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ST DUNSTAN IN THE EAST: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF A MEDIEVAL LONDON PARISH CHURCH

Jennifer Ledfors

SUMMARY

The medieval parish of St Dunstan in the East was one of three London parishes referred to as juxta Turrim*; the other two parishes were St Olave's Hart Street and All Hallows Staining. It is a well-documented London community that is surprisingly under-researched. The prevalence of such a rich supply of documentary sources can be attributed to the fact that many of London's powerful social, civic and governing elite lived in the community and also to the parish's status as a peculiar of the archbishopric, which consequently served in various ways the administration of the archbishops of Canterbury. The rich records for St Dunstan in the East have allowed for a study of the architecture in a pre-Reformation parish church, which has consequently served to illuminate various aspects of Londoners' expressions of popular piety and daily liturgical practices in the later Middle Ages on the eve of the Reformation.*

AIMS AND INTRODUCTION

As one of the 17 riverside medieval City of London parishes, St Dunstan in the East was distinctive in that not only was it one of 13 peculiars of Canterbury in the capital but also because the medieval church possessed various architectural features that set it apart from other London parish churches. However, the Reformation, the Great Fire and the passing of time has resulted in the disappearance of most of the fabric of London's medieval parish churches (Jeffrey 1996, 18). Consequently, the vanished internal layout of these medieval churches has to be reconstructed from archaeological and historic sources. This article aims to examine the evidence for the medieval fabric of St Dunstan in an attempt to reconstruct the medieval church based upon documentary, archaeological, visual and cartographic sources. These documents support not only the existence of specific features in the pre-Reformation parish church, but also provide impressions of the building structure and architectural features. This allows for the construction of a narrative on the various elements of the interior fabric, a perspective on their appearance and usage, as well as providing an impression of the religious practices and preferences of the people who lived and worshipped in the parish. This article is based on research undertaken by the author for a PhD thesis (Ledfors 2012).

Difficulty arises when attempting to date the early history and foundation of St Dunstan in the East. All of the 110 medieval parish churches within the City of London appear to post-date the 9th-century AD Alfredian reoccupation of London (Schofield 1994, 33–44). In *c.*1600, chronicler John Stow observed that St Dunstan in the East was 'a fair and large church of an ancient building ... within a large church-yard' (Stow 1956, 122). The antiquity of the parish church was a belief shared by architect David Laing who wrote in 1819 that the church 'was probably

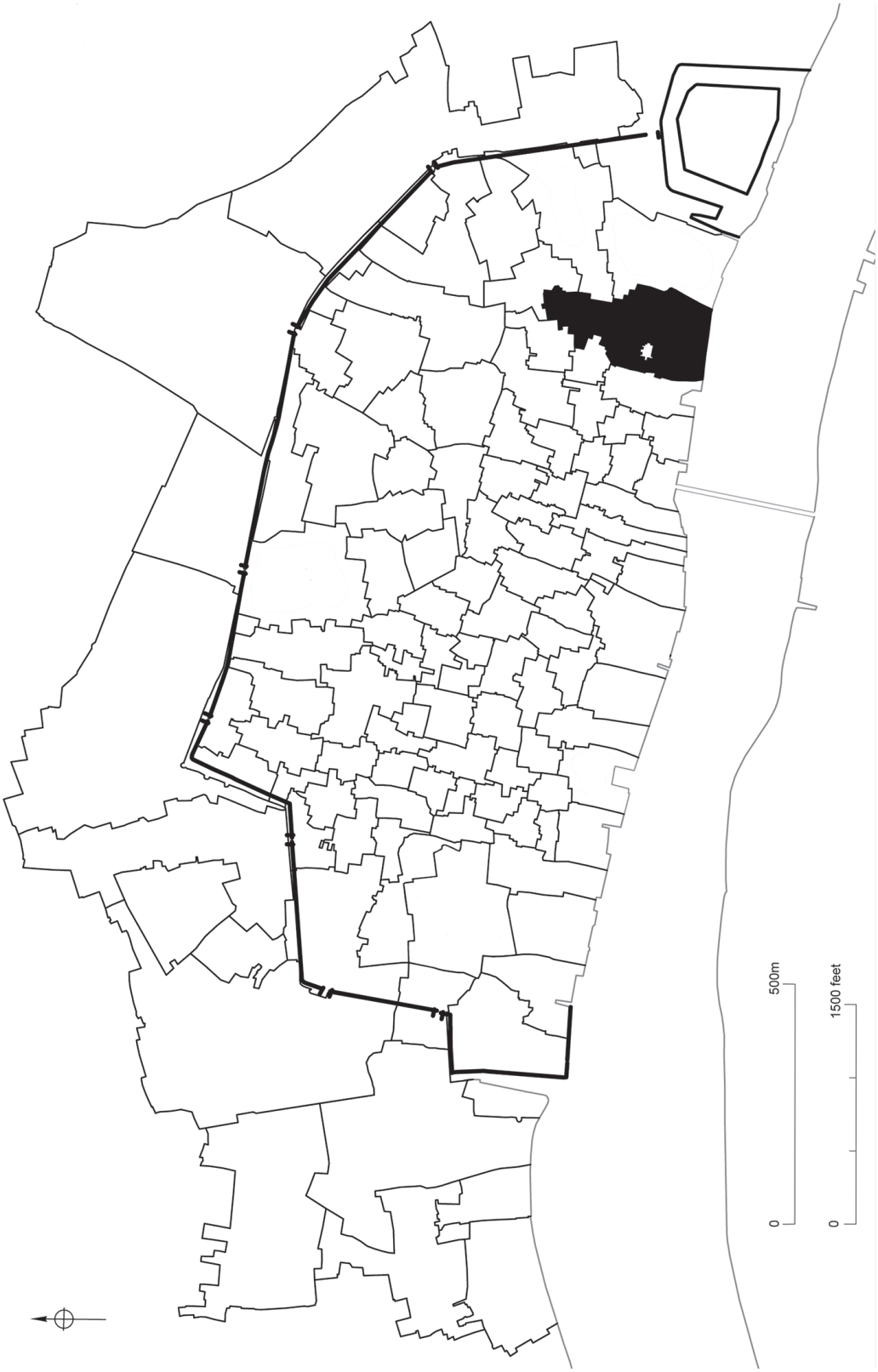

Fig 1. Map showing the location of St Dunstan in the East in relation to the parishes of the City of London (and some monastic precincts): the parish of St Dunstan is shown in black tone, surrounding the church (white) (scale: 1:15,000) (© MOLA; after Lobel 1989, the parishes c.1520)

the most ancient structure in the east of the Metropolis' (Laing 1819, 35). Laing, who had worked on many of London's historic buildings, had first-hand knowledge of the church fabric. When considering the early history of St Dunstan's and the origins of the church building, its status as a peculiar of Canterbury is significant.[1] Institutions classified as peculiars developed as a result of a combination of royal, episcopal, or powerful temporal connections and, during the medieval period:

> Many institutions which gained peculiar status (whether at this time or earlier) had a much longer history as institutions. Perhaps the earliest of these had their origins as Anglo-Saxon minsters – secular colleges of priests, often with royal connections. (Barber 1995, 300)

The early history of the parish church was connected with monastic orders. Between 1177 and 1180, after a dispute arose at the church, Archbishop Richard of Dover (1174–84) 'restored the church to his monks, who, it is stated, had been the parsons for a long time' (Kissan 1938, 204). Laing referred to the church and its link with monastic orders when he described the building foundations north of the parish church, stating that they may have formed 'the residence of the monks' (Laing 1819, 39). It was this plot of land that was transferred to St Dunstan in the East churchwardens and their successors by the monastery of St John the Baptist of Colchester in *c.*1230 (Moore 1897, ii, 583). In addition, as early as *c.*1100 St Dunstan in the East was a possession of the Prior and Canons of Christ Church, Canterbury: a status that continued until the church was transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1365 (Hennessy 1898, 135; Kissan 1935, 57). The patron saint of this particular church, St Dunstan, was a Benedictine monk, reformer and Archbishop of Canterbury (AD 960–88) (Farmer 1992, 137–8). Therefore, it may be possible that the church originated as a college of monks, which was later transformed into a parish church to serve London's expanding population.[2] The earliest reference to the church as St Dunstan in the East is the 12th-century dispute referred to above. If the parish church had originated as a monastery it would support the trend of monasteries that gave rise to a large number of peculiars as the different orders formed their canonical exemption.

One clue to the early history of St Dunstan in the East is an enigmatic tomb structure discovered in September 1863 during the construction of a new warehouse basement fronting on to 'St Dunstan's Hill'.[3] In the 'extreme' north-eastern part of this development and 'under a portion of the ancient wall of St Dunstan's church-yard' was discovered:

> a mass of concrete and a cavity, which seemed to have been moulded upon a wooden coffin, and contained some human remains, few bones were in good preservation; but a large portion of the lower jaw, having some fine teeth, was well preserved. The concrete was of great hardness and contained portions of pounded brick. (Blashill 1864, 297)[4]

The structure was capped or roofed by a series of cut-down, flanged Roman *tegulae* (*ibid*, pl 19, nos 3–5). The date of this tomb is uncertain and it is clearly not an example of a stone cist burial, which occurs from *c.*1000 onward (Gilchrist & Sloane 2005, 34). This structure was listed as a Roman burial by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) (RCHME) (1928, 155), but with the proviso that it was very similar to the tombs of some 7th-century AD archbishops found within the abbey church of St Augustine at Canterbury. For instance, Archbishop Laurence's (d AD 619) wooden coffin was placed in the usual grave, except it was backfilled with pink mortar and 'subsequently a monument of mortared rubble was built on top of this, rising about a metre above the floor' (Gem 1997, 100). The location of this tomb under a party wall probably explains the reason for its survival in an area that has been heavily disturbed by later activity.

Within late Roman Londinium were a number of substantial, high-status masonry buildings, some of which were apparently situated within walled courtyards (McKenzie 2011, 17). A possible 4th-century AD Roman cathedral has been located nearby on Tower Hill (Sankey 1998).[5] Possibly St Dunstan's large churchyard, as recorded by Stow, could have originated as a late Roman courtyard

building. Excavations within the courtyard of the Roman forum at Lincoln, Lincolnshire, revealed an impressive sequence of religious activity, which begun with a series of late Roman burials. It appears that sometime between the early 5th and 7th centuries AD an apsidal church was constructed within the cemetery. It was apparently superseded by a rectangular mausoleum containing a high-status cist burial, accompanied by a 7th-century AD bronze hanging-bowl.

> There can be little doubt that St Paul's church and cemetery were created within the forum court, while the forum was a standing structure still with public administrative functions, rather than a ruinous encumbrance. The cloister-like forum colonnade provided a fully enclosed religious precinct. (Rodwell & Bentley 1984, 26)

Another church or chapel was constructed over the mausoleum during the 10th century; this later became the medieval parish church of St Paul-in-the-Bail. There is considerable evidence for Roman activity within the vicinity of St Dunstan's church. Street works during the early 19th century uncovered a 'Roman pavement' of some description within St Dunstan's Hill, apparently close to the eastern end of the church (RCHME 1928, 139). In January 1863, during the redevelopment of property on St Dunstan's Hill, under the existing double basement of the previous house, a portion of a substantial wall 'about three and half feet thick [*c.*1.1m], built of various materials, principally chalk, some Kentish rag and here and there a Roman broken tile' was discovered (Anon 1863, 63). This wall has been interpreted as Roman (RCHME 1928, 139). However, the presence of chalk suggests on stylistic grounds that it was of medieval not Roman date (B Watson, pers comm 2015). Adjoining the south-west corner of the churchyard was an extensive high-status 3rd-century AD, Roman dwelling with its own private bathhouse (Marsden 1980, 151–4). The presence of Theodosian issues in a coin hoard from the bathhouse, shows that it was concealed during AD 380–400 (*ibid*, 180). While the discovery of a mid-5th-century AD button brooch in the destruction debris of the bathhouse implies later activity in the locality (Vince 1991, 411). Excavations at 16–18 St Dunstan's Hill and Harp Lane in 1974 revealed evidence of two late Roman buildings constructed on terraces (Schofield 1987, 109).

