Canterbury

Canterbury:
A Medieval City

Edited by

Catherine Royer-Hemet

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This book first published 2010

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

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INTRODUCTION

CATHERINE ROYER-HEMET

From the settlement of the Kentish tribe, the Cantiaci, to the crowds that throng the streets of twenty-first-century Canterbury, the cathedral city has never ceased to exert unparralleled influence of worldwide dimension. Its two-millenium evolution probably reached its peak during the Middle Ages.

The present volume is a collection of articles, each one of which emphasizes a particular aspect or figure bearing witness to that chain of events that led history from the beginnings to our present time. The different chapters will take the reader on a voyage that will start with the arrival of St Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory the Great in A. D. 597, to propagate the Roman faith on the island of the Angles he had allegedly seen as slaves on a market ; it will end with the repercussions of medieval Canterbury in present-day literature.

Such famous episodes were essential for the laying of Canterbury's foundations as the religious see of the island and they are of paramount importance if we want to grasp the enduring aura of the city.

Myriam Méar-Coulton will start the voyage by giving us a tour round the streets of Canterbury. Her article is teeming with place-names that are a reminder of past events and historical figures and as chronology unwinds, we begin to see how the layout of the city has established itself in accordance with history.

With Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Genstis Anglorum* as the first narrative of the arrival of the Roman monk Augustine and his missionaries on the island, **Leo Carruthers** proceeds to demonstrate how Bede's account gives an insight into the deeply theological questions which the first Archbishop of Canterbury was faced with. He shows how the Roman monks led by Augustine managed to carry out their mission and how Bede, who is regarded as the first English historian, succeeded in rendering a faithful account of their dealings.

Marthe Mensah provides us with a thorough insight of Archbishop Dunstan's life. She recounts the story of another journey, that which took the saintly man from Glastonbury, his birthplace, to Canterbury, the place where he completed his progress. We are made familiar with the various tribulations of his eventful life, from his being privy to royal power to being an exile and, finally, accessing the highest ecclesiastical dignity of the country. We come to appreciate the overwhelming influence of Dunstan in his contemporary political environment as well as in the rules defining monastic life.

Anne Duggan unveils for us the immediate aftermath of Thomas Becket's murder in the Cathedral. She shows how the cult of the martyr began to develop literally a few hours after his death, then to spread worldwide. Anne Duggan's article underlines the far-reaching consequences –both immediate and further- of Becket's murder on the townsfolk, the city itself together with the whole of Latin Christendom.

Those consequences were multi-faceted and **Marie-Pierre Gelin** thoroughly examines one of their aspects: the short and long-term ramifications of the murder on the local population. She sheds interesting light on the attitude of the inhabitants of Canterbury as well as on their interaction with the monastery.

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales are one, if not the most famous, of the literary representations of Canterbury. All the vivid, if sometimes crude, personifications of the Tales give life to the concept of medieval pilgrimage. **Gloria Cigman** poses a thought-provoking question: just why did they go to Canterbury? She examines a number of possible answers through the study of the various characters and eventually comes out with the fact that their reasons for going to Canterbury may have been different from what they were expected to be.

Arlette Sancery takes us on a journey through time and space alongside Chaucer's pilgrims. She endeavours to make us understand the pattern of their pilgrimage, its architecture which she links to that of their destination, Canterbury.

From Canterbury to Limousin in France, the implications of Becket's murder turned out to be tremendously far-reaching and **Martine Yvernault**'s article expounds the emergence of different means of representing the saint's martyrdom. From textual portrayal to artistic illustration such as the

Champlevé enamel *chasses* crafted in the Limousin workshops, she highlights all the details of Becket's passion as they are depicted.

St Edmund of Abingdon was archbishop of Canterbury from 1233 to 1240 ; **Lauren Moreau**'s paper explores the Canterbury connections between John of Salisbury and St Edmund and establishes a precedent for the re-use of the works of John of Salisbury in materials relating to St. Edmund. The paper focuses on William Herebert's sermon 3 that was delivered on the feast of the translation of St. Edmund's bones in the early fourteenth century. The paper offers a detailed lexical analysis of Herebert's reuse of John's *Policraticus* and how the text is used to express Edmund's virtues in apposition to the 'bad practice' of contemporary clerics.

Contacts and exchanges of all sorts existed on a regular and commercial basis between France and England from a very early time. **John O Moon** examines in detail the different charters and grants established by successive sovereigns from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. He shows how those primary sources constitute a valuable testimony to the economic activity, with many other ramifications into the spiritual as well as administrative areas and how they bear witness to the aura of Canterbury.

Throughout the history of Canterbury, some figures stood out more prominently than others. Among them, the priors of Christchurch, Canterbury's monastery, certainly had a leading role. Henry Eastry, who was in office for forty-six years and left an enduring mark on the priory was one of them.. **Catherine Royer-Hemet**'s article draws attention to the part he played as the hidden advisor of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, particularly during the troubled period of the deposition of King Edward II. The prior's letters addressed to the highest prelate of England give us the opportunity to eavesdrop on cautious exchanges between the two men at a time when political chaos was not far.

To put an end to this volume devoted to medieval Canterbury, **Manuel Jobert** delves into the depths of C. L. Grace's novel, *A Shrine of Murders*, and deals with the writer's tactics when weaving his plot and connecting it and the characters with the city; he also manages to show how those protagonists relate to historical figures. His article provides us with evidence of Canterbury's mystique, from medieval times to present day,

The reader will hopefully enjoy this variegated and thought-provoking journey into medieval Canterbury.

