AN EARLY LIST OF LONDON PROPERTIES

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IN Faustina B. vi., at f. 100, there is a list of London churches and lands belonging to the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, about 1100. It is thus earlier than the Survey of Lands of St. Paul's which occurs in Liber L among the St. Paul's MSS. and which has been dated 1128.¹ It describes the beginnings of the London Deanery of the Arches, that peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury's. It mentions ten churches, and for most of them this is the earliest mention yet found. It contains the earliest known references to London Stone and to Eastcheap. It has the earliest known mention of the name of an alderman of London.

The document has received suprisingly little attention. It was used in an article in the *Transactions* of 1936.² Apart from this, there seems to be no published reference to it except where it is given as an authority in footnotes on pp. 152 and 164 of William Page's *London* (1923).

The text is as follows, in a twelfth century hand :---

Iste sunt ecclesie terre et domus. que pertinent ad ius et ad possessionem cantuariensis ecclesie inciuitate lundonia. Ecclesia beate Marie cum terris et domibus et ecclesijs ad eandem pertinentibus. quam liuingus presbyter dedit suscepto sancte religionis indumento in ecclesia cantuariensi. Eius ecclesie debitus per singulos annos census est. xL. libre. ¶ Ecclesia quam Godwinus clericus cognomento bac dedit factus monachus in ecclesia cantuariensi. hec singulis annis persoluit. vij. sol'. in festo Sancti alfegi. ¶ Ecclesia sancti benedicti uel pancratij quam dedit lifricus presbyter factus monachus in ecclesia cantuariensi. hec persoluit unceam auri in pentecosten. ¶ Ecclesia sancti Michaelis quam elwardus presbyter dedit. hec persoluit. v. sol'. ¶ Ecclesia sancti. confessoris Dunstani. Itemquealia beati aelfegi cum terris et domibus ad easdem pertinentibus, quas dedit andreas clericus monachus factus cantuarie, he singulis annis persoluunt. xxxv. sol. ¶ Ecclesia apostoli cum omnibus appendicibus suis quam sancti petri brihtmerus ciuitatis lundonie senator quondam possedit. et ecclesie Christi cantuariensi post mortem suam et mortem uxoris sue. et filiorum suorum iure hereditario possidendam concessit. Adcuius rei testimonium. Ægelwinus qui solus nunc filiorum super est singulis annis. ij⁰⁸. sol'. persoluit. ¶ Ecclesia sancte Wereburge uirginis quam possedit Gumbertus cum domo adiacente. hec persoluit unceam auri. ¶ Terra quoque ceatermundi que singulis annis persoluit. x. sol: aut dimidium modium uini. ¶ Terra quam dedit brungares laue, hec persoluit. vi. sol'. et. iiij^{or}. den'. in festo sancti aelfegi. ¶ Terra quam bernardus habet in eastceape. quam dominus abel cum henrico nepote suo ecclesie Christi contulit. hec reddit. xiiij. sol'. ¶ Terra aelmeri fabri debet. ij. sol' in festo sancti aelfegi. ¶ Terre quas siredus presbyter dedit. cum relicto seculo monachi cum habitum inecclesia cantuariensi suscepit, has terras cum domibus concessit ecclesia cantuariensis siwardo clerico filio eiusdem siredi. ut ipse quamdiu uixerit easdem teneat. et ad agnitionem singulis annis. x. sol' ecclesie Christi conferat. ¶ Medietas ecclesie que berekinges uocatur. quam aelfwinus filius faremanni dedit ecclesie cantuariensi. Hanc gundulfus rofensis episcopus ad debitum censum tenet. ¶ Terra quoque mansionaria et domus subterranea ualdebona. quam dedit eadricus boltes sunu. hanc inclusam insua curia Walkelinus Wentanus episcopus tenuit. et statutum censum singulis annis ecclesie Christi persoluebat. annuente lanfraco hoc quamdiu ipse Walkelinus uixisset. ¶ Terra quam dedit Algarus presbyter singulis annis ecclesie Christi. viij. sol' persoluit. et est sita inuiculo contra radeleswerf iuxta terram sperlingi monetarij. ¶ Ælfwinus quoque laicus dedit ecclesie Christi cantuariensi werf quod in latere fluminis tamisie situm est. hoc persoluit. x. libras. ¶ Eadwaker aet lundene stane dedit suam terram cum domibus ecclesie Christi ea conuentione. ut quamdiu uixerit ipse dabit omni anno. ij⁰⁸. sol' ad recognitionem. in natiuitate sancte Marie. et postquam ipse obierit: parentes eius similiter omni anno dabunt duos sol: ¶ Terra quam dedit aelfredus filius picot. hec persoluit. v. sol'. ¶ Terre due quas dedit eadgifua. quarum altera persoluit. xvi. sol'. altera adhuc constitutione.³ Liuiue in nativitate sancte Marie den', i. et post mortem eius terra tota. Inclusa de sancta margareta quamdiu uixerit omni anno infesto sancti iohannis baptiste dabit. iiij. den'. et post mortem eius predicta terra reddet. xxxij. den'. ¶ Ægelwinus de benflete dedit ecclesie Christi unam mansuram insuthuwerka. De qua quamdiu ipse et filia eius uixerint ecclesia Christi habebit. iiij. sol' pro recognescentia infesto sancti Michaelis. Postquam obierint:

ecclesia Christi faciet de mansura quod uolet. ¶ Ælwinus filius stephani. modo. dedit ecclesie Christi duas mansuras in lundonia. quarum una reddet. vi. sol'. in pentecosten. Altera. xxx. den'. Testimonium. Waldsi. Wulsi. Goldwinus. Osmerus. Gosfridus.

In the margin, against the line containing the words $Eadwaker \ aet \ lundene \ stane$, is, in a hand of about the seventeenth century, en stane followed by a sign for directing attention to this point in the MS. Before en is the upper part of a letter which has been cut through in a later reducing of the size of the vellum. The severed latter was presumably a d, and this marginal remark a means of drawing attention to this early mention of London Stone.

It will be noticed that the text is corrupt at the place where there is a gap before the word *Liuiue*.

There is a heading *Bona ecclesie* in a later mediæval hand.

The contents of the document may be summarised in English as follows:—

These are the churches, lands and houses which belong to the church of Canterbury in London.

The church of the Blessed Mary, with lands and houses and churches belonging to it, which church Living the priest gave on becoming a monk in the church of Canterbury. His church pays ± 40 a year.

The church which Godwin Bac the clerk gave on being made a monk in the church of Canterbury. This pays 7s. a year on St. Alphege's Day.

The church of St. Benedict or Pancras which Lifric the priest gave on being made a monk in the church of Canterbury. This pays an ounce of gold at Pentecost.

The church of St. Michael which Elward the priest gave. This pays 5s.

The church of the Confessor St. Dunstan and the church of the Blessed Alphege, with land and houses belonging to them, which Andrew the clerk gave on being made a monk at Canterbury. These pay 35s. a year.

The church of St. Peter the Apostle, with all appurtenances, which Brihtmer, alderman of London, once had and of which he made a gift to Christ Church, Canterbury, to take effect after the death of himself and his wife and sons. Ægelwin, the sole surviving son, pays 2s. a year by way of witness to this transaction.

The church of St. Werburgh the Virgin which Gumbert had, with the adjoining house. This pays an ounce of gold.

The land of Ceatermund which pays yearly 10s. or half a modium of wine.

The land which Brungares Lave gave. This pays 6s. 4d. on St. Alphege's Day.

The land which Bernard has in Eastcheap, which Dominus Abel with Henry his nephew gave to Christ Church. This pays 14s.

The land of Ælmer the smith owes 2s. on St. Alphege's Day.

The lands which Sired the priest gave on becoming a monk in the church of Canterbury. These lands, with houses, the church of Canterbury gave to Siward the clerk, son of Sired, to hold during his life and to pay Ios. a year to Christ Church.

Half of the church called Barking's which Ælfwin son of Faremannus gave to the church of Canterbury. Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, holds this.

Land and an underground house Valdebona which Eadric son of Bolt gave. Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, held this included in his courtyard and paid the yearly rent to Christ Church, Lanfranc consenting to this for so long as Walkelin was alive.