THE CHURCH GROUNDS

The church was situated slightly to the south-west of the centre of the parish; its grounds encompassed a large geographical area in comparison with other City of London parish churches (Figs 1 and 2). The parish is situated on a south-facing slope leading down to the Thames, while the church and its adjoining burial ground was clearly built on a terrace. This arrangement is shown in J Craig's *c.*1816 view of the church (Fig 3).[6] This terracing is demonstrated today by the presence of a brick-built retaining wall along the southern edge of the disused burial ground. The church was located between the major London thoroughfares of Tower Street on the north and Thames Street on the south, with smaller lanes bordering the church grounds (Fig 2). These lanes have been known by various names over the centuries. The lane directly to the north of the church was called Arunewelle Lane in *c.*1230 (Moore 1897, ii, 588); Priest Alley from 1498 until 1541; Churchyard Alley by 1590; Church Alley in 1720 and 1755; and St Dunstan's Alley in the early 19th century (Laing 1819, 39). The two streets to the east and west of the church have been referred to as St Dunstan's Lane from the 13th century until Stow's lifetime (Carlin & Belcher 1989, 87). Since *c.*1600 the street to the east of the church has been called St Dunstan's Hill (Ekwall 1954, 179). The lane on the western side of the church was called St Dunstan's Hill (in *c.*1570) and Church Lane by Stow (1956, 122); it is now called Idle Lane (Harben 1918, 209). These roads bordered the churchyards and would have facilitated the movement of processions and burial parties.

There were four churchyards adjoining the medieval parish church of St Dunstan. The land immediately surrounding the church was chevron shaped and contained three of the four graveyards (Fig 2). Two churchyards were located just north of the church: one was on the perimeter of the church building, in front of the north entrance; the other

Fig 2. Map of the parish of St Dunstan in the East, showing the church of St Dunstan (black tone) and reconstructed medieval properties (scale 1:2250) (© MOLA)

Key to ownership of selected properties, 15th–early 16th century: 1. John Tate I; 2. Alice Lynne, purchased by John Tate III; 3. 'le Maid on the Hoop', William Sevenoke; 4. Rectory of St Dunstan in the East; 5. Potyn's tenements, priest commons and churchyard; 6–7. Sir Bartholomew James; 8. 'The Basket', William and Bennett Gonson; 9–11. Sir William Heryot; 12. Matthew Ernest Metyngham; 13. Stephen Brown; 14. Robert Colbroke

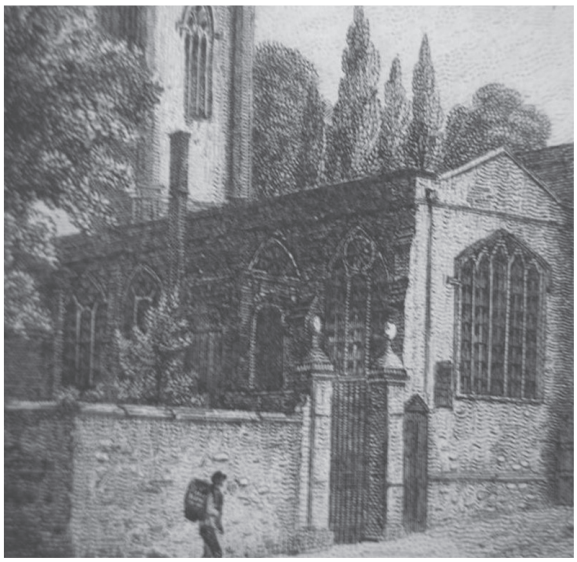

Fig 3. St Dunstan's church, south-east view, c.1816. Drawn and engraved by J Craig (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, SC/GL/PR/207/DUN)

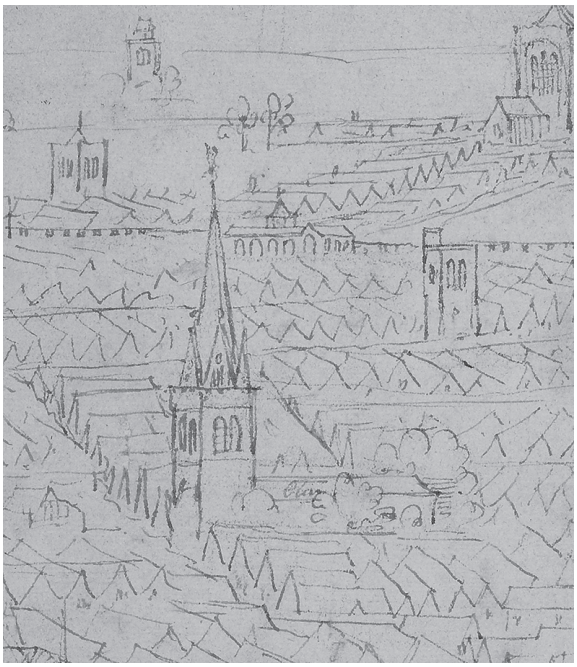

Fig 4. St Dunstan's church, detail from Anthonis van den Wijngaerde's 'Panorama of London as seen from Southwark: Billingsgate to Tower Wharf', c.1554, view looking north (© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, WA1950.206.9)

yard was contained within the large plot of land that extended north from Priest Alley (the street in front of the church) to Tower Street (Fig 2). This property, a significant acquisition for the parish church, was granted to the church in *c.*1230 by Adam, the prior of the Abbey of Colchester. The reason for the transaction is unknown: in the deed, the land from the King's Road, or Tower Street, towards the cemetery of St Dunstan was granted to Hugh, the chaplain at St Dunstan by the Tower, and his successors, by the abbot. In 1286/7, this area was described as possessing buildings and a churchyard.[7] This plot of land may have included the tenement held in 1436 by clerk John Morton that was identified 'in the corner of the churchyard of St Dunstan's, near the narrow passage leading to the Tower' (Thomson 1827, 259). In Anthonis van den Wijngaerde's panorama (*c.*1554), a section of the land north of the church does not appear to have any buildings on it and may have formed this northern churchyard (Fig 4). In addition, while numerous parish property deeds survive from the Middle Ages, there are no surviving property transactions for this large plot of land, indicating that this area was already a possession of the parish church (Holder *et al* 2006; Fig 2). Also, visible in the copperplate map is a row of tenements on the southern edge of this plot of land, just opposite and north of the church (Fig 5). This row may be the tenements referred to in 1500/1 by tiler Bartholomew Spotte, who repaired a house 'about the church' and 'all the houses upon the same row'.[8] These tenements may well have been the parish church-owned properties described in the churchwardens' accounts as 'rents about the church'.

In addition to the parish-owned tenements on the periphery of the large northern churchyard, there were other chambers within the church building itself, as well as dwellings in the churchyard. The church tower at St Dunstan possessed at least one chamber that accommodated layman Roger le Waterberer in the 14th century.[9] It may have been a different 'parish chamber' rented by Master Williams in 1494 when the stairs were repaired.[10] In addition, at least two chambers were located in the churchyard by 1541. In one reference, James Rymyger, the parish master of the singing children, paid an annual rent of 25d 'for two chambers in the chu[rch]yard'.[11] In the same year, a later reference recorded that a carpenter was hired to make a door for one of the rooms: 'for m[aking] [hole] [ch]amber doore to

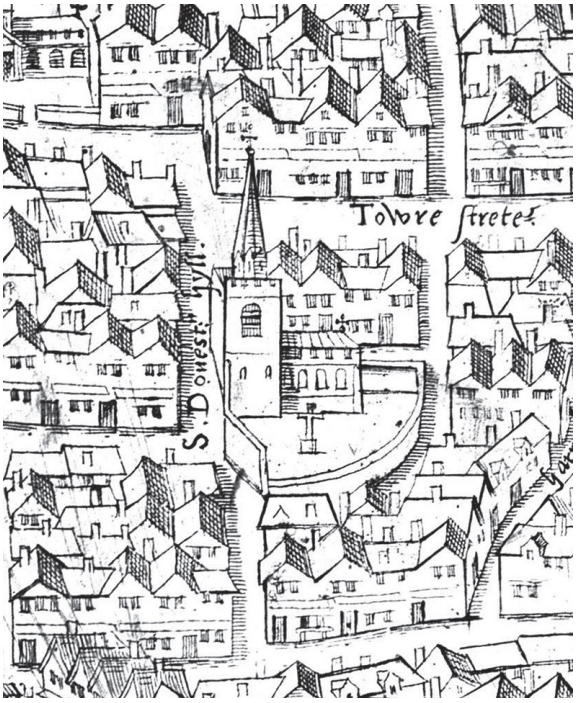

Fig 5. St Dunstan's church and southern churchyard, view looking north on a copperplate map, c.1560 (© Museum of London)

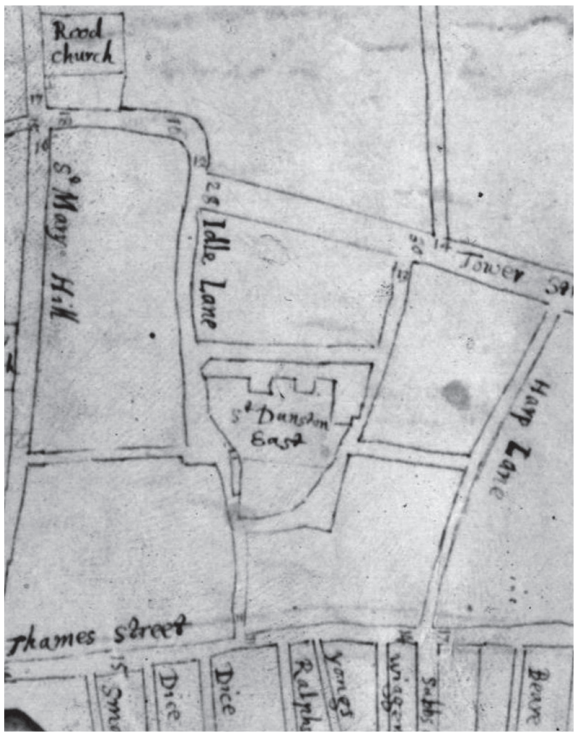

Fig 6. Sketch by John Leake of the Fire-damaged St Dunstan's church, 1666 (© The British Library Board, MS 5415 E1)

the bygg chamb[er] [hole] church yarde 20d'.[12] These churchyard rooms may well have been the two chambers illustrated in John Leake's post-Great Fire survey of 1666, where two rooms adjoin the western wall in the southern churchyard: one small square room abuts the northern wall of a larger rectangular chamber (Fig 6).[13] There may have been other utility chambers on the church grounds to store maintenance items, such as tools and the church's 'dung boat'.[14]

St Dunstan's church possessed one of three known pardon churchyards in medieval London.[15] The distinction of the burial space as a 'pardon' churchyard suggests that this burial ground was linked with a privilege acquired by the payment of a fee for an indulgence, or for the forgiveness of sins. However, there are no surviving references in the Papal Registers to indicate that an indulgence was granted by the Pope to the parish for this purpose. Moreover, those who were buried there were not charged a larger fee by the church than those who were buried in other areas of the parish church.[16] The earliest reference to the parish's pardon churchyard is in June 1454 when parishioner, John Pyers alias Salisbury, asked to be buried 'in the pardon churchyard, the place to be at the discretion of my executors'.[17]

The location of the pardon churchyard is confirmed in 1536 by parishioner John Thetforde: 'my body to be buried in pardon churchyard of St Dunstan in the East on the south side of the church'.[18] The pardon churchyard encompassed a section of the large southern cemetery; the perimeter of the enclosure was bound with a wall and wooden fence. In 1495/6, a mason was hired to 'make the walls again' in the pardon churchyard and labourers were hired to build a wooden fence consisting of 18 rails and 'eighty foot and ten [24.64m] of pale board'.[19] This indicates that the pardon churchyard bordered the large masonry wall that enclosed the entire southern churchyard; a segment of wooden railing separated the pardon churchyard from the rest of the cemetery. In addition, the pardon churchyard may have abutted the church building. In 1501/2, the churchwardens purchased 'a new key for the pardon churchyard door'.[20] This door may have also been what was later referred to as the choir door that led into the churchyard in 1508.[21]

This entrance into the churchyard may have facilitated the access of burial and other liturgical processions. The parish church possessed at least one canopy, with silk poles, that was used for outdoor processions.[22]

From the surviving references in the churchwardens' accounts and parishioners' wills, 74 burials were recorded in the pardon churchyard between 1454 and 1536.[23] Those who were buried in the pardon churchyard included respected members of the parish, as well as the vulnerable and the transient poor: children, servants, the parish anchorite and non-residents who had died while in the parish.[24] In 1500, when 'a man in the country' died in the parish his pardon churchyard burial fee of 3s 4d was paid by an unnamed source.[25] There was a strikingly high prevalence of children's burials in the pardon churchyard. Sixteen children's burials (nearly 22% of all pardon churchyard burials) were recorded in the churchwardens' accounts between 1496/7 until 1504/5. The children were recorded only by their family names; however, the account entries usually refer to the parent who paid for the burial. In 1500/1, Master Tate's child was buried in the pardon churchyard and, in the following year, 1501/2, Master John Tate buried his eldest son in the same churchyard.[26] One entry in the churchwardens' accounts reflects the dangers of childbirth: in April 1499/1500, Mrs Samelyn and her child were buried in the pardon churchyard. The parish also buried children who were non-residents.[27] In 1502/3, the churchwardens received 20d from an unnamed source for the burial place (laystow) 'of a child being a stranger in the pardon churchyard'.[28]

The churchyards were enclosed by walls and fences. These served to define the sacred limits of the consecrated ground; symbolically, the walls separated the dead from the living and they served an equally important practical purpose of keeping out unwanted persons. This may have included persons who were intent on stealing the plates of burial monuments in St Dunstan's cemeteries – apparently this was a problem for some of London's churchyards during the later Middle Ages.[29] To safeguard the area, the parish's large southern churchyard was enclosed by a tall plastered wall. Access was provided by a locked gate with a handle that was hinged on wooden posts. The northern churchyard, on the periphery of the church building, was bound by a wooden fence that ran along the yard. At the fence there was an entrance gate and a path, with steps that led to the church where gravel was laid just before the main church door.[30] Given the importance of the main entrance of the church in processions, and as a reflection of communal identity, the principal gate and fence were likely to have been well crafted and elaborately designed.

