

THE PRE-CONQUEST CHARTERS OF

CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

by

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ABSTRACT

of thesis entitled 'The Pre-Conquest Charters of Christ Church,
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This thesis comprises a study of all the records of the archbishop and chapter of Canterbury that purport to belong to the period before the Norman Conquest. The original plan had been to include a full diplomatic analysis of each document; but partly for reasons of space and partly because such a register makes heavy reading, it was decided that it could more usefully accompany the critical edition of the texts to which I hope to turn next. Instead the thesis is an attempt to throw light both on the charters and on the history of the church of Canterbury by studying them together. For in a period when our knowledge is severely restricted by lack of evidence, the study of diplomatic and of wider historical issues should not be divorced. Whilst it is true that diplomatic, like any academic discipline, can be self-defeating if its range of vision is too narrow, there is also a need -- if we are to understand our earliest English historical records -- for basic studies of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic using the principles and methods that have long been practiced on the Continent.

The pioneering, if all too brief, work of Sir Frank Stenton on The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon showed how fruitful the study of the charters of a single beneficiary could be, even though it did not claim to be a work on diplomatic. But until very recently his example has not been followed. Canterbury posed notable challenges and problems. It has preserved more charters than any other English house, and their study could be expected to elucidate the whole field of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, all the more because a high proportion of the Christ Church charters have

survived in contemporary form; by contrast the Canterbury cartularies have preserved abbreviated and distorted versions of pre-Conquest documents whose purpose has never been adequately explained; the charters are also the chief material for understanding the policies and interests of the archbishops in their relations with kings and lay nobles, and for establishing the much controverted history of the cathedral community; above all they are evidence for the endowment of the archiepiscopal church in the first five centuries of its history.

Fundamental to the whole work has been the belief that a document may be used as evidence in the first instance only for the period when it was written, and not for the period to which it purports to belong. For this reason the thesis begins by examining why and how purportedly pre-Conquest charters from Christ Church have been preserved down to the present day, by tracing their fortunes first in the cathedral archives and treasury, then in the hands of post-Reformation antiquaries, and finally in the collections of the British Museum (chapter I). The whole range of originals, copies, cartulary versions, and modern transcripts are surveyed in their historical context. It is shown that the earliest grants to the archbishops and community, those up to the year 798, have all been lost or destroyed; but that from 798 the Christ Church archives preserved the bulk of the pre-Conquest charters intact until the Reformation, despite Viking raids, accidental fires, mediaeval reorganisations of the archives, and long periods of neglect.

Remarkably a high proportion of the authentic charters are not grants to the church of Canterbury, but to laymen or to other ecclesiastical beneficiaries. Indeed the peculiarities of English book-right meant

that until the 11th century the church of Canterbury kept no record of how it acquired its estates. Then political upheavals exposed the inadequacies of the archives and led the community to adopt new methods of record-keeping, by recording grants and bequests in their gospel-books, and by compiling a cartulary (chapter II). It is not easy to distinguish among the gospel-entries the contemporary records from subsequent copies and outright forgeries; but the whole series of texts inserted into the sacred books of the church illuminates the fears, vested interests, and disputes in law of the community in the 11th and early 12th centuries. Similarly the main Christ Church cartulary of pre-Conquest texts is seen as the product of the particular political situation when the see of Canterbury was vacant after Lanfranc's death. The king and his officials were concerned to exploit the regalian right on an unprecedented scale, and it is therefore no surprise to find the monks documenting in the cartulary their claims to their lands and rights with greater precision than the original charters justify. Subsequent additions to the cartulary reflect the interests of the community in the late 11th and early 12th century. Only with great caution can texts from the cartulary be used as evidence for the Anglo-Saxon period. Their formulae are shown to be largely the invention of the compiler of the cartulary, and there are frequent errors in the dates and in the names of the benefactors.

Thus the way is cleared for a study of the diplomatic of the Christ Church charters. Chapter III comprises a detailed analysis of the script and formulae of the extant authentic diplomas from the year 798 in order to establish in what scriptoria they were produced. Attention is concentrated

upon the diplomas of the 9th century, since 9th century English diplomatic has been entirely neglected and because Christ Church has preserved an outstanding series of documents of this period. By comparing the extant charters from other archives it has been possible to identify the products of the Canterbury scriptorium, to trace the development of Canterbury scripts and of Canterbury formulae, and to show that the episcopal scriptoria at Canterbury and Rochester were each responsible for drafting and writing royal and private diplomas that concerned lands within their own diocese. The survival of the Christ Church scriptorium into the 10th century is traced and its relationship to the so-called 'royal chancery' of Athelstan and his immediate successors explained. In the 11th century some royal diplomas were once more written at Christ Church, but there is no evidence that the cathedral scriptorium ever again attained its early preeminence.

The last two chapters (IV, V) turn to the history of the church of Canterbury and of its estates. By comparing the evidence of the charters with that of Domesday Book an attempt is made to locate the earliest benefactions of the rulers of Kent to their principle church. But whilst the reconstruction of the early endowment remains conjectural, the charters do allow the changing patterns of benefactions to the church to be mapped in detail from the 9th century onwards. For the same period the charters provide information on the composition of the community and help to correct the myths that were invented in the 11th century to justify the monastic status of the cathedral chapter.

The most remarkable feature of the Christ Church charters is the

wealth of 9th century documents. They enable us to see for the first time something of the policies and interests of Archbishops Aethelheard, Wulfred, and Ceolnoth who have hitherto been very shadowy figures indeed. The efforts of these archbishops to resist the power of proprietary lords over ecclesiastical property led to bitter disputes with the Mercian and West Saxon kings and to two notable forgeries (chapter IV). Archbishop Wulfred is revealed as an outstanding figure in the history of the English church, not only as a champion of ecclesiastical liberty and as a reformer of his own cathedral community, but also as a rich landowner with a far-sighted territorial policy. He disposed of the outlying estates of his church and acquired instead new properties in Kent, and he accumulated by purchase numerous adjoining properties which would form large and coherent estates which could be administered from single manor-houses. His extremely personal conception of his rights over the estates he acquired contains a hint of nepotism, but none of his successors, though they sought to follow his policies, left so great a mark upon the endowment of the church of Canterbury.

P R E F A C E

This study of the pre-Conquest charters of Christ Church was undertaken in the belief that a critical understanding of any Anglo-Saxon charter depends upon an appreciation of the history of the archive where it has been preserved. The charters and the history of the church throw light on each other and are therefore best studied together. Christ Church was chosen because it had preserved more charters and more 'apparent originals' than any other house; it possessed, moreover, documents of every class and covering the whole period from c.670 to 1066. A wide variety of documents, even papal privileges and episcopal professions of faith, have been included under the title charter, since they throw light on the history of the church of Canterbury and the way in which it preserved its pre-Conquest records.

The student of Anglo-Saxon charters needs to be a master of many trades. I am well aware that I am not yet equipped to deal with all the linguistic problems that the charters pose, and I hope to return to them at a later date. No edition of the Christ Church charters has been attempted here. But I am aware of my responsibilities, and when it is clear how the editing of the pre-Conquest Latin diplomas should best proceed, I hope to turn to those of Canterbury.

In six years of research I have incurred many debts to my teachers and other scholars for guidance and kindnesses which cannot easily be acknowledged in the footnotes. The staffs of the Bodleian

Library, The British Museum, and of St Andrews University Library have always been efficient and helpful. Dr. W. Urry has answered many queries and helped me to comprehend a great mediaeval archive. Mr. P. H. Sawyer allowed me to see sections of ^{his} Annotated List and Bibliography of Anglo-Saxon Charters in an early stage of preparation, and Dr. P. Chaplais has discussed many documents with me and introduced me to diplomatic studies. But my greatest obligation is to Professor Whitelock who has supervised my work with consideration, enthusiasm and a meticulous attention to detail. She has frequently set me thinking on profitable lines of approach, and has always been generous with her time and knowledge. Any qualities of scholarship that this work may have are the product of her teaching; its inadequacies are my own.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.S.Chron.</u>	<u>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</u> , ed. J.Earle and C.Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892, 1899).
<u>B.C.S.</u>	W. de Gray Birch, <u>Cartularium Saxonicum</u> , 3 vols (1885-1899).
<u>B.M.</u>	British Museum
<u>B.M.Facs.</u>	E.A.Bond, <u>Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum</u> , 4 vols (1873-78).
Boehmer, <u>Fälschungen</u>	H.Boehmer, <u>Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury</u> , (Leipzig, 1902).
<u>Ch.L.A.</u>	A.Bruckner and R.Marichal, <u>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</u> , vols iii and iv (Olten and Lausanne, 1963, 1967).
<u>Crawford Charters</u>	<u>The Crawford Collection of Early Charters</u> , ed. A.S.Napier and W.H.Stevenson, (Oxford, 1895).
<u>DB.</u>	<u>Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae</u> , 4 vols., ed. A.Farley and H.Ellis (Record Commission, 1783-1816).
Du Boulay, <u>Lordship</u>	F.R.H. Du Boulay, <u>The Lordship of Canterbury</u> , (1966).
<u>E.C.W.</u>	H.P.R.Finberg, <u>The Early Charters of Wessex</u> , (Leicester, 1964).
<u>E.H.D.</u>	<u>English Historical Documents</u> , general editor D.C.Douglas, 12 vols (in progress, 1953).
<u>Facs.Eng.Roy.Writs</u>	T.A.M.Bishop and P.Chaplais, <u>Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D.1100 presented to V.H.Galbraith</u> , (Oxford, 1957).
Haddan and Stubbs, <u>Councils</u>	<u>Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland</u> , 3 vols., ed.A.W.Haddan and W.Stubbs, (Oxford, 1874-8).

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THE CANTERBURY ARCHIVES

The archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and the cathedral priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church have been more successful and more fortunate in the preservation of their records of the Anglo-Saxon period than any other English ecclesiastical archive. If we leave out of account all questions of authenticity, and if we ignore all duplicate, variant and abbreviated versions, counting only the best extant authority for any individual record, we find that 231 documents from the church of Canterbury have survived which purport to date from the years between the arrival of St Augustine in England and the Norman conquest. There are other houses that can claim almost as many pre-conquest texts as this¹, but Canterbury is unique in that no less than 118 of its documents survive on single sheets of parchment, and 89 of these are in hands that may be accepted as contemporary or nearly contemporary².

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1. A rapid count gave the following figures: Winchester 189, Worcester 192.
 2. Canterbury stands in marked contrast to other Kentish houses. Rochester has only 9 pre-conquest texts surviving on single sheets of parchment, and St Augustine's has none at all, though both these houses have large numbers of reliable texts surviving in cartularies.

The remaining 113 documents (those that do not survive on single sheets) may be analysed as follows:-

i) of 58, a more or less full text has been preserved in one or other of the mediaeval cartularies of the archbishop and community. 29 of these are the extant professions of faith of Anglo-Saxon bishops-elect to the Canterbury metropolitan; a further 11 are the well-known papal privileges forged at Canterbury in the late 11th and early 12th centuries.

ii) 9 documents are not extant today in any mediaeval manuscript, but were transcribed in whole or in part by the 17th century Kentish antiquarians, William Somner and Sir Edward Dering from manuscripts that have since been lost or destroyed.

iii) 16 documents survive, sometimes only as very brief notes, as entries on spare leaves and blank spaces of gospel books from Canterbury.

iv) 30 documents have left no trace except for the very brief summaries of transactions in the main Christ Church cartulary.

These figures indicate how much the survival of the records has depended upon the interest and care of later ages. Until the reformation it was the need to be able to establish in law their claims to privileges and lands, that led the clerks of the archbishops and the monks of Christ Church to preserve, copy, and sometimes forge, what seemed useful among their pre-conquest documents¹.

1. But 5 charters rejected as 'inutile' by the 12th century Canterbury endorsing scribe because they were illegible, or concerned transactions of no interest to Canterbury have nonetheless survived: B.C.S.115, 448; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 3,18; Robertson, Charters, 102.

But fire, theft, even deliberate destruction, not to mention the nibbling of rats and mice, all took their toll of the early charters from Canterbury during the Middle Ages. The greatest danger to the Canterbury records, however, (as to those of other houses) came after the Reformation, namely that they might fall into the hands of laymen for whom they had no interest or value. It is thanks to the work of a few knowledgeable and acquisitive antiquaries of the 17th century that so many early charters from Christ Church passed into the great collections which are now housed in the British Museum. Even so, we can show that a good many Anglo-Saxon documents that were in existence at Canterbury in the 17th century are no longer extant¹.

Therefore before any valid historical deductions from the surviving records can be made, we need to know why they have survived and to be able to estimate what may have been lost. Similarly before we can discuss either the authenticity or the historical interest of any individual text, we need to know all we can of the history of the manuscript from which it is derived. Some account of the Christ Church archives from the conversion to the present day, and in particular an investigation of the manuscripts which preserve pre-conquest texts, is therefore the necessary foundation of any study of the Anglo-Saxon charters themselves.

The history of the Christ Church archives may conveniently be divided into six main periods, separated by political or religious

1. Below pp. 69 n.2, 71 n.1.

upheavals which had important effects on the survival of the muniments
of the cathedral church.

Augustine to the end of the
597-796).

death of King Alfred (899).

establishment of the monastic

Norman Conquest (1066).

dissolution of the Priory (1540).

until the present day.

as until the end of the Reign of
Alfred (597-796)

from the first two centuries of
derived from the Christ Church archives
nearly contemporary date¹. They
show 'original' charter that
of King Hlothere of Kent of the

¹ B.M.Facs., i.1), B.C.S.97 (B.M.Stowe
98 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 88: B.M.Facs.,
II 18: B.M.Facs., i.5), B.C.S.148
, i.6), B.C.S.160 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II
99 (B.M.Stowe Ch.3: O.S.Facs., iii.3),
B.C.S.201 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 26, 27: B.M.Facs., i.9), B.C.S.247 (B.M.
Stowe Ch.5: O.S.Facs., iii.5), B.C.S.254 (Cant.Red Book 2:
O.S.Facs., i.2).

year 679 (B.C.S.45)¹, to a grant of King Offa in 788 to his thegn Osberht (B.C.S.254). Nine of the ten are royal diplomas; the remaining document (B.C.S.115) is a letter of Bishop Wealdhere of London to his metropolitan, Berhtwald, in the year 705². The principal interest of the nine diplomas for the history of the Christ Church archives is that none of them are grants to the church of Canterbury. Five (B.C.S.97, 98, 148, 160 and 247) are grants to the monastery of Lyminge³, two are to Reculver (B.C.S.45, 199), one is a grant to a layman (B.C.S.254), and one (B.C.S.201) an exchange of properties between

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1. That the extant ms. (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 2) is an 'original' has been demonstrated, in so far as any Anglo-Saxon royal diploma can be proved to be original, by Dr. P. Chaplais ('Some early Anglo-Saxon diplomas on single sheets: originals or copies?', Journ.Soc. Archivists, iii (7), 1968, pp.317-327). D.H. Wright has argued on typological grounds that the hand belongs to the mid-8th century rather than the late 7th (The Vespasian Psalter, [Early English MSS. in Facsimile, xiv], 1967, ed. D.H. Wright and A. Campbell, p.56). But I am not convinced that there are enough examples of Kentish uncial to establish his argument, and it is not evident why the charter should be copied then, or if it were a later copy why the witnesses should have been written by a different scribe than the text of the grant.
 2. It is the only letter of the Anglo-Saxon period that was preserved at Canterbury, and to judge from the 12th century endorsement ('epistola inutilis') its survival has been fortuitous; but it may have been considered of interest for the authority it showed an early archbishop exercising over a suffragan, and for titles such as '... Berctualdo totius Brettaniae gubernacula regenti ...' which would be of value as long as Canterbury hankered after the primacy. The hand has generally been attributed to the late 8th century (see, e.g. Ch.L.A.185[iii, p.29]), but we have no Anglo-Saxon minuscule of the first half of the century as diplomas were still written in uncial or majuscule, and there seems no good reason to disallow its contemporaneity.
 3. B.C.S.247 is a grant to thegn Ealdbeorht and his sister Selethryth, who was soon if not already abbess of Lyminge (cf. B.C.S.317, 248, 1336).

King Offa and Stithbert, abbot of an unknown Mercian house. Thus although Canterbury has preserved charters in contemporary manuscripts from an earlier date than any other English see, these documents do not prove that the Christ Church archives have a continuous history from that time. For the records of these transactions (in which the church of Canterbury was in no way concerned) came to be preserved at Canterbury because the lands in question passed into the possession of the archbishop and community at a later date¹. When the land was transferred, so was the charter whose possession was evidence of title².

The absence of early charters in contemporary manuscripts granting lands and rights to the archbishops and community in the two centuries after the arrival of St Augustine is paralleled by a similar

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1. The lands belonging to Lyminge were certainly in Canterbury's hands by the time of Domesday Book; it seems most likely that they passed to Canterbury in the 9th century, when under the threat of Danish raids all the Kentish monasteries (except St Augustine's and the cathedral communities of Canterbury and Rochester) disappear from recorded history.

The lands of Reculver probably came to Canterbury at much the same time, tho' B.C.S.880 purports to be the grant of Reculver to Christ Church in 949. The 9th century disputes over the control over the Kentish minsters are discussed below pp.198-230.

The estate at Harrow (Middlesex), which in B.C.S.201 was given to Abbot Stithberht by Offa, was acquired by the archbishops of Canterbury in 821 by the grant of King Coenwulf of Mercia and confirmed by King Beornwulf in 825 (B.C.S.384). B.C.S.254 gives no indication of the location of Duningland except that it was 'in regione Eastrgena' (in the Eastry district), and the estate cannot now be identified.

2. The 'evidentiary' nature of Anglo-Saxon charters was discussed by H.D. Hazeltine in his preface to D. Whitelock, Wills, pp.vii-xi, passim, and more recently by M.M. Sheehan, The Will in Mediaeval England, 1963, pp.47-66.

lack of early books and other records from Christ Church. We have nothing from the times of Augustine and his immediate successors; if any of the records of the mission of St Augustine that were brought to Bede by the priest, Nothelm¹, were kept at Christ Church rather than at St Augustine's, they have not survived. Under Archbishop Theodore the school of Canterbury achieved fame for its teaching of metric, astronomy, the computus, medicine and Roman Law, and for the skill of its pupils in writing and speaking Greek and Latin²; but none of the books necessary for these studies has survived. The German scholar, B. Bischoff, has identified some biblical commentaries in an 11th century manuscript from Milan as the work of Theodore³, but no trace of them has survived

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1. Abbot Albinus of St Augustines was Bede's principle source (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer, Oxford 1896, p.6). The provenance of the Responsiones of Pope Gregory I is at present under investigation. P. Meyvaert, who is preparing a critical edition, has decisively challenged the view that the Responsiones were forged, or extensively rewritten, at Canterbury by Nothelm in the early 8th century (Rev. d'Hist. Eccl., liv, 1959, pp.879-94).
 2. Bede, Hist.Eccl., iv 2, (ed. C. Plummer, p.204-5). As examples of Latin and Greek scholars Bede cites Albinus and Tobias (Hist. Eccl., v. 20, 23, ed. C. Plummer, pp.331, 348). For Theodore's teaching of medicine, see John of Beverley's reminiscence in Hist. Eccl., v. 3, p.285. For Roman Law see Aldhelm's letter from Canterbury to bishop Leuthere of Winchester which mentions his lengthy study there of Roman Law and of 'the secrets of the jurisconsults' Opera Aldhelmi, R. Ehwald, Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant., xv, 1919, pp.476-7.
 3. 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegesis im Fruhmittelalter', Sacris Erudiri, vi, 1954, pp.189-195.

at Canterbury. In 1903 M.R. James published the extant mediaeval catalogues of the cathedral library and was able to explain the system of press-marks in Canterbury books, and thus to identify many books as having belonged to Christ Church¹. Since that time the work of a number of scholars, especially of N.R.Ker², has corrected and added to the list of mediaeval books, or parts of books, that can be attributed to the cathedral library. In all some 333 works from the mediaeval library of Christ Church, Canterbury, have been recognised³, and 32 of these are manuscripts earlier than the Norman conquest. Only two were written before 800 - a manuscript of Juvenius (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 304) and the illuminated gospel book known as the 'Codex Aureus' from the Royal Library in Stockholm - and there are grounds for suspecting that neither belonged to Canterbury before the 9th century. C.C.C.304 is in a hand of the first half of the 8th century, but it is of Spanish or North Italian provenance and has glosses that suggest that it was still on the Continent in the 9th century⁴. And the Codex

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1. M.R.James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, Cambridge 1903.
 2. N.R.Ker, Mediaeval Libraries of Gt Britain, 2nd ed., 1964, pp.29-40.
 3. As explained by N.R.Ker (*ibid.*, p.viii) this number excludes all cartularies, rentals, inventories etc. that are concerned with the business and administration of the see and community.
 4. On f.20 there is an insertion in the lower margin in a continental early minuscule hand of C.IX.(i). On f.75v a foreign (? German) hand of C.IX-X has written a partially erased word and the name 'Engelberga'. There are a few Latin interlinear glosses in a neat Caroline minuscule of C.X.mid. The earliest hand that is certainly English is a large and rough Anglo-Saxon minuscule of C.X-XI that wrote most of the marginal glosses. For the provenance of the MS and of the glosses see E.A.Lowe, Codices Latini Antiquiores, ii, no.127.

Aureus has an inscription in a Canterbury hand of about the middle of the 9th century which records that an ealdorman Ælfred and his wife Werburg recovered it from a Viking army and gave it to Christ Church.¹ We may therefore date Canterbury's possession of this gospel book from the latter half of the 9th century when Ælfred was ealdorman of Surrey², and conclude that none of the 7th and 8th century charters and books of the archbishops and community of Canterbury has survived. The letter of Bishop Wealdhere of London is the only parchment which seems likely to have remained at Canterbury from that time until the Reformation.

However, there have survived 23 documents which purport to date to this early period, but which are extant only in later copies, either on single sheets or in cartularies and registers from Christ Church³. Eight of these are grants to beneficiaries other than

1. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 9.

2. His tenure of office was certainly after that of Huda who died in 853 (A.S.Chron., sub anno). Ælfred's will (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 10) can be dated between the years 871 and 889. The original provenance of the Codex Aureus has been disputed. S.M.Kuhn suggested that it was one of a number of early books that should be attributed to Lichfield ('From Canterbury to Lichfield', Speculum, xxiii, 1948, pp.591-628); but his arguments have been conclusively rejected by K.Sisam ('Canterbury, Lichfield, and the Vespasian Psalter', Rev. Eng.Stud., n.s. vii, 1956, pp.1-13, 113-131, and ibid., n.s. viii, 1957, pp.370-4). The inscription recording Ælfred and Werburg's gift was written by a Christ Church writer (scribe 4, see below, pp.142-3), and gives no hint that they were returning a volume that had previously belonged to Christ Church. It therefore seems highly unlikely to have belonged to the church of Canterbury before the 9th century. The only clue to its provenance is the invocation on f.10, '+ Orate pro Ceolhard pr 7 Niclas 7 Ealhun 7 Wulfhelm aurifex.' in a hand of C.VIII. mid., but we have no means of identifying their church.

3. B.C.S. 12, 50, 69, 91, 99, 111, 162, 173, 182, 197, 208, 213, 214, 243, 248, 265.
Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Canterbury¹; but the remaining 15 are charters and privileges in which the archbishops and community are directly involved. If it can be proved that these are copies of authentic documents, or that they contain authentic passages, then they will provide some evidence of the early history of the Canterbury archives.

