

IV. Parishes, Churches, Wards and Gates in Eastern London

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It is a curious fact that no aspect of urban history has been so much neglected until recent years as its ecclesiastical history.¹

Introduction

The subject of this paper is the interrelationship between the ecclesiastical and civil geography of the eastern part of the City of London, including the immediately extra-mural area, in the early medieval period. It is intended, first, to use both topographical and historical evidence to reconstruct the patterns of churches and their parishes in their relation to the City walls, gates, streets and wards; and second, to draw inferences from these relationships about the functions of these units in both the ecclesiastical and civil life of the City. Although this study must be viewed in relation to similar phenomena on the north and west sides of the City — and indeed in other early medieval towns — it provides in microcosm a set of data and inferences from which a more general model for the early development of both civil and ecclesiastical institutions within English towns can be formulated.

The development of urban churches and parishes in medieval towns has been discussed elsewhere, and the evidence from London itself has also been surveyed.² As is beginning to be appreciated, the use of topographical evidence — i.e. the spatial relationship between these churches and parishes and other components of the townscape — represents a primary source of evidence from which more general processes and functions can be inferred.³ A similar methodology was utilised in William Page's study of early medieval London,⁴ although many of his premises and conclusions have been largely superseded by more recent developments in the understanding of processes affecting the growth of early medieval towns.

It seems clear, from the evidence discussed by Brooke and Keir, that the London churches and parishes existed in essentially their late medieval form by the 12th century, and that it was the 11th, and possibly the 10th, century in which this pattern became established.⁵ There is, however, enough evidence for the existence of several older churches in various parts of the City⁶ to suggest that this pattern was formed (as in other parts of the country and in other towns) by the fragmentation

of larger parishes or *parochiae*, and that these early churches could have formed a series, possibly a system, of sub-ministers with their own burial, baptismal and other rights.⁷ Although a general examination of this pattern cannot be undertaken here, the existence and function of two of these possible secondary ministers in the eastern part of the City will be examined below.

The eastern City

As both Biddle and Hudson, and Brooke and Keir, have realised,⁸ the pattern of churches outside the City walls provides one of the best sources of evidence for the reconstruction of the history of the suburbs; indeed, nowhere is this more true than in the western suburbs of London.⁹ In an important sense, however, the converse is also the case: the analysis of the topography and history of the wards, streets, gates, walls and suburbs provides a body of evidence which is crucial for the interpretation of the ecclesiastical pattern, in both its spatial and functional aspects. A key to this interpretation, as it affects the eastern part of the City, is the development of the Cnichtengild and the Portsoken, and the history of the Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate, in the 12th century and earlier.

These bodies have been discussed at length by Brooke and Keir,¹⁰ although the possibilities of further interpretation have by no means been exhausted. The central fact is the foundation of the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate in 1107–8 by Queen Matilda, who had obtained the gate and soke of Aldgate from Henry I with her acquisition of the manor of Waltham.¹¹ This was built on a site just inside Aldgate which had been, significantly, the site of an earlier church dedicated to the Holy Cross and St. Mary Magdalen, in which the canons of the Priory of Holy Cross at Waltham had had substantial rights.¹² The canons of Waltham had also had ecclesiastical rights in the area round the church, the whole of the later Queen's soke of Aldgate (within the walls). That these ecclesiastical rights extended over the area of the soke outside the walls can be inferred from the creation of St. Botolph's parish in this area only subsequent to, and arguably consequent upon, the foundation of the Priory (see below).

The connection of the Portsoken with the Cnichtengild is also significant. From the analysis of Brooke and Keir it appears that the Cnichtengild were a 'cross section of the city patriarchate of whatever occupation', who were beholden to a higher lord (?the king), whose primary function was military, and whose original duties would have been 'to defend the city against attack from the east'.¹³ This group had rights over the Portsoken, the area of land outside the walls which at least in the 12th century and later occupied the parish of St. Botolph, which stretched from the north of Aldgate southwards to the river (see Fig. 8).¹⁴ The rights and privileges of the Cnichtengild were given over to the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate in 1125, 'the culmination of a period in which it had a close liaison' with the Priory,¹⁵ by which time the Cnichtengild had become merely an association for religious purposes of some of the leading citizens of London.¹⁶

These facts lend themselves to a reconstruction of earlier processes and functional interrelationships beyond what has been put forward by Brooke and Keir. There are perhaps three aspects of this reinterpretation. First, from the fact of Holy Trinity's foundation as a Priory of Augustinian canons on the site of an earlier church, and from the fact that it had rights over an extensive area both within and without the walls, it can be inferred that, like many other Augustinian houses, it took over the rights and spiritual jurisdiction of an earlier mother church, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The existence of a graveyard which was newly laid out in the late Saxon period, recently excavated near the site of the church, suggests that this church was given burial rights.¹⁷ Although there is no evidence that this church had had either secular canons or baptismal rights, its endowments and income from the area of the soke of Aldgate must have been on a scale sufficient to provide the new Priory with an adequate economic base. It seems likely that its spiritual jurisdiction extended over the area immediately outside Aldgate, part of the later St. Botolph's parish (see below). From this it can in turn be inferred that the *parochia* of this church would have been more or less exactly coterminous with the ward of Aldgate in both its intra-mural and extra-mural aspects (see Fig. 8).