The land which Algar the priest gave pays Christ Church 8s. a year. It is in the street against Radel's Wharf near the land of Sperling the moneyer.

Ælfwin the laymen gave Christ Church, Canterbury, the wharf which is beside the Thames. This pays f_{10} .

Eadwaker "at London Stone" gave his land and houses to Christ Church on condition that he will give 2s. a year for life at the Nativity of St. Mary, and after his death his relations will do the same.

The land which Alfred son of Picot gave. This pays 5s.

Two pieces of land which Eadgifua gave, of which one pays 16s. and the other . . . of Liviva at the Nativity of St. Mary 1d. and after her death the whole land.

The anchoress of St. Margaret while she lives will give 4d. a year on St. John the Baptist's Day, and after her death the aforesaid land will pay 2s. 8d.

Ægelwin of Benfleet gave Christ Church one *mansura* in Southwark. From this, as long as he and his daughter are alive, Christ Church will have 4s. at Michaelmas. After their death, Christ Church will do what it likes with the *mansura*.

Ælwin, son of Stephen, has now given to Christ Church 2 mansuræ in London, of which one will pay 6s. at Pentecost and the other 2s. 6d.

Witnesses .- Waldsi, Wulsi, Goldwin, Osmer, Gosfrid.

There is a fourteenth century copy of the document,

without the heading, in the Christ Church cartulary which is preserved at Canterbury and is known as Register B, at f. 263. (The privilege of access to the MSS. in the library of the Dean and Chapter there is hereby acknowledged.) In the name *Godwinus clericus* cognomento bac, hac appears in the copy instead of bac. The other orthographical variations are of a negligible kind. The gap before the word *Liuiue* is not in the copy. A few lines, viz., those relating to Ceatermundus and Brungares laue, are missing from the copy, evidently through inadvertence.

Faustina B. vi. is a collection of matter from greatly varying sources and times. At f. 92 is a list of the monks of Croxden Abbev. Ff. 94 to 99 are in a hand of the twelfth century and contain documents, mostly forged, which have been alleged to have been used by Lanfranc in support of his claim for the obedience of York to Canterbury.⁴ The verso of f. 99 is black. Folios 97 to 100 form one gathering. Our list covers f. 100, including the greater part of the verso, at the foot of which is a note, also in a twelfth century hand, about the manor of Elwardintune (? Elverton) belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, and about a dispute relating to it in 1153. The next folio, numbered 100₂. is a blank modern piece of vellum. From f. 101 there is a some fresh matter viz., an obituary of the nunnery of Davington in Kent.

As for the date of our list of properties, it will be noticed that Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, is referred to as alive and Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, as dead. The former died in 1108, the latter in 1098. The list relates therefore to some year between 1098 and 1108.

The ten churches mentioned in the document will be discussed first. It will be convenient if we have before us a list of the thirteen churches comprising the Deanery of the Arches as fully constituted by the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1292 and as it survived to the middle of the nineteenth century. The order of arrangement given below is chosen for the convenience of the present discussion. The thirteen churches are:---

- 1. St. Mary le Bow.
- 2. St. Dionis Backchurch.
- 3. St. Pancras, Soper Lane.
- 4. St. Michael Paternoster Royal.
- 5. St. Dunstan in the East.
- 6. All Hallows, Lombard Street.
- St. Werburgh, which dedication was changed in the fourteenth century to St. John the Evangelist.
- 8. All Hallows, Bread Street.
- 9. St. Leonard, Eastcheap.
- 10. St. Mary Aldermary.
- 11. St. Mary Bothaw.
- 12. St. Michael, Crooked Lane.
- 13. St. Vedast.

These thirteen churches are almost the same as the London churches confirmed to Christ Church in Papal Bulls of 1179, 1187, 1191 and 1219.⁵ In other words, the advowsons then belonged to the Priory. We have, however, a list of churches belonging to the patronage of the Archbishop and said to be of the time of Archbishop Kilwardby in 1272, and this shows that he had by then acquired St. Mary le Bow. In the fourteenth century, the Archbishop acquired the advowson of six others of the thirteen.⁶

The ten churches of our document will now be considered in the order in which they occur.