There were free-standing crosses in both the northern and southern churchyards, as there were in many medieval monastic and parochial cemeteries (Gilchrist & Sloane 2005, 38). As the focal point of the churchyard, this religious symbol may have incorporated other architectural features such as carvings, inscriptions and platform steps; paths in the vicinity may have been present to facilitate processions, particularly those on Palm Sunday. In 1515, William Bentley requested burial 'in the church yard of the said parish by the north side of the church before the cross'. Earlier, in 1495/6, a mason had been hired to repair the 'cross in the churchyard on the north side of the churchyard'. The large southern churchyard possessed at least one cross. In 1517, William Sever requested burial by the cross in the pardon churchyard. This may have been the 'stone cross and steps' that John Mason was hired to repair in 1496/7.[31] A Latin cross mounted upon a platform, or steps, is shown in the southern churchyard in the copperplate map (Fig 5). This crucifix may have served as a Palm Cross, which was often mounted upon steps and situated near the south entrance of a parish church. During the beginning of Easter week these crosses might be decorated with branches for the Palm Sunday procession (Hart 1846, 223).

In the north churchyard by the church building was a *fons* or well.[32] A good supply of water was important to churches for liturgical purposes. St Bride's church in Fleet Street possessed a well-known holy well until 1850 (Milne 1997, 110). At St Dunstan the well was situated close to the principal entrance on the north side of the church. In medieval London, wells were sometimes situated in the street immediately outside

the church, which implies they were parish institutions (Schofield 1994, 75). The parish well, anciently called *Arunewelle*, appears to have been located near the intersection of Arunewelle Lane and Idle Lane at the western part of the north churchyard as described in a *c.*1230 boundary description: *Que etiam terra extenditur a uiculo regio orientali protendente a cimitero dicte ecclesie sancti dunstani usque ad uenellam et fontem qui uocatur Arunewelle uersus occidentem* (Moore 1897, ii, 588). By 1498/9, the well was described as being located in 'Priest's Alley', perhaps indicating that this water source was regularly used by the parish priests, who lived nearby.[33] Redevelopment work in September 1863 along St Dunstan's Hill revealed some 25 feet (*c.*7.6m) back from the street frontage a circular medieval well. It was lined with regularly coursed, squared chalk blocks, with evidence of post-medieval brick repairs and underpinning (Blashill 1864, 297, pl 19, no. 1). This well appears from its backyard location to have been a private water supply.

St Dunstan is one of several London churches that had a charnel house (Harding 2002, 64–5). Charnels, also known as bone houses, were depositories for displaced human remains, accidently disturbed by the digging of new graves. In 1503, the charnel was described as located under a chapel in the churchyard: this may have been a reference to the Heryot chapel, located on the north aisle of the church (Arnold 1811, 255). A later account, in 1541, recorded that the parish church repaired the 'bones howse' at a cost of 3d.[34] Other London churches, including St Andrew Hubbard, St Alphage and St Dunstan in the West, also possessed charnel houses.

THE CHURCH FABRIC

The church of St Dunstan in the East is reputed to have been founded in AD 960 (Overall 1870, 227). Documents relating to the parish church held at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), recount that parish scholars have thought that the parish church was restored by St Dunstan in the 10th century.[35]

It may be from the time of the assumed foundation date of AD 960 to the first documentary reference to the church in *c.*1098–1108 (Kissan 1935, 57) that the building was composed of a two-cell plan consisting of the nave and chancel, like London's other late Saxon churches (Schofield 1994, 42). Subsequent expansion of the church presumably occurred in stages, as has been demonstrated by the excavation of St Bride's church (Milne 1997, fig 109d). St Bride began as a simple single cell 11th-century building, situated to the west of a holy well (*ibid*, fig 23). Following its initial construction, the fabric of St Dunstan's church clearly underwent many alterations and additions. From the 12th to the 17th centuries, there are four known building phases of the church. These included a rebuilding in the 13th century, the 1382 addition of the south aisle and porch, a benefaction of John, Lord Cobham, and in 1661 a major two-year refurbishment financed by Lady Williamson of Norfolk.

In September 1666 the church was severely damaged during the Great Fire, but was deemed repairable (Fig 6). Repair work on the church must have started soon after the Fire, as it had been substantially completed by November 1670 under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren. Later it was discovered that the tower and steeple was defective, so it was completely rebuilt during 1695–1701 (Jeffery 1996, 238–9; RCHME 1929, 183).[36] Some *ex situ* medieval ecclesiastical architectural stonework was recovered from a 17th-century context during the 1974 excavation at 16–18 St Dunstan's Hill (Schofield 1984, 75). It was formerly believed that this material was derived from St Dunstan's church and was discarded during its rebuilding by Wren. However, it is now considered fairly certain on stylistic grounds that this material was instead derived from the Cluniac Priory of St Saviour, Bermondsey (J Schofield, pers comm 2015). By the early 19th century the walls of the repaired church were reported to be moving outward, and in 1810 an attempt was made to prevent further movement by inserting tie-bars; this failed (Jeffery 1996, 239). Therefore, during 1817–21, the parish church apart from its west tower was completely rebuilt by David Laing.[37] He also recorded the ancient fabric of the building during its demolition and produced a floor plan of the church (Fig 7). In May 1941, during the London Blitz, St Dunstan's church was destroyed by incendiary bombs,

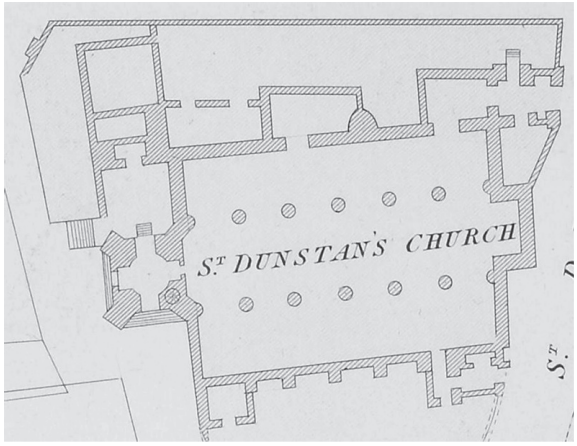

Fig 7. St Dunstan's church foundations, c.1817 (north is to the top; the internal length of the south aisle was c.87 feet (26.5m)) (Laing 1819, pl no. 1.2)

apart from its tower and steeple together with the adjoining Parsonage House which were restored and retained. On 21 June 1971 the shell of the ruined church and its adjoining disused burial grounds were opened as a public garden, which was created by the Corporation of London. The former Parsonage House is now the 'Wren Clinic'.

The reconstruction of the church and churchyard of St Dunstan, illustrated in Fig 8, is based upon documentary, cartographic and visual evidence. The plan of the church is based on the 1817 plan by Laing (Fig 7) and a 1666 sketch of the Fire-damaged church by Leake (part of his survey of the City of London undertaken immediately after the Great Fire; Fig 6). The Laing plan shows the church after the refurbishment by Wren, so the 1666 sketch is therefore a crucial link to the medieval layout. It seems to show the church with a chancel extending to the east, a long southern aisle, a slightly narrower north aisle with a variety of attached porches or chapels, and a large feature at the west end – presumably the tower (Fig 7). Taking a set of basic measurements recorded by Edward Hatton in the 18th century, and armed with the knowledge that Wren reused the north and east walls of the medieval church when rebuilding after the Great Fire, a simple reconstruction becomes possible (Hatton 1708, i, 217). Hatton's measurements are problematic as it is not clear whether they are internal or external, or if they include the chancel and the tower. The evidence of a series of 16th- and 17th-century views is also useful: Wijngaerde's view of *c.*1554 (Fig 4); the copperplate map view of *c.*1560 (Fig 5); and Wenceslaus Hollar's panorama of *c.*1647 (Fig 9). The final task in the reconstruction was to make use of the wealth of documentary evidence uncovered in this research and add in features such as porches, chapels and altars: every feature in the reconstructed drawing is based on evidence cited and discussed in this article. The plan of the churchyard and surrounding streets is based on research carried out by Tony Dyson on medieval property transactions within the parish.[38]

The church of St Dunstan was composed of four principal spaces: the nave, aisles, chancel and west tower. Attached to the main body of the church were a number of structural additions including two porches, chapels, the vestry and an anchorite's cell (Fig 8). As with other churches, the axis of the building was based upon an east–west alignment. The holiest and most sacred part of the building was the chancel in the east end, reserved for the clergy and important members of the laity. The designated area for the laity was the nave.

The responsibility of maintaining the fabric and furnishings of the church nave was borne by parishioners from the 13th century. Parishioners, as church benefactors, were important for their benefactions for the church fabric. Their donations and gifts were manifested in the building of aisles, porches, chapels, windows, repair projects of church structures, as well as the provision of furnishings and fixtures. Their endowments enhanced the splendour of the church fabric with the construction of funerary monuments (either stone monuments or brasses), heraldic emblems, the donation of lights and the addition of new spaces, such as chapels, porches and aisles. Moreover, through their benefactions to the fabric, the parishioners' collective religious preferences were evident in altar and chapel dedications as well as the provision of images of saints.

Two distinguished parishioners, John, Lord Cobham, third Baron Cobham (d 1408), and Sir William Heryot (d 1485), made significant contributions to the church fabric.[39] John, Lord Cobham has been described as 'the most distinguished member' of the medieval