A second point of reinterpretation is the origin of St. Botolph's church. Brooke and Keir have suggested¹⁸ that it was built subsequent to the acquisition by the Priory of the rights of the Cnichtengild over the area of the Portsoken in 1125 (see below). However, a possibly more appropriate context for its foundation could have been the creation of the Priory itself in 1107–8. At this time a new church with parochial functions would have been required to serve the extramural areas of the Portsoken, formerly served by St. Mary Magdalen, the predecessor of Holy Trinity Priory. This would explain the reference in the charter of 1125 to St. Botolph's church being already in existence, and would also fit

with the suggested derivation of its dedication from St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester, of which the first prior of Holy Trinity had been a canon before moving to London. This being so, the new parish of St. Botolph would have initially comprised the extra-mural part of the earlier parish of St. Mary Magdalen. It will be argued below that to this would have been added the extra-mural part of the original parish of St. Peter ad Vincula, when this area was given to Holy Trinity Priory in 1125 as part of the Portsoken.

A third point of reinterpretation is the origin and function of the Cnichtengild. Brooke and Keir have suggested that this body was formed in the reign of Edgar.¹⁹ Given that its original function was defensive, this raises the problem of why its formation was deemed necessary at the very time when England was no longer threatened by Viking invasions. It seems more reasonable to postulate that the mid 10th-century Cnichtengild was the successor (albeit possibly in a form altered to accommodate the mercantile and/or social elements) to a group of city dwellers whose formal organisation could be associated with the defence of the eastern walls and gate in a rather earlier period of hostilities. The obvious context for this is the programme for the 'restoration' and redefence of London initiated by King Alfred in and after 886.²⁰

The existence of such an organisation seems to be required by the evidence at this time of the massive conscription of the population as a whole, which has been forcefully stated by Professor Brooks.²¹ As he has stressed, the population was divided into three groups, the duties of one of which was to guard the *burhs* (the *burhwaru*). That this was the context for the creation, in London at least, of an organised levy is furthermore suggested by the evidence of the early history of the Cnichtengild itself as given in the Cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory. This says that 'Thirteen knights in the days of Edgar besought of the king a certain land on the east side of London, abandoned by the inhabitants as being too burdensome, that he would grant them the same land'.²² Although somewhat legendary in form, this seems likely to have preserved a memory of rather earlier public duties for the manning and repair of the wall, which in the peaceful conditions of the mid 10th century had become too onerous and possibly even anachronistic.²³

This in turn raises the question of the origin of the wards themselves. Brooke and Keir have placed their formation in the middle of the 10th century.²⁴ This conclusion is, however, based on the premise that the origin of the wards must be associated with the origin of the Cnichtengild, assumed to be of mid 10th-century origin (see above). As presented, this is something of a circular argument. It also sidesteps the question as to how or why the wards (and indeed the Cnichtengild itself) were brought into being. If it is accepted, as Stenton has asserted, that the wards were the 'essential link between the military and civil administration',²⁵ it