Canterbury:
A Medieval Ecclesiastical City

Myriam Méar-Coulstock,
University of Paris IV

Studying the street names of a town or city can sometimes reveal what part of its history the inhabitants remember or have remembered over the years. Some streets have kept the same name for centuries, only the spelling having been affected, while others have been replaced numerous times, sometimes even having two or three names at once. In the Middle Ages, the name sometimes indicated the function of a given street or who lived there. Nowadays, the choice of keeping or changing a street name falls to the people who live in that particular town or city, or to the promoter in the case of a new housing estate, often choosing names according to a theme, such as counties, trees, birds, etc. The choice of names given to already existing individual streets (rather than newly developed areas) shows which events or people appear to be most important in the eyes of the local inhabitants at the time the street is named.

The course of British history has not been one continuous evolution, as a series of exterior influences have affected the course of its development. Canterbury is no exception to these influences and has been affected in some way by invasions, raids, wars and rebellions, the construction of its City Walls, the plague and even the Blitz bombings during the Second World War. However, one specific event forged the destiny of Canterbury more than any other: the arrival of St Augustine from Rome in A. D. 597 to the Kingdom of Kent.[1] The subsequent result was the conversion of the whole "country" to Christianity, even though other kingdoms had already been converted by the early Celtic Christians.

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[1] Judith McClure and Roger Collins, BEDE, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford World's Classics, Oxford: University Press, 1999 (original translation from 1969). Book I, chapter 23. (Hereafter: Bede.)

Throughout the Middle Ages, a series of consequences ensued from this one event, such as power struggles between leaders of State and Church, martyrs and pilgrims, the arrival of various religious orders, etc., making Canterbury a prominent city in the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain. Canterbury became the first Episcopal See in Britain under St Augustine and maintained that position of power throughout the Middle Ages as the Province of Canterbury (sometimes sharing with York, other times above it).[2] It remained head of the Church of England at the Reformation and still is the Mother Church to this day.[3] This ecclesiastical role of Canterbury dating as far back as the conversion of Kent to Christianity is written all over the streets. Indeed, studying the modern street-names of Canterbury, we can clearly see that medieval and ecclesiastical are very closely linked. In order to find which parts of Canterbury's history have been remembered in its modern street names, the history of the city needs to be considered from its origins.

1. The origins: from early settlement to the Romans

The location of Canterbury has been a key factor to its particular evolution. The first settlement found in the area of present-day Canterbury dates back to the Iron Age.[4] It was built along a ford on the River Stour, between a flood plain further south-west and the Stour estuary further north-east, on the Eastern edge of the Blean Forest. The ford made it an obvious place for a settlement which inevitably grew on both sides of the river. The inhabitants of this first settlement were from the Belgic tribe which populated East Kent at the time, known as the Cantiaci. When the Romans arrived at this Celtic settlement, they probably found the location ideal. With easy access to the sea (on three sides) on the edge of a forest, it was also situated between the continent and the rest of the island, in

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[2] Through the Accord of Winchester in 1072 bearing the Conqueror's mark, witnessed by Lanfranc and his fellow bishops, in which the Archbishop of York conceded the Archbishop of Canterbury's right to be Primate of all England, as he still is today.

[3] Marjorie Lyle, *Canterbury*, London: B. T. Batsford / English Heritage, 1994. Chapter I, 11-25. (Marjorie LYLE hereafter.) See also the Canterbury Cathedral official website: http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/.

[4] The Archaeological Trust of Canterbury has created a website with illustrations and information for school children and their teachers, recreating what Canterbury would have looked like in the late Iron Age, and later on in Roman times and Anglo-Saxon times. The information is freely available to all on their website in the galleries section: http://www.canterburytrust.co.uk/schools/galindex.htm.

particular London which was a thriving market town and port. The Romans built roads[5] from the coastal forts of *Regulbium* (Reculver), *Rutupiae* (Richborough), *Portus Dubris* (Dover) and *Portus Lemanis* (Lympne), which naturally connected together at the ford, almost at equal distance to each of those places, before continuing westwards across the river Stour towards London, via *Durobrivae* (Rochester).

During the Roman times, Canterbury was a small town. It was promoted to the rank of *civitas* capital rather than Rochester, its "rival" city in Kent, probably owing to its geographical position in Kent. The street pattern, redefined around A. D. 100, was discovered after some excavations in the twentieth century and does not match the modern street-plan, even though the city wall was originally built by the Romans the following century and still stands on the same place now. A Roman theatre was discovered[6] partly under Castle Street (between Hawks Lane and Hospital Lane, the middle being at the end of Beer Cart Lane) and the buildings around it.

Those early periods have only been remembered in the name of Canterbury itself, rather than in its street names. The Romano-British name of Canterbury was *Durovernum Cantiacorum* '*Durovernum* of the *Cantiaci*'.[7] The name comes from British ***duro**- + ***ụerno**- 'alder fort, walled town by the alder swamp' a name which survived in early English official usage as found in various Old English charters and chronicles: (*civitas*) *Dorobernie –uernie –uernis*, *Civitas Doruuernis*, *Doruuernensis*, *Dorwitceaster,*[8] *Dorubernia.*[9]

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[5] Marjorie Lyle, chapter II, 26-42.

[6] Marjorie Lyle, chapter II, 29; plus see maps 24-25 and 39. See also: Tatton-Brown, Tim, *Canterbury, History and Guide*, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1994, 5. (Hereafter: Tim TATTON-BROWN.)