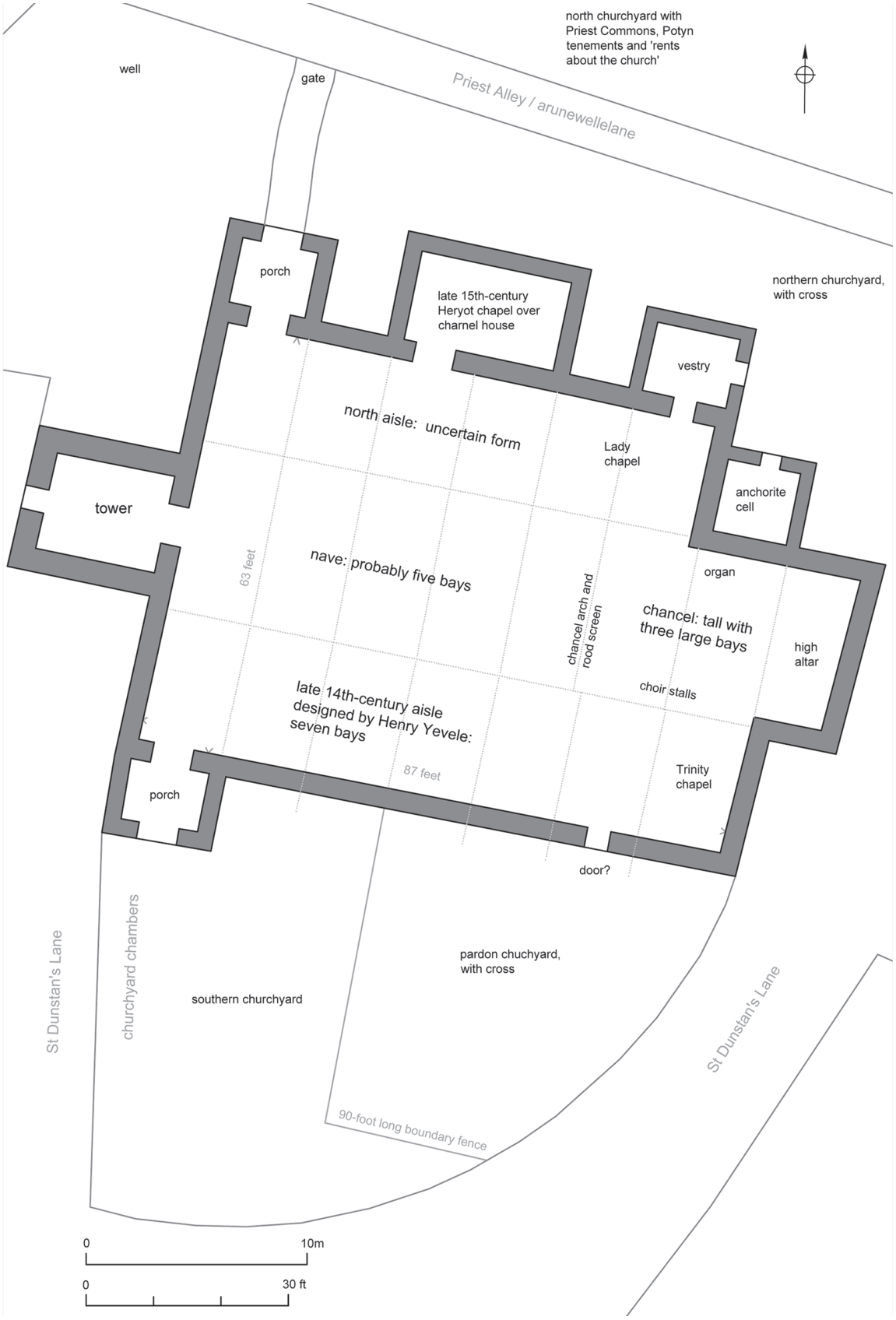

Fig 8. Reconstructed plan of St Dunstan's church based upon plans before 1666 by Leake and 1817 by Laing (internal arrows correspond to documentary internal measurements of the church) (scale 1:300) (© MOLA)

Fig 9. St Dunstan in the East from Southwark, detail from the panoramic view of London by Wenceslaus Hollar, c.1647 (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, Collage 31825)

Cobham family – a prominent gentry family in south-east England from the late 12th to the 14th centuries. As a distinguished solider and politician, Cobham served as an ambassador and royal councillor. John, Lord Cobham's benefaction to the parish was made in December 1381 with the construction of the south aisle and porch of the parish church, apparently as a Christmas gift to the church and parishioners. In the deed (written *a Loundres la veille de Nowel annê*), Cobham specified that the design would extend the entire length of the church.[40] It was to be built by mason Nicholas Typerton and was designed by the distinguished royal architect Henry Yevele (fl 1356–1400). This arrangement was stipulated in the contract showing that Yevele was 'a mason-architect' not a 'mason-contractor' (Harvey 1944, 39). Yevele was patronised by Edward III, the Black Prince and Richard II; during his career, he was in charge of the king's works from 1360 and he contributed to many royal and religious buildings in London and throughout England (*ibid*). Some of his notable commissions include buildings at Westminster Palace, the Tower of London, Savoy Palace, St Paul's Cathedral and Windsor Castle. Yevele's prestigious addition to St Dunstan in the East distinguished it from other London parish churches, and his design of the south aisle almost certainly employed his characteristic Perpendicular Gothic style.

Another parish benefactor, former London mayor (1481–2) Sir William Heryot, in 1485 commissioned a large chapel at the north church wall. Heryot was among the capital's civic elite:[41] his shield was listed in a Roll of Arms, dated from Henry VIII's reign, which comprised 439 merchants, country gentlemen and London's rulers. Heryot was born in Seygrane, Leicestershire, and may have started his career as a mariner: in his will he describes himself as 'late mariner' of London. By the mid-15th century, Heryot was a member of the Shearmens' Company and by 1468 he was a member of the Drapers' Company, where he served as the master in 1472/3, 1478/9 and 1483/4.[42] By 1462/3 Heryot had married Joanne, the widow of John Motte, a London stockfishmonger.[43] The Heryots were a wealthy London merchant family and lived in a 'great mansion' in Thames Street where Heryot employed several domestic servants including two kitchen staff. At the time of his death in 1485, Heryot had five surviving children: Joanne, William the elder, William the younger, Nicholas and John. These grandiose provisions by parish benefactors were also enjoyed by London's other wealthier parishes, but other London churches, such as St Andrew Hubbard, did not enjoy such benefactions from wealthy individuals. However, St Andrew Hubbard's parish elite did collectively unite to rebuild the church steeple in 1500 at a cost of over £37 (Burgess 1999, 64).

An indication of the wealth of some of the parishioners of St Dunstan during the early 16th century is demonstrated by the discovery of an exquisite, luxury Venetian style glass beaker (manufactured *c.*1500), discarded in a cesspit to the rear of 1–4 Great Tower Street (Spence & Grew 1990, 19).

DOORWAYS AND PORCHES

There were at least three entrances into the church at different times in St Dunstan's history. One door was located on the north side, one on the south side and there was a west entrance through the bell tower (Fig 8). In addition, the medieval parish church had two porches. Porches were the principal entrance into a medieval church and were built to give protection to the doorway. They were transitional spaces, occasionally multi-storeyed and spacious enough to be the venue for marriages, meetings and, reportedly, the place where debts or other fees were paid. Moreover, one of the parish porches was large enough to accommodate at least two burials.[44] The church porches were attached to the western ends of the north and south aisles (Fig 8). The construction of porches and the corresponding aisle typically occurred at the same time. The construction date of the north porch (and aisle) is unknown: it may date from the first half of the 14th century; it presumably pre-dates the 1382 construction of the south porch and aisle. The south porch has been represented on Fig 2, but it was not included on the 16th-century copperplate map (Fig 5).

An ancient porch at the north-west section of the church was identified five feet (1.5m) below the ground level in 1817. The porch floor had been paved with 'a thick Purbeck slab worn several inches by the tread of feet' (Laing 1819, 39). The porch possessed side stone benches, a well-crafted 'very curious side window' that consisted of four columns, with capitals, bases and springers' (*ibid*). It was probably this entrance that possessed a large wooden door. Large elaborately carved wooden church doors were common in medieval churches and many of these doors contained within them a smaller wicket or hatch door. In 1495, the hatch to the church's north door was repaired.[45]

Common features of medieval church entrances were small stone basins or stoups containing holy water; these structures were usually set in the walls of the porch or were supported by iron brackets. The purpose of these basins was to provide water for those entering the church to bless themselves. In 1817, three holy water basins were identified near the church porches (Anon 1843, 122).

THE NAVE

In the body of the church, or the nave, the laity congregated for religious services. It extended from the western tower to the chancel arch, or the beginning of the east end of the church; it was separated from the north and south aisles by arcade arches and pillars (Fig 8).[46] The medieval fabric of the nave was not uniform as a result of multiple building programmes over several years; this is supported by Laing's observation that: 'the body of the church … was visibly incorrect' with asymmetrical formation of the nave structures and pillars (Laing 1819, 42).

The floor surfaces of the medieval parish church were composed of tile, Purbeck marble and burial stones. We have already seen that the north-west porch possessed a marble floor (see above); marble floors may have been present in other areas of the church. In 1500/1, a marbler was hired for repairs in the church.[47] However, during 1817, rebuilding uncovered a significant area of the medieval floor tiling in the nave.[48] Plain or decorated glazed ceramic floor tiles were frequently used in London parish churches from the 13th to the 15th centuries (Betts 1994, 133). Frequently, these tiled areas tended to be restricted to the east end of the church and to the side chapels. Some of St Dunstan's tiles were described as 'glazed and ornamented tessera; some of them very elegantly painted' (Laing 1819, 39). One of the medieval tiles found in the church floor bore a painted relief depiction of the Royal Arms: three lions passant.[49]

Due to the digging of internal graves, medieval parish church floors often suffered from subsidence. In 1502, the parish paid two porters to raise a gravestone in the church and to fill the space below the stone with 'herd', or coarse flax. Other floor surfaces in the church, at times, required maintenance work by masons. In 1499, a mason was hired to 'amend the pavement in the church' at a cost of 16d.[50]

St Dunstan's church did possess a font in the nave although its exact location is unknown; however, fonts in medieval London churches were generally located at the western end of the nave, the designated public area. Medieval fonts were generally constructed of stone and, by the mid-16th century, in the

parish church there was 'yron work about the fownt'. It may be that the ironwork referred to a font cover that was used to safeguard the holy water within the basin against the risk of removal for superstitious purposes (Bond 1908, 281). However, within the church, in 1321, a baptism chapel (*baptisum capello*) was identified – possibly near the font.[51] The area surrounding the font was not exclusively designated for baptisms: the font was incorporated in processions and parishioners might ask to be buried near this significant feature. In 1539, mariner Richard Dawton requested to be buried 'as nigh to the fonte there as may be conveniently'.[52]

By the later Middle Ages, seating for the laity in parish churches was introduced to accommodate the increase of communicants attending Masses. Initially, pews appeared as stone wall-benches or large wooden benches often placed along the nave walls and, occasionally, benches were placed between the aisle arcades (Cox & Harvey 1907, 261–2). By 1497, St Dunstan had wooden wainscot pews and seats in the nave: joiners, sawyers and other workmen were employed for the 'making of pews'.[53] Wainscot was an expensive panelling of square or rectangular panels of oak within moulded framed borders. The wood could be plain or engraved with designs and painted, and often appeared in a series of rows and columns. The wainscot pews may have had hinged doors, which when closed would allow for a consistent wall of framed oak panels running the length of the nave. The parish occasionally hired workmen to mend the seating in the nave. In 1541, a carpenter named Phelyp was hired to repair the church pews.[54]

There were several burial monuments within the church. Many parishioners, in their wills, requested burial within the 'body of the church'. The burials could be marked by incised stone slabs, monumental brasses, recessed tombs or a tomb chest made of marble. The monuments could include effigies of the deceased, their spouses and children, a record of their civic status and a coat of arms. The monuments were intended to provide a visual commemoration of the deceased but, by their design, they might also enhance the fabric of the church interior.

Several descriptions of burial monuments within the church have survived (Table 1).[55] A 16th-century herald's visitation provides an account of some of the monuments in the medieval church with varying degrees of descriptive detail. Many of the monuments possessed iconographic images of parishioners dressed in gowns or armour, references to their trades or to the offices they held, and heraldic inscriptions. Heraldry representations on monuments assisted in identifying the deceased and distinguished their memory as belonging to the upper classes.

The monument inscription for John Hocheli, citizen and grocer, included the name of his wife, his date of death and recorded his 21 children: *hic iacet Johanes Hochelai civis et grocer et Margeria vxor eius qui obiit* 30 January 1487; sons 9 daughters 12. Roger Hall's monument may have been made of brass: it possessed an image of himself and his wife dressed in gowns, images of his two sons and four daughters, his heraldic shield and the Grocers' Company shield. Hall, in his will of 1507, requested burial 'nigh to the place where the body of the wife of William Isaac lie buried'. The monument for Alice and William Isaac possessed his coat of arms, their dates of death: 25 August 1508 for Alice, and 29 April 1519 for William. We know the location of this monument from Isaac's will in which he requested burial 'in the middle of the same church'. Isaac's church monument was mentioned by Stow, indicating that it was a significant feature in the church.[56]

Many parishioners, who were royal retainers, recorded their service to the Crown on their burial monuments. The brass of John Rycrofte, esquire and sergeant of the larder to Henry VII and Henry VIII, possessed his image in armour and recorded his date of death on 15 September 1532. In his will, Rycrofte requested a 'Christian burial as it shall be thought convenient by my executorix or executors'. On his monument, Thomas Warley, a teller of the king's receipts to Henry VII, was dressed in a gown, with a recorded death date on 23 April 1504. In his will, Warley requested burial 'in the parish church of St Dunstan in the East by the place where the body of Alice, my late wife lie buried'. While the monument of Edward Waters, a mercer, esquire and Sergeant at Arms to the king, recorded that he died in

Table 1. Funerary monuments within St Dunstan in the East church, 1374–1573. Manuscript sources: Notes from the Church of St Dunstan in the East, *fols 189–90, British Library (BL) Sloane MS 1301;* Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills, *207 (18), London Metropolitan Archives (LMA);* Children of Benjamin and Ursula Gonson, *fol 153, BL, Additional MS 15857;* Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes of St Dunstan in the East, *LMA, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS 4887;* Register of Wills enrolled in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC), *The National Archive (TNA), Prob 11/31, fol 4, will of Bennett Gonson*

Date	Name	Occupation	Location	Description	Source
1374	John Kennington	rector	choir		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1382	William Islip	rector	choir		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
Unknown	William Holbech		unknown	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301
1393	Matilda Holbech		unknown	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301
1390	John Norwich	grocer	Trinity chapel		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
Unknown	Thomas Kyreel, knight		unknown	heraldry; armour	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Strype 1720, i, 42–3
Unknown	Elizabeth Bourchier		unknown		BL, Sloane MS 1301; Strype 1720, i, 42–3
1400	Joanne & John Maykyn	vintner	unknown	stone	Husting Court Rolls 128 (74)
1400	John Kiryoll		unknown	heraldry; armour	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; BL, Sloane MS 1301
1420	Robert Shelley	esquire	unknown	heraldry	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; BL, Sloane MS 1301
1433	John Coventry	mercer, mayor	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
Unknown	Alice Brome (wife of John Coventry)		unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1445	Nicholas Bond		unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1445	Thomas Barry	merchant	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1445	Robert Pepper	grocer	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
Unknown	Alice Thomas		unknown	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301
Unknown	Elizabeth Alley		unknown		BL, Sloane MS 1301
1472	Thomas Bedlow	sheriff	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1481	Alice & Bartholomew James, knight	mayor	Trinity chapel	'a fayre monument with his ladie'; marble tomb with engraved brass plates	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; Strype 1720, i, 42–3
1483	John Kyreel	esquire	Trinity chapel	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301

Table 1 (cont.). Funerary monuments within St Dunstan in the East church, 1374–1573.