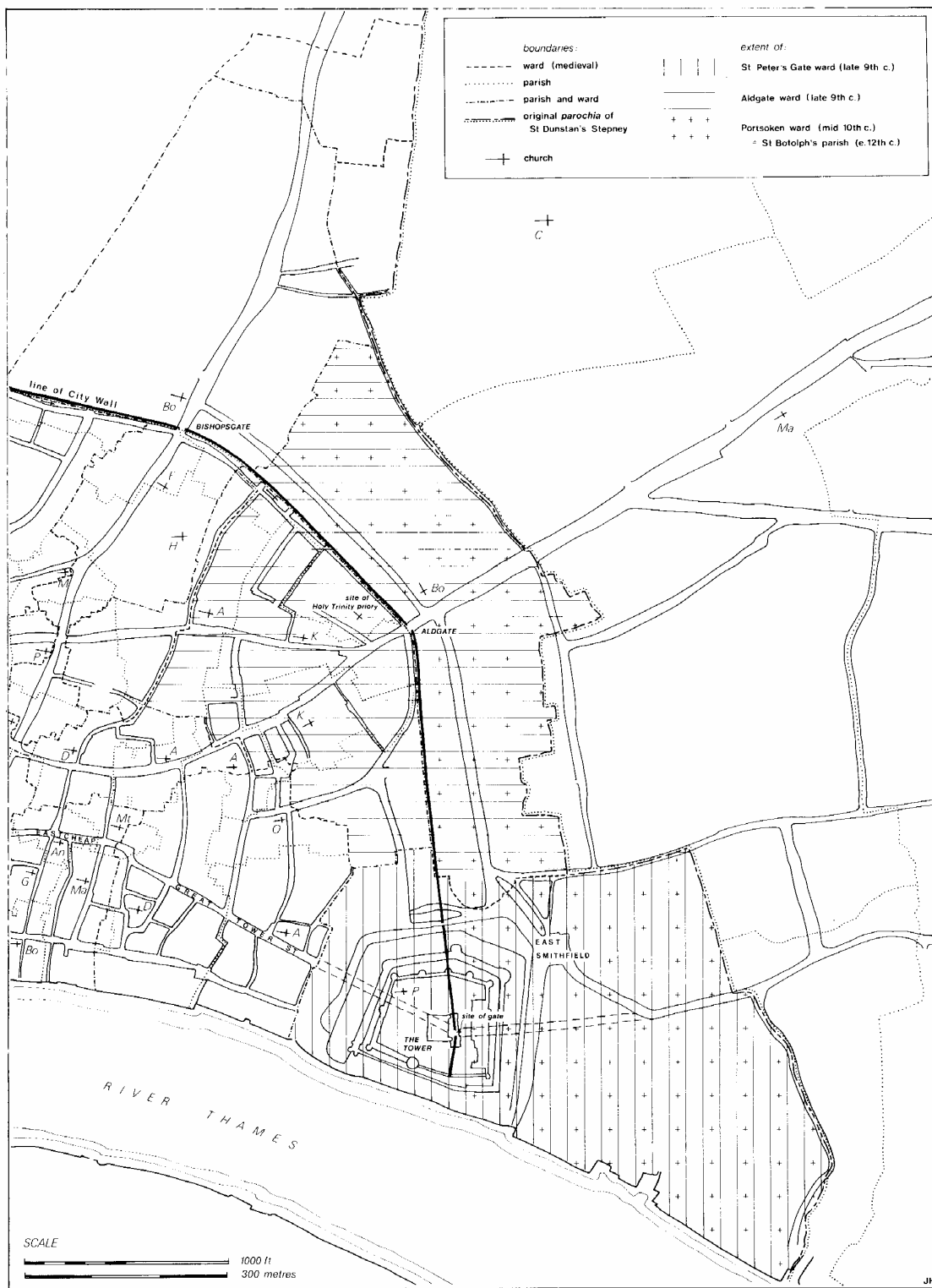


Fig. 8 Parishes and wards in east London.

also raises the question of why it was necessary to have created them in a period of peace. It seems therefore more reasonable to postulate that they were formed, like the predecessors of the Cnichtengild, in the period of the 'restoration' of the City under King Alfred. Just as the creation of the new streets and *hagae* can be seen as the essential physical expression of the newly-created urban order, so the formation of the wards can be seen as the essential means by which the public duties for the manning and repair of the defences were both defined and organised on a territorial basis. Indeed, if they did not exist at this time in very much their later 11th- or early 12th-century form,²⁶ it would be necessary to postulate just such an organisation to account, for instance, for the success of the defences of London against Viking attack in the wars of the 890s.²⁷ Furthermore, the nature of the wards as 'hundreds in miniature, with hundred courts and hundredal jurisdiction'²⁸ carries the implication that this capability for internal organisation is a reflection of the basic mechanism with which they were originally endowed, by which the public responsibilities for defence were carried out in practice.

It is in this context that the origin of the church of St. Mary Magdalen, the predecessor of Holy Trinity Priory, can possibly be viewed. An important aspect of Alfred's political response following the destruction of monasteries and churches by the Vikings throughout the 9th century was the revitalisation both of learning and of the ecclesiastical order.²⁹ This policy of ecclesiastical renewal appears to have been continued by his son Edward the Elder in Wessex (and later in Mercia) and his daughter Æthelflæd in western Mercia. The former continued Alfred's practice of founding churches in new *burhs*,³⁰ of which a good example is the foundation by Alfred of the New Minster at Winchester as the new parochial centre for the *burh*, which was brought to completion by Edward the Elder.³¹ Æthelflæd also founded minsters in a number of her newly-founded *burhs*, such as at Gloucester and Chester.³²

There is thus some justification for proposing the general hypothesis that an integral part of Alfred's burghal policy – which was continued and indeed expanded by Edward and Æthelflæd after him – involved the creation of new ecclesiastical institutions. These must have served both the advancement of learning (possibly in the form of the setting-up of schools),³³ as well as the provision of ecclesiastical facilities to the newly-populated urban centres. Given the provision of the New Minster at Winchester for this purpose, it would be expected that London would have been treated with no less concern, especially since its 'restoration' by Alfred was effected with the close cooperation of Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury and Bishop Wærferth of Worcester.³⁴ Since the pattern of London's churches does not conform to the model of the coexistence of an Old Minster and a New Minster in

the late Anglo-Saxon period (as at Winchester, Chester and Gloucester), some other arrangement should be sought. From the large size of the new *burh*, and from the arguments set out above for the creation of the wards by Alfred, it could reasonably be inferred that the 'restoration' of London involved the creation of several such 'new minsters', each given burial, tithe and possibly baptismal rights, whose *parochiae* were coterminous with the wards themselves. It can therefore be postulated that the church of St. Mary Magdalen was one of these 'new minsters', created to serve the ecclesiastical needs of the inhabitants of the ward of Aldgate.

This close spatial, temporal and functional link between the minster *parochia* and the ward of Aldgate places the relationship between the ward with its church and the manor of Waltham in a new perspective. The soke and gate of Aldgate was held at the time of Domesday by the bishop of Durham as part of this manor, which he had acquired in about 1075 from William I.³⁵ Earlier in the century the manor had been in the possession of Tofig the Proud, who had 'founded' the church (later the abbey) of Waltham during the reign of Cnut, from whom he had probably acquired the manor.³⁶ From the fact that Tofig was a staller of London³⁷ it can reasonably be argued that Aldgate was connected with Waltham by the early 11th century at the latest. However, the church at Waltham was sited at the central place of a large estate of some 40 hides at the time of Domesday, which had arguably been in royal hands before the early 11th century. It can be inferred that, as in many other cases, there would have been an early minster attached to the royal estate centre; it is therefore unlikely that this church would have been a new creation at the time of Cnut. The possible formation of a double *burh* at Waltham by Alfred in 895 also hints at its earlier importance.³⁸ Page has suggested that it was Tofig who created the soke of Aldgate,³⁹ but this again raises the question of why this should have occurred during a period of peace. The connection between the two falls more naturally into the crucial period in the late 9th century when, it can be suggested, the ward and gate of Aldgate would have been attached to the manor of Waltham, then probably an important royal estate centre, which would in some way have been made responsible (doubtless with the inhabitants of the ward itself) for its defence and upkeep.⁴⁰ The sub-minster at Aldgate would possibly also have been in some way ecclesiastically dependent upon the postulated early minster at Waltham. This latter suggestion would explain the notification by Queen Matilda in 1108 (which was confirmed by Henry I in 1108 and 1121–2) that the church was to be 'quit of subjection to any church', the implied reference to Waltham being explicitly stated in a further confirmation by Henry III.⁴¹

