

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH DEDICATIONS OF THE CITY OF LONDON

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An investigation of the medieval church dedications of the City show a different pattern of popularity from that of England as a whole, and there are also some rare dedications. The writer attempts the dating of some dedications, and suggests that on the whole, historical reasons lie behind the choice of many of these. The paper omits the churches of Bridge Ward without, since that originally lay in the Diocese of Winchester and the County of Surrey.

The following table shows medieval church dedications of the City (including those of demolished churches) in descending order of popularity, with the number of churches bearing each dedication, and, in brackets, the position of each dedication in the national list of popularity¹:

1. (1)	St. Mary 13	((23)	St. Botolph)	
2. (2)	All Hallows (Saints) 8	((10)	St. Margaret)	
3. (4)	St. Michael 7	6. ((49)	St. Benedict)	4 each
4. (14)	St. Martin 6	((5)	St. Andrew)	
5. (3)	St. Peter 5	((7)	St. Nicholas)	
	((24) St. Catherine)			
11.	((15) St. Bartholomew)	3 each		
	((49) St. Olave (Olaf))			

14. Two dedications: St. Anne (32), St. Augustine (37), St. Dunstan (42), St. John Baptist (6), St. Laurence (11), St. Leonard (13), St. Margaret (10), St. Mary Magdalene (12), St. Mildred (66), St. Stephen (28).

24. One dedication each: St. Alban (52), St. Alphege (72), St. Antholin (Anthony) (80), St. Audoen (80), St. Bride (Bridget) (40), St. Christopher (60), St. Clement (31), St. Dionis (Denis) (30), St. Edmund (26), St. Ethelburga (141), St. Faith (39), St. Gabriel (111), St. George (18), St. Giles (16), St. Gregory (36), St. Helen (17), St. James the Great (8), St. John Evangelist (19), St. Magnus (93), St. Matthew (38), St. Pancras (66), St. Sepulchre (80), St. Swithin (27), St. Thomas the Apostle (34), St. Vedast (111), The Holy Trinity (9). Displaced dedications: St. Osyth (10), St. Werburga (52).

We may begin with a consideration of known pre-Conquest dedications, treatment of which has been somewhat unsatisfactory.² The earliest documented Anglo-Saxon church in London is in King Edgar's regrant of London to Westminster Abbey, about 959, delineating the northern boundary of the estate as running from Tyburn, along the army-road (*here-path* i.e. Oxford Street, New Oxford Street, Holborn) to the old wooden church of St. Andrew, which must be St. Andrew's, Holborn.³ Richard of Cirencester tells us that in 1010, the body of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, was brought to London from East Anglia because of Danish incursions and rested in St. Gregory's Church, a

small church adjoining the Lollard's Tower of St. Paul's Cathedral, never rebuilt after its destruction in the Great Fire.⁴ In a grant which may be dated between 1052 and 1070, Brihtmaer of Gracechurch granted land in Gracechurch with All Hallows Church there, to Canterbury Cathedral. This is, of course, All Hallows, Lombard Street, demolished in 1937; the name Gracechurch indicates the existence of another church also, doubtless St. Benet Gracechurch Street.⁵ A writ of Edward the Confessor, to be dated between 1063 and 1066 declares that the monks of Westminster were to hold the estate of Staines, Middlesex with the land in London called Staeningahaga 'in all things rightly belonging thereto in churches, mills,' etc., a reference to St. Mary Staining Church.⁶ The will of an 11th century Bishop of East Anglia, Aelfric, contains an ambiguous phrase, thus rendered by Professor D. Whitelock — 'I grant the messuage in Norwich to St. Edmund for my soul and the souls of those who granted it to me, and I grant the messuage in London to St. Peter.' 'St. Edmund' undoubtedly means the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, and, in this context 'St. Peter' would appear to mean St. Peter's Abbey, i.e. Westminster. There is a slender chance that it means a church dedicated to St. Peter, probably St. Peter on Cornhill.⁷

In 1067, William the Conqueror confirmed to Ingelric the priest and his brother Eirard, the possession of the church of St. Martin (-le-Grand), which they had founded for the benefit of the soul of Edward the Confessor. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, discussing this document, known only from official copies made in medieval times (inspeximus in Charter and Patent Rolls) points out that Ingelric and Eirard are Frankish names and that no Englishman would dedicate a church to St. Martin.⁸