[7] Paul Cullen, *The Place-Names of the Lathes of St Augustine and Shipway*, University of Sussex: unpublished thesis, 1997, 557 (hereafter: Paul Cullen); Wallenberg J. K., *Kent Place-Names*, Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeriaktieldag, 1931; Wallenberg, J. K., *The Place-Names of Kent*, Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeriaktieldag, 1934 (hereafter: J. K. Wallenberg, 1934); Ekwall, Eilert, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 (1st ed.), 1960 (4th ed.), 1966 (hereafter: Eilert Ekwall); and Watts, Victor ed., *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Cambridge: University Press, 2004 (hereafter: Victor Watts).

[8] Paul Cullen suggests in his thesis that *Dorwitceaster* could be an error for *Dorwicceaster*.

[9] Respectively in: [7th-8th] 13th Charters IV passim, [c.731] 8th Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica*, c. 1122 in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle (E)* under the year 604, c. 894

Several forms of the Romano-British name can be found in various manuscripts[10]: for instance, Δαρόυερυου (*Darovernum*) can be found in a thirteenth-century manuscript of Ptolemy's work, who presumably wrote around A. D. 150; also *Duroruerno*, *Duraruen*(*n*)*o* in an eighth-century copy of the Antonine Itinerary probably copying an earlier manuscript dating back to the fourth century; and *Duro Averno Cantiacorum* in a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Ravenna Cosmography dating back to around 700. The Medieval Latin form *civitas Cantuaria* (around 1086) is the source of the abbreviation *Cantuar* used by the archbishops of Canterbury.

Campbell explains in his article 'Bede's Words for Places'[11] that the form in *ceaster* could be a translation problem owing to the fact that Canterbury had a special status. The Venerable Bede,[12] in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which he wrote in Latin around the year 731, only used two words to denote big settlements, usually fortified: *civitas* and *urbs*. Generally, a town or city containing *civitas* in the Latin version written by Bede was translated *caestir* in the Old English version written about a century later by Anglo-Saxon scribes, and a town or city containing *urbs* was translated *burg*. He only ever applied the one or the other to specific towns. The two words were synonymous in Latin as well as in English, but certain nuances seemed to make them be used to mean either a "fortified town" in the case of *urbs* / *burg* or a "Roman fortified town" in the case of *civitas* / *caestir*. There are

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Asser. For more details, see: Paul Cullen, J. K. Wallenberg, Eilert Ekwall , Victor Watts.

[10] Somner records in his *Antiquities*, "What time the *Roman* Empire extended it self hither, it was of them called *Durovernum* ; haply from the British, *Durwhern*, rendered by my Author (e), a swift River, such as our Stoure is: or else (as one (f) will) from *Thorowbourne*, because of the River's running through the City. With very little variation from which *Roman* name ; you may find that our elder Historians, *Bede*, and others called it *Dorovernia*, and *Dorobernia* : and that you see before, in the Year Dcccx. was called (g) *the Old Name* ; and yet long afterwards continued it in use, even until that of *Cantuaria*, better answering to the *English-Saxon*, *Cantwarabyrig*; and from about the *Norman* Conquest hitherward, more frequently than the other ; and in time altogether taken up and used, made it give her place." (e = Cambden; f = *Twyne. De. Reg. Albion* C. I. p. 113; g = *Antiquum Vocabulum*) Somner, William, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, originally printed for R. Knaplock, 1703, republished by EP Publishing Limited with an introduction by William Urry, in 1977, 1-2.

[11] Campbell, James, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, 'Bede's Words for Places', London: The Hambledon Press, 1986.

[12] Bede, Book 1, chapter 23.

two exceptions: the only other town which appears to be denoted as often as Canterbury by either *burg* or *caestir* is London, although Bede refers to both more frequently as *civitas* than as *urbs*, which may account for the odd form in *ceaster* occasionally found for Canterbury. It is therefore interesting to note that the name of the old "rival" town, Rochester, is derived from Bede's *caestir*, whereas Canterbury is derived from the other word: *burg*, since it was Canterbury which was promoted to *civitas* capital and not Rochester.

The modern name has evolved over the past millennia. Originally a descriptive name, the modern form subsequently replaced the Romano-British name of the city. It comes from Old English *Cantware* 'the people of Kent', in the genitive plural form *Cantwara*, + *byriġ*, the dative singular of *burh* 'the town', so the meaning of Canterbury is 'the town of the people of Kent'. Variants can be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*[13] and in Old English Bede, from the ninth century onwards, until *Canterburie* in 1086, where its modern form is recognisable, and Chaucer in the fourteenth century uses a similar form *Caunterbury*: *Cant wara burg*, *Cont wara burg*, *(to) Cantuare beri*, *(into) Cantware byri*, *Cantware –a burh*, *Cantwara –beri*.

The city walls were first built by the Romans between 270 and 290,[14] excluding the western part of the original settlement, but including part of a cemetery to the south.[15] Seven gates were built along the walls,[16] giving access to the town from the various Roman roads converging there. Today we can still find street names from those gates (Burgate Lane, Ridingate Place, Worthgate Place, from Old English names, not Roman), even though only one gate has survived (Westgate, picture 2).

This early history from the Celts to the Romans is barely remembered in Canterbury. There is a "Roman road", located west of Harbledown leading away from the city towards London, which corresponds to a part

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[13] References for the examples, found in respectively: 9th century Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) under year 754, [c.890] c.1000 Old English Bede, 9th ASC(A) under year 851, [c.890] c.1000 OEBede, 9th ASC(a) under year 870, c. 1050 ASC(D) under year 1023, c. 1120 ASC(E) under years 851, 1011, byrig c. 1120 ASC(E) (7x), 12th ASC(E) under year 1140. For further reference, see Paul Cullen, J. K. Wallenberg, Eilert Ekwall and Victor Watts.