(i) St. Mary's. The reasons for concluding that this is St. Mary le Bow have lately been published⁷ and have gained acceptance. Being rather complicated, they need not be repeated here. What were the churches which in our document are said to have belonged to St. Mary's remains a mystery.

(ii) The church which Godwin *clericus* named Bac gave and which paid 7s. at the feast of St. Alphege.

Here we have St. Dionis Backchurch, and this is the earliest known mention of the church. The naming of a London church after a person is paralleled at St.

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Martin Orgar, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Benedict Algar (alias Paul's Wharf), St. Martin Outwich, and perhaps at some others.

All the thirteen churches of the Deanery of the Arches, except St. Mary le Bow, paid pensions to Christ Church at the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas,⁸ and these pensions were all practically the same as those paid in 1200, as is apparent from an account of London *redditus* of Christ Church, Canterbury, in that year which is extant at Canterbury.⁹ Some of these pensions had, however, been changed since the time of our document. As against this pension of 7s. in about 1100, the church (*Bachchirche*) paid 16s. in 1200 and (*Sancti Dyonisij*) in 1292. Mention of the dedication to St. Denys occurs as early as John's reign (*Cal. of Anc. Deeds*, A.2977).

Also there were some changes in the times of payment. Whereas our payment of 7s. was made at the feast of St. Alphege (19th April), the payment of 16s. in 1200 was at Michaelmas. For 1292 we do not know any times of payment.

(iii) The church of St. Benedict or Pancras given by Lifricus presbyter, which paid an ounce of gold at Pentecost.

An ounce of gold was, at any rate in the reign of William I, worth 15s.¹⁰ In 1200, the church of St. Pancras paid 7s. at Pentecost, and in 1292 paid 7s. We have evidently here the church of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and this is the earliest known mention of the church.

No other record is known of the alternative dedication to St. Benedict. Perhaps the founder chose both saints in naming the church and then Benedict dropped out of use. Or possibly there was a rebuilding and a rededication. The dates of commemoration of these two saints are not the same.

(iv) The church of St. Michael which Elwardus presbyter gave and which paid 5s.

St. Michael Paternoster and St. Michael, Crooked

Lane, each paid 5s. in 1200 and in 1292. It is impossible to say which of the two churches is the one Elwardus gave. No such early mention of either has been found.

(v), (vi) The churches of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, with lands and houses belonging to them, which Andrew *clericus* gave and which paid 35s.

St. Dunstan in the East paid 12s. in 1200 and 1292. This is again the earliest mention of that church.

The only church of St. Alphege in London was connected with St. Martin le Grand from the time of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury (1102-39).¹¹ No connection with Canterbury has been discovered. Can we have here another instance of an alternative dedication?

(vii) The church of St. Peter which Brihtmerus, senator of the city of London, possessed and of which he made a gift to Christ Church, to take effect after the lifetime of himself and his wife and his sons. Ægelwinus, his sole surviving son, paid 2s. a year by way of witness to this transaction.

Here, for the third time, a dedication comes in question. This church can be none other than All Hallows, Lombard Street. In two cartularies of Prior Eastry's time at Canterbury there is a record of an agreement¹² by which "Brithmer at Gracechurch" made a gift to Christ Church, to take effect after the lifetime of himself and his wife Eadgefa and his children Eadmer and Ethelwyne (another form of the name Ægelwinus), of the homestead which he occupied and the church of All Hallows. The date assigned to the agreement in the cartularies is 1053. This, no doubt, is taken from a later mediæval endorsement on the original charter, and it is not an impossible date. All Hallows, Lombard Street, continued to pay 2s., both in 1200 and in 1292. It looks as if Ægelwinus was the incumbent. An Ægelwinus, son of Brihtmerus, according to a forged charter of William I's to Westminster Abbey dated 1067, of which a twelfth-century version survives in Cotton Charter VI. 3, gave land in London to the Abbey on becoming a monk there when nearing the end of his life.¹³

Why now should the church of All Hallows be described as St. Peter's? Nowhere else has it been found to bear that name. Perhaps the church had an alternative dedication, or perhaps our scribe made a mistake.