A spurious document, probably concocted in Henry I's reign, claims to be William the Conqueror's confirmation of the possessions of Westminster Abbey. The City churches claimed are St. Mary Newchurch, given by Aelfward the Fat (*Grossus*), St. Clements, which Hamo the Steward (*dapifer*) had usurped, the King having forced him to restore it, St. Lawrence, with its cemetery and lord's court; a wooden chapel, and a moiety of St. Magnus Church at the Bridge (i.e. London Bridge). In fact, Eudo, not Hamo was the King's Steward, St. Magnus did not die until 1107, some fifty years after the date of the supposed charter, which was doubtless the Abbey's attempt to lay doubtful claims to property in the hope of securing it. Neither City church dedicated to St. Lawrence ever belonged to the Abbey, nor did St. Mary Newchurch. Stow claimed, possibly rightly, that St. Mary Aldermary was so-called because it was the oldest City church dedicated to the Virgin. He identified St. Mary Newchurch with Bow Church, but it was, in fact, St. Mary Woolchurch. This is clear from the cartulary of St. John's Abbey, Colchester, founded by Eudo the Steward in 1096. Among other endowments, he gave to the Abbey, with the assent of the priest, Ailward (*sic*) the Fat 'the Church of St. Mary West Cheaping, which is called Newechirche, his father having bestowed it (i.e. the living) on Ailward.' Hence St. Mary Woolchurch may have been founded in Saxon times, but more probably, just after the Conquest. The charter also grants St. Stephen, Walbrook, to the Abbey. We may assume with fair certainty that St. Clements, Eastcheap is intended, though we cannot be sure which of the St. Laurence's (Pountney, Jewry) is meant. Nevertheless, we have here evidence of Saxon or very early Norman date for four churches.⁹

According to Thomas Walsingham, a St. Alban's Abbey chronicler, the church of St. Alban, Wood Street, was a chapel of Offa, King of Mercia; originally it had belonged to

St. Alban's Abbey, but in some way passed into the possession of Westminster Abbey. Our faith in the story is shaken by the fact that the church actually belonged to the Hospital of St. James, Westminster, as Thomas could easily have ascertained. Nevertheless, as Offa was founder of St. Alban's Abbey, Thomas may preserve a truthful tradition regarding the dedication of the church, which could then be dated between 757-795.¹⁰ How far we can trust Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* is problematical; he tells us that the Britons placed a statue of Cadwallo over the west gate of London, i.e. Ludgate, and built underneath it a church dedicated to St. Martin. Again, though we may find the story unacceptable we might see it as evidence of the early foundation of St. Martin's, Ludgate.¹¹

Archaeology confirms the Saxon origin of All Hallows (Barking) by the Tower, and a fragment of a grave slab bearing Anglo-Saxon carving from St. Benet Fink, now in the Museum of London, suggests the pre-Conquest origin of that church. The British Museum has a circular cross head from the churchyard of St. John-upon-Walbrook, of early Cornish, not Saxon design, but which may still indicate a pre-Conquest date for the foundation of this church, consonant with its former dedication to St. Werburga (see below). On the whole, however, later rebuilders made a clear sweep of Anglo-Saxon church sites, for the demolition of All Hallows, Lombard Street, only produced a Saxon coin, while excavations at St. Mildred, Bread Street, pretty certainly an Anglo-Saxon foundation, produced nothing whatever from the period.¹²

Having noted dedications of proven early date, we may now consider why and when particular dedications were adopted. As Queen of Heaven, standing in a particularly powerful intercessory relationship to the Son, the Virgin Mary had obvious claims to be the most popular patron. Incidentally, St. Mary Axe Church, demolished in 1561, was dedicated to St. Mary, St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins. In spite of the immense suffrages such a dedication could offer, and the popularity of the story in medieval art, this was the only church so dedicated in England. Possibly its destruction was a Protestant counterblast to what was conceived as Romish superstition. The powerful intercession of All Saints accounts for the popularity of this dedication, though London is notable for retaining the Anglo-Saxon term All Hallows, but this is not conclusive evidence of the pre-Conquest date for these churches.