[14] William Somner, chapter IX Topography, 185-6 and 189.

[15] Marjorie Lyle, chapter II, p. 38-42. Tim Tatton-Brown, 6-7.

[16] William Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, University of London Historical Studies XIX, London: The Athlone Press, 1967, 195-6. (Hereafter: Urry, 1967.)

of the old Roman road called Watling Street which used to go from Richborough to Chester, through Canterbury, going through Upper Harbledown just north of the A2050 junction with the A2. The A2 essentially follows the course of the old Roman road up to Faversham, only bypassing villages such as Upper Harbledown or Boughton Street. Only one street name reminds us of the Roman era: Durovernum Courts, (Picture 3) which is a fairly new housing estate south of the city in a cul-de-sac off Old Dover Road, as still on the Ordnance Survey map of 1907,[17] this area was occupied by fields. The only token of early Christianity found in Canterbury comes from a hoard of silver discovered in 1962 by workmen constructing a bridge carrying Rheims Way over the River Stour. A couple of items bear Chi-Rho monograms to attest to Roman Christianity here.[18] So Watling Street and the other Roman roads leading to the Roman forts, the present location of the city wall, a silver hoard and a street name are the only visible reminders of Canterbury's Roman past.[19]

2. Canterbury remembers its medieval past

After a rather typical start as a Roman walled town, the Saxon period reveals a much more agitated and uncommon role for Canterbury than the other small Roman walled towns, which continued far beyond the Norman Conquest and even after Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries, into our present century. The events and people Canterbury remembers of its medieval past can be divided into two periods: the first covering the period from the Early Saxons to the Vikings, and the second starting with the Norman invasion.

Anglo-Saxon times: Early Saxon period

The ideal location of Canterbury exploited by the Romans, was also very useful for commerce during the Middle Ages, as people took advantage of the straight roads the Romans had built from the coast. During the early stages of the Middle Ages, the various Saxon kingdoms enjoyed supremacy over the others through their stronger kings known under the title of Bretwalda. One such king ruled in Kent in the late sixth

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[17] Ordnance Survey Map, 3rd edition, 1907, sheets LVI.3 and .7 for Canterbury in the Kent sheets. Reprinted and published by Old Town Maps & Books in 2008.
[18] Marjorie Lyle, chapter II, p. 35. Tim TATTON-BROWN, 8-9.
[19] The non-visible reminders but present none-the-same are the Archaeological Trust and the Roman Museum.

century, having earned his title through monopoly of trade with the Franks,[20] owing to the location of his Kingdom between the continent and the rest of the island. His Queen herself was a Frankish Princess. Their fame comes from the role they played in the conversion of Kent, and subsequently of the whole of Britain, by helping St Augustine sent on a mission by Pope Gregory to convert the Angles and Saxons to Christianity, in 597. Indeed, the names of King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha have descended through the centuries, and a very large number of Ethelbert or Bertha Roads, Avenues, Lanes, Streets, Courts, and schools, pubs, etc. can be found across Kent. In Canterbury, King Ethelbert is remembered in Ethelbert Road, which is located off Old Dover Road, leading to South Canterbury Road, some distance south of the City walls.

In Canterbury itself, Bertha's name does not appear directly in any street name. The only place which refers to her is Queningate, from Old English **cwēn** (genitive singular *cwēne*) and **geat** 'Queen's gate'. It is believed that Queen Bertha used this gate on her way to church.[21] The –*in*- may be merely analogical, reminding of other gates, such as Newingate near St George and Ridingate near St Mary Bredin.[22] However, her influence can still be felt around St Martin's Priory, one of the oldest Saxon churches still in use in Britain, east of St Augustine's Abbey. King Ethelbert gave that old Roman building to his Queen and her chaplain Luidhart to restore, so they could worship there, before St Augustine's arrival. Bertha was originally from Tours – whose patron saint is St Martin since he was bishop there from 371 to 397 – and her devotion to him was marked also at the Abbey where she was buried. The north tower of the Saxon Cathedral was also dedicated to him. The streets of Canterbury are like a maze, especially around that area: St Martin's Priory is located on St Martin's Hill, which leads to St Martin's Terrace. Those two streets cross St Martin's Avenue, which itself leads to St Martin's Place, Close and House just north of the Priory. Five streets run parallel to St Martin's Avenue, to the west, all leading off North Holmes Road: Pretoria Road, St Martin's Road, College Road, Edgar Road and St Gregory's Road (so Pope Gregory is also remembered in Canterbury). With a Road, an Avenue, a Terrace, a Hill, a House, a Close, a Place and a Priory, St Martin is well remembered in Canterbury. (Picture 4)

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[20] Marjorie Lyle, chapter III, 43.

[21] Martin I. Taylor, *The Cradle of English Christianity*, *The coming of St Augustine and St Martin's Church Canterbury*, published by St Martin's and St Paul's PCC, 1997, 2.

[22] Paul Cullen, 564.

St Augustine's Abbey was built by the monks who came with Augustine from Italy, between 597 and 613. For nearly ten centuries, the monks of St Augustine's Abbey rivalled in power with the monks of Christchurch Priory, who run the Cathedral.[23] It was shown in the previous paragraph that the streets of Canterbury are a maze. Just to confuse visitors a little more, St Augustine's Road does not lead to the Abbey as one would expect. Instead, it links New Dover Road to Pilgrim's Way, along the railroad south-east of the city.