Date	Name	Occupation	Location	Description	Source
1485	William Heryot, knight	draper, mayor	Heryot chapel	'in a fayre chappell'	Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1487	John & Margaret Hocheli	gentleman	Heryot chapel	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301
1487	Thomas Davyell	treasurer to Edward IV & Richard III	unknown	heraldry	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; BL, Sloane MS 1301
1504, 1498	Thomas & Alice Warley	teller of king's receipts	unknown	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1507	Roger Hall	grocer	nave	heraldry; gown	BL, Sloane MS 1301
1508	William Payne		unknown		Weever 1767, 207
1517	William Heryot, elder	draper	Heryot chapel	wall tomb	Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1519, 1508	William & Alice Isaac	alderman	nave	heraldry; gown	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1521	Edward & Francis Skalys	merchant	Heryot chapel	stone; heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1532	John Rycrofte	sergeant of the larder to Henry VII & Henry VIII	unknown	heraldry; armour	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1540	Elizabeth Clement & Elizabeth Atowne	baker	unknown		Weever 1767, 207
1543, 1546	William & Bennett Gonson	merchant, mariner	Trinity chapel	marble stone	BL, Additional MS 15857 fol 153; LMA, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS 4887; TNA, *PCC* Prob 11/31, fol 4
1555	Henry Herdson	skinner, alderman	Trinity chapel	alabaster tomb, richly & curiously gilded	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; Strype 1720, i, 42–3
1557	Edward Waters	sergeant at arms, mercer	unknown	heraldry	BL, Sloane MS 1301; Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1557	James Garnado, knight		unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1559	Ralfe Greenway	grocer, alderman	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
Unknown	Robert Pepper		unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1566	Christopher Draper, knight	ironmonger, mayor	choir	alabaster tomb	Stow 1908, i, 134–5
1568	Richard Champion, knight	draper, mayor	unknown	alabaster tomb, richly & curiously gilded	Stow 1908, i, 134–5; Strype 1720, i, 42–3
1573	James Bacon	fishmonger, sheriff	unknown		Stow 1908, i, 134–5

'roles of his office' on 3 April 1557. In his will, Waters simply requested burial within the church of St Dunstan in the East. The images of these parishioners on their burial monuments reflected the livery they wore as royal retainers. The 15th-century inscription on the tomb of William Payne described his devotion to the parish church and his contribution to music.[57]

When Laing wrote about the church's 'ceiling and its ornaments', he was referring to not only the oak beams, but also the roof bosses and, perhaps, other decorations or painted images on the ceiling. Several 'great beams of timber' of the church ceiling, presumably the horizontal tie-beams that braced the roof above, were recorded in the church inventory.[58] In 1821, one oak beam from the church was described as a 'heart of oak' and dated to the early 13th century. It was from the church's oak beams that the large and decorative paschal candle was suspended every year for Easter commemorations.[59] Covering the intersection of oak timber beams were roof bosses, decorative projections in medieval ceilings. Although there are no documentary references to roof bosses, they were common in medieval churches and were usually carved designs that depicted colourful scenes of heaven or images of saints.

ROOD SCREEN AND LOFT

Rood screens or chancel screens separated the nave from the chancel or the laity from the clergy (Cox & Harvey 1907, 82). The rood screen supported the rood beam loft. At St Dunstan's church access to the loft was via the rood stair located in the middle of the south wall. Placed centrally on the rood beam was a crucifix, which was flanked by figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Apostle. On holy days, the rood was decorated with cloths and banners that possessed various religious images. A 'great cloth' was hung before the rood by a spear staff in 1494.[60] The church banner decorated with gold embroidery of the crucifix and images of the Virgin, St John and St Dunstan may also have hung near the rood.

The rood held a significant number of lights, or candles, both on the screen and on the wood beam. These lights may have been individual candles or branches that contained several candles; their purpose was to illuminate the religious iconography near the rood as well as to enhance the solemnity of the religious services. Regular entries in the churchwardens' accounts illustrate the frequency with which the rood lights were used and, consequently, their importance. In 1503/4 the chandler Thomas Tapherst, was paid for providing 18 pounds (*c.*8.2kg) of wax for the rood branch at six different times during the year. Wax was regularly set up on the 'branch of the rood in the rood loft', and candles were lit at 'divers times', while lectern candles were placed in the rood loft for special and holy days. On Christmas Eve in 1541, a large square taper that weighed six pounds (2.7kg) was 'set before the roode'. In 1500/1, there were four tapers before the rood; there were also several 'bollys on the rood loft'. Rood bowls were typically made of latten or pewter and numbered as many as 100 in some medieval churches. In addition to these multiple small lights, by the early 15th century there was a dedicated light positioned on the 'great wood beam' of the rood. Several parishioners endowed income-generating properties to the church to ensure the light burned continually: former mayor, William Sevenoke, in his will dated 1426, directed that funds from the profits of his endowment were to maintain the light of the great wood beam. John Tate, similarly, funded the 'lamp burning night and day before the crucifix' in the body of the church for evermore.[61]

The Royal Visitation Injunctions of 1547 banned sacred images and religious sculpture from churches; but it was the 1550 Act 'for the defacing of images and the bringing in of books of old Service in the Church' that ordered their destruction not simply their removal (Duffy 1992, 457–69). Therefore, it can be assumed that rood sculptures and all other religious images were removed from St Dunstan during this period. However, during the Roman Catholic revival of Mary I's reign (1553–8) such imagery was returned to parish churches, only to be removed a second time during Elizabeth's reign when the Protestant faith was re-established. This succession of changes of doctrine probably explains that as a result of a letter received from the 'lord of Canterbury's Grace',

most probably Archbishop Matthew Parker, during a vestry meeting, on 27 December 1560, it was agreed that the rood loft should be dismantled 'by the judgment of the churchwardens'.[62]

CHANCEL AND CHOIR

The chancel derived its name from the Latin *cancellus*, referring to the latticework screen (the rood screen) that divided it from the nave and the chancel arch in which the screen was set. The chancel contained the pulpit, the choir, the high altar and the seats or stalls reserved for the clergy. The eastern end of the chancel was the narrowest portion of the main body of St Dunstan's church (Fig 8). Following the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 there was a new definition of the Eucharistic doctrine concerning Transubstantiation and the council decreed that Christians should receive the Eucharist at least once a year (Morris 1990, 231). This decree was undoubtedly the reason that from the late 12th century onward many chancels were enlarged or rebuilt. St Dunstan's chancel is reputed to have been rebuilt during this period and this work may have included the east to west expansion of the chancel.[63]

The choir was located at the western end of the chancel, between the rood screen and the high altar (Fig 8). It was the venue of the parish's diverse musical performances: choristers performed hymns there, and children from the parish school also performed with the choir. As the seating for the clergy was documented on the south wall of the chancel, it seems likely that the organ was located on the north side of the chancel in the choir. In 1500/1, the organ was described as placed against a wall and under windows in the church.[64] However, there may have been an organ in the choir much earlier: in May 1669, the parish vestry recorded 'that for some hundreds of years there hath been an organ maintained at the charge of the parish' (Murray 1859, 12). For the organists, there were iron lecterns in place especially for them. Moreover, the church owned a musical manuscript especially to 'serve the organs'. Additional lecterns were positioned in the choir for the singers who performed there. The choir was illuminated with candlesticks and sconces, or iron branches that extended from the wall, to hold candles. In 1501/2, three new sconces were purchased for use in the choir. The numerous candles in the choir, as well as the light from the clerestory windows would have benefited the reading of music and song sheets for the performers reading from the parish 'verse books'. The reference of so many candlesticks and sconces in the choir also indicates that music was played early in the morning and late in the evening. The candles may also have served to illuminate religious iconography on the walls of the choir and chancel. An image of St John the Baptist was in the chancel by 1374, and an image of St Katharine was present in the church in the mid-14th century (Sharpe 1889–90, 665). These images of the saints were probably free-standing brightly painted alabaster, stone or wooden statues, but there are other possibilities for representation such as figures present in painted or carved retables or perhaps embroidered into altar frontals. There were also banners and flags suspended from the walls and ceiling in the choir. In 1495, four banner staves hung in the choir at Easter. Other furnishings in the choir may have included Queen Elizabeth of York's coat of arms (scochyns) that were 'set up' in the church after her death in 1503. The late Queen's coat of arms may have been displayed in the church as flags or banners or as plates fixed on the wall.[65]

By the time of the church's rebuilding in the 19th century, there were no traces of medieval sedilia, or seats for the priests in the chancel. This may be an indication that the seating arrangements for the clergy (as well as some of the parish's lay elite) were made of carved woodwork, rather than stone masonry, which would have left scars on the chancel walls. The presence of carved wooden seats for the clergy is reinforced by the reference to pews and a 'pew door' in the south chancel in the mid-16th century. This reference implies the presence of individually crafted misericord seating for the clergy commonly found in medieval parish churches: the seating was generally carved of oak, with usually secular images of humans, foliage and animals. The construction of wooden seats for clerics in the area immediately adjacent to the high

altar appears to have been financed by Sir Bartholomew James in 1481. In his will, James asked his wife Dame Alice, to oversee the building of a 'convenient and honest presbytery of Estrich boarde' (pine or fir from the Baltic) in the east end of the choir.[66]

The pulpit was located within the chancel. Although its exact location is unknown, it was usually located on the north side of the chancel. The earliest reference to the pulpit at St Dunstan in the East is in 1453.[67] The pulpit was initially used by the rector or curate to read the names of deceased parishioners from the bede roll, for the congregation to pray for their souls.

The high altar at St Dunstan was richly decorated. As they were the focus of religious services, and in order to be visible to the communicants in the nave on the other side of the rood screen, high altars were typically placed upon steps in the centre of the chancel and towards the east end. A cross would have been placed upon the altar that was large enough to be visible to the congregation in the nave. It may have been the church's 'great cross' made of copper with a copper and gilt stand that was placed upon the high altar. The altar was also adorned with candlesticks and items used to celebrate the Mass: a pyx, chalices, cruets, plates and a vessel for incense. A pyx was a small vessel that held the Host or the consecrated bread of the sacrament and was usually draped in costly fabric. The parish's pyx was suspended above the high altar; a pulley or rope allowed for its raising and lowering. During Henry VI's reign the parish's pyx was described as 'a pix of gold'.[68] The chalice was used to hold the wine at Mass. It was often made of precious metal and occasionally decorated with gemstones. One of the chalices used in the church was decorated in 'gilt with a holy lamb'. A pax, a round or oblong plate with an image of the crucifixion, was kissed by the celebrant and communicants during the Mass to represent the kiss of peace. The church's pax was gilt and contained images carved in ivory in the middle. The parish's censing vessel was in the form of 'a ship of white silver weighing three ounces [85g]'. To support the open religious books and manuscripts at the altar, cushions were used. The parish owned a great cushion that was made of gold cloth, three cushions that were made of red silk cendal (a silken fabric) and one cushion made of baudekin (a rich silk cloth interwoven with gold thread).[69]

The high altar would have been adorned with hangings and cloths decorated with religious iconography to enhance its sacredness. Below the altar top, tenterhooks were set closely together along an upper and lower bar by which the religious drapery would have been firmly held. The church possessed a number of different coloured altar cloths made of silk and tapestry, which were used at the various holy days during the year. A 'great cloth of tapestry work' lined with canvas was to be placed before the high altar. Fabric with gold thread was one of the many materials to be fastened above and beneath the high altar. Some curtains for the high altar were made of red taffeta, while others were made of white 'bustyn', or fustian (a mixed fabric generally of linen and cotton), and decorated with red crosses that were paired with matching curtains. In addition, the parish owned several 'great vales' that were intended specifically to be drawn before the high altar; one veil was made of green and yellow linen.[70] Handbells were rung at various times during Mass, specifically at the Elevation of the Host. However, the church also possessed a 'sanctuary belle'; this small bell probably served a similar function to the sanctus bell (see below, discussion of bell and clock tower). This sanctuary bell was presumably situated close to the high altar and apparently was hung within a wooden frame or 'stock', which in 1495/6 received new handles to serve the ringing of the bell during services. At Hawstead church, Norfolk, a small sacring bell is situated on top of the wooden rood screen (Walters 1912, 124).