One curious fact may be worth recording. All Hallows, Lombard Street, is quite close to St. Peter's, Cornhill. St. Pancras, Soper Lane, was quite close to St. Benet Sherehog, and we found above that St. Pancras was called St. Benedict or Pancras. Is it conceivable that our scribe was confused in his topography?

The description of Brihtmerus as a senator is interesting. Archbishop Hugh of Rouen addressed a latter to the *senatores incliti* and others of London in the course of which he gives thanks for their fidelity to King Stephen. William Fitzstephen, writing before 1183, referred, in his description of London, to its senatorial order.¹⁴ "Senator" would appear to be a translation of "alderman," and Brihtmerus is thus the earliest named alderman of London known to us.

(viii) The church of St. Werburgh the Virgin which Gumbertus possessed, with a house near by. This paid one ounce of gold.

In 1200 and 1292 the church of St. Werburgh paid 15. This is another earliest mention.

(ix) Half the church called Berekinges which, Ælfwinus, son of Faremannus, gave to the church of Canterbury. Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, held it for payment.

This is All Hallows Barking. According to Domesday Book, there was appurtenant to Barking in Essex, which was held by Barking Abbey, a moiety of a London church "which in King Edward's time used to render 6 shillings and 8 pence and now does not."¹⁵ Dr. Wm. Page remarked that this church was apparently All Hallows Barking "which in 1291 still paid a pension of 6s. 8d. to the Abbey.''¹⁶ Our document, in accounting for the other moiety of the church, goes to confirm Dr. Page's conjecture.

In the four Papal Bulls of 1179, 1187, 1191 and 1219, the whole of the church is confirmed to Christ Church. But it was not in the Deanery of the Arches in 1292 and it paid no pension in 1200. In 1292, however, it paid 6d. to Christ Church.¹⁷

It is stated in the account of this church in Vol. XII of the London County Council Survey of London (1929) that the name more than suggests an original connection with the Abbey of Barking though proof is wanting. The above account of the two halves is a help towards such proof. The Survey uses neither our document nor the Papal Bulls. In 1303 the Abbess is found with the advowson of the church.¹⁹ For the intervening centuries the history of the church is confused, for in spite of the four Bulls we find Henry II confirming the church to Rochester about 1181.²⁰

Our donor, Ælfwinus, son of Faremannus, appears in the forged charter of William I's to Westminster Abbey which has been mentioned above. He is there found giving to the Abbey houses and lands of unspecified location. The charter goes on to say that *prenominatus urbanus* (showing that he was a Londoner) gave also to the Abbey a wharf before *Baermannecyrce*, i.e., the London church of St. Martin on the Thames, with land belonging to the wharf.¹⁸

(x) The anchoress of St. Margaret was to pay 4d. per annum.

St. Margaret Pattens had an anchoress in 1236^{21} and in $1255.^{22}$ Though this is a long time after our document, we may have here a reference to that church, and if we have it is the earliest known.

Having disposed of the ten churches mentioned, we now come to the lands. There are some fifteen separate lands, houses and *mansuræ*, including one wharf. In all but two instances, the properties are described as given by certain named persons, and in one case the person holding is named in addition. In the remaining two instances the land is described as that of a named person. Nearly all the names in our document are of English origin, as one would expect at this early period.²³ The 1200 list of London *redditus* contains numerous names, but there is no coincidence with the names in our document. In fact, other mentions of the names in our document are hard to come by. It includes *terra Ælmeri fabri*, and Ralph de Diceto and his chapter of St. Paul's are found giving land which *Ailmarus faber* held.²⁴ Can Eadgifua the donor of land be the same as our Brihtmer's wife Eadgefa?

In only two instances is the position of the land given, viz., once it is said to be in Eastcheap, and the land given by Algarus presbyter is said to be in the street against Radeleswerf, near the land of Sperlingus the moneyer.