In 1988, Christchurch Cathedral, St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Martin's Church[24] in Canterbury were listed as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO.[25] The Management Plan[26] compiled by the Management Plan Coordinating Committee in 2002, explains the reasons for the attribution of World Heritage Site status. These include point 1.5.3: "Together, Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey and St Martin's Church provide the visual record of the reintroduction of Christianity to Southern England in the late 6th century and the development of Canterbury over 1400 years as one of the principal centres of Christianity worldwide." Point 1.5.4: "King Ethelbert not only gave Augustine sites for his cathedral and monastery, but also substantial lands to maintain them. The headquarters of the English church and the first English school were established in the city. From Canterbury the conversion of the English people was launched and, some eighty years later, successfully concluded."

The Viking Raids

The growing wealth of the British Isles under the influence of the Anglo-Saxon conversion to Roman Christianity and revived Celtic Christianity brought a new wave of invaders. However, those new invaders were not interested in settling there at first. They came in search of gold. The easy attraction and first victims were the monasteries, then the minting towns. From 766, Canterbury officially minted Offa's silver pennies and by 930 it had seven mints while London had eight, four belonged to the crown, two to the archbishop and one to St Augustine's Abbey. Unfortunately for them, these riches were very attractive to the

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[23] Marjorie Lyle, chapter III, 50-53.
[24] St Martin's Church is also known as St Martin's Priory.
[25] See the official UNESCO webpage: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/496.
[26] Canterbury World Heritage Site Management Plan Coordinating Committee, *Canterbury World Heritage Site Management Plan*, Design and Layout: Ariss Design, Printing: Multiplex Medway, April 2002.

Danish Vikings. Canterbury was particularly affected by two waves of Viking attacks on Kent: one between 835 and 855 and another of almost annual raids between 991 and 1012. Coastal minsters were sacked, from Hoo to Folkestone, the surviving nuns and monks taking refuge in Canterbury. The combined minsters had owned a quarter of Kent's wealth, but by 1066, most had fallen to Christchurch in Canterbury or to the crown, only Dover and St Augustine's Abbey still managing their own estates. In between those two periods, Archbishop Dunstan repaired the original and sole surviving East Kent abbey, in 978, adding St Augustine's name to its dedication. He also instituted the rules of the Benedictines at Canterbury Cathedral. Thus Benedictine monks were in charge of the Cathedral after Dunstan. He was canonised in 1029, not for being a martyr but from his good deeds,[27] and is remembered in Canterbury through St Dunstan's Close, St Dunstan's Terrace and St Dunstan's Street, north-west just outside Westgate, between Canterbury West train station and Rheims Way. He was the most popular Saint in England for two centuries, until another Canterbury Saint took his place.

Towards the end of the second wave of invasions, Canterbury was ransacked in a memorable event. In 1009, Kent paid £3.000 to the Viking Thorkell. However, it seems it was not enough, as he came back two years later with his brother Hemming, demanding that Archbishop Alphege[28] surrender the Cathedral's treasures.[29] Canterbury was under siege for almost a month, until the Danes set fire to the city, killed clergy, ransomed or enslaved the people and captured Archbishop Alphege along with other dignitaries. He forbade his people to raise additional ransom, and legend has it that he was bludgeoned to death with ox-bones which the Vikings threw at him in a drunken orgy in Greenwich. He thereby became a martyr. In 1023, King Cnut solemnly returned the remains of St Alphege with his full court to a shrine as important as St Dunstan's in the Cathedral, as well as gifts and land grants. St Alphege Lane lies inside the City Walls, north-west of the Cathedral, linking King Street to Palace Street. Cnut also allowed St Augutine's Abbey to retrieve St Mildred's remains from Minster-in-Thanet and a church was built or rededicated to her within Canterbury's walls near Worthgate. St Mildred's church is now the only pre-Conquest church left within the city. Mildred was Ethelbert's

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[27] Another article in this publication is dedicated to St Dunstan, so no further details about his life will be discussed here.

[28] Alphege also found as Alphage, is a transcription from his original Old English name: Ælphæge.

[29] Marjorie Lyle, 49.

great-grand-daughter, and had been Abbess of the nunnery at Minster-in-Thanet.

Edward the Confessor had a meadow north of Canterbury in St Stephen's parish, where his horses could feed as well as his messengers' horses when they came to the City. This field was known as the King's Meadow. Nowadays, we can find Kingsmead Road, linking St Stephen's Road to Northgate by a bridge over the River Stour.

As it has been noted previously, the Viking period did not leave traces of the Vikings themselves upon the street names, there is no "King Cnut Street" for instance. They left traces of the resistance to them and of the leaders who emerged during those times, in the form of martyrs or otherwise sainted, like Alphege. The difference between Saints names before and after the Norman Conquest has to be addressed here. Indeed, the consecration made to churches or chapels before the Norman Conquest usually refer to actual people who had lived in Canterbury or related to Kent – such as St Augustine, St Dunstan, St Alphege or St Mildred – except St Martin's church, which was dedicated before St Augustine arrived at Ethelbert's court, or to Mary like St Mary Bredman for instance, while the Normans dedicated their churches to early martyrs (St George, St Michael) who did not have any particular connection with Canterbury.