This general model of an early relationship between urban wards and parochial sub-minsters can be applied

to other Anglo-Saxon *burhs*. A similar relationship has been argued by the writer in the case of the church and parish of St. Mary at Cricklade.⁴² Though small in size, it seems not unlikely that its origin and function would have been similar to that of the larger ward and *parochia* of Aldgate. Another case is Wareham, where the presumed *parochia* of the early minster church (Lady St. Mary) has become attenuated by the carving out of it of the large parishes of Holy Trinity and St. Martin's.⁴³ These two parishes have extensive intra- and extra-mural portions, and their churches are placed on the main north-south route through the town near the south and north gates respectively. This pattern can best be interpreted by the hypothesis that these were two sub-minsters of similar origin and function to those already discussed. A very similar process can be inferred in the case of Oxford. Though the development of its parishes requires further analysis, the creation of one or possibly several sub-minsters at an early stage in the development of the *burh* would explain the large size of the parishes of churches near its gates in the later medieval period compared to that of the early minster of St. Frideswide's.⁴⁴ Other examples could be multiplied. In general, however, the wards and sub-minsters in London and probably other towns can be argued as being the urban equivalents to the new hundreds and hundredal minsters which were being created by the kings in the late 9th and early 10th centuries in both Mercia and southern England.⁴⁵

The relationship between St. Mary Magdalen's church and *parochia* and the ward, gate and walls, which is suggested by this model, is paralleled by the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London to the south. Brooke and Keir have again called attention to some crucial written evidence for the church and its parish in the 12th century. This relates to the attempts by several successive rectors of St. Peter's to exercise various rights over the extra-mural area of East Smithfield to the east of the Tower (see Fig. 8). These included mortuary rights and the right to claim soul-scot, all of which were granted to St. Botolph's church only after extensive litigation.⁴⁶ Brooke and Keir have interpreted these episodes merely as implying the fluidity of boundaries in a 'sparsely populated area where customs could be forgotten and peasants bullied'.⁴⁷ However, the significance of this could be rather that in the 12th century the rectors of St. Peter's thought, in spite of contrary claims of St. Botolph's church, that they had a just claim to the spiritual dues of this area: in other words, that in their view it belonged to St. Peter's parish. It demonstrates, contrary to the view of Brooke and Keir, not only the tenacity and conservatism of custom and perceived ecclesiastical rights in the face of new developments (in this case, the extension of the new St. Botolph's parish to the whole of the area of the Portsoken), but also the importance of anciently recognised boundaries.

What it also demonstrates is the general importance

of extra-mural areas to urban churches, however seemingly 'rural' they were. The actions of the rectors of St. Peter's implies that at one time the parish of this church comprised an extra-mural as well as an intra-mural part. It is a matter of general observation that parishes in a medieval town which comprise both extra- and intra-mural portions are invariably connected by gates. It follows from this that, at the time when these two parts of St. Peter's parish formed a unity, there must have been a gate in the City wall to the south of Aldgate which connected the two halves of the parish. The only intrusive element in this part of the City is the Tower of London. The logical conclusion of these observations is that the construction of King William's first castle in 1067, and subsequently the White Tower itself, blocked and/or destroyed this gateway, thereby separating St. Peter's church from the extra-mural part of its parish.

This raises some fundamental questions concerning the topography and early development of medieval and Roman London, of which only a few aspects can be brought out here. The dual hypothesis of the existence both of a pre-Conquest gateway on the site of the Tower, and of the pre-Conquest origin of St. Peter's church, does however make sense of a number of topographical observations, of which the following are amongst the more important.

1. The gateway provides an eastern terminus for the routeway along Eastcheap and Great Tower Street. This was arguably one of the most important elements of the pre-Conquest town, a probable mid-Saxon market street complementary to Cheapside in the western part of the walled town,⁴⁸ and a direct link along Canon Street, past St. Paul's and through Ludgate to the middle Saxon trading emporium or *wic* recently recognised as having existed to the west of the walled area along the Strand.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Great Tower Street led to the only entrance to the Tower of London from the City until the late 13th century.⁵⁰ This situation is explicable on the hypothesis that the construction of the Tower blocked an already well-established route which passed through a gate where the extension of Great Tower Street met the City wall (see Fig. 8). This provides a further reason for the siting of the Tower in this part of the City, in that it corresponds to the siting of Baynard's and Montfichet's Castles by Ludgate.⁵¹ The existence of a gate at this position also explains the change in the line of the city wall at this point, as at Aldgate and Bishopsgate.

2. From the fact that Eastcheap-Great Tower Street extends the line of Roman Canon Street eastwards it can be inferred that, as with all the other gates in the city walls (except Moorgate), the pre-Conquest 'St. Peter's Gate' had a Roman predecessor. In its relation to Aldgate this would mirror the relation of Ludgate to Newgate on the western side of the defences. It would also provide a western terminus for the Roman road leading to the City along the line of Ratcliffe Highway,

connecting *inter alia* the Roman settlement at Ratcliffe and a 3rd-century signal tower at Shadwell.⁵²

3. It explains the fact that St. Peter's church was left outside the earliest identifiable defended enceinte of the Tower of London.⁵³ This formed an awkward trapezoid shape, which can best be explained by the supposition that St. Peter's church already existed on its present site before the Tower was built.