The seven papal privileges (Boehmer, Fälschungen, nos. 1-7) are all from the series forged at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest. The first purports to be a confirmation by Pope Boniface IV of the foundation of the monastery of Christ Church, and was fabricated, as H.Boehmer showed, at a time when the status of the English cathedral monasteries was under attack in the early years of Lanfranc's pontificate²; but the remaining six privileges are all concerned to support Canterbury's case in the long dispute about the claim to primacy over the archbishopric of York. They were all rejected as forgeries as early as 1123 by the Roman Curia³. Though the date when the various primacy documents were forged has still to be determined⁴, we do know

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1. Three (B.C.S.111, 182, 197) are grants to laymen; two (B.C.S.50, 208) are to bishops of Selsey; two (B.C.S.173, 243) are to the monastery of Reculver, and one (B.C.S.248) is to Lyminge.
 2. Boehmer, Fälschungen, pp.52-61.
 3. See Hugh the Chanter (Historians of the Church of York, ed. J.Raine, R.S., vol.ii, 1886) p.204.
 4. H.Boehmer (Fälschungen) dated the forgeries to 1072. A.J.MacDonald, (Lanfranc: a Study of his Life, Work and Writing, 1926, pp.271-87) first suggested a date of c.1120 for their compilation, and R.W. Southern has argued that this should be amended to 1121-3 ('The Canterbury Forgeries', Eng.Hist.Rev., lxxiii (1958), pp.192-226). But there are paleographical difficulties in so late a date (see below, pp.96-102).

something of the forgers' methods. Some of the privileges are elaborate fabrications making use of a variety of sources, but where the forger had access to a usable authentic text he was content simply to insert a few key sentences and phrases, leaving the bulk of the text intact¹. Two of the seven privileges purporting to date to the 7th and 8th centuries do seem to be based on authentic papal documents in this manner²: they are the letter of Pope Sergius I (in 693) to the English kings, Ethelred ^dAelfrid and Aldwulf, concerning the accession of Archbishop Berhtwald, and the letter of the same pope on the same subject to the bishops of Britain. Since these documents would be of lasting interest only to the see of Canterbury, we may be justified in placing these two letters concerning Berhtwald's accession alongside the letter of Bishop Wealdhere to Berhtwald among the few Canterbury documents of the period 597-796 that survived until after the Norman conquest.

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1. The clearest example of the forger working in this way is provided by one of the later privileges, that of Pope John XII to Archbishop Dunstan (Boehmer, Fälschungen, no.10). The text was copied in the second half of the 10th century at the beginning of the 'Pontifical of St Dunstan' by the scribe of the pontifical (Paris, B.N.Latin MS. 943 f.7). See V.Leroquais, Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des Bibliothèques de France, ii, Paris (1937), pp.6-10; there is a facsimile of part of the privilege of John XII in F.Steffens, Lateinische Paläographie, 2nd ed. 1927, pl.71a. W.Levison (England and the Continent in the 8th Century, 1946, p.201 n.4) first pointed out the importance of the pontifical text which preserves the genuine version of John XII before the forger altered and interpolated passages into it. The differences between the two versions can most conveniently be studied in Memorials of St Dunstan (ed. W.Stubbs, [R.S.] 1874, pp.296-8) where the variant readings of Paris B.N.Lat.MS.943 are given in the notes from Mabillon's edition.
 2. Boehmer, Fälschungen, nos.5, 6, and discussion on pp.89-95.

Can we add anything to these from among the 8 royal charters to Canterbury that purport to come from the two centuries after Augustine's arrival in England, but which have been preserved only in later copies? Three of these charters (B.C.S.91, 99, 162) are grants of privileges to all the churches and monasteries in Kent¹. But only one (B.C.S.99) is authentic², and we cannot be sure that it is a Canterbury charter since it may well have come to Canterbury along with the charters of Lyminge or Reculver. Similarly the forgers of the spurious B.C.S.91 and 162 may have had access to authentic early materials, for instance in the compilation of the witness-lists³, but there is no reason to assume that the sources were charters to Christ Church or to the archbishops.

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1. These three charters are discussed at length, below pp. 207-8, 219-226
 2. The earliest ms. of B.C.S.99 (Maidstone, Kent Cty Record Office, U. 140) of C.IX.mid. was not known when Haddan and Stubbs (Councils, iii, pp.245-6) and W.H.Stevenson ('Trinoda Necessitas', Eng.Hist. Rev., xxix, 1914, p.703) rejected it as 'dubious or spurious'. But the presence of bishop Gefmund of Rochester among the witnesses does not condemn this as a text of 699, for the entry of A.S.Chron. 'D' and 'E' which records his death in 693 is based on a misreading of Bede (Hist.Eccl., v.8, ed. C.Plummer, i, p.295). The formulae of B.C.S.99, notably the invocation, corroboration, dating clause, and the form of the attestations, can all be paralleled in authentic Kentish charters of the early 7th and early 8th centuries; there are no obvious anachronisms. It is also notable that the charter has been preserved not only in this Christ Church ms., but also among the early charters of Minster-in-Thanet in cartularies of St Augustine's:- (Trinity Hall, Cambridge, MS.1, f.48v, printed by C.Hardwick, (Thomas of Elmham: Historia Abbatiae S.Augustini, R.S., 1858, pp.295-7); B.M.Cotton Julius D.ii f.106.
 3. There are few authentic documents of the early 8th century to check the witness-lists of B.C.S.91; but so far as the evidence goes they seem to belong to 699x726 and 710x717 respectively. The list

Of the five charters which do claim to be grants to the community or to the archbishops, the first (B.C.S.12) need not be considered here. Although it is possible that King Eadbald of Kent gave Adisham to Christ Church in 616, or at least soon after his conversion, the surviving text contains no early formulae and was composed by the compiler of the main Christ Church cartulary¹. More significant for our purposes is the grant attributed to King Coenwulf and his wife Cynegyth (otherwise unknown) of an estate at Wootton and Giddinge in Kent (B.C.S.296). The charter is certainly a forgery², and was probably written soon after the Norman Conquest when the estate was in dispute³. But the formulae of the charter and its brief boundaries suggest that an authentic diploma of the late 7th century concerning

in B.C.S.162 is so full of errors that it is unlikely that the forger had a genuine charter before him. (See below p.220 n.1).

1. The cartularist composed brief documents purporting to record grants to the monks, often based on very inadequate information (below, pp.106-113). It is unlikely that Eadbald's grant, if it ever took place would have been by charter. The earliest extant authentic diplomas date from the 670s, and most scholars have regarded the royal diploma as an innovation of the time of Archbishop Theodore, (669-690). See W.H.Stevenson, Eng.Hist.Rev., xxiv (1914), p.695; F.M.Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd ed. (1947), p.141; W.Levison, England and the Continent, 1946, p.226-33; D.Whitelock, Eng.Hist.Docs., 1 p.342-3. For a recent contrary suggestion, see P.Chaplais, 'The origin and authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, pp.48-52.
2. Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian cannot attest a genuine charter of Coenwulf.
3. Wootton/Giddinge was back in the monks' possession by the time of Domesday Book, but according to the Canterbury obituary notice of Lanfranc it was among the estates which William I had restored

this estate may have been used as the exemplar; moreover the fact that the main Christ Church cartulary attributes the grant (somewhat more plausibly) to Ceadwalla of Wessex, or to an unidentified Cenwalh¹, may indicate that this exemplar was damaged. Coenwulf, Ceadwalla, and Cenwalh are probably best regarded as the guesses of Christ Church monks to find a husband for a queen named Cynegyth. These guesses can be corrected by comparison with a charter from the St Augustine's cartularies by which King Wihtred of Kent and his wife Cynegyth gave land to Abbess Ebba of Minster-in-Thanel²; the Minster charter has virtually identical formulae and bears the same date (16 kal. Aug., 7th indiction, 3rd year of reign) as the Christ Church grant of Wootton and Giddinge attributed to Coenwulf. It is unlikely that the Minster charter was

(see J.H.Le Patourel, 'The Reports of the Trial on Penenden Heath', in Studies ... presented to F.M.Powicke, 1948, pp.18-19). The extant ms. of the charter (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 96: B.M.Facs., iv 7) is in an imitative hand which is difficult to date. The model was apparently a script of C.X.mid.; but ~~we should not expect spellings such as Cenulf at that time, and~~ the occasional use of diagonal hair-strokes at the foot of terminal descenders betrays the hand of a post-conquest scribe.

1. B.C.S.69. The cartulary summary of this grant is largely in its own words, but the corroboratio ('ad cumulum expressi') in which the name Cenwalh is found shows that the cartularist had a ms. with 7th century formulae before him which was not the extant ms. of B.C.S.296. It is reasonable to suppose that this ms. was the exemplar used by the forger of B.C.S.296.
2. B.C.S.86. Dr. Chaplais regards the presence in this charter of a version of the Italian rogatio clause ('quam saepedictam cartulam scribendam dictavi ... ') as suspicious (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (7), 1968, p.335), and has suggested that this charter may have been forged at Minster in the early 9th century when Abbess Cwoenthryth was also abbess of Winchcombe; the date of the charter (17th July) is the feast of the martyr, Kenelm, who was buried at Winchcombe, and in B.C.S.296 Kenelm is actually among the witnesses. But this

itself the model for the Wootton/Giddinge charter¹, and it is therefore possible that Wihtred and Cynegyth granted Wootton and Giddinge to the Archbishop (Berhtwald) and community in 694, and that the charter was preserved in the Christ Church archives from that time until it became partly illegible. But it is also possible that an 11th century forger adapted a charter of Wihtred that granted a different estate to a different recipient.

The remaining three documents present similar problems; they are all grants of King Offa of Mercia (B.C.S.213, 214, 265), and they survive on single sheets of parchment purporting to be 'originals'. But in fact they are in hands of C.X.(2) and C.X-XI². B.C.S.213 and 214 claim to give Archbishop Jænberht estates at Higham and Lydd (Kent)

seems unnecessarily ingenious; it was scarcely necessary at Minster to turn to an Italian formulary, had they wanted a model for a charter of Wihtred. South-eastern charters of the 7th century are full of formulae of Italian origin, and B.C.S.86 has many formulae that are comparable with diplomas of undoubted authenticity (Cf. in particular B.C.S.34, 35, 45, 67, 72, 73, 81, 97/8). Cynegyth does not appear elsewhere as Wihtred's wife, and from 696 he has a queen named Ethelburga (B.C.S.90, 96, 97, 98). But this should not arouse suspicion, for in view of the evidence of a Kentish-West Saxon alliance early in Wihtred's reign it is not surprising to find an earlier wife with a West Saxon name, possibly to be equated with Quoengyth, the sister of Ine (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, iii p.343).

1. The uncertainty at Christ Church about the identity of the donor would be difficult to explain were B.C.S.86 the model; likewise the mistakes in B.C.S.296:- dicte (for dicatae), et remisionem delictis nostris (not in 86), et (for ut), mei (for meos), confirmationis (for affirmationis), ego (for vel), sepaedictam (for saepepredictam), cui supra (for name).
2. B.C.S.213 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 99: B.M.Facs., iv 4), W.H.Stevenson, (Eng.Hist.Rev., xxiv (1914), p.692 n.18) noted that this charter is in the same hand as the famous Pagham forgery (B.C.S.50: B.M.Cotton Aug.II 86: B.M.Facs., iv 2); B.C.S.214 (B.M.Stowe Ch.4: O.S.Facs., iii 4); B.C.S.265 (Cant.Red Book 3: O.S.Facs., i 3).

in the year 774. The formulae of the two charters are almost identical, as are the witnesses; it is clear that both charters, whether genuine or not, have a common origin. They present a problem in diplomatic: they have little in common with authentic 8th century charters from Kent or from Mercia¹, and there are a number of formulae that point to composition in the 10th century². Nonetheless the brevity of the Latin boundaries and the undoubtedly genuine witness-list of Mercian bishops, abbots and laymen³ suggest that an authentic charter of Offa underlies the existing texts. Whether this charter (or charters) concerned the same estates and the same beneficiary cannot be determined. We know too little about the land disputes of the church of Canterbury in the 10th century to know whether the community had reason to forge claims to Higham and Lydd. But it is clear that it would be hazardous to accept B.C.S.213 and 214 as evidence that authentic charters were preserved in the Christ Church archives since Offa's time.

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1. However the formula 'ad cuius cumulum impressimus/perstrinximus' is a development of a 7th century Kentish formula (B.C.S.41, 86, 73, 90, 97/8, 99) and is found in very similar form in a Worcester charter of 759 (B.C.S.187). The formula 'Manente hac cartula in sua nihilominus firmitate' is common in the 8th century (B.C.S.152, 175, 177, 195, 196, 199, 207).
 2. The royal title rex Anglorum does not occur in authentic charters until the reign of Athelstan; the dispositive words dabo et concedo are a formula of the 9th century (see below, p.158); perstringere (perstrinximus in B.C.S.213) is rare, but was used in charters of Eadred and in the forged Pagham charter (B.C.S.50, 899, 900, 903, 904, 908 etc.); 'trium aratrorum quod Cantianice dicitur threora sulunga' cf. B.C.S.791, 869 etc.; 'et huius terrae estimatio v aratrorum esse videtur ...' cf. B.C.S.50, 899 etc.
 3. It is however unique for so many witnesses, including the king and the bishops, to attest with the formula 'Signum manus ...'

B.C.S.265 is equally problematical. The inconsistency between the incarnation date and the regnal year¹ may only be a copyist's error. But grants of land and settlements of disputes at ecclesiastical councils do not normally have the remarkable narrative structure of B.C.S.265; a more or less straightforward adaptation of the diploma form is customary for such documents². Nor is it likely that Offa, at a time when he had successfully established the archbishopric of Lichfield with authority over all the sees of the southern province north of the Thames, would insist on the dishonesty of the failure of kings to enrich Canterbury the 'mother ^{of} the churches'³. Despite these unsatisfactory elements, there can be no doubt that the witnesses do belong to a document emanating from an ecclesiastical council of 792-6⁴. No forger of the 11th century could produce such a faultless series of names unless he had access to a genuine witness-list. It seems possible that the grant of Hayes, Yeadding, and

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1. A.D.790, 38th year of Offa's reign (=794-5).
 2. Cf. B.C.S.241 (Brentford 781), 247(Chelsea 785), 254(Chelsea 788), 255, 256, 257(Chelsea 789), 274(Clofesho 793x6), 291 (Clofesho 798), 293(Tamworth 799), 308, 309, 310, 312(Clofesho 803), 313(Aclea 804), 322(Aclea 805).
 3. 'dicens esse inonestum non ditari matrem ecclesiarum a filiabus et filiis suis regibus quos fonte baptismatis regeneravit'. Similar phrases occur in post-Conquest forgeries: B.C.S.1039, 'aliarum ecclesiarum regni nostri mater'; K.C.D.727, 'omnium ecclesiarum regni Angligeni mater et domina'. Cf. Eadmer, Historia Novorum (ed. M.Rule, [R.S.] 1884, p.26), 'ipsam totius Angliae, Scottiae, et Hiberniae, necne adjacentium insularum matrem, scilicet ecclesiam Cantuariensem ...'
 4. Ethelheard became archbishop in 792; Ceolwulf of Lindsey must have died in or before 796, for his successor Eadwulf attests in that year (B.C.S.277/8, 279).

Twickenham (Middlesex) has been interpolated into a text of quite different purpose. For some of the most abnormal features of B.C.S. 265 that are out of place in a royal diploma - the naming of the bishops in the body of the text, and the purported speech of the bishops in unison - belong naturally to a record of the acta of an ecclesiastical council¹. Since we know from the witnesses that the drafter of B.C.S. 265 had access to authentic material, the hypothesis that this took the form of a record of an English synod is probably the simplest way of explaining the curious form of the extant document.

We are now in a position to assess the whole range of authentic documents from the period 597-796 preserved in the Canterbury archives either directly in contemporary manuscripts, or indirectly in later copies. All the royal diplomas in contemporary hands, and almost all those in reliable later copies are grants to laymen or to churches other than Christ Church; like the two 8th century books, they only passed into the Christ Church archives in later centuries.

Those few documents that do concern Canterbury divide into two groups, the larger of which is composed of documents of the pontificate of Archbishop Berhtwald (693-731). It includes:

- i) the letter of Bishop Wealdhere to Berhtwald (the only Canterbury document of this period to survive in a contemporary or nearly contemporary text. (B.C.S. 115).

1. For declarations by all the bishops, see the records of the Council of Hertford of 673 (Bede, Hist.Eccl., iv.5.) and of Hatfield of 680 (Hist.Eccl., iv.17.), but cf. B.C.S. 291 a land settlement made at a Council at Clofesho in 798. For the naming of the bishops in the text see Hertford and Hatfield (loc.cit.), and later synods at Clofesho in 747 (B.C.S. 174) and at Chelsea in 816 (B.C.S. 358).

ii and iii) the two letters of Pope Sergius I concerning Berhtwald's accession (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 5, 6).

iv) ? the grant of Giddinge and Wootton, perhaps by King Wihtred to Berhtwald in 694 (B.C.S.69/296).

v) the privilege of King Wihtred to the Kentish churches and monasteries of 8 April 699 (B.C.S.99)¹.

vi) the two witness-lists and possibly some passages of the text of the spurious record of the synod of Bapchild of c.716 (B.C.S.91)¹.

The second and smaller group all come from the reign of Offa, and comprise whatever genuine documents may be thought to lie behind the spurious texts of B.C.S.213, 214, and 265.

The nature of these surviving remnants shows how much early Canterbury material must have been lost. The preservation of several documents from one pontificate may have been an accident of survival; perhaps a bundle of Berhtwald documents was separated from the rest of the early archives, and subsequently preserved. It could be argued that much of Canterbury's endowment may have been gifts from the earliest kings of Kent before the introduction of the diploma into England (c.670). Even so when we compare the 15 surviving texts of royal charters from Minster-in-Thanet², or the 13 from Rochester³,

1. But the possibility that the document was from one of the Kentish monasteries and not originally from Christ Church must be born in mind.

2. B.C.S. 35, 40, 41, 42, 44, 86, (88), 96, 99, 141, 149/50, 177, 188, 189, 846.

3. B.C.S. 152, 159, 175, 193, 194, 196, 227, 228, 242, 253, 255, 257, 260.

with the fact that we have at most five (B.C.S. 69/296, 99, 213, 214, 265) and possibly no royal diplomas granting lands or privileges to the see and community of Canterbury, we cannot suppose that the extant documents are any guide to the real pattern of benefactions to these churches between the years c.670 and 796. Nor can we accept that the absence of library books of the time of Archbishop Theodore implies that the school of Canterbury under Theodore which was famous for its Latin and Greek learning, had no books. It is more likely that the early rulers of Kent endowed their archiepiscopal see as generously, and in all probability more generously, than the other churches in their kingdom, and that the library possessed books commensurate with the fame of Theodore's teaching. Neither the charters recording the early benefactions, nor the books of the library have survived. How and when they were destroyed - whether piecemeal over a long period, or all at one time - is a problem that can only be answered by a study of the later history of the Christ Church archives.

b) The Canterbury Archives from 796 until the death of King Alfred (899)

A great change is apparent in the Christ Church archives from the outset of the 9th century. For the first time records surviving in contemporary manuscripts are comparatively plentiful. One hundred documents purporting to date from the period 796 to 899 have been preserved¹; fifty-four are on single sheets of parchment,

1. B.C.S. 266, 276, 286, 289, 291, 292, 293, 296, 298, 301, 310, 312,

and forty-seven of these are in hands of contemporary or near-contemporary date¹. There are good grounds for supposing that many of these documents were kept in the Christ Church archives from the time when they were first written. For whilst charters that only came to Canterbury at a later date (that is grants to other churches and to lay beneficiaries) again

315, 317, 318, 318 foot, 319, 321, 322, 326, 328, 332, 333, 334, 335, 340, 341, 342, 344, 346, 348, 353, 354, 355, 367, 369, 370, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 381, 384, 388, 396, 397, 399, 400, 406, 407, 414, 415, 419, 421, 424, 425, 426, 427, 440, 441, 442, 445, 448, 449, 463, 467, 496, 497, 498, 507, 512, 515, 516, 517, 519, 527, 528, 536, 538, 539, 562, 576, 577/8, 1336.

Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Robertson, Charters, 3, 6.

Boehmer, Fälschungen, 8, 9b.

Appendix A, nos., 1, 2.

1. Contemporary or nearly contemporary mss.:— B.C.S.289 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 97: B.M.Facs., i.12), B.C.S.293 (B.M.Stowe Ch.7: O.S.Facs., iii.7), B.C.S.310 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 61: B.M.Facs., ii.6), B.C.S.312 (Cant.Red Book 4: O.S.Facs., i.4), B.C.S.318 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 100: B.M.Facs., ii.7), B.C.S.319 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 55: B.M.Facs., i.13), B.C.S.321 (B.M.Stowe Ch.9: O.S.Facs., iii.9), B.C.S.326 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 98: B.M.Facs., ii.9), B.C.S.332 (B.M.Cott.Aug.II 47: B.M.Facs., ii.11), B.C.S.335 (Cott.Aug.II 10: B.M.Facs., i.14), B.C.S.341 (Cant.Red Book 6: O.S.Facs., i.6), B.C.S.348 (Cott.Aug.II 74: B.M.Facs., ii.13), B.C.S.353 (Stowe Ch.12: O.S.Facs., iii.12), B.C.S.370 (Cott.Aug.II 93: B.M.Facs., ii.15), B.C.S.373 (Cott.Aug.II 75: B.M.Facs., ii.16), B.C.S.378 (Stowe Ch.14: O.S.Facs., iii.14), B.C.S.380 (Cott.Aug.II 72: B.M.Facs., ii.17), B.C.S.381 (Stowe Ch.13: O.S.Facs., iii.13), B.C.S.384 (Cott.Aug.II 78: B.M.Facs., ii.18), B.C.S.400 (Cott.Aug.II 94: B.M.Facs., ii.20), B.C.S.406 (Stowe Ch.16: O.S.Facs., iii.16), B.C.S.421 (Cott.Aug.II 20: B.M.Facs., i.17; Cott.Aug.II 21: B.M.Facs., ii.26; Cott.Aug.II 37: B.M.Facs., ii.27), B.C.S.442 (Stowe Ch.17: O.S.Facs., iii.17), B.C.S.448 (Stowe Ch.18: O.S.Facs., iii.18), B.C.S.449 (Cott.Aug.II 60: B.M.Facs., ii.29), B.C.S.467 (Cott.Aug.II 71: B.M.Facs., ii.31), B.C.S.496 (Cotton.Aug.II 66: B.M.Facs., ii.33), B.C.S.497 (Cott.Aug.II 16: B.M.Facs., ii.34), B.C.S.507 (Cant.Red Book 10: O.S.Facs., i.10), B.C.S.515 (Cant.Red 8: O.S.Facs., i.9), B.C.S.516 (Cott.Aug.II 95: B.M.Facs., ii.37), B.C.S.519 (Cott.Aug.II 17: B.M.Facs., ii.38), B.C.S.536 (Stowe Ch.19: O.S.Facs., iii.19), B.C.S.539 (Cott.Aug.II 89: B.M.Facs., ii.40), B.C.S.562 (Cant.Ch. Ant.H.130: O.S.Facs., i.11), B.C.S.576 (Cant.Red Book 11, O.S.Facs., i.12);

continued overleaf

make up a substantial proportion of the total number¹, we do have at least twenty-eight grants of lands and privileges to the church of Canterbury that are extant in manuscripts that may well be original², and a further forty-one in later copies, many of good authority³. The contrast with the first two centuries of the Christ Church archives could scarcely be greater; for the whole of the period from 597 to 796 we have one letter to an archbishop, but no single charter to the community or the archbishop that is extant in a contemporary manuscript;

Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1 (Cott.Aug.II 79: B.M.Facs., i.15), ibid., 2 (Cott.Aug.II 64: B.M.Facs., ii.23), ib., 3 (Cant.Red Book 9: O.S.Facs., i.8), ib., 4 (Cott.Aug.II 92: B.M.Facs., ii.22), ib., 5 (Cott.Aug.II 52: B.M.Facs., ii.21), ib., 7 (Cott.Aug.II 19: B.M.Facs., ii.19), ib., 9 (Stockholm, Kung.Bibl., Codex Aureus f.10: E.H.Zimmermann, Vorkaroligische Miniaturen, iv, tafel 284), ib., 10 (Stowe Ch.20: O.S.Facs., iii.20); Robertson, Charters, 3 (Stowe Ch.8: O.S.Facs., iii.8), ib., 6 (Cott.Aug.II 42: B.M.Facs., ii.25)
 Charters on single sheets but copied later:- B.C.S.296 (Cott. Aug. II 96: B.M.Facs., iv.7), B.C.S.322 (Cott.Aug.II 87: B.M.Facs., ii.8), B.C.S.346 (Cott.Aug.II 77: B.M.Facs., ii.12), B.C.S.396 (Cant.Red Book 7: O.S.Facs., i.7), B.C.S.411 (Cott. Aug.II 102: B.M.Facs., i.16), B.C.S.426 (Cott.Aug.II 28: B.M.Facs., ii.28), B.C.S.538 (Stowe Ch.21: O.S.Facs., iii.21).