The Norman period

Soon after the battle of Hastings in October 1066, Canterbury surrendered to William the Conqueror, who established a fortification there.[30] The Normans built a castle on the south-western side of the city. William started the building process, but it was likely finished during the reign of his son William Rufus. Traditionally the site of this first wooden fortification was considered to be the 'Dane John' mound, and archaeological excavations have uncovered sections of the bailey ditch both inside and outside the walls.[31] The first keeper of the motte-and-bailey castle was Hamo, son of Vitalis – a Norman knight who appears on the Bayeux Tapestry. The site of the ruins of the stone-built castle is further north from the Dane John, where Castle Street can be found leading from it and Castle Row in between the castle and the Dane John.

The name "Dane John" is quite intriguing. Could it be that one of the Danes stayed on after a raid? But then "John" is not a particularly Danish

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[30] Audrey Bateman, *Hail Mother of England! A Social History of Canterbury*, Rochester Press, 1984, chap. II, 5. (Hereafter: Audrey Bateman.)

[31] For more details about excavations, see the website of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

name. A house on Castle Row facing the Dane John is called 'Don Jon', which sounds more Spanish than Danish. However, studying the history of this name more closely reveals that this name is not Danish or Spanish but French! Indeed, "Dane John" or "Don Jon" was previously recorded as "Le Dungeon" in Assize Rolls of 1254 and is a corruption of the French "donjon"[32] the equivalent of the English motte-and-bailey, a "donjon" being a keep. (Picture 7)

Historically, there were four parishes in Rochester[33]: St Nicholas, St Margaret's, St Mary's and St Clements. Nowadays, there are two main parishes – St Nicholas, St Margaret's – and also a St Nicholas in Stroud. There is some evidence to show that St Mary's church was in use around 850, built on the eastern side outside the City Wall. It seems to have disappeared. St Clements was in the western part of the City near the Rochester Bridge[34] and merged with the parish of St Nicholas in 1549. The parish of St Nicholas did not originally have a church of its own, but met in the Cathedral, in a part known as "the Parochial Altar of St Nicholas". Their church was consecrated in 1423. St Margaret's church was built around 1824 on the site of an older church built in the fifteenth century, of which the tower remains.

Compared to Rochester, the number of parishes and churches or chapels in Canterbury is very high. In his history of medieval Canterbury,[35] William Urry gives a list of the parish churches in use around 1200: All Saints, St Alphege, St Andrew, St Dunstan, St Edmund Ridingate, St George, St Helen, Holy Cross, St John Baptist, St Margaret, St Martin, St Mary Breadman, St Mary Bredin, St Mary de Castro, St Mary Magdalen, St Mary Northgate, St Mary Queningate, St Michael Burgate, St Mildred, St Paul, St Peter and St Sepulchre (plus St Pancras). The difference is striking! Several parishes merged or disappeared as they did in Rochester, but there were so many to start with that there are still quite a few left nowadays.

There was a tradition of gate churches, which were little chapels built on top of some of the gates in the city wall, as some of the names imply. Indeed, St Mary Northgate, St Michael Burgate and St Edmund Ridingate were chapels originally built on top of Northgate, Burgate and Ridingate

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[32] J. K. Wallenberg, 1934, 606.

[33] Frederick Francis Smith, *A History of Rochester*, Rochester: John Hallewell Publications, 1928, limited reprint in 1976.

[34] There was a chapel next to the Bridge (called the Bridge Chapel), which used to belong to St Clements'. For more details, see: BECKER M. Janet, *Rochester Bridge: 1387-1856, A History of its Early Years*, London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1930.

[35] Urry, 1967, 210-1.

respectively and Holy Cross on top of Westgate. Some of those chapels were later rebuilt next to the walls, and most of them have now disappeared. St Edmund Ridingate was established by the Norman Knight Vitalis[36] or his son Hamo in the late eleventh century. Hamo founded St Mary Bredin in the early twelfth century, and as it names indicates, it was first built of wood, as "bredin" comes from the Old English word for "boards". As we can see, that Norman family was quite involved with Canterbury, but their names are not remembered in the streets of the City.

A year after the Norman Conquest, a great fire destroyed the Cathedral. In 1070,[37] William appointed an Italian Abbot, Lanfranc. His task was to rebuild the Cathedral and he did so by bringing shipments of stone from Caen in Normandy. The cathedral was finished in 1077. By 1085, Lanfranc had turned to charity and built St Nicholas' Leper Hospital on his estate at Harbledown outside of the city. He also dedicated a hospital for thirty men and thirty women to St John the Baptist. However, today he is only remembered in Harbledown, where Lanfranc Gardens can be found just south of the A2050, east of St Nicholas Hospital and Chantry.

When William the Conqueror died in 1087, his son William Rufus succeeded him.[38] However, he was anti-religious and did not get on with Lanfranc, so when the archbishop died in 1089, William II did not replace him for four years. But when he fell ill and believed he was going to die, he then thought it might be a good idea to appoint another archbishop. He had heard of Anselm, another Italian, and student of Lanfranc. Anselm did not want to be archbishop of Canterbury, but was forced into it in 1093. Unfortunately, the relations rapidly went sour. Rufus finally granted Anselm his wish to go to Rome, when he saw that he could benefit from it, and promptly confiscated Canterbury Cathedral as soon as Anselm had left the country. He stayed in Rome for three years. Rufus died in 1100 and was succeeded by his brother, Henry Beauclerc, who asked Anselm to come back. Sadly, they did not get on either and after more disagreements Anselm returned to Rome and was once more in exile. When Henry I called him back again, Anselm was a frail old man. He came back and died shortly afterwards in Canterbury in April 1109. Anselm and Lanfranc both have dedicated chapels inside the Cathedral.