St. Michael, leader of the Heavenly Hosts and adversary of the Devil understandably stands third in popularity, but it is remarkable that St. Peter, holder of the Keys of Heaven is demoted to the fifth place of popularity in London; note the appropriateness of the dedication to St. Peter-ad-Vincula (-in-chains) of the Tower of London Church.

The large number of Churches to the City square mile is notable. This is probably due to the fact that landowners built churches on their London land, frequently dedicating them to the patron saint of the parish wherein the estate lay, and as we have already seen, a London church (Staining) might have connection with an estate outside. W. J. Loftie believed that originally the City consisted of two great parishes, divided by the Walbrook, each under St. Mary's patronage, later subdivided into the parishes of Woolchurch, Woolnoth and Bothaw on one side and Aldermary, Bow, Colechurch and Abchurch on the other, all dedicated to St. Mary.¹³ Even if so sweeping a theory is not acceptable, a subdivision of parishes seems to have taken place. Otherwise it is, for example, hard to explain why All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less were

within a few yards of one another in Thames Street, and study of the map produces similar instances.

Other dedications are explicable on historical grounds. St. Gregory sent St. Augustine from the monastery of St. Andrew in Rome, which was said to be built on what had been the family property of St. Pancras, a boy martyr of Diocletian's reign. Hence, one of the first churches built by Augustine at Canterbury was dedicated to St. Pancras, and his first church at Rochester was dedicated to St. Andrew. The New Testament has little to say about St. Andrew, but the gap in knowledge was filled by a work of fiction, written first in Greek, translated into Latin and ending as a first-rate adventure poem in Anglo-Saxon, at once accounting for and enhancing the Saint's popularity. The four City churches dedicated to him can never have formed one parish. The proximity of St. Andrew-in-the-Wardrobe to St. Paul's suggests that that was the earliest founded. St. Andrew's Holborn, as we have seen, marked the western boundary of London, and possibly St. Andrew Hubbard and St. Andrew Undershaft mark stages in the eastward growth of the City. St. Gregory's church, as we have mentioned, stood close to St. Paul's, and the remains of St. Augustine's are a stone's throw away. It is difficult to comment on St. Augustine Papey which stood on London Wall, and had a chequered history. St. Clement was, reputedly, the third Bishop of Rome, and St. Clement's Church in Eastcheap probably belongs to this early period. St. Faith was a virgin martyr of Aquitaine in Diocletian's reign. Miss Arnold-Foster believes that the dedication was introduced into England by the Normans, but St. Faith's Church in London was demolished when St. Paul's was extended eastwards in 1256-1312, and such proximity to the Cathedral suggests a somewhat earlier date. St. Laurence was martyred in 258 and Constantine later built a church over his relics. Dedications to him may have been introduced at the time of the Conversion, though there is a possibility that Laurence, Augustine's successor was intended or there may be a conflation of the two.

St. Helen, as discoverer of the True Cross was greatly venerated in Anglo-Saxon times, being especially popular in the northern counties, since she was reputed to have given birth to the Emperor Constantine at York. An Anglo-Saxon M.S. at Vercelli in Italy contains one poem about her and another of devotion to the Cross, part of the latter being inscribed on the Saxon Cross at Ruthwell in Scotland. It is therefore difficult to tell whether St. Helen's Bishopsgate, owes its dedication to some northerner who settled in London or to a more widespread devotion.

English saints of the early period are curiously neglected in the City. W. Levison tells us 'apart from St. Martin, saints of Gaul were not yet represented nor were there churches in honour of English saints' at the end of the eighth century in England.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is strange that there is no dedication to St. Erkenwald (d. 693) founder of Barking and Chertsey Abbeys, at one time virtually the City's patron saint. His sister, St. Ethelburga (d. 670) has one dedication. St. Osyth (d. 680) founded a nunnery at Chich (now St. Osyth's) in Essex, and had one church dedicated to her, but before mid-12th century it had been re-dedicated to St. Benedict (see below). This neglect of Essex may be due to the fact that London, originally part of the Kingdom of Essex, became Mercian under King Offa in the last half of the eighth century. But the change may have been due to the Norman Conquest as seems to have been the case with St. Werburga, (d. 669) daughter of Wulfhere King of Mercia, an Abbess of Ely and founder of several nunneries.