1. 17 on contemporary single sheets:- B.C.S.289, 318, 326, 442, 449, 467, 496, 497, 507, 515, 519, 536, 539, 562, 576; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 3, 7. Four in cartulary copies and late transcripts:- B.C.S.317, 1336, 396, 538.
2. B.C.S. 293, 310, 312, 319, 321, 332, 335, 341, 348, 353, 370, 378, 381, 384, 400, 380, 421, 448, 406, 516; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10; Robertson, Charters, 3, 6.
3. Of particularly good repute are the texts copied by Somner that have since been lost or destroyed (B.C.S.342, 344, 445), and the episcopal professions of faith (B.C.S.266, 286, 292, 298, 315, 333, 334, 354, 355, 369, 375, 376, 388, 397, 399, 415, 424, 425, 440, 441, 463, 498, 512, 517, 527, 528; Appendix A, 2), though in B.C.S.276 Bishop Eadwulf of Lindsay has been changed into a non-existent Eadwulf of York to support Canterbury's claim to primacy.

whereas if we take the decade 798-808 alone we find no less than eight Canterbury charters in contemporary texts¹. Documents in later copies tell much the same story: for the two centuries 597-796 we have at most five grants to the church of Canterbury, which are all either of doubtful authenticity or else not certainly ascribed to Canterbury; whereas for the decade 798-808 we have 7 Canterbury documents from reliable cartulary texts².

The occasion of this decisive change in the nature of the extant records of the see and community of Canterbury can be dated with some precision. The earliest charter to Canterbury in a contemporary manuscript (B.C.S.293) is dated 799. The earliest Canterbury charter from a cartulary text whose authenticity is not in question (B.C.S.291) belongs to the year 798. The earliest professions of faith by bishops-elect to the Canterbury metropolitan (B.C.S.266, 276, 286) can be dated within the limits 796x8, and probably also belong to the year 798³.

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1. B.C.S. 293, 310, 312, 318, 319, 321, 322; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1. For the mss. see above p.21 note 1.
 2. 6 professions of faith (B.C.S. 266, 276, 286, 292, 298, 315) and one charter (B.C.S.291). There is also a brief summary of an exchange of lands between King Coenwulf and Archbishop Æthelheard from the main Christ Church cartulary, which is likely to be genuine although wrongly dated 791 (B.C.S.301).
 3. B.C.S.266 could just be as early as 793 if the unnamed Bishop of Sherborne is Deneferth, and if he was consecrated by Æthelheard rather than Jænberht; but it is more likely to be the profession of Wigberht and can be dated 796x801, or 798x801 if we allow that the consecration is unlikely to have taken place when Æthelheard was away from his see (796-8). Eadwulf of Lindsey attests as bishop elect in 796, but his profession (B.C.S.276) states that

It is clear that the Christ Church archives have preserved authentic documents from c.798, but that the records of an earlier date have been almost entirely lost. Accidents of survival may have made the scarcity of early charters to Canterbury more acute than it once was. Thus we know that in 798 at the synod of Clovesho, where the long standing dispute over the monastery of Cookham was brought to a settlement, the church of Canterbury was able to produce with effect the charters of the monastery of Cookham which they had at Canterbury in safe keeping¹. The same document, however, refers to the need to correct the losses of lands and the destruction of charters that the churches of God had for some time been suffering²; and there is force to the argument that the contrast between the survival of Canterbury records before and after 796 implies something more dramatic than a piecemeal process of loss and damage over the centuries affecting the whole of the Canterbury archives. An explanation in terms of an historical or archival catastrophe is to be preferred.

he has come to Canterbury, and therefore cannot be earlier than 798. Tidfrith of Dunwich's profession (B.C.S.286) must also be dated 798 if his consecration is correctly placed in that year by A.S.Chron.'F'.

1. B.C.S.291. The monastery and its charters had been granted by King Ethelbald of Mercia, and the charters were placed on the altar by Archbishop Cuthbert. They were subsequently stolen, but were eventually restored by King Cynewulf of Wessex. In 798 they were kept in suo gremio which probably simply means 'in safe keeping' rather than in the nave of the church.
2. 'Necessarium est fratres karissimi, ecclesias Dei et venerabiles viros qui iam multo tempore terrarum dispendio et absumptione cirographorum miserabiliter laboraverant, corrigere.' (ibid.)

It is possible that the earliest records (-796) were kept apart from those of a later date, and were destroyed or lost on some such occasion as the great fire of 1067 which wrecked the pre-conquest church at Canterbury, or the capture and sack of Canterbury by the Danes in 1011. But a more likely explanation is that the early documents of the see and community were largely destroyed in the turmoils that followed the death of King Offa (796). We know that a Kentish rebellion under Eadberht Præn - who was probably a member of the dispossessed Kentish royal family - succeeded in overthrowing Mercian rule. That the rebels had control of Canterbury is clear from the production of coins bearing Eadberht's name by the Canterbury mint¹. We also know that Archbishop Æthelheard, a Mercian, fled from his see on the advice of the Canterbury community, and was rebuked for doing so by Alcuin on the grounds that 'the good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep, but the hireling fleeth'.² Evidently the archbishop was associated in Kentish minds with the hated Mercian hegemony, and the Canterbury priests feared for their safety whilst he was among them. Æthelheard cannot have expected to recover his see quickly, for in exile he was given the monastery of Pectanege by Offa's son and successor, Ecgrith³. We have no direct information about the

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1. See, C.E.Blunt, 'The coinage of Offa', in Anglo-Saxon Coins, Studies to F.M.Stenton, ed. R.H.M.Dolley, 1961, pp.39-62.
 2. Letter of Alcuin to Æthelheard (797) quoting John x, 11, 13, ed. E.Dümmler, M.G.H., Epist Karol.Aevi, ii, 1895, no.128; translated by D.Whitelock, in E.H.D., i, p.789-790.
 3. B.C.S.291.

fortunes of the community of Canterbury during the absence of their archbishop from 796 to 798. But the coincidence of the Kentish revolt, the apparent unpopularity of the archbishop, and the loss of Canterbury records before the years 796-8 suggests that the cathedral archives were pillaged so that only a few documents and a few fragments survived.

The next turn of the political kaleidoscope in Kent, the West Saxon conquest of 825, had little effect on the Canterbury archives. Grants to Canterbury by the West Saxon kings, and by their sons who ruled as sub-kings in Kent, are much less common than those of their Mercian predecessors¹, but as evidence for the continuity of the Canterbury archives they can be supplemented by the benefactions to Christ Church of laymen², and of the archbishops themselves³. The majority of the royal diplomas of this period, however, are grants to laymen or to individual priests⁴; whilst it is possible that some of the grants of bookland to laymen^{may} have been made with the tacit intention that the land should be given to the Church⁵, it is clear that most of

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1. We have 19 diplomas of the Mercian kings Coenwulf, Geolwulf, and Beornwulf, and of the sub-king of Kent, Cuthred, giving lands and rights to Canterbury: B.C.S. 291, 293, 296, 301, 312, 322, 328, 335, 340, 341, 344, 346, 348, 353, 367, 370, 373, 378, 384 (not all genuine). By contrast we have only 6 royal diplomas to Canterbury from the period 825-899:- B.C.S. 400 (a grant by the Mercian king, Wiglaf), 407, 411 (a blatant forgery), 421, 445, 577/8 (of doubtful authenticity).
 2. B.C.S. 414; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.
 3. B.C.S. 406.
 4. B.C.S. 396, 426, 442, 448, 449, 467, 496, 497, 507, 515, 516, 519, 536, 538, 539, 562, 576.
 5. It should be noted in this context that the only diploma of undoubted authenticity that relates to Ethelwulf's famous decimatio

them came to Canterbury at a much later date through the pious benefactions of descendants of the original beneficiary of the royal grant¹. They therefore throw no light on the development of the Canterbury archives under the West Saxon kings of the 9th century.

Documents from the late 9th century are rare at Canterbury². We have no episcopal professions of faith after the pontificate of Ceolnoth (833-870), apart from an isolated 10th century text³. The only gifts to the church of Canterbury in the years 870 to 899 are King Alfred's purported grant of Queenhythe in London⁴, and ealdorman Alfred's bequests an estate^{of} at Ghartham, a gospel-book (Codex Aureus),

of 854/5 (B.C.S.486) is a grant to a thegn rather than to a church. (See the general discussion of W.H.Stevenson (Asser's Life of Alfred, 1904, pp.186-191) which remains the best discussion of the decimatio. The changing pattern of benefactions to Canterbury is discussed below, in Chapter 5. At least one of the lay recipients of the diplomas listed in the previous note later gave to Christ Church a reversionary right in the lands he received (Robertson, Charters, 6, and cf. B.C.S.449).

1. E.g. Warehorn in Kent (B.C.S.396) was only acquired by Christ Church in c.1010 by the gift of Archbishop Elfheah (Appendix A, 9).
2. 8 of the period 870-899:- B.C.S.536, 539, 562, 577/8 (of which the first three are all grants to laymen); Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, 9, 10; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9b. The last document, purporting to be a letter of Pope Formosus I to the English bishops, may well be based on an authentic letter of Formosus (see D.Whitelock, E.H.D., i p.820), but the only passage that refers to the church of Canterbury is a typical insertion of the primacy forger.
3. B.C.S.918
B.C.S.577/8.
4. / An authentic charter is likely to underlie this text, for a Christ Church forger would be unlikely to include a grant to the church of Worcester in a forgery. The description of Æthelflæd as sororem regis is surprising in a charter of 898, but it may be noted that Edward attests as king another charter of his father of the same year which survives in contemporary form (B.C.S.576: Cant. Red

and rents from various properties mentioned in his will¹. The scarcity of authentic charters of this period at Canterbury is paralleled elsewhere², and there is no need to look for local causes. The political conditions of Alfred's reign necessarily limited the king's largesse, and the decline in learning³ that Alfred lamented and sought to remedy, may even have caused many land-transactions to be made by oral and symbolic acts rather than by solemn diploma.

With so few records of Alfred's reign extant from Canterbury it is impossible to gauge the effect of the arrival of the Great Danish Army in 892. The Danes divided and carried out a pincer-attack on Kent, establishing forts at Milton (near Sittingbourne) and at Appledore (on the edge of Romney Marsh)⁴. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives us no details of Kentish resistance, and we are not told of any events at Canterbury. There is, however, some numismatic evidence. It has recently been shown that the Canterbury mint ceased its output c.893, and did not resume until the reign of Edward the Elder. It is

Book 11). He may have been crowned in the lifetime of his father, or more probably have been sub-king in Kent.

1. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, 9, 10.
2. See the discussion of Sir Frank Stenton in his Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, 1955, pp.50-53, and also W.H.Stevenson's opinion on the extant diplomas purporting to date from Alfred's reign (Asser's Life of Alfred, 1904, p.151 and note 2). The letter of Pope John VIII to Archbishop Ethelred in 877x8 shows that Alfred was considered to have threatened the rights of the church of Canterbury (E.H.D. i, no.222).
3. The decline in literacy in the 2nd half of the 9th century can be vividly traced at Canterbury, see below pp.188-9
4. A.S.Chron., sub anno 892 ('A', 'E', 'F'), 893 (for 892, 'C', 'D').

not certain whether the mint was captured by the Danes, or whether it was deliberately closed by Alfred to prevent valuable bullion falling into Danish hands¹. The cathedral church, like the Canterbury mint, was an obvious target, but it is at least clear that the records of the see and community survived. The extant documents of the late 9th century are, however, too few and far between to provide any hint of events at Canterbury in these years².

c) From 899 until the establishment of the monastic community (c.1000)

Though the 10th century is the great age of Anglo-Saxon diplomas³, they are relatively poorly represented at Canterbury. In all the cathedral archives have preserved 45 documents which purport

1. R.H.M.Dolley and C.E.Blunt ('The Chronology of the Coins of Alfred' in Anglo-Saxon Coins, Studies to F.M.Stenton, ed. Dolley, pp.85-6) suggest that the mint was captured, and large quantities of coin, and probably some moneymen, carried off to Northumbria. For coins imitative of the last Canterbury issues of Alfred (-c.893) were minted in the name of the Northumbrian Viking ruler Sigefreth (Siefred) in c.895. But the silence of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's very full account under the year 893 is against a capture of Canterbury.
2. The absence of Canterbury and other Kentish burhs from the document known as the 'Burghal Hidage', which details arrangements for the defence and maintenance of the 'burhs' of the rest of southern England, may be a clue to the situation in Kent at this time. But both the date and the form of this document are too problematical to allow reasonable conjecture (see N.P.Brooks, 'The Unidentified Forts of the Burghal Hidage', Mediaeval Archaeology, VIII 1964, pp.74-88).
3. There are over 750 texts (of various categories) in the editions of Birch (B.C.S.) and Kemble (K.C.D.) dating from the 10th century, as compared with less than 300 purporting to belong to the 9th century.

to belong to the period 899-1000¹, that is less than half the 10th texts that we have seen to have survived at Canterbury from the previous century (796-899) - a period which is elsewhere much more thinly documented. 21 of these 45 10th century texts from Christ Church have survived on single sheets of parchment², 17 in hands of contemporary or near contemporary date³.

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1. B.C.S. 603, 637, 638, 660 698, 702, 721, 722, 733, 741, 747, 753, 766, 780, 784, 791, 811, 813, 820, 823, 860, 869, 880, 918, 1038/9, 1049, 1101, 1102, 1126, 1185, 1212, K.C.D. 689, 690.
Harmer, S.E.H.D., 18, 23.
Robertson, Charters, 32.
Whitelock, Wills, 16(i), 16(ii).
Boehmer, 9a, 9b, 10.
Appendix A, 3, 4, 5, 6.
 2. B.C.S. 603 (B.M.Stowe Ch.22: O.S.Facs., iii.23), B.C.S. 638 (Stowe Ch.23: O.S.Facs., iii.24), B.C.S. 702 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 65: B.M.Facs., iii.5), B.C.S. 721 (Cant.Red Book 13: O.S.Facs., i.14), B.C.S. 722 (Cant.Ch.Ant.T.37), B.C.S. 741 (Cott.Aug.II 23: B.M.Facs., iii.9), B.C.S. 753 (Cott.Aug.II 62: B.M.Facs., iii.10), B.C.S. 780 (Stowe Ch.24: O.S.Facs., iii.25), B.C.S. 791 (Stowe Ch.25: O.S.Facs., iii.26), B.C.S. 813 (Cott. Aug.II 73: B.M.Facs., iii.12), B.C.S. 820 (Cott.Aug.II 83: B.M.Facs., iii.13), B.C.S. 869 (Stowe Ch.26: O.S.Facs., iii.27), B.C.S. 880 (Cant.Red Book 14: O.S.Facs., i.15), B.C.S. 1101 (Stowe Ch.29: O.S.Facs., iii.30), B.C.S. 1185 (Cant.Ch.Ant.C.267), B.C.S. 1212 (Stowe Ch.30: O.S.Facs., iii.31).
Harmer, S.E.H.D., 18 (Cant.Red Book 12: O.S.Facs., i.12), ibid., 23 (Stowe Ch.28: O.S.Facs., iii.29).
Robertson, Charters, 32 (Stowe Ch.27: O.S.Facs., iii.28)
Whitelock, Wills, 16(i) (Cant.Red Book 20: O.S.Facs., i.16), ibid., 16 (ii) (Cant.Red Book 18: O.S.Facs., i.17).
 3. B.C.S. 638, 702, 741, 753, 780, 791, 813, 820, 869, 880, 1101, 1212; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 18, 23;
Robertson, Charters, 32;
Whitelock, Wills, 16(i), 16(ii).

These figures do not reveal the real paucity of the Christ Church records of this period. A high proportion (15/21) of the documents extant on single sheets are not grants to Canterbury, but to laymen or to other churches¹. Only four 10th century grants to the archbishops or community of Canterbury have survived in contemporary or near contemporary manuscripts²; and there is in addition a contemporary text of King Æthelred's confirmation of one of these grants³. Four of these five documents (including Æthelred's confirmation) are written in Old English; only King Eadred's purported bequest of Reculver (B.C.S.880)⁴ is a Latin diploma. The scarcity of Latin

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1. To laymen:- B.C.S. 603, 638, 702, 741, 753, 780, 791, 813, 820, 869, 1101, 1212; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 18.
To other churches:- B.C.S. 721 (Exeter), 722 (Exeter). Neither of these two charters bear Christ Church mediaeval endorsements, and it is likely that they came to the archives after the Reformation. It may be noted that Archbishop Parker acquired an Exeter gospel-book (Cambridge, Univ.Lib. Ii.2.11) from the dean, Gregory Dodde, in 1566 (see N.R.Ker, Catalogue, 21).
 2. B.C.S.880; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 23; Robertson, Charters, 32; Whitelock, Wills, 16 (i). For the mss. and facsimiles, see above, p.30 note 2.
 3. Whitelock, Wills, 16(ii).
 4. The earliest ms. (Cant.Red Book 14: O.S.Facs., i.15) is certainly no later than C.X.(ii), and may be contemporary. The claim that it was 'composed and written with his fingers' by Dunstan arouses suspicion and can scarcely be regarded as the equivalent of such phrases as: Ego scribere jussi (B.C.S.816, 889). But Dr. Chaplais has recently shown that B.C.S.880 shares unique diplomatic features with Glastonbury charters of the mid-10th century, which would be unlikely to appear if the diploma were simply a Canterbury forgery ('The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the Diploma to the Writ', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.164). It may perhaps best be regarded as a copy made at Canterbury in C.X.(ii) by a scribe who knew that the original had been drafted at Glastonbury when Dunstan was abbot, but who wished to exaggerate Dunstan's part in it.

diplomas granting land to the church of Canterbury in the 10th century continues a trend that was already apparent in the 9th since the West Saxon conquest of Kent in 825. It is possible that some Christ Church documents have since been lost. But the survival of five documents, four in English and one in Latin, which can be dated 949, 958, c.961, 994x5 and 995x1002 respectively, suggest that any losses of muniments of the second half of the century at least have been accidental and piecemeal rather than the result of wholesale destruction.

The twenty-four documents that have survived only in later copies or in cartulary texts do not add much to our knowledge of the Canterbury archives in the 10th century¹. Only two are free from suspicion. The profession of faith of Eadwulf, bishop-elect of Elmham to Archbishop Oda (B.C.S.918) is the sole 10th century survivor of a class of document that must once have been very numerous, and it shows that the formulae that had been in use in the 9th century were still being followed in the 10th². The charter which records the alienation of Monks' Risborough (Bucks.) by Archbishop Sigeric to Bishop Aescwig in 995 (K.C.D.689) has only been preserved in a copy of the 15th century, but it is likely to be authentic despite the

1. B.C.S. 637, 660, 733, 747, 766, 784, 811, 823, 860, 918, 1038/9, 1049, 1102, 1126, 1185;
K.C.D. 689, 690.

Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9a, 9b, 10.

Appendix A, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Three of these (B.C.S.784, 1126; Appendix A, 3) are grants to beneficiaries other than Canterbury, and are not included in the ensuing discussion.

2. Compare B.C.S.918 with the professions of Ethelnoth of London in 805x11 (B.C.S.333) and of Eadwulf of Hereford in 825x31 (B.C.S.399).

difficulty in its date; for the monks would not forge a document alienating their property¹.

Beyond this we are on treacherous ground. The brief summaries of grants to Christ Church in 923, 933, 947, 959, 963, 991 and 995 from the main Christ Church cartulary may record reliable traditions of the community's acquisition of its property². But the texts are unreliable in details such as dates, and they contain no formulae to suggest that the cartularist had authentic 10th century diplomas before him. Rather he seems to have based his summaries on scraps of information in the extant charters, on the memory of the community, and on much guesswork where evidence was lacking³. Even less worthy of credence is a charter which only survives in an

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1. See the comments of D. Whitelock, E.H.D., i, p.527. The summary from the main Christ Church cartulary purporting to be the restoration of Risborough by Bishop Escwig to Archbishop Elfric and to Christ Church in 995 is misleadingly printed by Kemble (K.C.D. 690); the dating clause and witness-list that he prints belong to K.C.D. 689, and are not found in any of the versions of K.C.D. 690. Risborough was recovered by Archbishop Elfric, for in his will he gave it to Christ Church (Whitelock, Wills, 18), but the text of K.C.D. 690 is a typical composition of the compiler of the main Christ Church cartulary (see below, pp.106 - 113), and is based on K.C.D. 689. For purposes of diplomatic study it has no authority.
 2. B.C.S. 637, 698, 823, 1049, 1102; Appendix A, 5, 6. For the documents that are assigned to the earliest version of the Christ Church cartulary, see below, p.116.
 3. Thus B.C.S. 1102 is based on the endorsement to B.C.S. 1101, and the text of this charter is also used (rather improbably) to provide the date of Ingeram's supposed bequest. It is possible that B.C.S. 823 is correct in claiming that Wulfric gave Patching, but the date (947) is impossible since Wulfric is known to have possessed Patching in 960 (B.C.S. 1055). Compare also B.C.S. 698 (dated 933) with Æthelflæd's will of 962x91 (Whitelock, Wills, 14). The cartularist's methods and errors are more fully discussed, below, pp.106 - 114.

inspeximus of 1290 and in a 14th century copy, which purports to be King Edgar's restoration to the monks (sic) of Canterbury of the port and town of Sandwich in 966 with rights on both sides of the water and with houses in the town¹. This and another charter attributing the grant of Sandwich to Æthelred II in 979² are two of a series of spurious charters produced by the monks of Canterbury in the course of litigation over their rights in Sandwich that lasted nearly a hundred years from c.1038³. Equally spurious and valueless for our present purpose are two charters, extant only in cartulary copies, which purport to restore to Christ Church a group of estates in Kent and Sussex, and Twickenham in Middlesex⁴. Closely related to these post-Conquest forgeries are

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1. B.C.S.1185. The inspeximus is Cant.Ch.Ant. C.207, the 14th century copy, B.M.Cotton Aug.II 67. The forger evidently had access to a version of the chronicle attributed to Florence of Worcester for the names of the kings attending Edgar's court in 973.
 2. Appendix A, 4.
 3. There was already dispute with the monastery of St Augustine's which held the land on the other side of the Stour, in the reign of Harold Harefoot, if we can accept Robertson, Charters, 91. This dispute continued well into the 12th century (see the text of 1127 printed by D.M.Stenton, English Justice 1066-1215, 1965, pp.116-122). After the Conquest Sandwich was seized by Odo, but had been restored by William I before 1086. (See the obituary of Lanfranc translated by Professor Du Boulay, Lordship, p.42). Other spurious charters claiming to grant Sandwich to the monks attributed to Cnut are discussed below, pp.45, 95-6.
 4. B.C.S.811, 860. Twickenham was lost before the Conquest, and was held as part of the manor of Isleworth in 1066 by Ælfgar (DB.i.f. 130a). The monks efforts to recover it are represented not only by B.C.S.860, but also by the equally spurious B.C.S.265 (above, pp.17-18). The estates purportedly restored in B.C.S.811 are almost all known to have been the subject of post-Conquest litigation, and they all occur again in the version of this charter from the main Christ Church cartulary (B.C.S.766).

a series of brief cartulary summaries which were late additions to the main Christ Church cartulary, and which share a spurious witness-list¹. These documents may incorporate ancient traditions, but they were drawn up in their present form when the estates which they claim to grant to the monks were in dispute after the Norman Conquest.