After Henry Beauclerc died in 1135, the crown should have gone to his daughter Mathilda, but his nephew Stephen was crowned instead, at Canterbury by Archbishop Theobald. Civil war rapidly seized the country.

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[36] Marjorie Lyle, 67-8.
[37] Audrey Bateman, 7.
[38] Audrey Bateman, 8-13.

Stephen was taken prisoner and demanded a ransom from Canterbury. In exchange, he offered to sell his mill (the King's Mill) on the river Stour, to Hugh the Abbot of St Augustine's. So the deal was: "in compensation for a Bond of an hundred Marks, the Mill near Eastbridge and the whole water course of Water belonging to the said Mill".[39]

Archbishop Theobald had a young clerk working for him at the Archdeaconry[40]: Thomas Becket. When Stephen died, he was replaced by his nephew, Mathilda's son, Henry II. Thomas was sent to him as a representative of the Archdeaconry and they became close friends. Thomas Becket rose through the ranks of the Church until Henry asked him to become the Archbishop in 1162 and their relationship rapidly degraded after that. What follows is the famous story of an enormous power struggle between church and state, leading to the murder of Archbishop Becket in the Cathedral in 1170[41] (Picture 5)

In 1224, the Fransiscan order of the Grey Friars[42] arrived in Canterbury via Fécamp, with letters from Rome. They were a begging order, but were given a place to stay and Greyfriar cottage can still be seen today in the south-west of the city. They were soon joined by the Black Friars, a Dominican order, who settled in the north of the city[43]. Many years later, they were joined by the Carmelites: the White Friars. Their convent was located in the south of the city, near Watling Street. The whole area has been modernised recently, from Watling Street along St George's Lane to St George's Street changing Whitefriars into a shopping area and St George's Terrace into a bus terminal. On the other side, Burgate Lane links St George's Street to Burgate, which was the main entrance into the city from Sandwich and Richborough.

This excess of monks, pilgrims and pilgrimages was immortalised in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which can be seen, heard and smelt at the "Canterbury Tales" at St Margaret's Church in St Margaret's Street[44].

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[39] Ibid., 13-14.

[40] Ibid., 14.

[41] The whole story – from causes to consequences – is described in great detail in several of the following articles in this publication and so will not be discussed further here.

[42] Charles Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury 1224 to 1538, A contribution to the 700th Anniversary of their Arrival in England*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, Extra Series volume II, Manchester: University Press, 1924. See also: DOYLE Eric, *Canterbury and the Franciscans, 1224-1974, A Commemorative Essay*, Canterbury, 1974.

[43] Audrey Bateman, 32.

[44] For more details, see the website: http://www.canterburytales.org.uk/ (at St Margaret's Church).

Streets of a whole area of Harbledown owe their names to Chaucer's literary work. Indeed, strolling around the neighbourhood, one can walk down Prioress Road, Miller Avenue, Knight Avenue, Shipman Avenue, Squire Avenue, Franklyn Road, Pardoner Close, Merchants Way, Priest Avenue and Wife of Bath Hill. It seems that Chaucer has reached the imagination of developers much more than the Romans or the Normans.

Once again, as for the Romans, there is not much direct evidence of the conquering people in Canterbury: a Norman Road runs across Nunnery Fields and Nunnery Road, west of Old Dover Road south of the wall and the remains of the castles built by the Normans are still visible (from the Dane John Mound to the stone castle). But apart from that, no street name bears any connection to the Normans.

3. From the Renaissance to post-war reconstruction

On 30th July 1538 St Augustine's Abbey was handed over to the King's Commissioners and the monks were evicted. Some of the buildings were demolished; others converted into a royal Palace. In 1541, once the palace was constructed, the rest of the buildings were demolished. The royal palace was not used much by the royal family and so was leased to various noblemen. In 1612 the site was occupied by Lord and Lady Wotton, remembered in Canterbury in Lady Wotton's Green, off Broad Street near Queningate. However, by the eighteenth century the palace was abandoned. The Abbey is now in ruins. Some parts have been recovered and excavated. However, some buildings are still standing on other parts, making it impossible to dig. (Picture 6)

In Canterbury, kings and archbishops have been linked from the very beginning: from Ethelbert and St Augustine, down to Henry II and Thomas Becket, through William and his sons waging power battles with Lanfranc and Anselm. Canterbury, through its archbishops has always been very closely linked to the English royalty, often finding itself in the midst of their power struggles, up until the reign of Henry VIII. The street names show that through all this turmoil, Canterbury was clearly on the side of religion, rather than royalty. In that respect, it would be interesting to compare the street names of Rochester to those of Canterbury. It would probably reveal the counterpart royal and ecclesiastical roles these two important cities have played. In Rochester, there are saints' names, of course and a cathedral, some names are identical from Castle Hill, to St Margaret's Street, St Peter's Street or King's Street. However, the balance of royal and ecclesiastical names is probably reversed in the two cities. For

one thing, there are at least fifty streets named after Saints in Canterbury. And we have seen that not many Kings are remembered. Apart from some Saxon Kings like Ethelbert, Athelstan, Alfred and Edgar, there is an Albert Road and a Tudor Road, plus an Orange Road west of the Cathedral, named after the Dutch Prince William of Orange.[45] The Black Prince had a special link with Canterbury, he is buried in the Cathedral and there is an Edward Road, but with no guarantee this road refers to that particular Edward. Henry IV and his wife Joan are buried there too, but no street name commemorates them.