The evidence thus points to the existence, before the Conquest, of a large parish in the south-east corner of the City with both intra- and extra-mural areas which lapped around an early medieval gateway of Roman origin, its church placed inside the gate on an important routeway out of the City.⁵⁴ The former unity of this area is emphasised by the fact that the northern side of St. Peter's parish within the walls mirrors a pronounced break in the line of the eastern boundary of the extra-mural St. Botolph's parish (see Fig. 8).⁵⁵ The best explanation for the claims by the 12th-century rectors of St. Peter's to burial rights and soul-scot from East Smithfield is that these dues had been paid to St. Peter's both before the creation of St. Botolph's parish in the early 12th century, and also before its parish was split by the insertion of the Tower. This is therefore evidence of its relative importance before the Conquest.

Given the existence of a gateway in this quarter, it is necessary to postulate the existence of a ward which, as has been argued by Brooke and Keir and is also demonstrated above in relation to Aldgate (see above), would have been a discrete area responsible for the upkeep of both gate and walls. Here again the relationship of the later parishes and wards provides crucial evidence. The next church westwards from St. Peter's, situated on Great Tower Street itself, is All Hallows, which from structural evidence has been claimed as late 7th century.⁵⁶ From its suggested foundation by St. Eorcenwold, bishop of London in the later 7th century,⁵⁷ it could be inferred that it formed one of the early 'sub-minsters' proposed above, although the uncertainties over its date make any such inferences somewhat tentative. St. Dunstan's church, further west on St. Dunstan's Hill, would have been dedicated no earlier than the late 10th century. From its position on a side street of probably late Saxon origin, it could be inferred that this church is later than All Hallows. If the early date of All Hallows is accepted, its *parochia* can be reconstructed as comprising at least the area of these three later parishes. St. Dunstan's and All Hallows' parishes are for the most part coterminous with Tower ward (although the latter comprises part of St. Olave Bread Street parish, created no earlier than the early 11th century.)⁵⁸ with St. Peter's parish coterminous with the Tower precincts.

This civil and ecclesiastical pattern could have been produced in two ways: either the whole area — Tower Ward and St. Peter's Gate ward and three parishes — originally comprised one ward and one minster *parochia*; or the early minster *parochia* was divided into

two wards, with a new sub-minster founded at St. Peter's in a similar way to the development proposed above for Aldgate ward. If (as seems more probable) the latter is the case, each of these wards would have had a minster church: All Hallows in Tower ward, St. Peter's in 'St. Peter's Gate ward', and St. Mary Magdalen in Aldgate ward. A similar relationship could have obtained between Bishopsgate Ward, arguably another ward of late 9th-century origin, and St. Helen's Bishopsgate, which Page suggested⁵⁹ was a pre-Conquest minster church. On the model proposed for Aldgate, it can reasonably be argued that St. Peter's church, like St. Mary Magdalen's, was a new sub-minster founded by King Alfred in the late 9th century at the same time as the creation of the ward, and that it was at this time that it would have been given burial, soul-scot and possibly other rights. It would also not be unreasonable to postulate that its dedication to St. Peter ad Vincula could have been suggested by Alfred himself as a result of his earlier visit to Rome.⁶⁰ The importance of this church implied in this reconstruction would fit with its location on a major route near an important gateway, both arguably in existence at least as early as the late 9th century.

Conclusions

The evidence and inferences put forward above allow an explanatory model for the development of the eastern part of early medieval London. The growth of this pattern consists essentially of four stages:

1. The formation of an early minster (All Hallows) covering much if not most of the eastern part of the City:⁶¹ 7th to 9th centuries.

2. The formation of three wards, two of them each centred on a gate, and the other covering a length of the city wall along the river, as part of a scheme of defence for the *burh* of London as a whole. This would have been accompanied by the provision of a new minster in each of the wards by the gates (St. Mary Magdalen by Aldgate and St. Peter ad Vincula by St. Peter's Gate), their *parochiae* coterminous with the wards themselves: late 9th century.

3. The creation of the new ward of Portsoken with the formation of the Cnichtengild, this new unit comprising the extra-mural areas of Aldgate and St. Peter's gate wards and their *parochiae*: mid 10th century.

4. The subdivision of the sub-*parochiae* into smaller parishes, with little regard for either the original ward or *parochia* boundaries: mid or late 10th to early 12th centuries. In the eastern part of London the pre-Conquest pattern appears to have been broken by two major events: (a) the blocking of St. Peter's Gate by the insertion of King William's castle (1067) and the White Tower (1080s), resulting in the severing of St. Peter's parish; and (b) the foundation of the Priory of Holy

Trinity Aldgate and the creation of the new parish of St. Botolph to cover the ward of Portsoken: early 12th century.

Some of the underlying premises of this model can be mentioned here. First, the various programmes of burghal foundation or 'restoration' in the late 9th century (continued by Edward the Elder in the early 10th) involved not only a civil but also an ecclesiastical dimension; that is, they involved the founding of new churches with newly-created parishes to serve the spiritual needs of the new urban populations. Secondly, the origin of the wards, which were public, self-governing administrative units, must be looked for in a period in which the defence of the City was in process of organisation or reorganisation, that is, most probably in the late 9th century under Alfred. It also entails a rather different relationship between the wards and parishes than is put forward by Brooke and Keir.⁶²