Rather more helpful are two texts from the series of papal privileges forged to support Canterbury's claims to be a primatial see (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9a, 10). John XII's pallium-privilege to Archbishop Dunstan has survived in a text free from the forger's alterations and interpolations, for the document was used to preface a Canterbury pontifical of C.X.(ii) which passed to Sherborne before the Norman Conquest². The memorandum on the division of the West Saxon dioceses in 905 (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9a) is a confused and erroneous fabrication, of little obvious interest to Canterbury³; but there is evidence that its mistakes were already current at the end of the 10th century⁴, so we cannot rule out the possibility that the document

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1. B.C.S. 660, 733, 747, 766. For these post-Conquest forgeries see below, p. 120 n.2.
 2. Paris, B.N.Latin MS.943 f.7. The importance of this text was pointed out by W. Levison, England and the Continent in the 8th Century, 1946, p. 201 note 4.
 3. It was probably included among the Canterbury 'primacy' forgeries because of its connection (mistaken) with the letter of Formosus and because it showed the archbishop consecrating inter alios a bishop of Dorchester.
 4. They appear in the letter of Archbishop (Dunstan) to King Ethelred (980x988) concerning some estates of the see of Cornwall (Crawford Charters, 7) in a hand of C.X-XI (Oxford, Bodl.Lib., MS. Eng. Hist. a.2. no. XIV). Dr. Chaplais has recently argued ('The Authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.,

survived at Canterbury from that time.

These unsatisfactory texts complete the evidence for the history of the Christ Church archives in the period 899-c.1000. The remarkable feature is the paucity of the documentation. Four new grants of land, one royal confirmation, one papal privilege, and one episcopal profession of faith are the only documents whose beneficiaries are the archbishops or community of Canterbury which have been preserved in the Christ Church archives in texts which may be accepted as fundamentally authentic (B.C.S. 880, 918; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 10; Robertson, Charters 32; Whitelock, Wills 16(i), 16(ii); Harmer, S.E.H.D., 23)¹. None of these documents is earlier than the pontificate of Oda (942-958), and in view of the obscurity of the archbishops of the first half of the 10th century there is every reason to suppose that the scarcity of documents is an accurate reflection of the fact that Canterbury was receiving very few benefactions at this time.

xxxix, 1966, pp.16-19) that this declaration was both drafted and written by the beneficiary, in which case it cannot be used as evidence that the story of Edward the Elder's division of the dioceses at the behest of Pope Formosus was known at Canterbury before 1066.

1. Of the documents discussed on pp. 29-30 above, I have excluded K.C.D. 689 because its recipient is the bishop of Dorchester, and Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9b (B.C.S. 573) because it is not certain that the original letter belonged to Canterbury. It should be noted, however, that a number of charters to beneficiaries other than Canterbury presumably came into the Christ Church archives in the 10th century:- charter of Ickham etc. (B.C.S. 247) as a result of Ethelwyrd's bequest c.958 (Robertson, Charters 32); charter of Cooling (B.C.S. 326) as a result of Eadgifu's bequest c.961 (Harmer, S.E.H.D. 23); charter of Vange (B.C.S. 1101) as a result of Ingeram's gift (B.C.S. 1101 endorsement).

What is surprising is that the age of the great reforming Archbishops Oda and Dunstan (942-988) is not represented by a flood of documents as is found at Winchester under Bishop Ethelwold or at Worcester under Oswald. William of Malmesbury in his life of Oda claimed that the archbishop recovered many of the estates of the see that had been lost during the incursions of the Danes¹. But the claim is not made by the Canterbury hagiographer Eadmer, who was in a better position to know², and the extant records provide little direct confirmation³; though it is possible that Ickham which was willed to Christ Church in c.958 had earlier been among the estates of the minster-church of Lyminge (Kent) and therefore under the authority of the Archbishop⁴. Dunstan, like Oda has left little mark on the Canterbury records. The bequest of Queen Eadgifu (Harmer, S.E.H.D.23) may belong to his pontificate, and according to a contemporary endorsement the estate of Vange (Essex) was given to him by thegn Ingeram (B.C.S.1101). The conclusion that Oda and Dunstan either did not seek or were unable to attract large-scale endowments to the cathedral see is important, though subject

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1. Wm.Malm., Gesta Pontificum, ed. W.Stubbs, 1870, p.24.
 2. Vita sancti Odonis, in Anglia Sacra, ed. H.Wharton, 1691, ii pp.78-87. Professor R.W.Southern (St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, pp.279-281) discusses the historical value of Eadmer's Life of Osbern.
 3. The grant of Reculver (B.C.S.880), if genuine, belongs to Oda's pontificate, as does the forged grant of Twickenham (B.C.S.860).
 4. Robertson, Charters, 32. An estate at Ickham had been given in 785 (B.C.S.247) to thegn Ealdbeorht and his sister Selethryth who later became abbess of Lyminge. The fortunes of the Lyminge estates and the means by which the see of Canterbury established its claim to them are very obscure.

to the dangers of arguments from silence; but it is consistent with the fact that none of the authors of the lives of Dunstan - the unidentified 'B' (before 1000), Adelard of Ghent (c.1010), Osbern, and Eadmer - knew anything of substance about Dunstan's administration of his see or his relations with the Canterbury community¹.

The scarcity of authentic charters may, however, be misleading if we suppose that it necessarily implies an inactive community. Dr. T.A.M. Bishop has shown that in the last years of the 10th century the Christ Church scriptorium was a hive of activity². He has identified 17 manuscripts as having been written at Christ Church whose script and ornamentation 'can hardly be much earlier than the last decade of the 10th century', and which seem to belong before c.1003 when there was a change in the arrangement of the leaves in books produced by the Christ Church scriptorium³. These 17 books mark the introduction of caroline minuscule at Christ Church. One of them, now Trinity Coll., Cambridge MS.141, is written by no less than 20 scribes in an apparent attempt to exercise the powers of the whole scriptorium. It is clear that the scriptorium under the control of a master was engaged on a major programme of equipping the library with the essential works of

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1. The Lives are printed in Memorials of St Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs, 1874.
 2. 'Notes on Cambridge MSS.: The early minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury', Trans. Camb. Bibliographical Soc., iii, 1959-63, pp. 413-23.
 3. Ibid., pp. 418, 420. The date 1003 is that of a charter (Stowe Ch. 35: O.S. Facs., iii 36) whose scribe wrote Christ Church books with the leaves arranged hair, flesh, hair, flesh and also books with the later H.F.F.H. arrangement.

Augustine, Isidore, Gregory, Prosper, Smaragdus, Bede, Aldhelm, etc.¹
Some of the new books may have been copies in the new script of works already in the Christ Church library; but some of the exemplars certainly came from St Augustine's, which was also the source of both script and ornament of these Christ Church books². It is unlikely to be a mere coincidence that Archbishop Sigeric (990-994/5) was remembered at Canterbury as having bequeathed his books to the community³, and that he had earlier been abbot of St Augustine's (980-985). We may reasonably conjecture that it was during his pontificate that the caroline script that had been in use in St Augustine's when he was abbot was introduced at Christ Church, and that his books provided the models for the new script.

d) From c.1000 until the Norman Conquest (1066)

The Christ Church archives have preserved 53 texts of the period from 1000 to 1066⁴. 23 survive on single sheets of parchment⁵,

1. Ibid., p.420

2. Ibid., p.417-8

3. Gervase, Actus Pontificum, in Historical Works, ed. W.Stubbs (R.S.), vol.ii, 1880, p.357.

4. K.C.D., 715, 727, 737, 742, 744, 754, 769, 770, 787, 810.
Robertson, Charters, 75, 77, 80, (82), 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 101, 103, 103, 108, 116.
Whitelock, Wills, 20, 30, 32.
Harmer, Writs, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.
Stowe Charters 35, 38, 41 (= O.S.Facs., iii 36, 39, 42).
Appendix 'A', 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

5. K.C.D. 737 (Cant.Red Book 15, 16, 17, B.M.Stowe ch.39, Bodleian Eng.

15 in hands that appear to be contemporary¹. Eight of these 15 authentic and apparently original documents are grants to laymen or to a church other than Christ Church²; some passed into the cathedral archives when the estates were later given to the church, but others seem to be strays which were probably not preserved at Canterbury until after the Reformation³. Moreover it would seem that laymen and churches were already using the Christ Church archives early in the 11th century as a place of safe deposit for important documents⁴. It began to be

hist.a.2, no.viii), 742 (B.M.Cotton ch.X.11), 744 (B.M.Cotton Aug. II 69), 754 (Cant.Red Book 23), 769 (Cotton Aug.II 69), 770 (Cotton Aug.II 59), 787 (Cant.Red Book 19) 810 (Cant.Ch.Ant. R.51). Robertson, Charters, 75 (Mrs.M.Sturges of Biddenden), 85 (Stowe ch. 40), 91 (Cotton Aug.II 90), 101 (Cotton Aug.II 70), 102 (Cant.Red Book 21), 103 (Cotton Aug.II 35), 108 (Stowe ch.42). Whitelock, Wills, 20 (Stowe ch.37), (Cant.Ch.Ant.H.68), 30(Cant. Red Book 22, Cotton Aug.II 34). Harmer, Writs, 33 (B.M.Campbell ch.XXI.5), 34 (Cant.Ch.Ant.C.3) Stowe Charters 35, 38, 41.

1. K.C.D.744 (B.M.Facs., iv 18), 769 (B.M.Facs., iv 25), 770 (B.M.Facs., iv 26), 787 (O.S.Facs., i 24); Robertson, Charters, 75 (Archaeologia Cantiana, i (1858), p.63), 101 (B.M.Facs., iv 27), 102 (O.S.Facs., i 23), 103 (B.M.Facs., iv 28), 108 (O.S.Facs., iii 43); Whitelock, Wills, 20 (O.S.Facs., iii 38), 30 (O.S.Facs., i 25); Harmer, Writs, 33 (Bishop & Chaplais, Facs. of Eng.Royal Writs, 1957, pl.3); Stowe Charters 35, 38, 41 (O.S.Facs., iii 36, 39, 42).
2. To laymen: K.C.D.744, 769, 770, 787; Robertson, Charters, 75, 103. To other churches: Robertson, Charters, 102, 108 (St Augustine's).
3. E.g. K.C.D.787 (Cant.Red Book 19; O.S.Facs., i 24) which probably came ultimately from St Petroc's, Bodmin, via Exeter; like two spurious 10th century Exeter charters (B.C.S.721, 722; Cant.Ch.Ant. T.37, Cant.Red Book 13; no facsimile, O.S.Facs., i 14) it has none of the mediaeval Christ Church endorsements. For these and other Exeter charters see P.Chaplais, 'The authenticity of the Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', Bull.Inst.Hist.Research, 1966, pp.6-9, 24.
4. There is no clear evidence that the Christ Church archives served this purpose before the 11th century. But it is difficult to explain the presence of B.C.S.208 (a charter granting Bexhill in

common for vernacular agreements, wills, and even straightforward bequests to be drawn up as tripartite chirographs so that at least one copy could be kept by an independent party¹. In Kent the archives of Christ Church and St Augustine's seem to have served this purpose, and the formula:

'Nu synd pissa gewrita preo, an is æt
cristes cyricean, 7 oper æt sce augustine,
7 bridde hæfð N mid him sylfan.'

becomes very common². Thus Christ Church preserved records of a unique marriage agreement³, and of the purchase of an estate at Offham⁴, and two documents concerning estates belonging to St Augustine's⁵ - none of

Sussex to the South Saxon see) in the Canterbury cartulary, Lambeth 1212 (p.387), since the estate never belonged to Canterbury. Similarly Harmer, S.E.H.D.18, (the famous letter about Helmstan's estate at Fonthill in Wiltshire) appears to be a stray from Winchester where a dubious charter concerning the same estate was preserved (B.C.S.590). Harmer, S.E.H.D.18, has a 12th century Christ Church endorsement. But we cannot be certain whether these documents were placed at Christ Church in the 8th and 10th centuries for safe-keeping or whether they passed to Canterbury by mistake along with other books and manuscripts.

1. These tripartite chirographs anticipate the final concord of mediaeval law, and it may be noted that they frequently seem to record grants or agreements made before the shire or borough court. See further, D.M.Stenton, English Justice, 1066-1215, 1965, pp.8, 10, 12-13.
2. Robertson, Charters, 77, 86, 101, 102, 103; Whitelock, Wills, 30 (cf. Wills, 16(ii) where the king's haligdom is the independent depository). Exactly comparable formulae are found in chirographs from other archives (Robertson, Charters, 53, 81, 83, 98, 100, 107, 114; Whitelock, Wills, 24, 25, 29, 33) of which the earliest belongs to 975-9.
3. Robertson, Charters, 103.
4. Ibid., 103.
5. Ibid., 102, 108.

which were of any direct interest to the church of Canterbury, nor did they concern lands which later came into its possession.

43 documents of the period from 1000 to 1066 have been preserved which purport to grant lands and rights to the archbishops and community of Canterbury; but only seven survive in contemporary form on single sheets of parchment: three royal diplomas, one royal writ, two wills, and one agreement with a layman¹. This figure is perhaps artificially small. The early 14th century cartularies, Cant. Registers 'A' and 'B', preserve the full texts of two vernacular documents whose authenticity is not in doubt², but which have since been lost. William Somner printed Eadsige's bequest of Appledore and other Kentish estates in his Treatise of Gavelkind, but the manuscript does not seem to have survived the fire in the cathedral Audit House of 1670³.

But even with these three additional texts the fact remains that the bulk of the supposed grants to the archbishops and monks in the late Saxon period were not preserved as separate documents in pre-Conquest hands. The original diplomas by which earlier kings had once booked the estates to laymen were preserved in the archives, but no systematic record was kept of how the lands passed to the church.

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1. Stowe Charters 35, 38, 41 (O.S.Facs., iii 36, 39, 42); Harmer, Writs, 33; Whitelock, Wills, 20, 30; Robertson, Charters, 101. Stowe ch.35 is a grant to a layman, but with reversion to Christ Church.
 2. Whitelock, Wills, 32; Robertson, Charters, 116.
 3. Robertson, Charters, 86 printed from W.Somner, A Treatise of Gavelkind, 2nd ed., 1726, p.214.

Thus several wills of the 10th and 11th centuries record bequests of land to Christ Church, but have only been preserved in the archives of other churches¹. Doubtless the memory of the community for a time kept fresh the details and traditions of donations to the church; for prayers, psalms, and masses for the souls of benefactors were an essential part of the community's routine. But their memory was fallible, especially when major changes in the personnel of the community had taken place. Already in the 1030s there was a tradition current at Canterbury that Archbishop Ælfric (995-1005) had expelled the secular clerks and replaced them by monks²; the tradition may exaggerate a change that was more gradual, but there can be no doubt of the disruption a few years later caused by the Viking army which in 1011 captured archbishop Ælfheah and all the community (gehadode), and sacked Christ Church³. The Christ Church historian, Gervase, states that only four monks escaped from the Danes⁴; the archives were evidently preserved, but we may doubt how much knowledge of the benefactors of the church would survive such disasters. We have no Liber Vitae from Christ Church; the earliest obituary - inadequate and incomplete though

1. E.g. the wills of Ælfgar, Brihtric and Ælfswith, Archbishop Ælfric, and Ketel (Whitelock, Wills, 2, 11, 18, 34).

2. K.C.D. 715. For the date when this spurious diploma was entered into the gospel-book, now B.M.Cotton Tib.A.ii, see below pp. The composition of the community in the late 10th and early 11th century is discussed below, pp. 285-7.

3. A.S.Chron., sub anno.

4. Historical Works, ed. W.Stubbs, (R.S.), ii, p.357.

it is - is no earlier than c.1100¹; and the errors of the earliest Christ Church cartulary, which belongs to the same period, about the dates of bequests to the church and about the identity of the donors suggests that the compiler had little evidence beyond what he could guess from the extant charters².

In the 11th century new threats to the estates and rights of the community and see of Canterbury exposed the inadequacy of their records. The preference that kings from Cnut onwards showed for bishops who had been secular clerks trained in the king's service rather than monks threatened the monastic status of cathedrals like Canterbury. The estates of the church were endangered by over-mighty nobles - men like Godwin or Odo of Bayeux who could invade ecclesiastical property with apparent impunity whilst they retained political fortune. For the church of Canterbury there were two defences against such threats, better record-keeping (which, however, could not repair the omissions and failures of the past) and forgery.

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1. The Christ Church obituaries were printed by J.Dart, History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, 1726, Appendix, pp.xxiii-vi, xxxii-xlii. A.Boutemy ('Two obituaries of Christ Church', Eng.Hist.Rev., 1, 1935, pp.292-9) has printed a stray fragment (Lambeth Pal. MS.430, 2nd fly leaf) of the earliest of these obituaries (B.M.Cotton Nero C.IX, f.19-20), and dates it to c.1100. Where occasionally these obituaries preserve information about the donors of lands that cannot be found in the extant charters, it is possible that the memory of the community was their source. It is difficult to check the authority of these traditions.
 2. The authority and the date of composition of the main Christ Church cartulary are discussed below, pp.102-128.

Six charters to the community and see of Canterbury survive on single sheets of parchment, but in post-Conquest hands¹; they include a writ purporting to grant to archbishop Stigand and to the community financial and judicial rights over their estates and men, diplomas concerning land at Sandwich, Folkestone, and Saltwood, the settlement of a dispute over Sandwich, and a lease of property at Reculver. These rights and estates were in dispute after the Conquest, and were nearly all the subject of prolonged litigation in the reign of William I. There can be little doubt that these charters were composed and written after the Norman Conquest to support the claims of the monks, even though some of them - particularly the documents concerning Sandwich - may incorporate genuine documents or at least genuine traditions². Other Christ Church documents that may also be classed as

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1. Harmer, Writs, 34 (Cant.Ch.Ant.C.3; Facsimile in Bull.J.Rylands' Lib., xlii, 1938, p.339); K.C.D.737 (=Crawford Ch., 12, and Robertson, Charters, 82; Cant.Red Book 15, 17: O.S.Facs., i 19, 20. The other mss. are later); Robertson, Charters, 85 (B.M. Stowe Ch.41: O.S.Facs., iii 41); K.C.D.742 (B.M.Cotton Ch.X.11: B.M.Facs., iv 17); K.C.D.754 (Cant.Red Book 23: O.S.Facs., i 22); Robertson, Charters, 91 (B.M.Cotton Aug. II 90: B.M.Facs., iv 20).
 2. The surviving texts (excluding Penenden) recording the post-Conquest litigation of Christ Church and the archbishop to recover the church's estates are conveniently translated and discussed in Du Boulay, Lordship, pp.36-46. Folkestone was adjudged to be the king's benefice in 1078/9, as it had belonged to Earl Godwin (Cf. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M.Rule, (R.S.) 1884, p.6). Saltwood was deemed in 1078/9 to be held by Hugh de Montfort of the king, as it too had belonged to Godwin; but by the time of Domesday Book it had been recovered and was held (still by Hugh) from the archbishop as 4 knights fees. Sandwich had been recovered from Odo before 1086, but disputes with St Augustine's continued (Cf.above, p.34 n.3, and below p.95 n.1). The financial and judicial rights over the archbishop's and the community's property were restored to the church of Canterbury at Penenden Heath (see J.Le Patourel, 'The Reports of the Trial on Penenden Heath', Studies presented to

post-Conquest forgeries have only survived in cartulary texts¹.

Forgery, however, was not restricted to the post-Conquest period at Canterbury. Already in the second or third decades of the 11th century spurious documents were being entered into Christ Church gospel-books. The 32 documents inserted at various times between c.1030 and c.1130 in blank spaces or on extra leaves added between the end of one gospel and the beginning of another are analysed in a subsequent chapter². They were written into the gospel-book in order to confer on the transactions they record something of the authority of the gospel itself; but they are not all spurious. Some of the royal writs are irreproachable in form and content, and appear to be in contemporary hands³; they were copied in to the gospel-books because the church did not possess the writs in a form that would guarantee their authenticity to later generations. Brief notes of bequests to the church which would otherwise have been unrecorded were also entered into the gospel-books before the Norman Conquest⁴. These notes are

F.M.Powicke, 1948, p.23). Reculver was one of several Canterbury estates that William restored according to the obituary of him preserved at Canterbury (Du Boulay, Lordship, p.42).

1. K.C.D.727; Harmer, Writs, 31, 32. These spurious documents are discussed in Harmer, Writs, pp.169 and n.1, 178-80.
2. Below, pp. 73 - 102. The documents are listed in the order in which they were inserted into the various gospel-books in Appendix B.
3. Harmer, Writs, 29, 30, 35. For the mss. and the hands, see below, pp. 80-1. Other writs from the gospel-books, however, are not strictly contemporary, and may not be authentic (Ibid., 26, 27, 28), see below, pp. 77-81.
4. Robertson, Charters, 88, 89, 96; and Latin notes hitherto Unprinted, Appendix A, 8, 9, 10.

seldom if ever strictly contemporary with the transactions they record, even though they are drawn up with the donor in the first person as if they were written in the donor's presence at the time of the gift; but the notes are too brief to serve as forgeries, and the details of the grants do not arouse suspicion. They may be regarded as the first attempt to improve the methods of recording benefactions at Christ Church, though to judge from the extant texts the effort was not maintained for long.

The community at Christ Church was not the only English church to use its sacred books to preserve documents which for one reason or another were considered to need additional authority. Before the development of this practice in Britain and on the continent can be adequately traced, detailed paleographical analyses of the documents are needed¹. But it is clear that already in the 8th and 9th centuries land transactions were being recorded in Welsh gospel-books², and that in England the practice was known, notably at St Augustine's, Canterbury, in the first half of the 10th century³ - that is before the continental

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1. Dr.Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.174 note 113) quotes Dr.A.Bruckner that charters are found in missals and similar books on the continent.
 2. The Welsh documents entered in the St Chad Gospels are printed by J.G.Evans and J.Rhys, The Text of the Book of Llan Dav, 1893, pp. xliii-xlvi; their date is discussed further by W.M.Lindsay, Early Welsh Script, 1912, pp.1-7.
 3. For the date of the script of the entries in the 6th century gospel-book from St. Augustine's, Corpus Coll. Cambridge, MS.285, see N.R. Ker, Catalogue, no.55. A manumission written in a hand of C.X(i) is in B.M.Royal I.B.vii, but the provenance of this 8th century gospel-book is uncertain.

monastic reform movement was felt in England. It was not, however, until the early 11th century that the custom spread widely in England, not only at Christ Church but also at York, Hereford, Worcester, Bath, Bury St Edmund's, Thorney, and Glastonbury¹.