It has to be said that without the 1942 Second World War bombings the archaeology in Canterbury would not possess such advanced details about the lower levels of the city. However horrible the acts of bombing were, one major benefit was drawn from them: the destruction of the modern layer of buildings made it possible to dig and excavate the foundations of more ancient layers at various depth levels. The Iron Age settlement is buried deep under Roman *Durovernum* and Saxon *Cantwaraburg*. A lot has been discovered about the earlier periods of Canterbury since the War. Another benefit for archaeology is the modernisation of the town. Although some things have been lost, like most of the gates when they were demolished to enlarge the streets and access to the city during the nineteenth century and some of the churches like St George where only the clock tower remains, others have been found, like the Roman Theatre or some Jute round huts.[46]

It appears through archaeological observations,[47] that at least a part of Canterbury was deserted after the Romans left and before the early Anglo-Saxons started inhabiting Canterbury. Excavations show that a thick layer of humus separates the two levels and also that the position of the sixth and seventh century Saxon huts do not coincide with the Roman street pattern. So although the original location of the Roman walls and city gates remain in the same position to this day, the street plan inside the city was completely lost. However, the medieval street pattern has remained mostly the same to this day. The size of the city was also dependent on the number of inhabitants, which varied throughout its history. At the time of the plague, the city was thriving. But after the plague hit, from early 1348 onwards, Canterbury lost half of its population. The number of inhabitants seems to have been higher before the plague hit in the Middle Ages, than

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[45] Princess Mary (daughter of King Charles II) and William of Orange reigned conjointly as Queen Mary II and King William III, in the seventeenth century.

[46] For more details, see the Canterbury Archaeological Trust's website.

[47] Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester: University Press, 1984.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, before the start of the industrial revolution. With an expanding and decreasing population, the churches adapted by either increasing the size of the churches, or merging together.

There were some changes in the nineteenth century when some of the gates were pulled down to facilitate access to the town and several churches merged, such as St Mary Magdalene and St George's, where all that is left of St Mary Magdalene is it's tower and a monument to Sir Whitfield. After the Second World War, most of the south-eastern part of the City was bombed and a few streets and churches were lost, from St George's area to St Mary Bredin and the Langton Schools in the Whitefriars area. St Mary Bredin was then rebuilt further south, outside the walls, on the corner of Old Dover Road and Nunnery Fields and all that is left of St George's is the clock tower. The post-war reconstruction plans also included a ring road around Canterbury, linking Sturry Road to Whitstable Road via the southern part. It was built in the early 1960s, from Military Road to Rheims Way along the wall to the south, changing the fields at Rhodaus Town and Pin Hill into a busy road.

A twinning with a foreign city can sometimes be commemorated by a street name dedicated to that place. Thus the existence of a Rheims Way suggests a twinning of these two historically important cities, and indeed, Rheims and Canterbury have been twinned since May 13th, 1962.[48]

Conclusion

After this virtual tour of modern Canterbury, looking for traces of its past, a few conclusions can be drawn.

The names of ecclesiastical figures remembered in the street names are mostly medieval and the topographical names usually refer to features which have been there for centuries. Here are a few examples: Palace Street named after the Ecclesiastical Palace of the Archbishop, Castle Street from the Norman Castle, Watling Street from the Roman times, although the course is slightly altered within the walls, Burgate or Queningate from the old city gates, Pound Lane from the old pound where the animals which had not been retrieved by their owners after the given time would have to spend the night.

As we have seen, the relations between the Norman Kings and the Archbishops of Canterbury have mostly been strained, even quite heated at times, from Lanfranc and Anselm, until Thomas Becket's murder.

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[48] See the website from the City of Rheims:
http://www.ville-reims.fr/index.php?id=999.

Following his martyrdom and sainthood (which only took 3 years to obtain), the City became a famous place of pilgrimage, and thousands upon thousands of pilgrims were attracted to Canterbury. However, Canterbury did not become an ecclesiastical city because of this particular event; the City only used the infrastructure it already had at this point, from the dozen parish churches and chapels to the numerous taverns and inns inside and outside the walls, and ultimately, the Cathedral itself. It did not become a major centre, it merely adapted to meet expectations.

I would like to finish on this plea from William Urry in an article he wrote on the street names of Canterbury,[49] in 1948: "Finally a plea might be addressed to those who provide names for new streets. The past fifty years or so have given us some well meant but not very imaginative names such as Ethelbert Road, Edgar Road and other titles embodying Anglo-Saxon royal names, with the ruthlessly dynastic names along Wincheap such as York Road and the rest of the historical group. Surely Canterbury has enough history of her own without drawing our national sources? When new ground is cut up into housing estates the obvious thing is to preserve the old series of field names, most of which are exceedingly picturesque. Fortunately 'Forty Acres' was retained when that estate was laid out some thirty years back. And why not revive some of the old lost street names from the centre of the city, like Sunwin's Lane? There are plenty to draw from."

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[49] William Urry, "Street Names of Old Canterbury", Canterbury Local History Pamphlet No.2, Kent County Council Arts & Libraries, originally published in *Good Books* quarterly magazine, issue No.6, Autumn 1948.

Picture 1. The River Stour from the bridge in The Friars first facing south towards the centre of town: the back of the houses between Best Lane and All Saint's Lane, second facing north: the Dominican Priory behind the Marlowe Theatre.

Picture 2. Westgate from St Peter's Street straight through to St Dunstan's Street over the River Stour

Picture 3. Durovernum Court off Old Dover Road

Picture 4. St Martin's Church

Picture 7. Dane John Mound

Picture 5. The place where Archbishop Becket was murdered

Picture 6. The Abbey is in ruins

Picture 7. Canterbury Cathedral