Thirdly, this model assumes a stability of parochial boundaries, and the tenacity on the part of interested parties to protect their rights over these areas, which is perhaps rather greater than Brooke and Keir were prepared to admit.⁶³ In particular, it is argued that the eastern boundary of the 12th-century St. Botolph's parish and the Portsoken, far from being a relatively new feature in the later medieval period as they have implied,⁶⁴ is in fact probably the most ancient of all. It must have formed the eastern boundary of the wards of 'St. Peter's Gate' and Aldgate at least as early as the late 9th century, and was the common boundary with the ancient *parochia* of St. Dunstan's Stepney. It also formed the eastern boundary of Bishopsgate ward (see Fig. 8).⁶⁵ Although this hypothesis cannot be argued here, there are grounds for believing that, with the rest of the extramural city boundary in its earliest form, it represents the boundary of a territory around London of early Saxon if not Roman ancestry.⁶⁶

Fourthly, this model postulates a rather different process of transformation from the primary minsters of the Conversion period to the network of parishes and churches of the mid 12th century than is assumed, for instance, by Brooke and Keir. In the eastern area of London it is suggested that there were several tiers of

minsters and 'sub-minsters'. The primary minster, St. Paul's, can be considered to have been the mother church to a secondary minster, All Hallows. This in turn was the mother church to (at least) two tertiary minsters – St. Mary Magdalen Aldgate and St. Peter's, the parishes of both these churches being carved out of its *parochia*. The formation of these minsters and sub-minsters implies a degree of ecclesiastical control and direction exercised by the bishop and probably also the king. This system to a large extent became eroded with the formation of smaller parishes out of the larger *parochiae* in the later 10th and 11th centuries (St. Dunstan's and St. Olave's possibly being of later 10th- and mid 11th-century date respectively).⁶⁷ That these and other parishes cut across the early *parochiae* boundaries implies, as Brooke and Keir have pointed out,⁶⁸ a weakening of ecclesiastical authority.

Fifthly, this model provides an explanation for the apparent conflict between the preservation of rights of ancient minsters over burial and other dues, evident in most other places, and the situation in London in the 12th century, when it was stated that citizens could be buried where they wished.⁶⁹ This statement, however, was addressed in the 12th century to the Priory of Holy Trinity with reference to the creation at this time of the new parish of St. Botolph. It might therefore be taken as showing that this was a new development from a situation in which burial rights had been limited to early minsters, and when the parochial functions of one of these minsters (St. Mary Magdalen) had been superseded. There was, therefore, not 'one law for the country, another for the town';⁷⁰ rather, the ecclesiastical development of both town and country followed very similar courses at similar times.

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Notes

1. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 99.
2. A. Rogers, 'Parish Boundaries and Urban History: two Case Studies', *JBAA*, 3rd ser. xxxv (1972), 46–64; Campbell, 'Church in Towns'; C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Missionary at Home: the Church in the Towns, 1000–1250', *Studies in Church History*, vi (1970), 59–83. See also several studies in Haslam, *Towns*. For London, see Brooke & Keir, *London*, esp. Ch. 6.
3. Brooke and Keir were certainly aware of the possibilities of this approach, and advocated the use of a variety of different kinds of evidence (29, 143 and passim).
4. W. Page, *London: its Origin and Early Development*, (London, 1923), e.g. in Ch. 4.
5. Brooke & Keir *London*, 128–48.
6. *Ibid.*, 137–38.
7. This general hypothesis has been put forward and discussed by Page *op.cit.* note 4, 159–61.
8. M. Biddle and D. Hudson, *The Future of London's Past* (Rescue Publication no. 4, Worcester, 1973); Brooke and Keir, *London*, 143.
9. As Brooke and Keir have demonstrated (143–47 and passim). It is hoped to extend the present analysis to the western part of the suburbs in due course.
10. *Ibid.*, 96–100, 145–47, 314–25.
11. Page *op.cit.* note 4, 153. The connections of Aldgate with Waltham are discussed further below.
12. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 318 and passim, and note 17 below. For