The idea of inserting documents into the sacred books that were kept on the altar of the church is not perhaps surprising. In the 7th and 8th centuries when an estate was given to a church, a sod from the land was sometimes placed on the altar², or on the gospel-book³. Later instead of a sod the donor placed the actual document recording his gift, or the diploma by which the land had originally been booked, on the altar⁴. The idea of actually writing documents in gospel-books

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1. To the mss. listed by F.Wormald, ('The Sherborne Cartulary' in Fritz Saxl Memorial Essays, ed.D.J.Gordon, 1957, p.106) should be added C.C.C.285 from St Augustine's with 10th and 11th century additions, and C.C.C.140 and 11th century gospel-book from Bath abbey with additions beginning in C.XI(ii). Note also that William of Malmesbury refers to a charter of Eadmund written in gold letters in a Glastonbury gospel-book (Gesta Regum, ed. W.Stubbs, 1887, R.S., i, p.159) and that according to the Worcester cartularist, Hemming, St Wulfstan of Worcester ordered copies of the Worcester charters to be written into the 'Offa Bible' (T.Hearne, Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis, 1723, p.285; N.R.Ker [Hemming's Cartulary], in Studies in Mediaeval History presented to F.M.Powicke, p.65] has identified these copies as B.M.Cotton Nero E.i, pt.2. ff.181-4 and B.M.Add.MS.46204).
 2. B.C.S.40, 86, 291.
 3. B.C.S.107. A similar ceremony is perhaps to be understood from a difficult passage in a Worcester charter of 855 (B.C.S.490): '7 Aepelwulf dux habeat hanc rem episcopo 7 familiae ejus in iiijor evangeliorum Christi libris cum suo arrato confixum 7 sub Dei foenore panum ut sic firmiter custodiat'. The charter existed in chirograph form in the 18th century (H.Wanley, Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium ... Catalogus, 1705, p.302, no.7), so it would not seem that it was written into the gospel-book.
 4. An interesting example from the early 9th century is found in B.C.S.378 where, on the death of Ealdberht, his kinsman Oswulf took the

may have been suggested by these symbolic ceremonies, and if we could be certain that the famous uncial charter by which King Hlothere of Kent granted land in Thanet to Abbot Berhtwald in 679¹ had been bound up with the Utrecht Psalter in early times², we could see another possible source of the practice. The association of charters with things sacred was also a means of keeping them safe; at least in the 11th century English kings kept their charters with their relics³, and at Christ Church before the great fire of 1067, the ancient privileges and archives of the church were kept in the little separate church of St John the Baptist where the bodies of the archbishops were buried⁴.

There is no evidence of orderly practices of record-keeping at Christ Church before the Conquest. A few isolated documents have

charter concerning an estate at Easole and laid it on the altar at Minster-in-Thanet before the abbess and community in an attempt to prevent the land from passing to Archbishop Wulfred as Ealdberht and his sister Selethryth had agreed. Comparable descriptions of placing charters on the altar of a church may be found in documents from the Christ Church archives of the 10th and 11th centuries (e.g. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 23; Harmer, Writs, 26).

1. B.C.S.45 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 2: B.M.Facs., i 1).
2. The strongest argument for an early association of charter and gospel-book lies in the fact that the charter is unique in bearing no Christ Church endorsement of the 12th century. (See P.Chaplais, 'The authenticity and origin of the royal Anglo-Saxon diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, pp.53-4). But I do not think the evidence of the five horizontal folds, which shows that the charter once existed separately, can be gainsaid. The folds are faint because the charter has been treated with some oily substance.
3. 'mid þæs cinges haligdome' Whitelock, Wills, 16(ii), 29; Robertson, Charters, 115.
4. Eadmer, Vita Bregowini (ed. B.W.Scholz, Traditio, xxii, 1966), pp. 139-40, 144-5. The most important saints, however, that is Dunstan, Wilfrid, Elfheah, and Oda, were buried at the east end of the main church.

10th or 11th century endorsements that may be interpreted as archive marks, but there was no attempt to work through the whole series until the 12th century. Even the habit of noting bequests to the church in a gospel-book had lapsed by the time of Archbishop Stigand, and it was only after the Norman Conquest that a cartulary was compiled that sought to list all the bequests to the church¹. Nor is there any pre-Conquest evidence that any member of the community had especial charge of the muniments, unless we are to interpret the term primicerius applied to Cuba, who accompanied Archbishop Æthelheard at the synod of Clofesho in 798 when he produced the charters to justify the church's claim to the monastery of Cookham, as implying some secretarial or archival office². The archives of the community may have been separate from those of the archbishop; we know that the estates that supported the community were separate from the archbishop's lands as early as the late 8th century³, and a charter of 824 recording an exchange of properties between Archbishop Wulfred and the community shows that the community's title-deeds were kept distinct from those of the archbishop:

'Si quis interrogat quare primitivis telligraffis vicisse noluerunt, scito ut in eis multorum agrorum numera congregentur; pro qua etiam causa nil magis appetere desiderantes, sed cum propriis hereditaris libellis servandi fieri cautius consiliantes.'⁴

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1. The main Christ Church cartulary is discussed below, pp. 102-28.
 2. B.C.S.291. In the papal chancery the primicerius was in charge of the scrinium, but the word in B.C.S.291 is probably simply a synonym for praepositus.
 3. Below, pp. 256-7.
 4. B.C.S.381 (B.M.Stowe Ch.13: O.S.Facs., iii 13). The hand is contemporary.

We have no other references to any division of the archives at Canterbury before 1066, but at Winchester in the early 11th century the bishop's charters were kept distinct from those of the Old Minster¹, so some separation may have been normal.

e) From 1066 until the Dissolution of the Priory (1540)

After the Norman Conquest the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period were carefully preserved at Canterbury, as they remained the essential proof of the church's title to its estates. The fire of 1067 which gutted the main pre-Conquest church was said by Lanfranc and by Eadmer to have destroyed many of the ancient privileges of the see². But Lanfranc relied on the monks for information about the archives before the fire, since it was not until 1070 that he became archbishop; the fire was a useful excuse to explain the absence of authentic evidence which would establish the Canterbury claim to primatial authority over the churches of Britain. The volume of authentic pre-Conquest charters that survived in the Christ Church archives in no way suggests that there was large scale destruction of the records of the church in 1067. There can be no proof that there were no losses in the fire, but we do

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1. Robertson, Charters, 98: 'þyssa gewrita syndon þreo. an is on ealdan mynstre. oper is mid þæs biscoopes landbocan. þridde hæfð Osgod.'
 2. According to Lanfranc the fire destroyed evidences: 'tam authentica quam eorum exemplaria' (Lanfranci Opera, ed.J.A.Giles, 1844, i, p. 23-7). According to Eadmer almost all the old privileges of the church perished in the conflagration (Historia Novorum, ed.M.Rule, 1884 (R.S.), p.16).

know that some authentic papal letters survived, for they were used by the forger who produced the famous series of spurious primacy privileges¹.

Nonetheless the Christ Church archives soon proved deficient in evidence with which to resist the encroachments of powerful Norman nobles. Moreover the Conquest introduced new legal concepts by which bishops were regarded as tenants-in-chief, and their temporalities as baronies. By the reign of William Rufus, if not before, the king was not only assuming control of the temporalities of churches during episcopal vacancies but also exploiting them as a source of royal income as if they were lay fiefs². It therefore became a prime concern of cathedral chapters to prevent the king taking into his hands estates that had traditionally provided their sustenance and clothing. At Canterbury since the late 8th century, and perhaps earlier, some estates had been assigned to the needs of the community, but the archbishop acted for the community in their relations with the outside world³. This may have provided Rufus with justification on the death of Archbishop Lanfranc (24th May 1089) for having all the estates of the church surveyed, assessing what was necessary for the sustenance of the monks, and taking the rest into his own hands⁴. To face this threat

1. Authentic papal privileges seem to underly Boehmer, Fälschungen, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

2. M.Howell, Regalian Right in Mediaeval England, 1962, pp.5-19.

3. The pre-Conquest legal status of the community in relation to their estates is discussed below, pp.256,260-2.In Domesday Book the lands of the monks are listed separately from those of the archbishop, but they are normally said to be held by the archbishop.

4. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M.Rule, 1884 (R.S.), p.26: '..ecclesiam

the monks sought to accentuate and define the legal division between the lands of the monks and those of the archbishop, and to claim for the community as many of the estates of the church as possible.

The main Christ Church cartulary was compiled towards the end of the pontificate of Lanfranc, or more probably soon after his death¹. It is an attempt to summarize in chronological order all grants of land to the community of Canterbury from the time of Augustine's mission. The documents recording these grants - diplomas, wills, leases, agreements, writs, brief notes in gospel-books, and so forth - were not transcribed in full; instead they were transformed into uniform Latin summaries (irrespective of the language of the original) in the form of a diploma with disposition, immunity clause and sometimes an anathema. The cartularist tried to date each donation to the church, even where the original bore no date, with the result that grants are often seriously misdated. He also worked on the supposition that the community at Christ Church had been monastic throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and did not hesitate to record charters to laymen and to individual archbishops as grants to the monks; in this way he justified the monks' title to the estates in his own day. Despite its cavalier treatment of the original documents and its many errors, this cartulary

... Cantuariensem invasit, cuncta quae juris illius erant intus et extra per clientes suos describi praecepit, taxatoque victu monachorum inibi Deo famulantium, reliqua sub censum atque in suum dominium redigi jussit.'

1. The cartulary is analysed and its composition dated below, pp. 102-26. None of the extant mss. (C.C.C. 189, ff. 195-202; Lambeth 1212, pp. 304-339; Cant. Reg. P., ff. 11-29) is earlier than the mid 12th century.

remained the only attempt to register all the pre-Conquest documents granting lands and rights to Christ Church. During the pontificate of Anselm and in the vacancy that followed his death a great many texts were added to it, and in the 12th and 13th centuries it was frequently copied at Canterbury.

About the middle of the 12th century the charters of the church were worked over by a number of scribes who endorsed them with a brief description of their content and a note indicating whether they were in Latin or English¹. The scribes had access to the charters of both the archbishop and of the monks, which suggests that they may have been kept in the same archive². However it is likely that the archbishops kept some charters distinct from those of the chapter; for 12th century documents of interest to both were sometimes issued in duplicate, one copy for the archbishop and one for the monks, both being authentic originals duly sealed³. This practise would clearly be unnecessary had the charters of archbishop and community not been distinguished.

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1. According to J.B.Sheppard (Royal Commission on Historical MSS, 5th Rpt., Appendix, p.427a) these endorsements cease in the middle of the century, and are not found on charters of Henry II. Sheppard was, however, mistaken in supposing that the same scribe was responsible for all the endorsements.
 2. Neither of the two main endorsing scribes is limited to archiepiscopal or monastic charters.
 3. Dr.Chaplais has drawn attention (Eng.Hist.Rev., 1960 lxxv, p.263-4) to a charter of Henry I to Anselm and the community confirming earlier grants of William I and Edward the Confessor (= Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, ed.H.A.Cronne & C.Johnston, ii 840) which was issued in duplicate in 1100 (Campbell Ch.xxix.5; Lambeth Cart. Misc. x.1). These two mss are endorsed by a 13th century scribe 'reddatur monachis quia duplicatum est', and 'datur archiepiscopo

Archbishop Anselm gave to the monks full administration of their own estates¹. This right was zealously maintained when later in the 12th century a number of bitter quarrels arose between the community and the archbishops. The efforts^f of Archbishop Theobald to limit the revenues of the monks, and of Archbishops Baldwin, Hubert Walter, and Edmund Rich to recover estates that had been alienated by their predecessors to the monks in order to endow a collegiate church were strenuously resisted². These quarrels drew attention to the need for archbishop and community to maintain entirely separate archives. The archbishops had had their own secretariat for writing their letters and acta since the first half of the 12th century³, but their need to be constantly journeying about the diocese and province delayed the formation of any permanent archiepiscopal archive. Under Hubert Walter an important development was the composition of a rental of the lands of the archbishopric as opposed to those of the chapter⁴. Nonetheless the

quia repertum est duplicatum'. This same charter was reissued again in duplicate in 1106 when Anselm returned from exile, but only one of the two originals now survives (B.M. Cotton Ch.vii.1). The endorsements presumably belong to the division of the archives in 1238 (below, p.56).

1. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.219.
2. For these disputes see Epistolae Cantuarienses, ed. W.Stubbs (R.S.) 1865; there are modern accounts in A.Saltman, Archbishop Theobald, 1956, pp.56-64, and C.R.Cheney, Hubert Walter, 1967, pp.135-157, and C.H.Lawrence, St Edmund of Abingdon, 1960, pp.164-8.
3. For the archiepiscopal chancellors and subordinate officials of the archbishop's chancery, see C.R.Cheney, English Bishops Chanceries, 1950, pp.28-37, where the office is traced back to the time of Archbishop Theobald, and possibly of Ralph d'Escures.
4. See F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'The archbishop as territorial magnate', in Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury, (The Lambeth Lectures 1960).

drafts of Archbishop Hubert's letters have only been preserved because they were transferred to the cathedral muniments, there being no arrangements for the custody of archiepiscopal records at this time¹.

The decision to divide the muniments of the church permanently between the archbishop and the community was reached only in 1238. In the previous year the prior John of Chatham and three monks of Christ Church (including the custos cartarum, the sacrist, Simon of Hartlip) were found to have forged a charter attributed to Thomas Becket against the interest of the archbishop, and to have altered and then burnt a privilege of Alexander III which Archbishop Edmund had given to the previous prior for safe-keeping in the church². A papal commission to the legate Otto of 22 May 1238 ordered him to examine the muniments of the church of Canterbury, to assign to the archbishop those which concerned him, to the prior and convent those which concerned the monks; those of common interest were to go to the archbishop, and where documents were duplicated one was to go to the archbishop and one to the convent³. From this time the archives of the archbishop were kept separate from those of the cathedral priory, and it is no coincidence

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1. C.R.Cheney, English Bishops' Chanceries, pp.131-2, 138.
 2. The affair is analysed by C.R.Cheney, 'Magna Carta Beati Thome: another Canterbury forgery', Bulletin Inst.Hist.Research, xxxvi, 1963, pp.1-26, especially p.17-19.
 3. Reg.Gregoire IX, no.4371; Cal.Papal Letters, i 174; there is an abridged and partial version in Gervase (Historical Works, ed. W. Stubbs, (R.S.) 1879, ii, p.132). It was presumably when the archives were being divided in 1238 that such endorsements on duplicated charters as 'detur archiepiscopo/reddatur monachis quia repertum est duplicatum', were written. (Above p.54 note 3).

that Archbishop Edmund is the first archbishop known to have had his own treasurer who had charge of his archives¹; for until his time there were no archiepiscopal archives.

The muniments of the prior and community of course remained in the cathedral; the archbishop's treasury was probably at first in his palace, but in or shortly before 1285 it was moved to St Gregory's, Canterbury². In the 14th century the archbishop's residence at Lambeth was also developed as a repository of documents, but Lambeth was sacked and the records destroyed in the uprising of 1381. However the convenience of having records close to Westminster and London caused the archbishops to resume their use of Lambeth as an archive; by 1471 the archbishop's registry was situated in the gatehouse at Lambeth, and after the Reformation the main body of the archives were moved there. At Lambeth Palace the Cartae Miscellaneae still form the basic collection of archiepiscopal charters.

The physical separation of the ancient archives and the need to house them adequately acted as a spur both at Christ Church and in the archbishop's treasury to a thorough reorganisation of their muniments with three principal aims: (i) to arrange the original charters in a comprehensible order so that they could be found when they were required, (ii) to provide full copies of all the documents in a register (cartulary) which could be used for normal administrative needs so as to avoid the danger of losing or damaging the originals, and (iii) to provide

1. Cf. J.Sayers, 'The mediaeval care and custody of the archbishop of Canterbury's archives', Bull.Inst.Hist.Res., xxxix, 1966, p.106 n.4.

2. Ibid., pp.95-107. In what follows I am much indebted to Miss Sayers' important study.

catalogues or finding-lists which would serve as guides to the original charters.

In the archbishop's treasury some copying and registering of the archbishops' charters had begun in the 1240s¹, but the effort was systematised during the early years of Archbishop Pecham (1279-92). To his pontificate should be attributed the compilation by a single scribe of the bulk of the great archiepiscopal cartulary that is now Lambeth 1212, which aimed to copy all the archbishops' charters which survived either in original manuscripts or in later copies in cartularies². The same scribe also produced a finding-list to the 290 charters in the archiepiscopal treasury at that time³. This list shows that the royal diplomas, papal privileges, non-royal charters, and compositions were stored in 14 vasa, or drawers of a great press or almetry. The charters in each vas are numbered by reign or pontificate, and the same numbers are found both on the dorse of those of the original charters that survive among the Cartae Miscellaneae at Lambeth⁴, and in Lambeth 1212 where the documents are transcribed⁵. By 1330 the

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1. E.g. Lambeth 1212 pp.186-225. For the dating of the various parts of Lambeth 1212 see F.R.H. Du Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury, 1966, pp.4-5.
 2. Lambeth 1212 pp.14-185, 234-85, 294-301, 304-339. Professor Du Boulay (loc.cit.) shows that the section of royal charters (pp.14-75) was composed in or after 1277, and the papal documents in or after 1272. Miss Sayers (Bull.Inst.Hist.Res., xxxix, 1966, p.98) argues that the cartulary was compiled between 1279 and 1280.
 3. Now Lambeth 1212, pp.4, 68.
 4. As first pointed out by Miss Sayers (art.cit., p.98).
 5. As demonstrated by A.J.Collins, 'The documents of the Great Charter, 1215', Proc.Brit.Acad., xxxiv, 1948, pp.237-9.

accumulation of documents in the archbishop's treasury had necessitated a new and much larger almary, and a finding-list of that year lists 365 charters (excluding papal privileges) stored in 32 vasa¹. The documents had been rearranged, but all those found in the earlier list are included.

It is remarkable that these two finding-lists do not include any pre-Conquest charters. In both lists the royal charters begin with those of William I. It is in fact likely that none of the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period had been transferred to the archbishop's treasury. When the scribe of the main part of Lambeth 1212 wished to include pre-Conquest documents in his cartulary, he evidently had to go to the monks and make a transcript of the main Christ Church cartulary; his copy, now Lambeth 1212 pp.304-339, is entitled 'Transcripta de veteri libro Cantuar'.² Apparently he did not have access to the original charters, at Christ Church, for he was unaware that the cartulary he was copying claimed many charters as grants to the monks where the originals were grants to laymen or to the archbishops³.

Somewhat later, probably at the end of the 13th century or early in the 14th, a different scribe may have had access to the original

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1. P.R.O., E.36/137. Printed by I.T.Churchill, 'Table of Canterbury Archbishopric Charters', in Camden Miscellany XV (Camden Soc., 3rd ser., xli, 1929).
 2. The relationship of this ms. to other versions of the Christ Church cartulary is discussed below, pp.103-6, 120-8.
 3. And as J.A.Robinson ('The early community at Christ Church, Canterbury', Journ.Theol.Stud., xxvii, 1926, p.235 n.1, 236 n.1) first noticed the scribe occasionally mistook the abbreviation for monachi

documents at Canterbury; his transcripts of pre-Conquest documents of interest to the archbishops are no Lambeth 1212 pp.384-408. They are headed 'Transcripta de codicellis primariis sive cartis terrarum antiquitus dictis landboc'. 26 pre-Conquest charters, mostly grants to archbishops, are transcribed in full¹; but they were hurriedly written², and it is unclear why they alone were chosen for transcription, or whether a larger scheme was discontinued. There is no evidence that any of the 26 charters were ever in the archiepiscopal treasury.

At Christ Church the archives were reorganised in the time of Prior Henry of Eastry (1285-1331) along lines very similar to those adopted in the archbishops' treasury. Henry of Eastry was also responsible for reforms in the administration and exploitation of the Christ Church estates³, and for a new catalogue of the library⁴. In the

in his Christ Church source and extended it as modo. See e.g. B.C.S. 402. The mistake was not made consistently and was not an attempt to deny monastic claims to particular properties.

1. The contents are:- B.C.S. 50, 91, 208*, 293, 322, 328*, 340*, 346, 419*, 421, 811*, 860*, 880, 791, 784*, 213, 214, 312, 335, 348, 577*; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1, 8*; Robertson, Charters, 85. Those marked by an asterisk have not survived on single sheets. All these charters are grants to the archbishop (or to the archbishop and his church) except 2 grants to South Saxon churches (B.C.S. 50, 208), one to Christ Church (Robertson, Charters, 85), and 2 to laymen concerning estates that later formed part of the monastic manor of Monkton (B.C.S. 784, 791).
2. The hand deteriorates rapidly, and early attempts at facsimile (e.g. in the transcription of Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1 where some majuscule letters are used) are not sustained. At times the hand is so poor that it is difficult to be certain whether more than one scribe was at work.
3. R.A.L.Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1943, pp.22ff.
4. B.M.Cotton Galba E.iv, ff.128-147; printed by M.R.James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, 1903, pp.13-142.

archives his period of office is marked by a great cartulary or Registrum omnium cartarum et compositionum ecclesiae Cantuar', of which two copies survive and which transcribes the 1,995 charters that were in the archives of the cathedral priory in the early years of the 14th century¹. The cartulary is arranged similarly to Lambeth 1212, and the charters have numbers which agree with the figures found on the dorse of those of the original charters that are still among the Cartae Antiquae at Canterbury. The charters of the Anglo-Saxon period are transcribed in full and in a separate section headed Codicelli; they are numbered 1 to 20, and corresponding endorsements are found on those that are extant on single sheets of parchment². The fact that only twenty pre-Conquest documents were transcribed is important, for Henry of Eastry's great register was a most thorough attempt to copy out all the charters of the church. It suggests that the bulk of the pre-Conquest records were not kept in the main charter collection.

Unfortunately no finding-list of Henry of Eastry's time has survived, but a summary guide to the Christ Church archive drawn up in the year 1370 is preserved in a copy made by William Somner³. The guide

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1. One copy is Cant.Reg.E; another is split up between Cant. Registers A, B, C, and D.
 2. Cant.Reg.A, ff.138-144v(148-154v), Reg.E ff.40-45. The charters transcribed are:- 1) B.C.S.214, 2) B.C.S.265, 3) B.C.S.293, 4) B.C.S.296, 5) B.C.S.319, 6) B.C.S.332, 7) B.C.S.381, 8) B.C.S.406, 9) B.C.S.407, 10) Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, 11) B.C.S.811, 12) Robertson, Charters, 32, 13) Whitelock, Wills, 16(i), 14) Whitelock, Wills, 16(ii), 15) Whitelock, Wills, 20, 16) Robertson, Charters, 86, 17) Robertson, Charters, 101, 18) Whitelock, Wills, 32*, 19) Robertson, Charters, 116*, 20) Robertson, Charters, 82, K.G.D.737. Those marked by an asterisk have not survived on single sheets.
 3. Cant.Ch.Ant. C.232; entitled: 'Archivum ecclesiae Christi sive

gives a brief and general description of the contents of each drawer in the two sides of a great almary; the categories of documents in the drawers (royal charters, non-royal charters, papal privileges, compositions etc.) correspond to the divisions of Henry of Eastry's register, and there can be little doubt that the almary and its arrangement date from his time. The 10th drawer (vas) of the northern side of the almary is stated to contain 'codicellos latine et anglice', and these were doubtless the 20 codicelli transcribed in Registers A and E¹.