Behind the high altar on the east wall, was 'a large decorative window'. Remnants of the medieval stained glass window (excavated in the 19th century) have been dated to the mid-15th century (Laing 1819, 40). The window was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 but a new east window was recreated in the early 19th century based upon the medieval remains. Other architectural features in proximity to the high altar included 'a very beautiful piscina' carved in Purbeck marble with tracery and a canopy, located north of the altar and immediately to the

south of the large east window. To the north of the window, was 'a small arched freestone recess', perhaps a piscina (*ibid*).

The parish church had seven side altars located around the body of the church and in the chapels. The altars were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jesus, the Trinity, SS Margaret of Scotland, John the Baptist, Thomas the Martyr and Anthony. These altars were built to meet the increased demand for the celebration of Masses associated with the post-mortem commemoration services of chantries. These 'small altars' (as they were referred to at St Dunstan's church) were known to be placed in open areas, with stone bases attached to the wall, or they were contained in purpose-built recesses.[71]

The parish's St Thomas Becket of Canterbury altar and chapel may have dated from the early history of the parish church; three years after his martyrdom in 1170 he was canonized and his cult became very popular (Farmer 1992, 461–2). The earliest reference to the altar and chapel of St Thomas the Martyr occurred in 1361. We know that the altar and chapel were located in the south aisle of the parish church when, in 1387, parishioner Matthew Passelewe requested burial there (*ante altare sancti Thome ex prope australi euisdem ecclie*). St Thomas's altar appears not to have been displaced by the 1382 construction of the new south aisle: in 1433, Robert Colbroke requested that his chantry service was to be celebrated at the altar of St Thomas. However, over fifty years later, in 1485, when Sir William Heryot financed the construction of a family chapel on the north side of the church, it contained altars dedicated to SS Thomas and Anthony.[72]

The location of the altar dedicated to St John the Baptist is unknown; however, it was probably in the chancel: an image of St John in the chancel was documented in the 14th century. In addition, in 1400, St John's altar was documented near a window and with burial stones before it.[73] His association with baptism made him popular with the medieval laity (Farmer 1992, 259).

The location for the altar dedicated to St Margaret is also unknown. However, it was most certainly near the stained glass window of the saint commissioned in 1393 by parishioner Matilda Holbech. In her will, Matilda asked to be buried by the window near St Margaret's altar that she recently made. In the Middle Ages, highly decorative windows with colourful religious images were frequently commissioned by benefactors. Commissioned windows in close proximity to benefactors' tombs indicate a link between donors of stained glass windows and burial monuments to reinforce the appeal for intercession to be offered for the benefactors' souls. A representation of the image of St Margaret in the stained glass window survives in a herald's visitation from the 16th century. The image of the saint, with long hair, wearing a crown and holding a book, demonstrates that the focus of the devotion was to St Margaret of Scotland not St Margaret of Antioch (Fig 10).[74] Margaret was, as the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, King of England (1016) and a relative of Edward the Confessor, one of the last members of the Anglo-Saxon royal family. After the Norman Conquest, she fled to Scotland and to the court of Malcolm III, whom she married in 1069. Margaret was renowned for her piety and being well-

Fig 10. St Margaret of Scotland holding a book: representation of the stained glass window at St Dunstan in the East commissioned by Matilda Holbech. The script reads: 'William Holbech and Maud his wyffe' (© The British Library Board, Sloane 1301, fol 198)

educated, perhaps explaining the presence of a book in her stained glass image (Farmer 1992, 320–1).

Religious utensils used at St Margaret's altar included a chalice that was blessed, or hallowed, in 1493. A year later, in 1494, a silver chalice belonging to St Margaret's altar was repaired at a cost of 10d. Some of the parish's hangings that may have been used at this altar include fabric made of red chamblet, with flowers 'delyce of copper gold' along the borders. Another altar cloth that may have been used at this altar was made of blue velvet with 'flowers delyce of gold'.[75]

CHAPELS

By the late 15th century there were three chapels in St Dunstan's church: one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, one dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Heryot family chapel with altars dedicated to SS Anthony and Thomas. Although chapels had limited liturgical functions compared with the religious rites performed in the chancel of the parish church, they were centres of worship for the laity.

The Lady chapel was located in the east end of the north aisle of the church (Fig 8).[76] The earliest surviving reference to 'St Mary's Chapel' occurs in 1349. However, a Lady chapel may have been established several years earlier. In 1817, a small silver coin, dated from 1309 to 1346, was found below the surface at the east end of the church (Murray 1859, 16). This might be an indication that the Lady chapel was built in the early 14th century during the zenith of the cult of the Virgin that resulted in the construction of numerous Lady chapels (Farmer 1992, 328). The popular devotion to the Virgin at the parish church prompted the foundation of the parish guild of the Fraternity of Our Lady by 1389. The Lady Mass, a Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary, was celebrated daily in the chapel from at least the late 14th century. The children from the parish school were trained to perform Our Lady Mass, perhaps in polyphony.

Against the east wall of the chapel was the altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The altar itself would have been decorated with items to celebrate Our Lady Mass. The parish's ivory pax with an 'image of our ladye' in silver gilt was probably used at the altar.[77] Fabrics with the likeness of the Virgin enhanced the altar. These included representations of the Ascension of Our Lady present on two hangings for above and beneath the altar with matching curtains, as well as blue hangings with gold thread that were placed above and beneath the altar. There was an 'image of Our Lady' in the chapel, most likely a statue at the altar, where tapers were placed before it. Other lights or torches were present within the chapel, probably at the altar and in holders placed along the walls. Many parishioners bequeathed torches to the Fraternity of Our Lady that were to be used in the chapel.

Also on the east wall were two piscinae made of freestone, a fine-grained, high quality sandstone or limestone.[78] This is an unusual arrangement, but when two piscinae are located next to each other as they are in the Lady chapels of Exeter and Salisbury Cathedrals (in Devon and Wiltshire respectively), then each one is thought to have had a particular purpose: one for washing the priest's hands and the other for washing the sacred vessels. In addition, it is suggested that when these double fixtures occur in parish churches, there may also be a nearby shelf (above or between them) on which to hold utensils for Mass.

The size of the Lady chapel was spacious enough to accommodate parishioners and members of the Fraternity of Our Lady for the early morning services of the Lady Mass and other litanies in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The furnishings in the chapel included pews located 'above the steps', a locked chest used by the parish conductor William Dawbeny in 1498/9, that most certainly held manuscripts for the chapel's musical répertoires, and a bede roll with the names of deceased members of the Our Lady Fraternity. It was described as a 'table' by Our Lady's altar, where names of the deceased were entered for parishioners to pray for their souls 'by name'. This is probably a reference to a hanging board 'tablet' that was popular in medieval churches and used for this purpose.[79] These were usually wooden boards with a single hanging panel or hinged panels, decorated with paintings and carvings. William Heryot the elder,

bequeathed 53s 4d so that his name together with that of his wife might 'be written in the table of dead folks and our souls to be prayed fore'.[80]

Across the chancel from the Lady chapel was the Trinity chapel in the east end of the south aisle (Fig 8). It was built in the first quarter of 1382 as part of the south aisle construction commissioned by John, Lord Cobham and designed by royal mason Henry Yevele (Harvey 1944, 39). The chapel was referred to by parishioners as both the Trinity chapel and the Jesus chapel.[81] We know that this dual-named chapel is one chapel and not two by the surviving references of the burials of the Gonson family. In 1540, William Gonson requested that his tomb was to be 'graven in metal to be set in and upon a merbul stone now lying in the Trinity chapel'. Five years later, his wife, Bennett, requested burial in the 'Jesus chapel where my said husbands body lie buried'. In 1567, their grand-daughter, Marie Gonson, was buried in the south aisle of the parish church 'with her grandfather Gonson and her grandmother do also lie'.[82]

At the east end of the chapel a stone cross was dedicated to both the Holy Trinity and to Jesus. An image of the Holy Trinity was in the east end of the chapel probably near the altar. Altar fabrics specifically for this chapel included frontals, canopies and curtains. One of the hangings was made of blue material with gold thread; another, to be used during Lent, was made of white linen and was matched with white linen curtains. A green banner decorated with the image of the Trinity on one side and Jesus on the other was probably placed in the chapel during holy days. The pews in the chapel were located 'above the steps'; other furnishings in the chapel included footstools, a portable organ and a locked chest where religious utensils for the Mass were kept for use by the Jesus Fraternity and for the various chantry services celebrated in the chapel. Many of the parish's elite citizens were buried in the chapel implying a sense of exclusivity. These included Alianora and William Baret, John and Elizabeth Kyrkby, Alice and William Lynne, William and Bennet Gonson and Alice and Bartholomew James, noted by Stow who were buried in the chapel 'under a fair monument' (Stow 1956, 43).

The third chapel documented in the church was commissioned by Sir William Heryot during the late 15th century. Heryot specified that the chapel was to be built on the north side of the church, extend 'in length from the west end of the vestry there unto the porch at the north door' and it was to be of 'convenient breadth' (Fig 8).[83] The Heryots, a wealthy London merchant family (see above), would have ensured the chapel was beautifully decorated; it was later described as 'a fair chapel' by Stow (1956, 122). In medieval churches, family chapels were typically divided from the nave with ornate (masonry or wooden) tracery and decorated with family emblems and shields. There were at least three windows documented in the chapel, that may well have been in Perpendicular style. In addition, the chapel possessed at least one recess burial, or a wall alcove that provided an architectural setting for a burial place. The design of burial wall-niches allowed for room within the chapel for religious services to take place and for private devotions. William Heryot, the eldest of the founder's two sons named William, in 1501, requested entombment 'in the wall and by the wall on the north side of the same chapel'.[84]

Within the chapel the altar was dedicated to SS Anthony and Thomas. On either side of the altar were statues of the saints with a tabernacle to hold the pyx, or the sacrament for Mass. By 1498 the likeness of St Thomas in the church had a 'branch' or candelabra before it.[85] Some of the church's altar cloths that may have been used in this chapel included hangings and curtains made of red silk sendal with chalices painted on them that were placed above and below the altar.

VESTRY

In the late Middle Ages, St Dunstan's vestry was located on the north-eastern side of the church (Fig 8). The parish vestry consisted of two different rooms: the 'upper vestry' and the 'nether vestry', so it presumably was a two-storey structure. Medieval vestries were important administrative chambers that served multiple purposes. They were the rooms where the clergy and choir prepared themselves prior to services and where the robes and altar plate were deposited. The

sextons and parish clerks would have had access to these chambers to obtain religious utensils that were placed on the altar for the celebration of the religious ceremonies. Some of the religious utensils stored in the upper vestry were two candlesticks of silver gilt, a great cross of silver and gilt, fabrics for Lent, copes for children and fabrics used for special holy days. A large Flemish chest for keeping books, vestments and other ecclesiastical ornaments, given to the church in 1352 by parishioner Joanna Cross, may have been placed in the vestry.

By the early 16th century the vestry was the venue for the parish leaders' vestry meetings. At these meetings 14 or more parishioners would be present, so the room must have been large enough to accommodate the parish group. It was likely in the same room when, in the mid-16th century, members of London's Court of Aldermen, including the lord mayor, the recorder, the chamberlain and several sergeants, met at the parish church, 'bytwyn six and seven of the clock in the morning' to discuss issues 'concernyng the severall corporacions of the Cytie'.[86]

The vestry room also held important parish papers as related by the churchwardens in the 15th century: 'all the deeds and evidences in the vestry'; these documents were likely held in the chest placed in the vestry. Some of the vestry furnishings included a table, a fire pan and a fire shovel used for the Easter coals.