- the relationship of this church to Waltham, see below. See also *Cart. H.T.A.*, 223–33.
13. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 97–8.
 14. Brooke & Keir state (98) that this included land ‘as far south of the river as they could throw their lances’. It is clear however from the relevant passage in *Cart. H.T.A.* (No. 871 p. 167) (and noted for instance by Stow) that this was the distance a lance could be thrown *into* the river from the northern shore – i.e. to a notional boundary in the centre of the river.
 15. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 146 note 2.
 16. Stenton, ‘Norman London’, 32–3.
 17. The dedication of the earlier church to St. Mary Magdalen must be primary to that to the Holy Cross, which was derived from the 11th-century dedication of the church at Waltham. For the excavation of the graveyard, see *Med. Arch.* xxix (1985), 174.
 18. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 146 note 2.
 19. However, Stenton, *Norman London*, 16, implies the possibility of its existence prior to Edgar’s reign.
 20. M. Biddle and D. Hill, ‘Late Saxon planned Towns’, *Antiq. J.*, li (1971), 70–85; M. Biddle and D. Hudson, op.cit. note 8, 22–4; A. Dyson and J. Schofield, ‘Saxon London’, in Haslam, *Towns*, 296–301. See also note 23, below.
 21. N.P. Brooks, ‘England in the 9th Century: the Crucible of Defeat’, *TRHS*, 5th ser. xxix (1979), 1–20.
 22. Translation that of H.A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), 481–83; see also *Cart. H.T.A.*, No. 871, p. 167.
 23. There is some archaeological evidence for the disuse and virtual abandonment of the defences of Anglo-Saxon *burhs* in the mid to late 10th century. For Hereford, see R. Shoemith, *Excavations on or close to the Defences (Hereford City Excavations 2)*, C.B.A. Research Rep. xlvi, 1982), esp. 82–3 (stage 4) and *passim*. For Cricklade, see J. Haslam, ‘Excavations at Cricklade, 1975’, *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* forthcoming. For Southampton, see P. Holdsworth, ‘Saxon Southampton’, in Haslam, *Towns*, 340. The origin of the Cnichtengild as a body would however also fit the circumstances of the late 10th or early 11th century, when once again the major *burhs* were being reorganised for defence. I am grateful to Tony Dyson for suggesting this.
 24. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 168.
 25. Stenton, *Norman London*, 29.
 26. *Ibid.*, 34–6; Brooke & Keir, *London*, 155, 162–70 and *passim*. It can be inferred from an analysis of the pattern of the wards that the ‘primary’ wards were fewer in number and somewhat larger, having subsequently been divided internally.
 27. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1971), 263–69.
 28. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 170.
 29. Brooks, op.cit. note 21, 14–17.
 30. Some of the evidence for this is discussed in J. Haslam, ‘The *burh* of *Wigingamere*’, forthcoming.
 31. M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (Winchester Studies i, Oxford, 1976), 314. It has been claimed that a new minster at Exeter was founded by Æthelstan: see J. Allan, C. Henderson, and R. Higham, ‘Saxon Exeter’, in Haslam, *Towns*, 392–3; and C.G. Henderson and P.T. Bidwell, ‘The Saxon minster at Exeter’, in S.M. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (British Arch. Repts. cii, Oxford, 1982). There are, however, grounds for postulating that this was an earlier foundation by King Alfred and/or Edward the Elder in the late 9th or early 10th century.
 32. For Gloucester, see C. Heighway, ‘Saxon Gloucester’, in Haslam, *Towns*, 371–75; C. Heighway, ‘Excavations at Gloucester. 5th interim report’, *Antiq. J.*, lx.2 (1980), 217–20. For Chester and Gloucester, see A.T. Thacker, ‘Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organisation in two Mercian *Burhs*’, *Northern History*, xviii (1982), 199–216. For other examples such as Derby, Shrewsbury, Stafford and Hereford, see Campbell, ‘Church in Towns’, 125–26, and Blair, ‘Secular Minsters’, 140–42. For the suggested foundation by Offa of a new minster in the late 8th-century *burhs* of Bedford and Cambridge, see J. Haslam, ‘The ecclesiastical Topography of Early Medieval Bedford’, *Bedfordshire Archaeology* xvii (1985), and J. Haslam, ‘The Topography and Development of Saxon Cambridge’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* lxxii (1984), 13–29. A further example of a new minster created by Edward the Elder as part of a new *burh* is possibly St. Mary’s Southwark. This was certainly a major minster in the later 11th century and later, and probably replaced an early minster at Bermondsey. Its origin in the early 10th century is an inference from these and other observations, reinforced by the association of new minsters with *burhs* shown more clearly in other places mentioned above. I am grateful to John Blair for advice on this question.
 33. In this context it is perhaps significant that Fitzstephen mentions Holy Trinity Priory as one of the three major schools in London in the 12th century, though Page (op.cit. note 4, 169) argues that he was mistaken.
 34. T. Dyson and J. Schofield, op.cit. note 20, 296–97; T. Dyson, ‘Two Saxon Land Grants from Queenhithe’, in J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark (eds.), *Collectanea Londiniensia* (London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. Special Paper No. 2, 1978), 200–215.
 35. *VCH Essex*, v, 155–56.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Page op.cit. note 4, 136.
 38. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno*; *VCH Essex*, v, 165–66.
 39. Page op.cit. note 4, 136.
 40. This interpretation of Waltham’s early importance differs from that recently put forward by Blair ‘Secular Minsters’, 123. In the writer’s view, Maitland’s original hypothesis of the defensive function of properties in towns connected to rural estates in Domesday Book and earlier (the ‘garrison theory’) has been unduly neglected since Tait’s insistence on the primacy of their economic function (J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936), 26–7).
 41. *Cart. H.T.A.* Nos. 4, 5, 998 and 1004.
 42. J. Haslam, ‘A “Ward” of the *Burh* of Cricklade’, *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* lxxvi (1981), 77–81.
 43. L. Keen, ‘The Towns of Dorset’, in Haslam, *Towns*, 224–27 and figs. 75 & 77. Keen, however, has suggested that the small parish of Lady St. Mary is secondary to the larger parishes. If, as he states, Lady St. Mary is the original minster, this interpretation is not acceptable.
 44. H.E. Salter, *Map of Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1934), map 5; *VCH Oxon.* iv, 1979, map on p. 30. See also H.M. Cam, ‘The Hundred Outside the North Gate of Oxford’, in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), 107–23.
 45. Blair, ‘Secular Minsters’, 118–19 and *refs.* cited there. See also R.E. Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 24–31 and *passim*; and Franklin, ‘Minsters and Parishes’, esp. pp. 10, 311–17, 332–33, 339 and *passim*.
 46. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 145–46. See also *Cart. H.T.A.* Nos. 964, 966, 969, and 971. The right of St. Peter’s to soul-scot can be inferred from its claim to three sheep from a deceased woman in 1166 (*Cart. H.T.A.* No. 969). This is particularly significant for the arguments (below) of the importance of the church before the Conquest, since soul-scot, with church-scot, is of very early origin, its possession ‘a fundamental endowment of ... ancient minsters’ (Stenton, op.cit. note 27, 153–4).
 47. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 146.
 48. Biddle and Hudson op.cit. note 8, 21. T. Tatton-Brown, in ‘The Topography of Anglo-Saxon London’, *Antiquity*, lx (1986), 21–30, p. 25, suggests a late 9th-century origin for the market at Eastcheap.
 49. For the importance of this routeway through Saxon London, see T. Tatton-Brown’s recent topographical analysis, op.cit.

