Study of the Bishop's Palace garden, Kilkenny, including test excavations, 05E0652*, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd., unpublished report for the Heritage Council.

Radner, J., 1978, *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, Dublin.

RH, *Rothe House Museum Catalogue*, (private collection, Rothe House, Kilkenny)

Simington, R.C., 1942, *The Civil Survey 1654-56, County of Waterford with Appendices including Kilkenny city and Liberties*, Dublin.

Smithwick, P., 1963, 'Georgian Kilkenny', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* (Oct.-Dec.).

Swift, C., 1998, 'Forts and fields: a study of 'monastic towns' in seventh and eighth century Ireland', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 9, 105-125.

Thomas, A., 1992, *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, 2 vols., Irish Academic Press, Dublin.

Valante, M., 1998, 'Reassessing the Irish monastic town', *Irish Historical Studies* 31(121), 1-18.

Ware, J., 1739-46, *The Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland...*, Dublin.

Warren, J., 1999, *Conservation of Brick*, B.H., London.

White, N.B., 1936, *Monastic and Episcopal Deeds A.D. 1200 to 1600*, Dublin.