ANCHORITE'S CELL

During the Middle Ages, the parish church had an anchorite living in a chamber attached to the church (Fig 8). Anchorites were solitary recluses, dedicated to God and vowed to a life-long asceticism, who did not take monastic vows; they normally lived in small cells or houses adjoining monastic or parish churches (Warren 1985, 13–29). Anchorite's chambers were usually permanent enclosures that included a window or squint that allowed the recluse to observe Mass and a grilled window from which the anchorite could communicate with other members of the church.

The parish's anchorite cell was the small chamber located at the east end of the north aisle. At this site, adjacent to the northern churchyard, foundations of a small room have been excavated. Architectural features of the anchorite cell were estimated to date from the 15th century and included a 'piscina of freestone in good condition and a small window with a cinquefoil head and transom' (Laing 1819, 40). The small window and location of this room in the sacred east end of the church would have provided the anchorite a view of the high altar – an important feature of an anchorite cell. The chamber may have been built sometime after the construction of the Lady chapel (*c.* early 14th century), the chamber on to which it abutted.

Anchorites, hermits and recluses of both genders are documented as residing at five other medieval London parish churches: St Benet Fink (first recorded 1345); St Clement Danes (first recorded 1426); All Hallows London Wall (first recorded 1459); St Lawrence Jewry (1361); and St Peter's Cornhill (1307); plus a number of other religious institutions and several locations adjoining the city wall (Collis 1992).[87] These recluses were highly regarded for their spirituality and intercessory prayers. At St Dunstan between 1493 and 1496, 'Thomas the anchorman' was dependent upon the charity of the people in the community, who provided for him in various ways, such as by monetary bequests in their wills.[88] In return, Thomas would provide spiritual care for those individuals through prayer. However, by 1496 Thomas had died and was buried in the pardon churchyard. In 1496/7, a new key was purchased for the anchorite cell and, later, in 1500, the structure of the chamber was modified: a hole was made in one of the walls and a door frame was prepared by a carpenter for a mason and a labourer to 'fulfill' the frame.[89]

WINDOWS, ROOF, STEEPLE, BELL AND CLOCK TOWER

Contemporary images of the church, prior to the early 19th-century rebuilding, illustrate windows of various styles along the south side of the church and at the east end of the south aisle. Although the south aisle was designed by Henry Yevele, it appears that any evidence of the Perpendicular Gothic windows he designed in the south aisle had not survived. Along most of the south side of the church

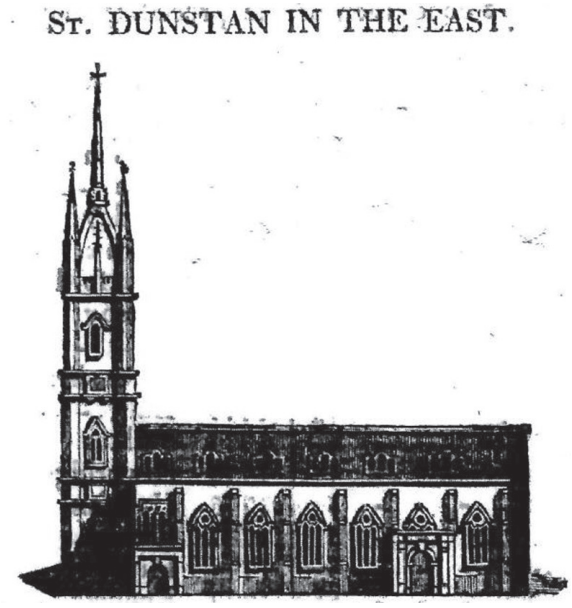

Fig 11. The south wall and Wren tower of St Dunstan's church, c.1800 (Hughson 1805, ii, 270)

are large windows with three vertical lights topped with a large oculus: these are likely to date from the 1670 rebuilding following the Great Fire (Fig 11). The large circular oculus looks like a Classical feature and it has the curious effect of compressing one side of the head of the two archlets, or the top of the lights – the vertical panels – on the left and right of the windows (Fig 12). Two other windows of a different style from the Wren windows are located over the

Fig 12. St Dunstan's church, south wall, c.1815. Engraved by Hobson from a drawing by J P Neale (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, SC/GL/PR/207/DUN)

porch attached to the south aisle and the east window of the south aisle (Figs 3 and 11). These windows have Perpendicular style tracery, but with very little tracery in the arch of the window where it is usually plentiful. The use of simple lights largely without elaborate tracery suggests a date in the 15th century, probably after Yevele.[90] However, one other window at St Dunstan in the East (in an unknown location) was reputed to possess 'geometrical tracery of about 1260' (Harben 1918, 314). Arches, however, were a predominant architectural feature of the church windows, as the inner curve of the window arches (as well as the glass within the frames) were regularly repaired by the churchwardens. On the top level of the church were clerestory windows that extended along the body of the church. Clerestories were frequently added to churches during the Perpendicular period (1350–1540) to illuminate the nave and chancel (Figs 5 and 9).

St Dunstan's tall steeple and roofline are visible in many contemporary drawings of medieval London's skyline (Figs 4, 5 and 9). These prominent architectural features of the church were certainly visible to those travelling to London via the Thames. The dominance of the tower and steeple in the parish landscape often served as a statement of the community's identity. The tower and steeple were impressive. The steeple was segmented with multi-panels and topped with a gilded weather vane (Fig 5). The tower possessed a clock and bells that would have benefitted the wider London community.

The church tower was located at the west end of the parish church (Fig 8). There are no contemporary references to an entrance leading from the tower into the church, although a connecting door seems likely. The windows of the tower are visible in contemporary images of the church. The windows may be a lancet style, often from the 13th century; however, the windows in the copperplate and Hollar drawings (Figs 5 and 9) look relatively wide and could date from the 14th century. The tower probably possessed three or four storeys. The 'loft by the steeple' may well have been on the first floor; this may have been the chamber that Roger le Waterberer rented in 1321. By the 15th century, the church tower possessed a

clock that was made of 'timber' and 'iron work' that occasionally required repair by a smith, and it had a dedicated bell that was rung by the church sexton.[91]

Other bells within the tower included five great bells plus a 'saunse' or sanctus bell which was rung during the Sanctus (the conclusion to the Eucharistic preface) and perhaps also to summon people to services. It was suspended by a frame upon bell wheels in the belfry, on the second or third floor of the tower. The bells and their inter-related parts were regularly replaced and were a frequent expense to the parish. The regular entries in the churchwardens' accounts concerning the bells illustrate the frequency of their use as well as their importance to the parish. In 1495, the fourth bell's bawdrick (the piece of leather that holds the clapper, or the striking instrument, within the bell) had ripped and was sewn together at a cost of 4d; at that same time, an iron ring from which the clapper was suspended from the bawdrick was replaced at a cost of 2½d. In 1502/3, the parish paid for 'making new the wheel of the great bell, and for stays of iron for the wheels of the four other bells'. Forty years later, at a vestry meeting in 1543, representatives of the parish agreed that an unspecified number of the church bells should be replaced.[92] The church also possessed a 'litel daw belle' (little day bell) in the tower.[93] This bell was rung to mark daybreak, about the time that people would have risen. The intention was to remind them to say their prayers at the start of the day (Walters 1912, 142). When it broke in 1495, it was taken to Thomas Bullysdon's foundry to be repaired. Bullysdon, whose business thrived in London from the end of the 15th century to the early 16th century, was one of the bell founders employed by the parish. The 'litel daw belle' had been cast by William Dawe, a London bell-founder who flourished in the capital from 1385 until 1418.[94]

Above the tower was a tall, narrow spire built as a tapered polygonal timber frame covered with lead. The spire was topped with a weather vane visible in contemporary images (see Figs 4, 5 and 9). In 1503, the parish hired Cornelius Smith to repair the vane. In 1504/5, another man was hired to gild the vane and to position it on top of the spire; the work was carried out in the early morning: he was compensated with the provision of breakfast as well as his fee of 18s 2d. The steeple appears to have required regular maintenance and may have been a financial burden for the parish. In 1508, John Tate, through a bequest, assigned the Mercers' Company to oversee the repair of the parish church steeple. The fulfilment of Tate's benefaction was later documented by his livery company: 'for the repracion of the stepull of seint dunstons in the Est £6 13s 4d' (Lyell & Watney 1936, 498).

The segmented sheets on the church roof also suggest lead panels (Fig 5). Architectural features of the church roofline included water tables and battlements. Water tables were projecting ledges designed to throw rainwater away from the area below; they were present along the roofline and steeple. The inclusion of water tables was a part of the building design of the south aisle in 1381. The deterioration of the water tables over several years necessitated their repair. In 1504/5, a mason was hired for 12 days 'to make the water table about the church and the steeple'. Crenellations were present along the parapets of the aisles and the clerestory, and as well as on the upper level of the tower (Fig 5). Although these architectural features are only visible in images illustrating the south side of the church, we know that there were also crenellations over the north clerestory when in 1547, 'the battlement of the higher part of the north part of the said church fell upon the north aisle'. The repair and construction of the crenellations was an expensive undertaking. In this instance, £91 15s was raised to repair the crenellations. Forty-six years earlier, in 1500/1, the battlements had been repaired at a cost of £30 to the church. The architectural features of battlements and water tables that surrounded the church on different levels of the rooflines and steeple are more commonly identified in other medieval parish churches.[95]

CONCLUSIONS

While existence of the parish church of St Dunstan in the East is not documented until *c.*1100, the question is how long it was established before this date. It has been

claimed that it was founded in AD 960, but this cannot be confirmed. However, the presence of a concrete-lined burial found nearby in 1863 may well be evidence of a high-status 7th-century AD ecclesiastical interment. Possibly, St Dunstan should be compared with the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, with its evidence of late Roman activity and a sequence of high-status burials and other activity dating from the 5th century AD onwards (Telfer 2010), or St Paul-in-the-Bail, at Lincoln (Rodwell & Bentley 1984, 26). At St Paul's church the layout of an urban Roman civic building determined the eventual location of a medieval parish church (discussed above, 'Aims and Introduction'). Clearly, it is possible that there was some sort of religious community here from the 7th century AD onward, perhaps reusing elements of the nearby late Roman buildings or salvaging building materials like roof tiles for reuse from these structures, some 200 years before the Alfredian reoccupation of the derelict Roman city (Swanton 1996, 81). Possibly after St Paul's Cathedral was established in AD 604 (*ibid*, 23), other satellite monastic communities were established nearby including one at St Dunstan. By *c.*1100 the church this monastic community established might have become parochial to serve the growing population of the medieval capital.

St Dunstan was a wealthy and architecturally sophisticated City of London parish church with a number of significant and unique features. This large riverside parish church was embellished by many affluent benefactors. John, Lord Cobham's late 14th-century commission of Henry Yevele's design of the south aisle and chapel – the external features of which would be visible to the London populous – ensured that St Dunstan in the East was visibly distinctive from other parishes and parish churches in the capital. Sir William Heryot's commission of a family chapel on the north side of the church in the 15th century was characteristic of church fabric embellishments by wealthy individuals during the later Middle Ages.

While some church furnishings such as pews, seating in the chapels, foot stools, locked chests, tables or tablets, as well as the descriptions of the rich fabrics used for holy devotions are not uncommon, several architectural features that are rarely identified in other medieval churches have been brought to light. These include the chambers within the church tower and their residential uses, as well as the identification and location of an anchorite's cell along with its architectural details. Other rare external features associated with the parish church include the location of the ancient well called *Arunewelle*, a charnel house and the existence of a pardon churchyard, which has provided insight into this rare burial space in a parish church in medieval London.

Royal association with St Dunstan's church is evidenced by several representations of insignia in various elements of the church fabric and furnishings – glazed floor tiles, the king's arms in a fabric banner, Elizabeth of York's coat of arms, as well as the stained glass window depicting St Margaret of Scotland (Fig 10). The royal iconography also served as a reminder to parishioners and the church leaders, many of whom were employed by the Crown, of their allegiance to the monarchy as well as for prayers to be offered for the souls of the deceased members of the royal family.

The wealth and prestige demonstrably expressed in the church fabric was implicitly linked with the parish church as a significant London institution with powerful ecclesiastical, temporal and royal connections resulting from its status as a peculiar of Canterbury, and the subsequent alliances created and nurtured through the people who lived and worshipped in the community. The piety and benefactions displayed in the church very probably set an example for other parishes in London, if not the kingdom.