With one piece of land, described as mansionaria, there goes an underground house held by Bishop Walkelin, of Winchester. Miss E. Jeffries Davis considers²⁵ that in early times the Bishops of Winchester, whose house was just west of Southwark Cathedral, probably had a landing-place a little way south-east of the church of St. Swithin, London Stone. The church of All Hallows the Less was close to that spot, and it is interesting to find that that church in the fourteenth century had apartments under it. A shop under the church is mentioned in a will proved in 136, and tenments under and near it in a will proved in 1348.²⁶ Moreover, it is known that the Bishop of Winchester had the advowson of the church in 1303.

The wharf given by Ælfwinus *laicus* paid, we are told \pounds_{10} . In the 1200 list there is a wharf (*wervum*) which paid \pounds_4 . For 1292, we have for Christ Church only totals of their London *redditus* by parishes,²⁷ and by far the highest total among riverside parishes is 41s. 7d. for St. Magnus.

Ælfwinus is commemorated in a Christ Church obituary²⁷ of about 1100²⁸ on 28th December for his gift of a wharf to Christ Church. In another obituary²⁹, of the early part of the thirteenth century,²⁸ he is commemorated on the same date for giving a London wharf to Christ Church, and he is there called Lifwinus and a *frater* of the Priory.

It is not clear what is witnessed by the five persons whose names appear at the end of our document.

One is tempted to ask whether our list of properties could be the note referred to by John Stow when he writes, "In the ende of a faire written Gospell booke giuen to Christes Church in Canterburie, by *Ethelstane* king of the west Saxons, I find noted of landes or rents in London belonging to the sayd Church, whereof one parcell is described to lie neare unto London stone."³⁰ It is true that the document describes no land as near London Stone. But it at any rate mentions London Stone. No such note as Stow saw has been found, and if our document were ever in a gospel book it, together with some preceding folios, must have been extracted therefrom some time after Stow saw it.

There are five early gospel books³¹ which answer more or less to the description given by Stow. But a comparison of the size of their folios with the size of our document seems to rule out any connection with Stow's note of lands or rents, which thus remains unfound.

NOTES.

- 1. Essays in Mediæval History presented to Tout, p. 47.
- 2. New Series, Vol. VII, pt. iii, pp. 438-440.
- 3. There is a gap, equivalent to about ten letters, between constitutione. and Liuiue.
- 4. A. J. Macdonald, Lanfranc, p. 284.
- 5. Holtzmann, Papsturkunden in England, 2, ii, pp. 374, 376, 441, 456. Canterbury Register A, f. 53.
- 6. Irene J. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, Vol. I, 63. Lambeth MS. 1212, p. 367.
- 7. Transactions, New Series, Vol. VII, pt. iii (1936), pp. 436, sqq.
- 8. Galba E. IV, ff. 11, 12.

- 9. Vide Canterbury MS. B.7, f. 15 v.
- James H. Ramsay, History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399, Vol. I, 3.
- 11. Victoria County History of London, Vol. I, 563b.
- 12. Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus, No. 799. Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicum, No. 372.
- 13. Vide p. 334 of Cal. Ch. Rolls, Vol. IV, in an inspeximus of the charter in 9 Edward III.
- 14. F. M. Stenton, Norman London (1934), p. 23.
- 15. Victoria County History of Essex, Vol. I, 448b.
- 16. London, p. 153.
- 17. Galba E. IV, f. 4 v.
- 18. Cal. Ch. Rolls, IV, 334.
- 19. L.C.C. Survey, p. 2.
- 20. Ibid, p. 1.
- 21. Cal. Close Rolls, 1234-37, p. 390.
- 22. Victoria County History of London, Vol. I, 587.
- 23. F. M. Stenton, Norman London, p. 16.
- 24. Hist. MSS. Comm., 9th Report, p. 67a.
- 25. Journal of The London Society, 1934, p. 77.
- 26. Cal. of Wills in the Court of Husting, Vol. I, 179, 501.
- 27. Galba E. IV, f. 4 v.
- 27a. Nero C. IX, f 21.
- 28. Eng. Hist. Rev., Vol, L, 293-296.
- 29. Nero C. IX. f. 16 v.
- 30. C. L. Kingsford's edition of Stow's Survey of London, Vol. I, 224.
- Tiberius A, II. Otho B, IX. Gospels of Macdurnan (at Lambeth Palace). Roy. MS. 1. B. VII. Roy. MS. 1. A. XVIII.