Henry of Eastry's general cartulary served the needs of the community for the rest of the Middle Ages², but it was altogether too

descriptio atque supervisio omnium chartarum et munimentorum quae in vasis tam borealibus quam australibus armarii chartophylacis, facta per Ioh. de Glocestria, Ioh. de Eastria, custodes A.D.mcccclxx'.

1. A fragment of a full finding-list in a 15th century hand has survived (P.R.O. E.36/138). It is very poorly arranged and fails to distinguish between the northern and southern sides of the almary. The vasa are called cistae, but it is nonetheless clear that the same press similarly numbered is being described. Unfortunately the extant fragment does not include the 10th vas or cista. It does, however, show that a few pre-Conquest documents had found their way into drawers where they did not belong, namely: in 5th cista no.13 'littera Eadsini sacerdotis qui dedit ... eccl' Christi Cant' Apuldre, Orpington, Palstre, Wictricesham anno domini mxxxii' (= Robertson, Charters, 86), no.14 'carta Eadwardi regis de sake et soke' (= Harmer, Writs, 33), no.16 'codicellus Edgari regis de privilegiis et prerogativa Cant' ecclesie anno 948 (= B.C.S.1038/9), in 6th cista no.52 'decretum vetus Athelardi archiepiscopi de libertate ecclesiarum, lingua saxonica (B.C.S.290a), in cista marked with sign[†], no.1 'consilium Celnothi archiepiscopi apud kingestun adunatam ubi sibi et ecclesiae Malling recuperavit' (= B.C.S.421), in 2nd cista no.41 'carta Kanuti regis de corona sua aurea et de portu Sandwici' (= K.C.D.737).
2. One of the 2 copies was split up in the period 1400-1430, and greatly expanded with material, from the main Christ Church cartulary, from Domesday Monachorum, from rentals and from documents of the 14th century, so that it now fills four volumes, Cant.Registers

vast a work for speedy reference and day to day use. Already during Eastry's priorate more selective hand-cartularies were compiled¹. A slightly different need was met in the opening years of the 15th century by the compilation of brief lists of donations to ~~the~~ Christ Church. Gervase of Canterbury had intended to include a list of the gifts of kings and bishops to supplement the information in his Actus Pontificum². But it was not until c.1400 when Stephen Birchington was copying the Actus Pontificum that any such list was compiled³. The author sought to record in chronological order the bequests of the chief manors of the community from the foundation of the church until his own day. It was a hurried and careless work which used neither the main Christ Church cartulary, nor Henry of Eastry's register. The list records the date, the name of the donor and of the estate, but no further details of the grants except to say that the land was libera sicut Adisham⁴. It is of

A, B, C, and D. A few documents that had come to reside in Henry of Eastry's almshouse are transcribed in full (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8; B.C.S. 880, 1185; K.C.D. 689).

1. Such as Cant.Reg.I ff.5-123, which only includes three pre-Conquest charters in its section on royal charters (K.C.D., 737; Harmer, Writs, 33; Robertson, Charters, 95).
2. Historical Works of Gervase, ed.W.Stubbs (R.S.), 1880, ii. 325, 348. Gervase had access to the original charters, or some of them, but he uses them little, relying mostly on the main Christ Church cartulary.
3. The earliest copies of this list are Lambeth Palace, MS.303 ff.112 119 and Cant.Roll C.158. Lambeth 303 is Birchington's copy of the Actus Pontificum.
4. Adisham the first manor in the list was purportedly granted by King Eadbald in 616 (B.C.S. 12) with immunity from all secular services and payments except the three common burdens. The compiler of the list made use of information in Gervase, in the Christ Church obituaries; he had access to a few charters in Henry of Eastry's almshouse, and possibly to a brief cartulary that has not survived.

interest because despite its errors and omissions it records three bequests to Christ Church which have not been preserved either on single sheets or in any cartulary copy¹. This list filled an immediate need, and many copies on rolls and small quires are known of the 15th and 16th centuries; it was also soon extended and improved with additional entries from the main Christ Church cartulary which more than doubled its length². But as a record of the church's acquisition of its estates it suffered from the fact that neither its compiler nor those who extended it had access to the main body of the pre-Conquest charters of the church.

It is difficult to understand how the bulk of the pre-Conquest charters escaped not only the division of the archives in 1238, and the

In its original version the list contained 57 entries covering the years 597-1395. Some of the mss. are discussed by E.G.Box, 'Donations of manors to Christ Church', Archaeologia Cantiana, xliv, 1932, pp.103-19.

1. a) Loose (Kent) purportedly given by King Æthelwulf to a widow Suete and her daughter, who gave it to Christ Church; b) Bramling (Kent) given to Christ Church by Wullaf who had received it from Edwlf rex (sic!); c) Myddyltun (Milton Hall in Prittlewell, Essex?) given to Christ Church by Lyfchild (Leofcild) with later confirmation by King Ceolwulf. Some mss. state that the bequest of Southchurch (Essex) by Lyfstan was also confirmed by Ceolwulf, but the earlier mss. have Henry II instead! None of these supposed bequests are dated, and the details may well be unreliable; it is likely that the source was a Christ Church obituary that has not survived.
2. Later mss. of the list are:- Cant.Roll C.157; Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll.MS.256 ff.82-87v (C.XV.). Cant.Roll C.156; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll.MS.298 pt2 pp.61-85 (C.XVI.). B.M.Harley MS.258 ff. 19v-23; Oxford, Bodl.Lib., Dugdale MS.21 ff.19v-25. The extended version has not survived in ms., but was printed from different mss. by W.Somner, (Antiquities of Canterbury, 2nd ed. (1703), appendix pp.36-41) and by W.Dugdale (Monasticon Anglicanum, 2nd ed.1846, i, pp.95-8).

reorganisation of the muniments and the copying into registers of all the charters of Christ Church under Prior Henry of Eastry, but also all later attempts to revise his registers and to draw up new lists of donations to the church of Canterbury. A few early charters were stated in the early 15th century to be 'in cancellariam nostram'; but they prove to be identical with the 20 codicelli copied into Henry of Eastry's register¹. Perhaps we should not seek for orderly and consistent arrangement in a mediaeval archive; we know that even in Prior Eastry's time miscellaneous documents were kept in hampers, linen sacks, and pyxes in various places about the church, even in the dormitory². But it would be surprising if the pre-Conquest charters which provided the church's title to nearly all its estates were kept so haphazardly, or that they should then elude successive searches of the muniments. We know that at St Paul's, London, already in the early 12th century there was a treasury close to the high altar which was guarded by a watchman³. At Canterbury the treasury - a handsome chamber off the choir begun under Archbishop Anselm and completed in 1130 - is still in use to this day as a place of safe deposit for the chief treasures of the cathedral; until the 19th century it also contained a mass of archive material⁴. It is

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1. E.g. Cant.Reg.B, f.148v gives the text of Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8 and B.C.S. 530, and then adds, 'ut patet per cartam suam superius anglice inde confectam, potius dicimus codicellum, qui usque in hanc diem in cancellariam nostram honestissime conservatur tale signaculo consignitus (⊕)'. The charter is no.10 among the codicelli in Eastry's register (Reg.E.f.42v, Reg.A.f.141 (151)).
 2. Cant.Reg.I., ff.452-77. See Royal Commission on Hist.MSS.9th Rpt, Appendix, p.74-5.
 3. M.Gibbs, Early Charters of St Pauls (Camden Soc, 3rd ser., lvii, 1939), p.xxxvi and no.273.
 4. For information about the treasury I am indebted to Dr. W.Urry, the

noteworthy that the altar books - illuminated gospels, bibles, and liturgical works - were not included in Henry of Eastry's catalogue of the library, for the simple reason that they were too valuable to be kept in the library¹. In view of the fact that some charters of the Anglo-Saxon period are known to have been placed on the altar at Christ Church, and that others were copied into gospel-books, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the bulk of the pre-Conquest documents were kept with them near the high altar in the treasury of the cathedral².

f) From the Dissolution until the present day

The dissolution of the cathedral priory (20th March 1540)³ did not cause such a revolution in the Christ Church muniments as might have been expected. For the bulk of the monastic estates soon passed intact to the new cathedral chapter⁴, and it may be doubted whether the title-deeds ever actually left the cathedral treasury. Nor did the complex process by which most of the archiepiscopal manors passed into the king's hands (and subsequently to lay gentry) in exchange for other sources of

cathedral librarian. A few years ago some lost documents came to light in a forgotten cupboard in the treasury.

1. M.R.James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, 1903, p.xxv.
2. Gervase says nothing of the treasury in his description of the cathedral before and after the fire of 1174 (Historical Works, ed. W.Stubbs, 1879, i pp.1-29), but his concern was primarily with the relics of the Canterbury saints and the position of their altars.
3. Letters & Papers; Foreign & Domestic: Henry VIII, xv, no.378.
4. In May 1541, see ibid., xvi (i), no.878.

revenue¹ lead to the dispersal of the pre-Conquest documents concerning these estates; for the archbishops' treasury had never acquired any charters earlier than the reign of William I². We might suppose that the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period, having thus survived Henry VIII's revolution, would have been preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter until the present day; but the 28 documents on single sheets of parchment purporting to date to the Anglo-Saxon period that survive in the cathedral muniment-room today are only a small fraction of those that existed in 1540³.

The main threat to the pre-Conquest title-deeds came not from royal interference, but from the attentions of local gentry with antiquarian interests. John Twyne, master of King's School, Canterbury, and his sons, John and Thomas, are known to have acquired books from the Christ Church library, and cartularies from the archives, within a few years of the Dissolution⁴; later Kentish antiquaries like Lambarde⁵ and

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1. F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury temporalities', Eng.Hist.Rev., lxvii (1952), pp.19-36. Notice (ibid., p.33) that the relevant muniments should have been handed over with the lands to the Court of Augmentations.
 2. Above p.59. The experience at Winchester seems to have been different. The charters that passed to Winchester College (Winchester College Muniment Room, cabinet 7 drawer 2 nos.1-4: O.S.Facs., ii Winchester College 1-4) from the New Minster concern estates that were given to the College soon after the Dissolution.
 3. And some of these 28 are probably post-Reformation acquisitions (see above pp.31 n.1, 40 n.3).
 4. M.R.James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, 1903, p.lxxxii; of the Christ Church cartularies, C.C.C.189 ff.195-201 belonged to Thomas Twyne (1543-1613), and B.M.Cotton Galba E.iv fos.1-86 belonged to John Twyne (the father, 1501-1581), before passing to the son, John.
 5. W.Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, 1570.

Philipot¹ had access to the Christ Church archives, in particular to the cartularies. Whether these men also acquired pre-Conquest charters from the treasury is not known, but it is by no means improbable. In the early 17th century the interest of educated gentlemen in genealogy and heraldry, and in local history and topography naturally led them to the study of charters, and they were able to obtain enormous collections of charters from the great ecclesiastical archives. Sir Robert Cotton secured by means that are still little understood 120 pre-Conquest charters, and no less than 56 of these were from Christ Church². One of Cotton's sources was the Kentish antiquary, Sir Edward Dering, who in a famous letter of 10th May 1630 promised to send to Sir Robert not only an original manuscript of Magna Carta from Dover Castle where he was Lieutenant, but also 'the Saxon charters as fast as I can copy them'³. Dering's copies of 1630 have survived, and they show that at least six charters that subsequently formed part of Cotton's collection on the shelf, Augustus II, had been in Dering's hands in 1630⁴. We do not

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1. J.Philipot, Villare Cantium, published by his son T.Philipot, 1659.
 2. One Christ Church charter (K.C.D.742: B.M.Cotton Ch.X.11) is among the Cotton Charters, the remaining 55 are all in B.M.Cotton Augustus II (nos.2, 10, 16-21, 23, 26-8, 32, 34-7, 42, 47, 52, 55, 57, 59-62, 64-75, 77-9, 82-3, 86-102). It is not clear whether the order of the charters in this collection bears any relation to the order in which Cotton acquired them.
 3. B.M.Cotton Julius C.iii f.143, quoted by C.E.Wright, 'Sir Edward Dering; a 17th century antiquary and his 'Saxon' charters', in The Early Cultures of N.W. Europe (H.M.Chadwick Memorial Essays), 1950, p.375. My account of Dering's acquisition of Christ Church charters and of the fortunes of his collection is largely drawn from this important article.
 4. Dering's transcripts were identified by C.E.Wright (art.cit.) as B.M.Stowe MS.853 ff.2-36, and his fair copy of these as B.M.Add.MS.

know whether Cotton had other Kentish sources or whether he himself visited Christ Church and came away with the kernel of what was to be the Augustus II collection. In the Cotton library these Christ Church charters have remained ever since; for being bequeathed to the nation by the third baronet, Sir John Cotton, in 1700, and passing to the British Museum at its foundation in 1753, they nonetheless retain their classification by the bookcases and shelf-numbers of Sir Robert's library.

Sir Edward Dering was not content for long merely to pass on to Cotton the documents that he removed from the archives of Christ Church, St Augustine's, and of Dover Castle. His own collection of 40 pre-Conquest charters, all from Christ Church, remained for over a century in the library at Surrenden Dering. 37 of them were bought in 1765 or 1766 by Thomas Astle, from whom they passed in 1803 to the Marquess of Buckingham, and in 1849 to the Earl of Ashburnham, before being sold to the British Museum in 1883¹. Three of Dering's 'Saxon charters' had a different history: one which has not survived and is only known from Dering's transcript was probably lost before Astle purchased the collection²; another seems to have been separated from

43471 in which marginal notes indicate the 6 charters that had gone to Cotton. These 6 documents (now Cotton Aug.II 10, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102) all bear marks indicating Dering's ownership on the dorse. For these marks, see the agreement between Dering, Dugdale, Hatton, and Shirley printed by L.B.Larking 'On the Surrenden Charters', Archaeologia Cantiana, i (1858), p.55-8.

1. C.E.Wright, art.cit., especially pp.380-2. The charters retain the numbers that they were given in the Buckingham library at Stowe, and are now B.M.Stowe Charters 1-30, 35, 37-42. It is not clear why C.E.Wright omitted B.M.Stowe Charters 41 and 42 which are both from Christ Church and both have Dering's marks on the dorse.

2. B.C.S. 1336 from B.M.Stowe 853 f. Ov. 11 For the ...

the rest of the collection, for it was sold along with many post-Conquest charters from the Dering library in 1861, and was finally acquired by the Kent County Record Office in 1945¹; the third has remained in the Dering family owing to the mistaken belief that it is concerned with the ancestral estate at Surrenden Dering².

Cotton and Dering were certainly the principal despoilers of the Christ Church collection of pre-Conquest charters. But there may well have been others whose manuscripts have not survived. In 1637 Archbishop Laud attempted to halt the losses from the archives by ordering that the records and muniments of the church be kept under lock and key in the inner room of the treasury, and that a skillful man should be appointed to catalogue them so that the archives could be conveniently consulted and losses detected³. Through Laud's influence William Somner was appointed the first Keeper of the cathedral archives⁴. Somner used

Dering's transcripts, see C.E.Wright, art.cit., p.382.

1. B.C.S.99 (printed from Christ Church and St Augustine's cartularies and from Dering's transcript). A photograph of the charter and an account of its history was published by G.Ward in Archaeologia Cantiana, lx (1947), pp.1-14.
2. Robertson, Charters, 75; there is a fac-simile in Archaeologia Cantiana, i (1858), opposite p.65. The charter is now in the possession of Mrs.M.Sturges of Biddenden. For the identification of the estate, see K.Wallenberg, Kentish Place-Names, 1931, p.331-2. The charter has a Christ Church endorsement of the 12th century so there is no question of its having belonged to the Dering family since pre-Conquest times.
3. Cal.State Papers, Domestic.1637, p.87-8. If Somner attempted a catalogue, it has not survived. The only catalogue of the cathedral archives remains the manuscript catalogue of Cyprian Bunce of c.1800.
4. There is no adequate survey of Somner's career. White Kennett's brief memoir published in expanded form in the 1726 edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury is useful but very incomplete.

his position not only to investigate the history of the city of Canterbury, but also to become the foremost Anglo-Saxon scholar of his day. Among the documents which he printed in the appendices to his Antiquities of Canterbury (1640) and A Treatise of Gavelkind (1660) were many pre-Conquest charters, and he quoted passages from others in the text of his books. Most of these charters are still extant at Canterbury, but 8 have been lost since Somner's time¹. They may have perished in the fire in the cathedral Audit House in 1670, or they may have been removed by later antiquaries whose manuscripts have not passed into the national collections.

Thus it may be seen what a role fortune has played in the survival of the Christ Church archives. The efforts of Laud, and of Somner and his successors, to preserve this incomparable heritage did check the outflow of important documents. But the survival of so many pre-Conquest charters from Christ Church is less the result of their efforts than of the fact that the archives were systematically despoiled

The account in the Dictionary of National Biography gives some indication of Somner's contribution to Old English studies.

1. B.C.S. 317, 342, 344, 445; Robertson, Charters, 77, 86; Appendix nos. 1, 3. Somner also refers to a charter of 956 witnessed by Hlothwig port-reeve (Antiquities, 1640, p. 364) which if it is not a misdated reference to B.C.S. 1212 must refer to a ninth lost charter. (See W. Urry, Canterbury under the Angevin Kings, 1967, p. 82 n. 6). Somner was a knowledgeable and reliable transcriber, but his printer frequently let him down. His own corrected copies of Antiquities and Gavelkind are still in the cathedral library. Battely had access to them, but does not seem to have incorporated Somner's corrections to O.E. texts in his edition of the Antiquities (1703). (See W. Urry op. cit., p. 385).

in the early 17th century by two men, Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Edward Dering, whose manuscript collections were so large that later scholars never entirely lost sight of them. The more piecemeal robbing of other ecclesiastical archives proved immeasurably more destructive.

COPIES OF CHRIST CHURCH CHARTERSA) Entries in Gospel-books

An innovation in the practice of record-keeping was made at Christ Church as in many other English churches early in the 11th century. Copies of documents of particular interest and notes of otherwise unrecorded benefactions were entered into gospel-books belonging to the church in order to reinforce the church's possession of estates or rights by the association of the record with the sacred book¹. Four Christ Church gospel-books (B.M.Cotton Tiberius A ii, Lambeth Palace MS.771 (MacDurnan Gospels), B.M.Royal I.D.ix, and St John's Coll. Oxford MS.194) received such entries inserted on available blank spaces between the end of one gospel and the beginning of another, or (if space was lacking) on new leaves that were specially inserted. Some of the leaves on which these texts were written were removed early

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1. I have not considered in this chapter the letter of Pope John XII to Archbishop Dunstan (Boehmer, Fälschungen, no.10) which was copied (long before it was interpolated by the forger of the primacy forgeries) at the head of a Canterbury pontifical of C.X.(ii) by the scribe of the main text (Paris, B.N.Latin MS.943, f.7). The purpose of including the papal letter conferring the pallium on Dunstan in the pontifical was to give authority (or identity?) to the pontifical, rather than to the document; it therefore does not come under the same category as documents entered into gospel-books.

in the 17th century by Sir Robert Cotton and bound up with other books in his library; but thanks to the work of N.R.Ker¹ the original form of the Christ Church gospel-books can be reconstructed, and the order in which the various documents were inserted can be ascertained with some confidence (Appendix B).

i) The 'refoundation' charter (Plate Ia)

The earliest documents copied into Christ Church gospels are the purported refoundation of the monastic chapter by Æthelred and Archbishop Ælfric in 1006², and the writ of Cnut to Archbishop Lyfing purporting to confirm the privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of Canterbury³. Both documents are in the same hand, that of a Canterbury scribe who was certainly at work in the first half of the 11th century since he also wrote a Latin diploma of Cnut granting land at Hazelhurst in Sussex to Archbishop Ælfstan (Lyfing) in 1018 which survives on a single sheet and appears to be both genuine and contemporary⁴. Unfortunately, however, we cannot assume that the two texts that this scribe wrote into Canterbury gospel-books are also strictly contemporary. The refoundation charter of Æthelred which includes a

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1. British Museum Quarterly, xii (1937-8), pp.130-1; Catalogue, nos. 185, 284.
 2. K.C.D. 715, originally in B.M.Cotton Tib.A.ii, now Cotton Claudius A.iii, ff.2-3v, 4-6. See Appendix B, I art.c., and Plate Ia.
 3. Harmer, Writs, 26, form B.M.Royal I.D.ix f.44v (Appendix B, III art.b.).
 4. B.M.Stowe Ch.38: O.S.Facs., iii 39. The identification of the hand was first made by Dr. Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.174.

general confirmation of all the estates of the reformed monastic community cannot be authentic since the date (1006) is incompatible with the text of the document and with the witnesses, and the witnesses are incompatible with the list of estates¹. It is possible that Ethelred did in fact assist Archbishop Elfric to expel the clerks from Christ Church and establish monks in their stead as the charter claims; but the inconsistencies are not such as could have arisen through faulty copying of an authentic document. It is difficult to be certain how early such errors could be made, but some of the purported witnesses were certainly still alive in the early years of Cnut's reign². Since the hand can scarcely be later than the first half of the 11th century, a historical context must be sought in the second quarter of the century to explain the desire to give spurious authority to the monastic status of the cathedral community and to those estates that were specifically assigned to them. Towards the end of his reign Cnut began to appoint priests from the royal household, rather than monks, to the English bishoprics.

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1. It is dated 1006, and includes estates (Westwell, Risborough) which only passed to the community at the death of Archbishop Elfric (1005) in accordance with his will (Whitelock, Wills, 18). But the charter is attested by Archbishop Elfric, and indeed is said to have been drawn up at his urging; the other witnesses point to a date in 1001 or 1002. The witness-list agrees very largely with that of a Canterbury charter of 1002 (ms.1003) (B.M.Stowe Ch.35: O.S.Facs., iii 36), and may have been based upon it. The inclusion of Appledore (Kent) among the estates confirmed to the monks is surprising since this estate only passed to the monks about the year 1032 (Robertson, Charters, 86).
 2. Abbot Elfsige of Ely died in 1019, ealdorman Leofwine in or shortly before 1023.