While the evidence for the medieval fabric of St Dunstan in the East has illuminated details of the various structures, chambers and uses of the medieval parish church, other indications may imply the existence of a religious site on St Dunstan's Hill much earlier than can be documented. Like other medieval churches in Britain, St Dunstan in the East may well have a much longer history as a religious site and institution than is possible to document.

J_Ledfors@hotmail.com

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NOTES

1 The origin of the word 'peculiar' is derived from the Latin *peculiam* or private property (see Barber 1995, 299). The rectors of St Dunstan in the East were 'specially earmarked' as administrators for the archbishop and many presided over the Canterbury courts in both London and Canterbury (see Jacob 1938, lxxvi).

2 There are no surviving primary sources to confirm that St Dunstan in the East was a 12th-century collegiate foundation, as stated by Bradley and Pevsner (1998, 79–80). Nevertheless, the parish church did retain a substantial number of clerics by the late 14th century, perhaps indicating that the church was a chantry college of perpetually resident priests supported from endowments that were administered by the parish management.

3 The exact address of this property is uncertain. It seems very probable, however, from the description of its sloping topography, geology, the presence of timber piles and planks apparently lining an infilled 'creek' or channel connected to the Thames and the fact the site flooded at high tide that it was one of the small, 19th-century properties situated along the lower or southern portion of either the eastern or western side of St Dunstan's Hill, which forms a Y-junction around the burial ground to the south of St Dunstan's church (Blashill 1864, 297).

4 This property cannot have actually fronted on to any part of the post-medieval burial ground of St Dunstan as it must have been situated on the opposite side of the street (see note 3). Presumably the tomb was discovered under a historic party wall, which was erroneously interpreted by Blashill (1864, 297) as part of the nearby churchyard wall.

5 In AD 314 it is recorded that Restitus, Bishop of the City of London attended the Council of Arles (Ireland 1996, 204).

6 London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) SC/GL/PR/207/DUN.

7 *Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt*, The National Archives (TNA) E40/1708.

8 The repairs were specifically directed to John Heron's house that he rented from the church which was located 'about the church' (*Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes of St Dunstan in the East, 1494–1509, 1515–1651*, fols 32, 38, 40, LMA, P69/DUN1/B/001/MS 4887.

9 *Justice of Eyre, of Assize, of Oyer and Terminer*, fol 49d, TNA, JUST1 57a. Roger le Waterberer slept in the tower chamber. I would like to thank Henry Summerson for this reference.

10 *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 6v.

11 *Exchequer: Court of Augmentations and Court of General Surveyors*, fol 15, TNA, E314/20 (12).

12 *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fols 15, 16v.

13 There is no evidence to support that this churchyard chamber – on a north–south axis – was a chapel. A building described as a churchyard chapel is depicted in the same location on Lobel's (1989) *c.*1520 map sheet 4. The source for this chapel, from the will of Alice Colyn, mentions the 'chapel over the charnel in churchyard called pardon churchhawe' (Carlin & Belcher 1989, 87). However, the Latin transcription reads: *corpusque meus sepeliend in cimiteris ecclie perochialis sci dunstani in oriente London vocat pardon church hawe iuxta turmlum ubi corpus predicti William nuper viri mei ibm requiescit huinat* (*Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 207 (18), LMA).

14 *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 41v. The church also had a 'store house' off-site of the church grounds to hold construction items for the maintenance of the parish-owned properties (see *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fol 9).

15 The other two were at St Paul's Cathedral and at London Charterhouse.

16 Burial in the churchyard during the 16th century usually cost between 20d and 3s 4d (*Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 19, 28v, 33, 35, 35v). Burial in the Trinity chapel cost 40s (see *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 9v, 44). Burial in the Lady chapel cost 50s (see *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 9v).

17 *Register of Wills enrolled in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC)*, TNA, Prob 11/4, fol 4.

18 *PCC*, Prob 11/25, fol 40v.

19 *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 18.

[20] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 42.
[21] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 42; *PCC*, Prob 11/16, fol 2.
[22] The parish canopy was originally used in June 1520 by Henry VIII to process under at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, during his meeting with Francois I of France (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 1979, i, 151).
[23] Fifty-six references are found in the churchwardens' accounts and 18 in parishioners wills. References to two parishioners' pardon churchyard burials are recorded in both their wills and the churchwardens' accounts (see *PCC*, Prob 11/10, fol 30; Prob 11/12, fol 158v; *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 16, 35v).
[24] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 19, 35v, 44. This grouping is similar to the burials at St Paul's Cathedral pardon churchyard (see Barron & Rousseau 2004).
[25] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 35v.
[26] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 35, 39v.
[27] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 33.
[28] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 44.
[29] *Repertory Books*, fol 439v, LMA, COL/CA/01/01/11: 'William Gydnam who was lately apprehendyd for plukkyng of Images and plates from grave stone' in 1552.
[30] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 13, 18, 30v, 47, 52.
[31] *PCC*, Prob 11/18, fols 29, 35; *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 12v.
[32] *Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 77 (226).
[33] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 30v.
[34] *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fol 9.
[35] Parish lore describes that long before the Christian era, St Dunstan's Hill was the location of a Druid shrine (see *Documents related to St Dunstan in the East parish church*, LMA, SC/GL/NOB/A/205/5-207/11).
[36] *Documents related to St Dunstan*. No other surviving references mention the rebuilding of the church in the 13th century: it may be that this is a reference to the westward expansion of the church and/or a north aisle addition – a common occurrence with London churches during this period.
[37] The new church was consecrated on 14 January 1821.
[38] The Tony Dyson-Colin Taylor Archive held in the Museum of London Archaeological Archive (LAA).
[39] A third parishioner, Robert Bifeld, proposed to commission a chapel on the south side of the church in the pardon churchyard; however, it appears that his intended commission was not fulfilled. In his will, dated 22 January 1481/2, Bifeld requested burial in the area of the chapel that was to be dedicated to 'God, his blessed mother, SS John the Baptist and John the Evangelist' (see Boatwright *et al* 2008, i, no. 40). Bifeld stipulated that if the parson and wardens of the church would not allow the chapel, Bifeld's post-mortem and charitable bequests to the church would be voided. There are no references to the chapel in the churchwardens' accounts or in other parishioners' wills, and, additionally, Bifeld was buried in St Paul's Cathedral (see his wife Joanne's will: *PCC*, Prob 11/9, fol 166).
[40] *John Cobham's indenture for the commission of the south aisle of St Dunstan in the East designed by Henry Yevele, 1381*, British Library (BL) Harley Charter 48, E43. There is no indication that the south aisle was rebuilt in 1381, as stated by Bradley and Pevsner (1998, 80).
[41] William Heryot served as sheriff (1468/9) and mayor (1481/2) (see Barron 2004, 345–6); Heryot was alderman of Castle Barnard ward (1469/70), Broad Street ward (1470/85); London MP (1483); and London auditor (1465–7); and knighted in 1482 (see Beaven, 1908–13, ii, 14).
[42] *PCC*, Prob 11/7, fol 162; *Chancery: Early Proceedings*, TNA, C1/64/332.
[43] *Chancery: Early Proceedings*, C1/59/249; after Heryot's death, and by January 1509, Joanne had married Thomas Cremor, a London draper (see *Chancery: Ancient Deeds, Series CC*, TNA, C147/214).
[44] In 1521, Thomas Herdson requested burial 'in the church porch by my wife' (see *PCC*, Prob 11/20, fol 177).
[45] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 18.
[46] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 37v.
[47] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 38.
[48] The whereabouts of these tiles is not known (Betts 1994, 137).
[49] Henry II (1154–89) added a third lion to the Royal Arms and this badge was used by succeeding monarchs until *c.*1340, when Edward III adopted both the style and arms of the kings of France, which he quartered with the lions of England.
[50] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 33v, 47v.
[51] *Justice of Eyre*, fol 35.
[52] *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fol 15v; *Court of Kings Bench and other Courts*, TNA, KB27/171, fol 35; *PCC*, Prob 11/27, fol 220.
[53] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 28.
[54] *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fol 15v.

[55] The monuments in Table 1 are limited to those recorded in Stow's *Survey of London* (1908, i, 134–5); Strype (1720, i, 42–3); Weever (1767, 207); *Notes from the Church of St Dunstan in the East*, fols 189–90, BL, Sloane MS 1301; *Children of Benjamin and Ursula Gonson*, fol 153, BL, Additional MS 15857; *Churchwardens' Accounts*. Descriptions of church monuments were not given in parishioners' wills.

[56] *Notes from the Church of St Dunstan*, fols 198, 199; *PCC*, Prob 11/18, fol 34v; Prob 11/19, fol 15v.

[57] *Notes from the Church of St Dunstan*, fols 198, 198v; *PCC*, Prob 11/24, fol 17v; Prob 11/15, fol 93; Prob 11/41, fol 158v.

[58] *Exchequer: Church Goods, Inventories and Miscellanea*, fol 2, TNA, E117/4/98.

[59] *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fol 2v; *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 13, 41v, 52v.

[60] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 7v.

[61] *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fols 3, 8; *Exchequer: Courts of Augmentations and General Surveyors*, fol 8; PCC, Prob 11/16, fol 18; *Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 161 (35); *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 7v, 20v, 37v, 38v, 47v, 52v.

[62] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 90.

[63] Documents related to St Dunstan in the East parish church.

[64] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 6v.

[65] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 6v, 12, 12v, 16v, 18, 37v, 39v, 42, 46v, 64v.

[66] *PCC*, Prob 11/40, fol 240v; *Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 225 (15).

[67] *Wills enrolled in the Archbishops of Canterbury Registers*, fol 292, Lambeth Palace Library MS Kempe.

[68] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 39.

[69] *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fols 3v, 6; *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 13, 20v, 39.

[70] *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fols 3, 4v, 5, 5v, 8; *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 17v.

[71] *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fol 5.

[72] *Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 91 (171); *Churchwarden's Accounts*, fol 25; *PCC*, Prob 11/7, fol 162.

[73] *Husting Court Rolls of Deeds and Wills*, 103 (33), 128 (74).

[74] *Notes from the Church of St Dunstan in the East*, BL, MS Sloane 1301, fol 198. Although St Margaret of Antioch was more popular during the later Middle Ages, the identification of this woman as St Margaret of Scotland is predominately based upon the iconographic evidence of her holding a book and to a lesser extent to the presence of the crown with the Confessor's Cross. The iconography of St Margaret of Antioch commonly included the saint with a dragon (and not with books) (see Farmer 1992, 318–19). For images of St Margaret with books, see Wilson 2001, pls 3, 28.

[75] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 6, 7v; *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fol 5.

[76] The Lady chapel is documented on the north side of the church (see *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 96v).

[77] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 81v.

[78] A piscina is a basin with a drain set within a niche in a wall close to an altar. It was provided for the washing of vessels used during the Mass.

[79] St Mary at Hill parish church in the City of London had six tables where the names of the chantry founders (and probably other benefactors) were written (see Burgess 1996).

[80] *PCC*, Prob 11/12, fol 85v.

[81] The three elements of the Trinity (God the Father, the Son – Jesus – and the Holy Ghost) might explain why the chapel possessed more than one name. However, the merging of the two names for the chapel may have occurred during the 15th century when the use of the word 'Jesus' implied the cult of the Name of Jesus, perhaps when this new cult was added to the Trinity chapel.

[82] *Children of Benjamin and Ursula Gonson*, fol 153.

[83] *PCC*, Prob 11/7, fol 162, will of William Heryot, 1485. The gaps between the Heryot chapel and the porch and the vestry illustrated in Fig 8 are based upon the drawing of the church by John Leake in 1666 (see Fig 6).

[84] *PCC*, Prob 11/12, fol 85v.

[85] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 30.

[86] *Repertory Books*, fol 451.

[87] 'Alien Houses: Hermits and Anchorites of London', in *VCH* 1909, 585–8.

[88] *PCC*, Prob 11/9, fol 166.

[89] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 21, 38.

[90] Examples of this sort of window (no transoms and little tracery) are at Norwich Cathedral, Norfolk, north walk of the cloisters (dated to 1385–1415), Rycote chapel, Oxfordshire (around or slightly after 1499), and Ludlow church tower, Shropshire (1453–71) (see Harvey 1978, pls 159, 162, 167, and pp 190–3).

[91] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 7, 47v.

[92] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 78.

[93] 'Daw' is defined as 'to awake/rouse' or 'to become day' (English Dictionary 1897, 47).

[94] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fols 11v, 12v. In the late 15th century, St Mary at Hill also had a sanctuary bell within the church suspended on a wheel.

[95] *Churchwardens' Accounts*, fol 39; *Exchequer: Church Goods*, fol 2.

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