In the early 12th century, London had a church dedicated to her, but by 1300, it had been re-dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, thus blotting out the memory of an early saint connecting London with the Midlands, though, one suspects she was by that time already on the way to oblivion.¹⁵ By contrast, St. Mildred (d. 725) had two dedications. She is reputed to have been Abbess of a nunnery at Minster-in-Thanel, suggesting a Kentish connection for these dedications.

There were four dedications to St. Botolph, who is practically unknown to history and little known in legend though he is supposed to have lived in the seventh century. The majority of churches dedicated to him are in Norfolk, closely followed in numbers by Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. But dedications to him are found all down eastern England, from North Yorkshire to Kent, and strangely enough three occur in Warwickshire. The wide distribution of sixty dedications to the saint can hardly be explained as marking places where he preached, and the isolated positions of such dedications make it impossible to claim that they mark pilgrim routes to his town of Boston. London churches dedicated to him were at City gates — Aldersgate, Aldgate, Bishopsgate and Billingsgate. A possible explanation is that they were appropriate to places where travellers from the Eastern Counties entered the City, but the writer feels that the distribution of dedications to St. Bololph requires much further investigation. It is also remarkable that London has only one dedication to the historical East Anglian Saint Edmund King and Martyr, killed by the Danes in 870, though there is some evidence that St. Sepulchre's was originally re-dedicated to him.¹⁶

Other dedications to Saxon saints of late date are to St. Swithin (d. 862), St. Dunstan (d. 988) and St. Alphege, killed by Danes in 1012. It is hardly possible that these dedications were post-Conquest; hence the dedication to St. Alphege must have been within sixty years of his death, and those to St. Dunstan within eighty years. We have, unfortunately, no evidence that this quick canonisation and dedication had always been the custom. If it were, then the churches dedicated to St. Ethelburga, St. Werburga, St. Osyth and St. Botolph must have been founded by about the eighth century.

As we have seen, St. Benet Fink and St. Benet Gracechurch are pre-Conquest foundations; there is no evidence regarding St. Benet's Paul's Wharf. None of these churches ever had a connection with any Benedictine monastery, so the dedication is evidently due to admiration for the founder of western monasticism, possibly due to St. Dunstan's influence but perhaps going back to St. Erkenwäld's time. St. Benet Sherehog, as we have seen, was originally dedicated to St. Osyth. Stow was mistaken in assuming that the re-dedication took place when Benedict Shorne restored the church in the 14th century. The evidence points to a much earlier date, the church being so-called before 1248, and 'Alfwinus Sacerdos Sherehog' appears on an early 12th century document.¹⁷

We have already shown how many pre-Conquest dedications seem to be linked with the provinces. Other dedications suggest foundations made by foreigners settled in England. Modern scholarship does not accept the idea that any church dedicated to St. Martin must have been built shortly after the saint's death in 400.¹⁸ But as noted above, it is due to Frankish, as distinct from Roman influence. We may or may not accept Geoffrey of Monmouth's story about St. Martin's, Ludgate, but, as we have seen, St. Martin's-le-Grand was undoubtedly a Frankish foundation. St. Martin Orgar took its name from Orgar the Deacon, who granted it to St. Paul's in Richard I's reign (1190-99).¹⁹ He was

pretty certainly of French origin (Orgar le Prud, i.e. the Proud, occurs earlier in the century). Stow describes the church as 'a small thing' which is in keeping with an early date. St. Martin-in-the-Vintry was in existence in the second half of the 11th century when Ralph Peverel granted it to Gloucester Abbey (now Cathedral). Its name indicates a close connection with the French since the Ward took its name from the wine-trade. In the 14th century the church was the burial place of the Gisors family, obviously of French origin, and it was rebuilt by the executors of Matthew Columbars, a Bordeaux wine-merchant. Stow says that St. Martin Pomeroy takes its name from apples 'growing where houses are lately built, for myself have seen large void places there.' The derivation from French *pommes* seems to be mere guesswork. The Latin form of the name, *in pomerio* suggests a possible link with Latin *pomarium*, 'orchard' but more likely it is from *pomerium* meaning the empty space between the wall and built up area of a town.²⁰ It is strange that Stow did not know the English derivative 'pomery' which as the N.E.D. shows, was used in 16th century England, and this meaning explains the 'void places' Stow had seen better than 'apple trees.' The church itself was in Ironmonger Lane, not far from the wall; if the derivation suggested is correct, the church must be of fairly late date since one can hardly imagine the *pomerium* being built on immediately after the Conquest. St. Martin Outwich possesses no clues as to its origin; Stow mentions a settlement of Frenchmen, called Petty France adjoining Houndsditch, but this can hardly be connected with the church.