- note 48. For the *wic*, see M. Biddle, 'London on the Strand', *Popular Archaeology*, July 1984, 23–27; and A. Vince, 'The Aldwych: Mid-Saxon London Discovered', *Current Archaeology*, xciii (August 1984), 310–12. The early importance of Ludgate had already been pointed out by John Clark in 'Cadwallo, King of the Britons, the Bronze Horseman of London', in Bird, Chapman and Clark (eds.) op.cit. note 34, 195–96. Clark's observations are it seems now fully vindicated by the confirmation of Biddle's and Vince's hypotheses: see R. Whychehead, 'The Jubilee Hall Site Reveals New Evidence of Saxon London', *Rescue News*, xxxvii (summer 1985). East Smithfield probably represents an extra-mural market area of pre-Conquest origin outside this gate, comparable to West Smithfield to the north-west of the walled area.
50. H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, (HMSO, London, 1963), 712. See also T. Dyson, 'The Topographical Development of the Custom House Area', in T. Tatton-Brown, 'Excavations at the Custom House Site, City of London, 1973, pt. 2', *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* xxvi (1975), 103–170, esp. 110–13.
 51. Stenton, *Norman London*, 24–8. See also Colvin, op.cit. note 50, 707.
 52. G. Black, *The Archaeology of Tower Hamlets* (Inner London Archaeology Unit, no date [c. 1980]), 5 and Fig. 5; T. Johnson, 'A Roman Signal Tower at Shadwell, E1 – an Interim Note', *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* xxvi (1975), 278–80.
 53. *Med. Arch.* viii (1964), 255 and Fig. 83. St. Peter's church is not, however, marked on the accompanying plan.
 54. The foundation of St. Peter's church has usually been assigned, on no good evidence, to the early 12th century; see for instance J. Bayley, *The History and Antiquities of the Tower of London* (1830), 113–14; Harben, op.cit. note 22, 470; and J.F.M. Llewellyn, 'The Tower and the Church', in J. Charlton (ed.), *The Tower of London: its Buildings and Institutions* (Dept. of Environment, London, 1978), 132.
 55. As Stow (i, 121) and latterly Harben (op.cit. note 22, 93) have pointed out, this area included all of East Smithfield, the hospital of St. Katherine and the extra-mural Tower Liberties, the eastern boundary of which area was Nightingale Lane. The bounds are fully set out in Strype's edition of Stow (1720, I. ii, 26). St. Katherine's Hospital (founded 1148), the house of St. Clare of the Minorettes (founded 1293, later the parish of Holy Trinity Minorities), and the precincts of the abbey of St. Mary Graces (founded 1349), were all taken out of the original ward of Portsoken and the parish of St. Botolph. These are not shown on the plan, Fig. 8. See Harben op.cit., 481–3 and passim. For details of the topography of the area, see M.B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses...', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1930; and M.B. Honeybourne, 'The Abbey of St. Mary Graces, Tower Hill', *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* n.s. xi (1954), 16–26.
 56. Taylor & Taylor, i, 399–400. This date is, however, open to question, since the structural features could easily be as late as 10th century. I am indebted to John Blair for these comments.
 57. *Ibid.*; Brooke & Keir, *London*, 137 and note 3.
 58. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 138, 141, 415. The dedication to St. Dunstan could have been given in the later 10th or early 11th century to a church of earlier origin. Note for instance the example of St. Dunstan's Stepney, clearly dedicated in the later 10th century or later, but (as a mother church at the central place in a large episcopal estate) probably far older than this. See K. McDonnell, *Medieval London Suburbs* (Chichester, 1978), 136.
 59. Page op.cit. note 4, 161.
 60. The dedication, St. Peter 'in chains', commemorates St. Peter's escape from prison: a church with this dedication was built by the emperor Theodosius in Rome. The dedication is one of only nine known in this country, though in other dedications to St. Peter the suffix could have become lost in the course of time. See F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1899), i, 54–5. It must be said that the dedication has nothing to do with the proximity of the church to the Tower, as suggested by J.E. Oxley, 'The Medieval Church Dedications of the City of London', *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* xxxi (1980), 117–25, p. 119. Note also the suggestion of Dr. David Hill (lecture, March 1986), that the idea of the rectilinear street pattern of London and other *burhs* could also have been derived by Alfred from his familiarity with a prototype in Rome.
 61. If the early date of All Hallows is accepted, its suggested foundation by Bishop Eorcenwold may be an early example of an episcopal *Eigenkirche*, discussed for instance by Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes', 333. This may have been placed within a large estate of 24 hides, which possibly included much or all of the eastern side of London and the estate of Stepney, which probably formed an early endowment to the bishop by King Æthelberht of Kent in the early 7th century.
 62. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 168–69 and passim.
 63. *Ibid.*, 146.
 64. *Ibid.*, 162, 169. They suggest that the boundary of the 'suburbs', i.e. the extramural area over which the city had jurisdiction, expanded outwards with the increase in population. This view was shared by Harben (op.cit. note 22, 349, 346 and passim), and Page (op.cit. note 4, 178–9).
 65. Immediately to the east of this was the medieval parish of St. Mary Matfelon, taken out of St. Dunstan's Stepney in the 14th century; see McDonnell op.cit. note 58, 141.
 66. This boundary appears however to have been altered in some details to reflect the creation of the two wards around Aldgate and St. Peter's Gate, and probably also Bishopsgate, arguably in the late 9th century.
 67. Brooke & Keir, *London*, 141–42.
 68. *Ibid.*, 142.
 69. *Ibid.*, 161.
 70. *Ibid.*