In 1032 the king's priest, Ælfwine, was appointed to Winchester¹, where he acquired a scandalous reputation². About the same time Cnut began to groom another of his priests, Eadsige, for Canterbury. It is likely to have been at the community's insistence that Eadsige became a monk³, so that the line of monk-archbishops unbroken since Dunstan should not be interrupted, and the precedent of electing one of the community in accordance with the Rule of St Benedict and the Regularis Concordia, as had been established by the election of Æthelnoth, the dean, in 1020, should be maintained⁴. In these circumstances fears for the future status of the monastic chapter and its endowment would inevitably be near the surface, and may well explain the resort to forgery in one of

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1. A-S.Chron. 'E', sub anno. For Cnut's policy, see F.Barlow, The English Church, 1000-1066, p.75.
 2. In the 13th century Annales Ecclesie Wintoniensis and in Thomas of Rudborne's Historia Maior Wintoniensis a scandalous relationship between Ælfwine and Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, is made the cause of Edward's proceedings against Emma in 1043; but Edward is proved misguided by a miracle of St Swithun (Anglia Sacra, ed. H.Wharton, i, p.291-3, 233-4).
 3. Robertson, Charters, 86, records various grants and leases to Christ Church by Eadsige when he became a monk. The charter only survives in Somner's copy, but there seems no reason to reject its authenticity. The grants were conditional upon the community's loyalty to Eadsige. The document is undated, and must clearly be earlier than 1035 when Eadsige was consecrated bishop (see below, p.291). The main Christ Church cartulary dates the grant 1035 (eg. Lambeth 1212 p.329), but wrongly styles Eadsige bishop. The late 15th century lists of donations provide the more probable date of 1032 (e.g. W.Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (2nd.ed.1846), i, p.97). It may be noted that according to Winchester tradition Ælfwine also became a monk before he was consecrated bishop (Anglia Sacra, i, p.133).
 4. A-S.Chron., 1020, 1038; Regularis Concordia, ed.T.Symons, c.9; Benedicti Regula, ed.R.Hanslik in Corpus SS. Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 1960, c.lxiv.

the church's most prized gospel-books¹.

ii) Writs

The fact that the only full-length diploma among the texts inserted into Christ Church gospel-books is spurious suggests caution before we accept the many shorter writs and notes whose authenticity is less easily tested, since they are not dated and do not have witness-lists. The same scribe who entered the 'refoundation' charter of Aethelred into B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii also wrote in another Christ Church gospel-book (B.M.Royal I.D.ix) a writ of Cnut purporting to confirm at the request of Archbishop Lyfing the liberties of Christ Church². The writ's address to 'all my thegns twelfhynde 7 twihynde' is unique, but since the writ is largely narrative and since the scribe was writing in the first half of the 11th century, it is not surprising that there are no conclusive objections to its authenticity. The substance of the writ however, is at least remarkable: Archbishop Lyfing is said to have complained to the king that Christ Church had less mund than hitherto, and to apparently to have refused the suggestion that he should draw up

1. In view of the later entries in Cotton Tiberius A.ii it is not easy to suppose that the hand of K.C.D.715 could be as late as 1051 when on the death of Eadsige the monks attempted to secure the election of one of their number, but failed to secure the king's consent (Vita Eadwardi, ed.F.Barlow, pp.18-19). If the tradition recorded by Gervase (Historical Works, ed. W.Stubbs (R.S.), ii, p.361) that only 4 monks survived the sack of Canterbury in 1011, and that it was necessary to introduce secular clerks until they were expelled by Archbishop Aethelnoth c.1021 has any basis in fact, it would provide an alternative context for the forging of K.C.D.715 and one that would be closer in time to the authentic charter of the same scribe (B.M.Stowe Ch.39 of 1018).

2. Harmer, Writs, 26 (= Appendix B, III art.b.).

a new charter of freedom (freols) on the grounds that he had such charters in plenty if only they were worth anything; instead Cnut is stated to have performed a public ceremony which involved placing the charters (freolsas) of Cnut's predecessors on the altar at Christ Church. Ethelbert is the only king who is named as having granted liberties to the church, and this attribution of Christ Church's freedom to Ethelbert recalls the statement in the same scribe's forged 'refoundation' charter of Ethelred that the establishment of monks at Christ Church had been made with Ethelbert's approval ('rege piissimo annuente Eðelberhto'). Certainly if Cnut placed on the altar a charter of Ethelbert granting liberties to the church of Canterbury, it must have been a forgery.

Amongst the freolsas of other kings was doubtless the spurious privilege of Wihtred of Kent confirmed by Ethelbald of Mercia which purports to free Christ Church from secular burdens and to give the archbishop control of the elections of the abbots and abbesses of Kentish monasteries¹. It cannot be a coincidence that the only pre-Conquest text of this document is in the same hand as Cnut's purported writ confirming the freolsas of earlier kings², and that there are verbal

1. B.C.S.91 (B.M.Stowe Ch.2: O.S.Facs., iii 2). See below pp.222-5 where I suggest that this charter was originally forged in the 9th century, but may have been modified in the 11th. It should be noted that the 15th century cartulary, Cant.Reg.A., records a charter purporting to be the freols of Cnut drawn up as a result of the writ and that it specifically refers to 'libertatem monasteriorum intra Cantiam positorum' (K.C.D.727).
2. The identification was made by P.Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.174 n.118) and seems acceptable tho' the scribe of B.M.Stowe Ch.2 twice uses the curved form of y which is not found in his other writings. It may derive from his exemplar,^{since} this forgery was originally composed in the 9th century.

similarities between the two documents¹. Cnut's writ to confirm the freedom of Christ Church therefore keeps bad company; this does not rule out the possibility that the writ is an accurate copy of a message addressed by the king to the shire court of Kent, but the suspicion remains that it may have been convenient at Canterbury in the years after Cnut's death to claim that he had confirmed the privileges of Christ Church in a way that neatly avoided the necessity to produce a formal Latin diploma with full lists of witnesses².

Four other Christ Church writs were entered into another Christ Church gospel-book, the MacDurnan Gospels³, and a fifth into B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii⁴. The letter of Archbishop Wulfstan of York to Cnut announcing the consecration of Archbishop Ethelnoth (1020) is written in a hand that may well be contemporary, and is closely

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B.C.S. 91Harmer, Writs, 26

(Bracketed phrases are from the earlier of the two anathemas)

'Si quis autem tyrannica potestate inflatus ex habitu secularium seu ecclesiasticarum (huic kartule) infringere minuire temptaverit.... nisi digna satisfactione correxerit iudicio episcoporum (nisi ante pleniter emendaverit iudicio episcopi)'.
'

'pæt næfre man ne sy swa dyrsti. sy he gehadod. sy he læwode pæt ænig para þinga gelytlic be on þam freolse stant....butan he hit be stiðlicor gebete ær his ænde be þæs arcebisceopes tæcinge.'
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2. Only Earl Thorkell is mentioned as having been present at the ceremony at the altar; he was exiled in 1021, and died shortly after 1023.
3. Lambeth Palace MS.771, ff.69v, 114v, B.M.Cotton Tib.B.iv f.87, 87v.; Harmer, Writs 27, 28, 30, 29 (= Appendix B, II arts. b, c, d, and e).
4. B.M.Cotton Claudius A.iii, f.5v; Harmer, Writs, 35 (= Appendix B, I art.k.).

comparable to that of the three later writs of Cnut in this gospel-book. But we need to ask why the monks of Christ Church should wish to enter a text that conveyed no rights into one of their gospels. No other archbishop was singled out in this way, so it would seem that either the election of Æthelnoth, who had been dean of the community, or his consecration by an outstanding archbishop of York, or the combination of these two events, was regarded as a particularly important precedent which required permanent testimony. The evidence does not allow us to judge whether the 'writ' of Wulfstan is a strictly contemporary copy of a letter actually sent by Wulfstan, or a somewhat later copy, or whether it is the composition of a Canterbury scribe corresponding to the sense of a message sent to the king by Wulfstan¹.

The three remaining writs of Cnut copied into the MacDurnan Gospels (Harmer, Writs, 28, 29, 30) are all in a single hand; they are written on two leaves that were especially inserted into the book after the gospels of Mark and of John, and they are set out on the page in the same manner and appear to be in the same ink². There can be little doubt that all three were written on the same occasion, that is not before 1035, the date of the two writs that are addressed to Bishop

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1. The 'writ' is too short to show decisive evidence of Wulfstan's style. Miss Harmer (Writs, p.449) noted that the expression 'þæt ge witan on Gode þa mæpe' is also found in Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (ed.D.Whitelock, 1939, p.33 l.84): 'gif man on Gode griðe mæpe witan wolde'.
 2. There cannot be complete certainty, since one leaf is in Lambeth Palace Library, the other in the British Museum. I have not been able to identify other works by this scribe, but the hand is certainly of C.XI.(i).

Eadsige (Harmer, Writs, 29, 30). The writ granting Archbishop Ethelnoth judicial and financial rights over the lands of the church of Canterbury was therefore copied into the gospel-book at least 15 years after Ethelnoth's accession¹, at a time when, as the writs addressed to Eadsige show, there were disputes over the landed possessions of the church and over the payments and services due from them. In its formulae and in content, as Miss Harmer showed², it is beyond reproach; but we have no means of determining whether it is a reliable copy of a genuine writ of Cnut or whether it was composed by a Canterbury monk c.1035-40. In either event it confirms the evidence of the 'writ' of Wulstan^f that there was a desire at Canterbury during or soon after Cnut's reign to mark the precedent of Ethelnoth's election by preserving in more authoritative form documents associated with his consecration and succession. We may leave open until later the question of why these documents should need the added authority of the gospel-book³.

iii) Notes of bequests

The majority of the pre-Conquest entries in Christ Church gospel-books are notes of bequests to the community made by archbishops and by lay nobles. Some are in Latin, some in Old English⁴; they are

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1. The writ (Harmer, Writs, 29) is not of course dated, but it only makes sense as a grant to the new archbishop of the customary rights over the lands of the church, and may therefore be dated to the year of Ethelnoth's accession (1020).
 2. Ibid., p.171.
 3. Below, pp.85-8. I have not discussed Harmer, Writs 35 which was entered into B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii and is now Cotton Claud.A.iii f.5v; the hand appears to be contemporary (= Appendix B, I.art.k.).
 4. The Latin notes are written on the blank space following the Latin

drawn up in the first person singular and with the dispositive word in the present tense as if they were contemporary entries made at the time of the bequests. But when the hands and the form of the entries are examined, it soon appears that few, if any, are strictly contemporary. Thus five entries in Tiberius A.ii recording grants to Christ Church were written by a single scribe (Appendix B, I arts. f, g, h, i, j)¹; the first four (arts. f-i) are all in the same ink, and were apparently written into the gospel-book at the same time. Yet the grants range in date from c.1018 to 1042x52. The latest, Elfgifu's grant of Newington (Oxon.) was written higher up the page than two grants which are of earlier date (arts. h, i, see Plate I b, c, d); only Elfgifu's bequest of these four entries can therefore possibly be a strictly contemporary record.

Similar doubts arise about the agreements entered into the MacDurnan Gospels by which Toki secured a life-interest in an estate at Halton (Bucks.) from Archbishops Ethelnoth and Eadsige (Appendix B, II arts. g, h)². They were written by one scribe in the same ink on available blank spaces on fos. 114 and 115, and there can be little doubt that both agreements were inserted into the gospels on the same occasion, certainly therefore no earlier than the accession of Archbishop Eadsige in 1038. Their authenticity has not hitherto been

text of K.C.D. 715 (= Appendix B, I arts. d, e, f). All the other pre-Conquest notes are in O.E.

1. Art. f is printed in Appendix A, no. 11; the other four are Robertson, Charters, 96, 89, 88, 95 (to '...mynstre gebyrige.'). Arts. g, h, and i may be seen in Plate I, b, c, d; Art. j may be seen in Plate IIa.
2. Robertson, Charters, 80, 90.

questioned, and the hand is of a rounded type that was in use at Christ Church about the middle of the century¹. Yet it is difficult to understand why it was necessary to insert the earlier agreement of Toki and Archbishop Æthelnoth, when the later agreement alone would have sufficed. Moreover the agreement of Toki and Æthelnoth opens with the phrase 'Her swutelīað on ðisse Cristes bec Æþelnoðes arceb' forword 7 Tokiges' as though it were entered into the gospel book at the time the agreement was made - which we have seen to be palaeographically unlikely. It is also remarkable that such agreements should be written into a gospel-book at all, rather than drawn up as a cyrograph in duplicate or triplicate so that both parties could keep a copy². When we find in Domesday Book³ that Halton in 1066 had been in the hands of Earl Leofwine rather than of Christ Church, the suspicion arises that these agreements - though they may accurately record the terms on which Toki had held Halton - were only written into the gospel-book when the estate had fallen into the hands of the Godwin family. At that time there would

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1. Cf. Robertson, Charters, 108 (of 1048-50) (B.M.Stowe Ch.42: O.S.Facs., iii 43); Harmer, Writs, 33 (of c.1052) (B.M.Campbell Ch.xxi.5: Facs.Eng.Royal Writs, pl.iii). The hand is a somewhat neater version of that of Robertson, Charters, 82 (B.M.Cotton Aug. II.90: B.M.Facs., iv 20), and may well be by the same scribe. This scribe was responsible for entering a number of forged documents into the Tiberius A.ii gospels in the years immediately after the Conquest (Below pp.88-91).
 2. A number of comparable agreements of this period survive as cyrographs from the Christ Church archives (Robertson, Charters, 101, 102, 103, 108). It may be noticed that these texts begin with the words, 'Her swutelīað on þisum gewrite...'. There is no parallel in Robertson, Charters, 78 where the gospel-book of a neutral church (Hereford) was used to record the settlement of a land dispute.
 3. D.B.i f.143b.

have been a need to bolster Christ Church's claim to the land with the authority of the gospel-book.

Palaeographical and diplomatic tests cannot always resolve questions about whether a document is a slightly later copy or a forgery composed within a few years of its purported date. But it is clear that the pre-Conquest entries in Christ Church gospels began with the spurious 'refoundation' charter of Æthelred, and that several of the later entries lie under varying degrees of suspicion. Moreover a high proportion of the texts are demonstrably later than the transactions they record. This in itself would not throw suspicion on them; but it may be noted that of the 17 documents copied into the Christ Church gospel-books in pre-Conquest hands not one survives as a separate document on a single sheet of parchment. This is true not only of the writs, but also of the vernacular agreements, the 'refoundation' diploma, and the brief notes of bequests of land. It is clear that the gospel-entries were regarded at Canterbury as the best and only evidence of the church's title to the rights and lands in question. It is possible that once the documents had been copied into a gospel-book, there was less need to keep the original; but in view of the number of charters of no value to Christ Church that were preserved in the archives of the church¹, it would be remarkable had none of the 17 survived. It is possible that after being entered into the gospels, they were automatically destroyed; but this is the action of a forger rather than an honest copyist. It is also possible that 'originals' never existed,

1. Cf. for example the documents endorsed inutile in the 12th century, but nonetheless preserved (Above, p.2 n.1).

and that the documents were drafted by the Christ Church scribes who wrote them into their gospel-books.

Dr. Chaplais¹ has already pointed out that we do not have sealed originals of any of the six Christ Church writs from the gospel-books, and that the only pre-Conquest Christ Church writ for which a sealed original is extant is not to be found in any of the extant gospel-books². Indeed if sealed originals of the writs of Cnut and of Archbishop Wulfstan had existed, there would have been no need to copy them into the gospels. Dr. Chaplais therefore suggests that written originals of the writs never existed, that the king's message was delivered orally to the shire-court, and that if the monks of Christ Church wanted a permanent record they entered some semblance of the oral message into their gospel-book. But this explanation fails to explain why the monks should chose to record the acquisition of the property of Ælfmær and the bequest of Mersham by Sigweard and his wife (Harmer, Writs, 30, 35) in writ-form whilst the bequests of other laymen, such as Thored's grant of East Horsley (Robertson, Charters, 88) were drafted as simple statements by the donor that he had given the land in question.

The answer may therefore be more complex. Some of the documents entered into Christ Church gospels before 1066 are forgeries concocted by the monks - the 'refoundation' charter of Æthelred

1. Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, pp.174-5.

2. Harmer, Writs, 33 (B.M.Campbell Ch.xxi.5). Only the first 3 lines and the seal of this writ are authentic. See Facs.Eng.Royal Writs, pl.iii where the erasure and rewriting of the bottom 7 lines is attributed to a scribe of C.XII(i).

certainly, and probably also the writ of Cnut confirming the privileges of Christ Church, and the agreements of Toki with Archbishops Æthelnoth and Eadsige. The notes of bequests by laymen and by archbishops are so brief that their authenticity cannot easily be checked. But their brevity is rather an argument in their favour; forgers were normally more ambitious. It is likely that they represent sporadic and unsystematic attempts to improve the inadequate methods of record-keeping at Christ Church by which the original diplomas or 'books' concerning the church's estates were preserved, but no record of how the estate actually passed to Christ Church¹. The writs also fall into different categories. As we have seen, Cnut's confirmation of the privileges granted by his predecessors (Harmer, Writs, 26) may well be a forgery; the writs connected with Archbishop Æthelnoth's accession (Harmer, Writs, 27, 28) may be copies of authentic writs but they were probably both inserted into the gospels about fifteen years after the events to which they refer; the two writs addressed to Bishop Eadsige (Harmer, Writs, 29, 30) and the writ to Archbishop Stigand concerning the estate at Mersham may well be strictly contemporary. These six writs are not all therefore easily regarded as contemporary records by the beneficiary of messages that were purely oral. Where the gospel-entry is later than the transaction, it is easier to suppose that the Christ Church scribe was copying or adapting a written text. Until the device of sealing royal writs sur simple queue was invented in Edward the Confessor's reign, such written notifications would have immediate

1. Of the estates concerned in these brief notes, only Newington (Oxon) (Robertson, Charters, 96) was in dispute in the 11th century; it was

authority only and be of little lasting value to the beneficiary¹. Subsequent copying of these notifications into a gospel-book was one means of giving them permanent authority, but was evidently open to abuse where the beneficiary privately entered writs into their own gospels. As a method of recording the acquisition of estates and rights it was inconvenient and was to be replaced by the cartulary, as a means of authentication it was soon replaced by the pendant seal.

The period from c.1020 to c.1050 was the heyday of the pre-Conquest gospel-entries at Christ Church. Not only do they antedate the appearance of the writ-charter with pendant seal, but they also reflect the decline of the Latin diploma. By the 11th century the vast bulk of the land in noble hands was already bookland, and bequests to a church were therefore seldom marked by the drawing up of a Latin diploma; instead the original charter by which the land had been 'booked' was simply handed over. The ecclesiastical archive therefore had no record of the church's acquisition of its estates. Public declarations and ceremonies either at the shire-court or at the altar of the church provided a safeguard for a generation. But the need for the lasting security of written evidence became more apparent as the 11th century advanced. The crown's interest in retaining and extending its financial

restored to Christ Church by William I (See the Christ Church obituary of Lanfranc, printed by J. Le Patourel, 'The Reports on the Trial on Penenden Heath', in Studies... presented to F.M. Powicke, 1948, p.26).

1. They may have been sent sealed 'close' or the bearer may have carried a sign of credence such as a loose seal (Cf. P. Chaplais, Journ. Soc. Archivists, iii (4), 1966, pp.167-9, 174-5).

and judicial rights caused churches and nobles to seek to corroborate their pre-scriptive rights with royal confirmations¹. The rise of a powerful aristocracy greedy for land and the appointment of secular clerks as bishops also contributed to the need at Christ Church for incontestable written evidence to defend the interests of the community. The insertion of texts of varying authenticity into their gospels was the first attempt to solve the deficiencies in their records.

Post-Conquest Entries: iv) The 'foundation' privilege. (Plate IIIa)

After 1066 supposedly pre-Conquest documents were once more entered into the Christ Church gospel-books (particularly into B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii) in order to authenticate claims to rights and lands that were in dispute. Almost all the texts are forgeries², and we can date their insertion into the gospels more accurately than the earlier entries because we have fuller knowledge of both the Christ Church scriptorium³ and of the litigation of the archbishop and community after the Conquest.

The first post-Conquest entry was the famous spurious privilege of Pope Boniface IV purporting to establish in 610 a permanent monastic community at Christ Church⁴. The document was forged in order to defend

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1. For the parallel development of royal control of justice and of ecclesiastical and lay exemptions from it, see H.M.Cam, 'The Evolution of the Mediaeval English Franchise', Speculum, xxxii, 1957, pp.427-442.
 2. See, however, the remarks on the privileges of Pope Sergius I, below pp.101-2. One authentic post-Conquest papal privilege was also entered, i.e. Paschal II's primacy privilege of 1103 (Appendix B, I art.r.; Ph.Jaffe, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 2nd. ed., 5595).
 3. See especially N.R.Ker, English MSS. in the century after the Norman Conquest, 1960, passim.
 4. H.Boehmer, Fälschungen, no.1. (= Appendix B, I art.1.).

the monastic chapter against the attacks of those new Norman bishops led by Walkelin of Winchester who wished to secularize the English monastic cathedrals¹. It is likely that the monks of Christ Church cooperated with those of Winchester in resisting this threat to their existence, for the spurious Boniface privilege is based not only on texts and information from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica but also on a privilege of John XIII confirming about the year 970 the establishment of monks in place of secular clerks at Winchester². The efforts of Walkelin and the Norman bishops foundered on the opposition of Lanfranc who was able to secure papal support for the monastic chapters. We know that the privilege of Boniface was forged before April, 1073, for after prolonged

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1. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed., M.Rule, (R.S.), 1884, pp.18-19. Not surprisingly Walkelin's attempt to replace the monks at Winchester by secular canons proceeded further than the subsequent attempt to secularize Canterbury. (See Thomas of Rudbourne, Hist.maior Wintoniensis, in H.Wharton, Anglia Sacra, 1691, i, p.255). The monks appeal to Rome, Alexander II's privilege confirming the monastic status of the chapter, and his letter on the same subject to Lanfranc were printed by Wharton (ibid., p.320-1) from B.M.Cotton Vitellius E.iv.
 2. B.C.S.1275. The relationship of this text to the spurious Boniface privilege is discussed by C.N.L.Brooke, 'The Canterbury Forgeries and their author', Downside Review, lxviii, 1949-50, pp.464-471. Professor Brooke and W.H.Levison (England and the Continent, p.203-4) have shown that the Boniface privilege stands in a very close relationship to the privilege of Boniface IV for St Augustine's (B.C.S. 11) which was one of the texts fabricated by the well-known forger, Guerno. Levison's conclusion that the Christ Church privilege was based on that for St Augustine's does not seem to result from his comparison of the texts. As Professor Brooke (loc.cit.) has shown both forgeries use Bede and the privilege of John XIII to Winchester independently of the other - a fact that is most easily explained by the assumption that they are the work of the same man. It is likely that the St Augustine's forgeries of Guerno are some 10 or 15 years later than the Christ Church Boniface privilege.

lobbying Lanfranc secured from Pope Alexander II a privilege which confirmed the claims of the Canterbury monks and even quoted from the spurious Boniface privilege¹. The hand of the Boniface privilege in the gospel-book is that of a well-known Canterbury writer whose other datable works belong to the early 1070s². There is therefore no difficulty in supposing that the gospel-entry is the original draft of the forger - a conclusion suggested by the frequent mistakes and corrections which are not of a type that would occur in a fair copy entered into a precious gospel-book, but rather show the forger at work³.

v) The royal pancarta (Plate II)

The scribe of the Boniface privilege also extended the pre-Conquest entry recording Edward the Confessor's gift of Chatham

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1. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, (ed. Rule, pp.19-21). Alexander II died on 23rd April, 1073.
 2. He wrote the first (and only authentic) line of a writ of William I to Lanfranc of c.1070 (Facs.Eng.Royal Writs, pl.iv), and a series of brief O.E. annals down to 1073 with a later addition in different ink for the year 1076 (B.M.Cotton Caligula A.xv, ff.133-7; see N.R. Ker, Catalogue, 139, art.r; printed by F.Liebermann, Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen, 1879, no.3).
 3. The corrections are mostly words written over erasures by the original scribe; but in the dating clause the word 'martiarum' is an interlineation of later date, and in the anathema 'quoadusque' has been emended by a different scribe. The alterations are listed by A.J.MacDonald ('Eadmer and the Canterbury Forgeries', Journ.Theol. Stud., xxxii, 1931, p.50-1) and some can be studied in the facsimile he provides and in Plate IIIb. It should be noted that many of the corrections occur where the forger departs from his source. Thus the Boniface privilege has 'Dum', 'annuntiata', and 'decernentes' over erasures where his models, a) the letter of Honorius I to Edwin (Bede, Hist.Eccl., ii.11) and b) the Winchester privilege of John XIII (B.C.S.1275), have (a) 'Ita' and 'adnuntiata', and (b) 'sancientes' respectively. Other corrections occur at the point where the forger ceases following his source verbatim, which suggests that he first continued to follow his model and then amended to fit the sense required. MacDonald's brief discussion of the corrections is marred by his belief that the core of the Boniface privilege is authentic.