St. Audoen's church was demolished in Henry VIII's reign, with that of St. Nicholas Shambles, being granted by the King to the City on condition that the church of the dissolved Greyfriars became that of the united parishes, denominated, obviously with Protestant intention, Christ Church.²¹ St. Audoen (d. 683) was Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal to the Frankish King Dagobert, eventually becoming Bishop of Rouen and later patronal saint of the Cathedral. The dedication is rare, and, coming as it does from Normandy, we are probably right in thinking the church was built by a follower of the Conqueror. The same applies to St. Vedast, Foster Lane. This saint was born in southern France but his preaching brought a religious revival in northern France when he became Bishop of Arras where he died in 540, where the cathedral and a great monastery were dedicated to him. Only one other church in England, at Tathwell in Lincolnshire, is dedicated to him, and there is no known connection between the two. St. Dionis may be a dedication of French origin, though a large number of saints have this name (a form of Dionysius) — Dionysius the Aeropagite, converted by St. Paul, renowned wrongly, in the Middle Ages as the author of some mystical treatises, a second century Bishop of Corinth, and a third century Bishop of Arras are some of the claimants. The latter became St. Denis, patron saint of France, and he may be the saint intended in the dedication of St. Dionis Backchurch. No suggestion can be offered about the probable date of dedication. Possibly the form Dionis was kept instead of the more usual Denis to avoid accusations of sympathy with the French enemy.

Three dedications are of Scandinavian origin — St. Olave (Olaf) St. Magnus and St. Bride. St. Olaf, King of Norway forcibly converted his subjects to Christianity, dying in 1030, so that dedications to him can hardly be earlier than the second half of the 11th century, and are most probably by Scandinavian settlers. St. Olave, Silver Street, was near the Pool, St. Olave, Old Jewry, at the commercial centre of the City, both places fitted

for a nation of merchants and seafarers. St. Olave, Hart Street, tucked away at the north-west corner of the City was perhaps built in what had been the *pomerium* when little building space was left. St. Magnus died in 1107, so that, unless a re-dedication, the church must have been built in the 12th century, its position close to London Bridge being particularly appropriate. St. Bride (Bridget) was a disciple of St. Patrick, who died in 525. Most churches dedicated to her are in the north-west, and a few in the south-west. Bridekirk, for instance means 'Bridget's church.' A number of Norsemen settled near Dublin; as time passed, Irish words and turns of phrase slipped into their speech, and the Irish St. Bridget became their patron. Eventually a number of these Irish-Norse settled in north-western England, as place-names, dialect and church dedications show. Probably St. Bride's in London owes its dedication to men of this type, rather than to pure Irish settlers.²²

St. Sepulchre's, really the church of the Holy Sepulchre, seems to have been originally dedicated to St. Edmund, and the change is probably due to the enthusiasm for recovering the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel which led to the Crusades. St. Leonard, a French hermit saint of the sixth century, about whom little is really known, had a reputation for ransoming prisoners and captives which may have led to his popularity in the Middle Ages, especially during the Crusades when ransoming captives was of considerable importance, as shown by London's two dedications to him. One of the four English churches in England dedicated to St. Antony (St. Antholin) was in London. He was a 4th century Egyptian hermit, said to have become popular with merchants trading to the Middle East. This might explain the London dedication, but certainly does not explain the others (Byker, Cartmel Fell) which cannot have had such a connection.

Having explored the historical reasons for church dedications, we may glance at others. A striking feature is the lack of Biblical references — one dedication only to the Holy Trinity, Christ Church a post-Reformation re-dedication. Andrew's popularity drawn from his apocryphal adventures we have already noted. St. Bartholomew, no more than a name in the New Testament, rates next, probably because his legend described adventures in Arabia and India ending in his being flayed alive; making him more interesting. St. John Baptist was more popular than the Evangelist, doubtless because his story illustrated the wickedness of women, a favourite theme of medieval moralists. Mary Magdalene's popularity was probably more due to her adventures in France than to her being a repentant sinner, especially after the 13th century 'discovery' of her bones by a Count of Provence. St. Stephen's stoning also supplied a dramatic theme for preachers. It is, however, remarkable that though St. James's shrine at Compostella was one of the great 'draws' for medieval pilgrims, only one City church was dedicated to him. God's messenger St. Gabriel, had only two dedications in England of which one was in London. That however was late; until 1517 the church had been dedicated to St. Mary, and the reason for the change is unknown.²³ St. Anne, legendary mother of the Virgin Mary had two dedications in London, one shared with St. Agnes, a virgin martyr of the 4th century. The growing popularity of belief in the Immaculate Conception may have led to devotion to St. Anne, and her connection with Agnes, noted for her chastity.

St. Giles is a shadowy figure historically, but legend connects him with hunting and the outdoor life. Hence churches dedicated to him are usually found close to city gates, usually on the outside, as with St. Giles, Cripplegate. St. Christopher, patron saint of

travellers, had but one church dedicated to him, not near a gate but in Threadneedle Street. History is somewhat vague about St. George though his legend is well-known. He did not displace Edward the Confessor as England's patron saint until Edward III's reign (1327-77) when the Order of the Garter was founded and work began on St. George's Chapel. It would be tempting to connect the City's St. George Church with these events, but it was already in existence.²⁴ St. Nicholas, a 4th century Bishop of Myra, has been popularised by legend; of 387 English churches dedicated to him, London had four but whether as patron saint of mariners, children, travellers or thieves or in some other of his numerous capacities is not clear.²⁵ St. Katherine is said to have been martyred in the fourth century, though her body was not discovered on Mount Sinai until the ninth. Good, beautiful and chaste, she defended her faith before the Emperor Maxentius, who, after putting her to torture on a spiked wheel, had her scourged and beheaded. Her story may have been brought back to the West by Crusaders, and the manner of her martyrdom was a tear-jerking theme for an eloquent preacher. More striking still was the story of St. Margaret. Neither blandishments nor torture could persuade her to yield her virginity. When devoured by a dragon, she made the sign of the Cross, which burst the creature asunder, she emerging unscathed. Eventually she was put to death, having first prayed to the Almighty that anybody who wrote, read, or related her life should have his name written in the book of eternal life, and anybody who built a church in her name should not be punished for his evil deeds. These were privileges no other saint had secured, and it is perhaps surprising that only two churches were dedicated to her.

1. The writer has compiled his own list of the medieval popularity of dedications from the data given in: Miss F. Arnold-Foster's *Studies in Church Dedications* 3 (London 1899) 1-26, Appendix 1; the popularity list in F. Bond's *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Parish Churches* (Oxford 1914) 17-25, is based on all dedications, both ancient and modern, and so completely misleading regarding medieval popularity.
2. W. Lethaby, *London Before the Conquest* (London 1902) is particularly inaccurate e.g. Geoffrey of Monmouth's reference to St. Martin's Ludgate is referred to 'St. Michael's Ludgate', instead of 'a moiety of St. Magnus' he has 'St Magnus moiety' and other errors.
3. W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1883-92) No. 1048. The word here translated 'wooden' is *stoccen*, only known from this charter, derived from *stoc* 'a stump, a log.' Hence, at this date, the church must have been built of split logs like the Anglo-Saxon church at Greensted-juxta-Ongar.
4. Richard of Cirencester, *Chronicle* (R.S.30 London 1863-9) 359. After the Fire, St. Gregory's parish was united with that of St. Mary Magdalen, Fish Street, R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* 1 (London, 1708) 236.
5. A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1956) No. 116, 216-17, 469.
6. F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*. (Manchester, 1954) 98, 362-3. Miss Harmer advances reasons against All Hallows Staining being the church concerned. The document shows that Stow's derivations (from Painter-Stainers in the neighbourhood or a stone church) are bad guesses. (J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. F. Kingsford, Oxford 1908) 203-04, 304.
7. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 72-3, 181-4.
8. W. H. Stevenson, 'An Anglo-Saxon Charter of William the Conqueror, London, A.D. 1068' *English Historical Review*. 11 (London, 1896) 731-44. J. H. Round's comments and Stevenson's reply *ibid.*, 12 (1899) 105-10.
9. Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1327-1341 (London, 1912) 333-4. *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste Colcestriae* ed S. A. Moore 1 (Roxburgh Club, London, 1897) 3.
10. T. Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatium Monasterii Sancti Albani* (R.S.28, pt 4 London, 1867-9) 55, Newcourt, *op. cit.* 1, 236-7.
11. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed A. Griscorn. (London, 1929) 529 (trans: L. Thorpe (Penguin Classics, London 1966) 280 S. Evans (Everyman Library, London 1963) 259.
12. V.C.H. London, 1 (London, 1909) 169-70. St. Benet Fink grave slab, fig. 34; St. John cross-head, fig. 19. For St. Werburga's see below; for All Hallows, J. W. Bloe 'Visits made to the site of All Hallows, Lombard Street', London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. N.S.9 (1945) 181-9; for St. Mildred's, P. Marsden *et al.*, 'Excavations on the site of St. Mildred's, Bread Street' *ibid.*, 26 (1975) 171-208.
13. W. J. Loftie, *A History of London*, 2 (London, 1883) 368-9.

14. W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford 1946) 36. But the present writer is not wholly convinced by the argument *ab silentio*. The poems 'Andreas (St. Andrew) 'Elene' (St. Helena) and 'The Dream of the Rood' are printed in G. D. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book* (London and New York 1932).
15. B. W. Kissam 'An Early List of London Properties' *London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. N.S.8* (1938) 57-68. The parish was known as St. Werburga's until the beginning of the 14th century, for the *Historical Manuscripts Report 9* (London, 1883) notes four deeds of Edward II's reign relating to tenements in St. Werburga's Parish (St. Paul's Archives).
16. C. E. Bradford 'St. Sepulchre's, Holborn. Fresh Facts from Wills.' *London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. N.S.8* (London 1940) 169-94.
17. J. Stow, *op. cit.*, 260. Alfwinus, witnesses a quitclaim in St. Paul's Archives, *Historical MSS. Comm. Report 61b*, the church is mentioned in the *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* (London 1890) A.1621 (Henry III. 1217-72), A.1657 (Henry III) A.1660 (Henry III), A.1674 (1283-5).
18. O. Chadwick, 'The Evidence of Church Dedications in the Early History of the Welsh Church' *Studies in Early British History* (ed. N. K. Chadwick, Cambridge 1954) 173-88. 'The cult of St. Martin was a part of Frankish influence, which we constantly find side by side with the Roman influence.' (*op. cit.*, 182).
19. Orgar's grant, *Historical MSS. Comm. Report 9*, 61b; for Orgar le Prud, Stow, *op. cit.*, 122-23, R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Letter Book C.* (London, 1901) 219-20.
20. See 'Pomery' in N.E.D., *pomarium, pomerium*, in any good Latin Dictionary.
21. J. Stow, *op. cit.*, 1, 318-19. Henry's grant, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 (London, 1910) No. 771 (14) p 416.
22. For these Irish-Norse immigrants. A. A. Armstrong *et. al. The Place-Names of Cumberland*, pt. 3 (English Place-Name Society, vol. 22, Cambridge 1952) XXIIXXX, E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* (Lund. 1918).
23. Newcourt, *op. cit.*, 1, 350.
24. Newcourt, *op. cit.*, 1, 353 records its earliest rector as Robert de Halwell, 1321, but Silvester, Rector of St. George's occurs in a quitclaim of 1320, R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books, Letter Book E.* (London 1903) 125.
25. David Hoppit in an article "Londinium uncovered" (*Daily Telegraph*, 12th August, 1978) writes: "Higher up in the debris is the Saxon church of St. Nicholas in the Shambles". The present writer has not been able to investigate further this statement, which suggests that St. Nicholas is a pre-Conquest dedication.