(Appendix B, I art.i.) so as to turn it into a general confirmation of the estates of Christ Church as they existed under King Æthelred (Appendix B, I art.m.)¹. The loss of estates to Odo of Bayeux and his men in the years following 1066 doubtless explains the desire to attribute to Edward a general confirmation of the estates of the community, for it was as Edward's true heir that William the Conqueror claimed to rule. The subsequent addition by another scribe of a long list of the demesne manors of the monks to this spurious confirmation charter (Appendix B, I art.n.) may be connected with the attempts of Lanfranc to recover the lost estates at the trial of Penenden Heath and in subsequent less well recorded litigation². It is remarkable that the names of nine manors (six in Kent and three in Essex) have been erased from this list, for it is difficult to believe that the monks would voluntarily give up their claims to properties that they had lost. Six of these nine erased names can, however, be restored from the version of this document in the 'main Christ Church cartulary', for the cartulary evidently derives from a copy made before all the names had been erased³.

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1. Edward's grant of Chartham and the subsequent additions by later scribes are printed (as one document) by Robertson, Charters, 95.
 2. The course of this litigation is most clearly set out by Professor Du Boulay (Lordship, pp.36-42), where the extant texts are translated and discussed.
 3. The cartulary version of this document has recently been printed from Lambeth 1212 by C.E.Hart (Early Charters of Eastern England, 1966, pp.73-4). Mr. Hart has rightly discarded his earlier view that the Latin cartulary text was the source of the O.E. text from the gospel-book. It would be difficult to account for the presence of three different hands in the O.E. text except on the premise that the O.E. version is the original forged compilation. Hart's discussion of the cartulary version assumes that it derives from a copy made after the erasures had been made in the gospel-book, and

The missing names are Folkestone, Brook, and Hythe in Kent, and Laver, St Osyth, and Stisted in Essex. The remaining three estates in Kent which are not found in the cartulary text can with some probability be restored from the comparable list of estates in the spurious 'foundation' charter of Æthelred (K.C.D.715) earlier in the same gospel-book. It can hardly be a coincidence that only three estates in the Æthelred charter are absent from the pancarta of Edward the Confessor and that they are all in Kent: Bossington (in Adisham), Swarling, and Graveney¹.

Why should these nine estates be erased from the Christ Church gospel-book? All nine were in lay hands after the Norman Conquest. Folkestone, Bossington, Laver, and St Osyth were never recovered by Christ Church², and their erasure from the gospel-book may have been intended to prevent any claims arising in the future. Graveney, Swarling and Hythe (part of the manor of Saltwood) were never fully recovered as monastic demesne after they had fallen into Norman hands, for the Norman intruders remained in possession even though by 1086 they

that the 6 additional names in the cartulary text are interpolations (of the cartularist?). But the variation in the order of the names between the two versions does not require this complex hypothesis, and it is based on the mistaken belief (ibid., p.76) that there is only one name erased from the Essex estates in the O.E. text.

1. C.E.Hart (ibid., p.76) rightly states that the list of estates in K.C.D.715 is one of the sources of the list in Robertson, Charters, 95; but he does not notice that 3 estates in K.C.D.715 are not found in the later charter.
2. DB., i.f.9b (Folkestone), ii.ff.32b, 75b (St Osyth), ii.ff.30b, 31, 91 (Laver). Folkestone is adjudged the king's benefice in a memorandum of c.1078/9 (Du Boulay, Lordship, p.38). For charters forged shortly after the Conquest concerning Folkestone, see below pp. 45, 94-5, 292.

recognised that they held these estates as knight's fees from the archbishop, and they paid a small annual rent to the monks by way of compensation¹. The archbishop (rather than the community or the prior) was regarded as the lord of all the enfeoffments on the property of the church of Canterbury, and it was presumably for this reason that the names of these three estates were erased from the gospels. Brook and Stisted stand apart from the other seven estates for they were recovered for Christ Church by Lanfranc and are recorded as monastic estates in Domesday Book. Brook was recovered at the trial of Penenden Heath, and Stisted at some subsequent date². But despite the evidence of Domesday Book these two estates seem in practice to have passed to the archbishop; for Brook was part of the fief of the archbishop's knight Robert fitzWazo, and Stisted was only finally restored to the monks by Archbishop Anselm in 1106-9³. The evidence therefore suggests that these nine names were erased when the estates were deemed to have passed from the control of the monks either to laymen or to the archbishop⁴. The erasures were

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1. Du Boulay (Lordship, ch.3 and especially p.81 n.5) collects the difficult and sometimes conflicting evidence of DB and D.Mon. about the enfeoffments on Christ Church lands.
 2. Stisted is one of the estates restored by William I according to the Christ Church obituary of Lanfranc (J.Le Patourel, 'The Reports of the Trial of Penenden Heath', Studies...presented to F.M.Powicke, p.26); For the restoration of Brook, see ibid, p.22.
 3. For Brook see Du Boulay, Lordship, pp.44, 62, 82n, 331. For Anselm's grant of Stisted see F.S.Schmitt, Sancti Anselmi Opera Omnia, v, Ep. 474. The date of this charter is discussed below p. n.
 4. The practice of erasing the names of estates from charters after they had been adjudged to a different party by a court is known before the Conquest, and is referred to in B.C.S.384: 'Hac conditione ut illorum praedictorum agellorum nomina de antiquis privilegiis..... eradati fuerint iterumque inposterum non sunt prolati'. Among extant

not all made at the same time since only three names were missing when the compiler of the main Christ Church cartulary copied the list from the gospel-book either during the later years of Archbishop Lanfranc or during the vacancy that followed his death (1089-93)¹. We cannot know whether the remaining six were all erased on the same occasion, but one of them (Stisted) is likely to have been removed at a time when restoration of the estate to the monks (1106-9) was not yet in prospect.

vi) Royal diplomas

Three other spurious charters that may be connected with the land disputes of the monks after 1066 were written into the Christ Church gospel-books, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii, The MacDurnan Gospels, and St John's Coll., Oxford MS.194. The first (B.C.S.660: Appendix B, I art.o.) purports to be the grant of Folkestone by King Athelstan in 927 to Christ Church, and is in a hand of the late 11th or early 12th century. The charter is certainly spurious², and would seem to have been concocted in response to the impossible claim, found ⁱⁿ another forgery concerned with Folkestone³, that Christ Church had possessed

charters with such erasures are B.C.S.442 (B.M.Stowe Ch.17: O.S.Facs. iii 17) and B.C.S.507 (Cant.Red Book 10: O.S.Facs., i 10).

1. The date of the composition of this cartulary is discussed below pp. 117-120.
2. The formulae are not those of authentic diplomas of Athelstan, and the witness-list cannot agree with the date 927 since it includes Elfheah who was not bishop of Winchester until 934. Oda is wrongly stated to be bishop of Sherborne, a mistake also found in Eadmer's Life of Oda (ed.H.Wharton, Anglia Sacra, ii 80).
3. Robertson, Charters, 85 (B.M.Stowe Ch.40: O.S.Facs., iii 41). The hand of this charter is of C.XI(ii) and the composition may reasonably be associated with the litigation of 1078/9 when Folkestone was deemed to be in the king's gift (Du Boulay, Lordship, p.38). The

Folkestone in the time of King Athelstan (who died in 939) and of Archbishop Oda (who was consecrated in 942). Whether or not there is any truth in the tradition that Athelstan had given Folkestone to the community, it is clear that the existing gospel-entry represents a despairing attempt to reassert the monks' claims after an earlier forgery had failed.

The second diploma (K.C.D.1328: Appendix B, II art.i.) is a summary of the famous charter of Cnut purporting to grant Sandwich to Christ Church in 1023¹. The hand is of the early 12th century, and the insertion of this text into the gospel-book must be regarded as one of the numerous attempts of the monks to bolster their rights in Sandwich. It is of interest that for the first time the grant of Sandwich is associated with the gift of the important relic of the arm of St Bartholomew, doubtless in an attempt to add the authority of the saint to the spurious record of Cnut's bequest of Sandwich. But the gospel-entry here goes against the Canterbury tradition that the arm of St

monks claimed that Godwin had wrongfully acquired Folkestone by bribing Archbishop Eadsige (Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed.M.Rule, (R.S.) 1884, p.6), but the court evidently regarded the alienation as legal.

1. K.C.D.737. Kemble's text of K.C.D.1328 is taken from B.M.Add.MS. 14907, an 18th century transcript of The MacDurnan Gospels by Lewis Morris. According to Domesday Book, Sandwich had been given to Christ Church by Edward the Confessor (DB.i f.3); after the Conquest this vital port was seized by Odo of Bayeux but was restored before 1086 (The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, ed.D.C.Douglas, p.89: 'quando archiepiscopus recuperavit'; Odo's restoration of properties in Sandwich is Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, ed.H.W.C. Davis, i.101; see also the obituary of William I, printed by J.Le Patourel in Studies....presented to F.M.Powicke, p.25). Disputes with St Augustine's who possessed the opposite bank of the Stour continued into the 12th century before being temporarily settled in a lengthy plea in 1127 (printed by D.M.Stenton, English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter, 1965, pp.116-122).

Bartholomew had been given by Emma rather than by Cnut himself¹.

The third diploma, entered into the gospel-book that is now St John's Coll.Oxford MS.194 in a 13th century hand, purports to be the grant of Eastry and Sandwich by King Æthelred in 979 (Appendix B, IV art.a.)². The text is given in Latin and in English, and is full of anachronisms³. The English version has passages in common with the O.E. version of Cnut's 1023 charter concerning Sandwich⁴. It is a clumsy forgery, but the gospel-entry can only be regarded as a late copy, since the Latin version is already found in the manuscripts of the main Christ Church cartulary, and was therefore included in the original compilation of the late 11th century⁵.

vii) Primacy privileges (Plates III, IV, V and VI)

The remaining gospel-entries are all in B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii in hands of the late 11th and early 12th century. They are all papal privileges purporting to establish Canterbury's claim to be a

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1. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, (ed.M.Rule, 1884), pp.108-110. Eadmer's account based on information from eye-witnesses is too circumstantial to be mistaken on this point.
 2. Printed in Appendix A, no.4.
 3. Thus the charter speaks of monks at Christ Church, and refers (in the gospel-book version) to castle-work.
 4. Robertson, Charters, 82. See especially the royal title, the anathema, and the dating clause. The natural assumption is that the Æthelred charter is based on that of Cnut, but it should be noted that the earliest version of the main Christ Church cartulary(c.1090) contained the purported grant of 979, but not Cnut's grant of 1023 which was only added in the second group of additional texts at some time after 1106-9. The date of the various stages of the compilation of the cartulary are discussed below pp.117-118
 5. The original compilation of this cartulary is dated to c.1090 below pp. 117-20.

primatial see. Eight of the famous series of nine forged papal privileges and also the document entitled 'Memorable Factum' are found¹; the omission of the privilege of Pope John XII to Dunstan (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 10) may only mean that one of the stray leaves cut out by Sir Robert Cotton has been lost². Since the work of H.Boehmer the manner in these forgeries were composed has been well known, and scholarly interest and controversy has concentrated upon the date of composition and the identity of the forger. The arguments of A.J. MacDonald that the forgeries were not compiled in 1072 but in the early 12th century³ have been restated and reinforced by Professor R.W.Southern⁴ whose opinion that the forgeries were fabricated in the period from 1121 to 1123 has met wide acceptance⁵. Eadmer describes under the year 1120 how the privileges were found after an intensive search of the ancient chests and gospel-books of the church⁶; there is every reason to suppose, as Professor Southern has argued⁷, that B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii was the

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1. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 2-9; Appendix B, I arts.p, q, s-y.
 2. But the privilege of Pope Formosus to the English bishops (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9) ends on the recto of a leaf which is blank on the verso (B.M.Cotton Faustina B.vi,f.100(99)).
 3. A.J.MacDonald, Lanfranc: His life, work and writing, 1926, Appendix and the same author's 'Eadmer and the Canterbury Privileges', Journ. Theol.Stud., xxxii (1931), pp.39-55.
 4. 'The Canterbury Forgeries', Eng.Hist.Rev., lxxiii (1958), pp.192-226.
 5. See e.g. the view of Prof.C.N.L.Brooke in Studies in the Early British Church, ed. N.K.Chadwick, 1958, p.242, addendum.
 6. 'et....antiquorum scriniorum abdita, sacrorum evangeliorum voluminadiligentius perscrutata est'. (Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M.Rule, 1884, p.261.
 7. Eng.Hist.Rev., lxxiii (1958), p.217-8.

gospel-book (or one of the gospel-books) in which the privileges were so conveniently found either in 1120 or more probably a year or two later.

It is therefore remarkable that the primacy privileges from this gospel-book are not all the work of a single scribe, as one might expect if they were the autographs of the forger or if they had been deliberately copied into the gospel-book from the forger's draft. In fact three different scribes wrote the privileges into the gospels¹, and the evidence does not suggest that they were all writing in the period from 1121 to 1123. Scribe A (Plates IIIb and IVa) wrote the two letters of Pope Sergius concerning the accession of Archbishop Berhtwald (Appendix B, I arts.p, q; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 6, 5). The hand is heavy and untidy, and makes few concessions to the 'Christ Church script' that was being introduced in the late 1080s². It may belong to the last years of the 11th century³, but can scarcely be as late as the 1120s when the 'Christ Church script' was at the high point of its development.

Scribe B (Plates IVb, V) wrote three documents:

- a) the privilege of Pope Paschal II of 16th November 1103 granting to Anselm and his successors such primacy as his predecessors had

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1. See Plates III, IV, V, VI. Professor Southern misleadingly states that the primacy forgeries are 'in a hand of the early 12th century' (art.cit., p.217).
 2. The essential guide to the scripts in use at Christ Church at this period is N.R.Ker, English MSS. in the Century after the Norman Conquest, 1960, pp.25-9 and pls. 5, 6, 7, 8.
 3. It follows and is therefore written later than the spurious privilege of Boniface IV (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1; Appendix B, I art.1.) of 1070-3.

enjoyed (Appendix B, I art.r.). The document was entered on a blank space immediately after the letters of Pope Sergius (Plate IVb).

- b) the forged privilege of Pope Boniface V to Archbishop Justus (Appendix B, I art.s; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 2; Plate V).
- c) the forged privilege of Pope Honorius I to Archbishop Honorius (Appendix B, I art.t; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 3).

All three documents are written in ink of similar colour and may well have been written on the same occasion. The hand of C.XI/XII, though again rather rough is more at home with the letter forms of the 'Christ Church script'¹. Paschal II's privilege to Anselm and his successors was the nearest that Canterbury ever came to achieving papal recognition of its claims to primacy, and Anselm in exile therefore sent it to Canterbury with orders that it should be copied and carefully preserved². The gospel-book, B.M.Tiberius A.ii, had been in use for most of the 11th century as the main repository for documents, both authentic and spurious, of key importance in the community's legal disputes. It was the obvious place to preserve a copy of this vital papal privilege, and there is no palaeographical difficulty in supposing that the Paschal

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1. A.J.MacDonald (Journ.Theol.Stud., xxxii 1931, p.52) stated that the two letters of Pope Sergius I (scribe A) were in the same hand as these three documents. But, as can be seen in Plate IV, scribe B writes a far more assured script, and there are consistent differences in the letters e and g, and in the abbreviation marks.
 2. 'Privilegium quod dominus papa mihi dedit vobis mitto ad transcribendum et diligenter custodiendum'. (F.S.Schmitt, S.Anselmi Opera Omnia, v.Ep.307), quoted by R.W.Southern, St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, p.137.

privilege was entered into the gospels when it arrived at Canterbury, probably early in 1104. If this dating is correct, the forged privileges of Boniface V and Honorius I, which are unique in the primacy series in being based on authentic pallium letters of these popes recorded by Bede, were probably written on the same occasion or at least within a few years¹.

Scribe C wrote the remaining forged privileges (Appendix B, I arts. u, v, w, x, y; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 4, 7, 8, 'Memorable Factum', 9). His hand (Plate VI) is an excellent finished example of the 'Christ Church script', typical of that written at Canterbury in the 1120s².

The evidence of the gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii, which provides the earliest extant text of the primacy forgeries, does not agree very well with the assumption that they were all forged by one man c.1121-1123. The gospel-entries may not be in the hands of the forger(s) who fabricated them, but the fact that they are in three different hands suggests that they were produced over a number of years, and not as the result of a single intensive effort by a single forger. It would be possible to narrow the period of their production if we

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1. It is of course possible that scribe B wrote the Paschal privilege in 1104 and the 2 forged privileges some 17 years later; but on this hypothesis it is difficult to explain why scribe B did not also write the remaining privileges (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 4, 7, 8, 9, 9a).
 2. Of the script of the book containing copies of episcopal professions of faith to the archbishops, B.M.Cotton Cleopatra E.i fos. 16-25, which was written c.1125, and Eadmer's personal ms. of his works written at various times between 1116 and c.1130, Corpus Christi Coll.Camb. MS.371 (see R.W.Southern, St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, pp.367-74 and frontispiece).

rejected the suggestion that the privilege of Pashal II was inserted into the gospels as a result of Anselm's instructions, and if we supposed that scribes A and B were still writing an archaic and awkward script at a time when the 'Christ Church script' was supreme and had reached the peak of its development¹. But there is some independent evidence that the forgeries were produced piecemeal. The gospel-book was available to the compiler of the main Christ Church cartulary of c.1090; many of the supposedly pre-Conquest texts from the gospel-book were recorded in the earliest form of the cartulary, but none of the primacy forgeries. However the version of the cartulary that is now represented by the 13th century manuscript, Lambeth 1212 pp.304-339, includes the two privileges of Sergius but no others (i.e. the two texts inserted by scribe A); Lambeth 1212 pp.304-39 is derived from an exemplar written between the years 1106 and 1123². At some date between these years the Canterbury gospel-book contained the Sergius privileges and no others. It can scarcely be a coincidence that in these two privileges Boehmer found least evidence of the forger's interpolations and alterations. They are fundamentally authentic texts announcing the grant of the pallium to Archbishop Berhtwald to the kings of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, and to the English bishops; and it is doubtful whether they have been significantly altered at all³. It would therefore seem that the production of the

1. N.R.Ker, English MSS in the Century after the Norman Conquest, 1960, p.27.

2. See below, pp.125-7.

3. Boehmer, Fälschungen, pp.89-95. Boehmer had no material objections to no.5, but regarded two passages in no.6 ('Cumque ita sit').

primacy forgeries was a more gradual process than has been supposed, and the assumption that they are all the work of the same man may need to be revised. About the end of the 11th century, the monks inserted into their gospels two privileges of Sergius I that needed little modification. A few years later forged privileges based on texts in Bede were added; finally, c.1121-3, the remaining privileges in the series were also copied into the gospel-book.

B) The Main Christ Church Cartulary

The cathedral church of Canterbury has been less well served by its cartularies than other English sees. The great archiepiscopal and monastic general cartularies (Lambeth 1212, Cant.Reg.'E') compiled in the time of Archbishop Pecham and of Prior Henry of Eastry which aimed to transcribe the entire muniments of the archbishop and community respectively, in fact only recorded a small fraction of the pre-Conquest title-deeds of the church. There is no equivalent at Canterbury to Hemming's cartulary or to the Textus Roffensis, or even to the less reputable cartularies of pre-Conquest documents from Winchester and

demandatus est', and 'Ideoque fratres.....serventur in perpetuum') as interpolations of the forger. But they fall short of the clear-cut grant of primacy to all successors in the see of Canterbury that typifies the interpolations in the other forged privileges, and they do not seem entirely out of place in the context of the quarrels of Archbishops Theodore and Berhtwald with Wilfred.

Sherborne¹. The main Christ Church cartulary of pre-Conquest deeds generally does little more than catalogue the benefactions to the church by recording the date of the bequest, the name of the donor, and the details of the land or privileges granted. There are four extant manuscripts of this cartulary:

'C'	Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS.189 f.195-202	<u>C.XII mid.</u>
'P'	Canterbury, D. & C. Lib., Register 'P' f.11-29	<u>C.XII/XIII</u>
'L'	Lambeth Palace Lib., MS.1212 p.304-339	<u>C.XIII (ii)</u>
'T'	Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Tanner MS.223 ff.8-21v	<u>C.XVI (i)</u>

Apart from 'C' which is a stray quire now bound up with a manuscript of the St Augustine's chronicle of William Thorne², all these manuscripts form part of large composite cartularies. 'P' was inserted into a later cartulary of the cathedral priory that was compiled c.1270. 'L' is part of the main archiepiscopal cartulary compiled about the year 1280³. 'T' is a 16th century revision of 'L' and, since it has no independent value, it is not discussed hereafter⁴.

The cartulary represented by the three manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries, 'C', 'P', and 'L', arranges the documents in approximately chronological order. 'C' the oldest of the three manuscripts

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1. B.M.Cotton Tib.A.xii (ed.T.Hearne, Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis, 2 vols., 1723); Rochester D. & C., A.3.5 (ed.P.Sawyer, Textus Roffensis [Early Eng.MSS.in Facsimile, vii, ix] 1957, 1962); B.M.Add.MS.15350 (Winchester cartulary); B.M.Add.MS.46487 (Sherborne cartulary).
 2. The chronicle and the cartulary are printed by R.Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X, 1652, cols. 2207-2226.
 3. For the date of Lambeth 1212 see the discussion by F.R.H.Du Boulay, (The Lordship of Canterbury, 1966, p.4-5), and the works there cited.
 4. For 'T' see D.M.Barrett, 'The Library of John Selden and its later History', Bodl.Lib.Record, iii, 1950-1, p.137.

includes 81 documents, 'P' has 87, and 'L' the latest in date has 101¹. The contents of the three manuscripts are set out in diagrammatic form in Appendix C. It can be seen there that all the texts that are found in 'C' occur also in 'P' and 'L'; moreover the additional texts in 'P' that are not in 'C' do occur again in 'L'; whereas 'L' includes documents that are in neither 'C' nor 'P'. It might therefore be thought that 'C' represents the earliest version of the Canterbury cartulary, that 'P' is simply an enlarged version of it, and that 'L' is an enlarged edition of 'P'. The fact that the order in which the documents are recorded is identical in 'C' and 'P', but has been revised in 'L' in order to correct irregularities in the chronological sequence would also agree with a straightforward interpretation of the relationship of these three manuscripts, thus:

c.1150	C	
c.1200	P	(with additions)
c.1280	L	(with further additions and revised order).

There are, however, immediate difficulties which rule this simple stemma out of court. The latest documents in all three versions of the cartulary are Henry I's grant of Slindon (Sussex) and Anselm's bequest of the manor of Stisted to the monks; they can be dated to the years 1106-9². Moreover the additional documents in 'P' and 'L' are not

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1. For these purposes I have omitted from 'L' the last 2 documents since they are added in a different hand and do not seem to be part of the same scheme. They are i) the Constitutions of Clarendon, and ii) a set of rules governing the community's relations with the king and with Rome during Becket's absence.
 2. Henry's grant of Slindon is no.756 in Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, ii, 1956, ed. C.Johnson & H.A.Cronne, and is there dated 1106 (?June).

documents of the late 12th and 13th centuries, but of the late 11th century; they relate to the disputes and litigation that involved the archbishop and community during the 60 years after the Norman Conquest. The cartulary, in fact, does not read like a composition of c.1150 twice revised in the 13th century. And textual evidence proves that the relationship of the three manuscripts is far more complex. 'P' and 'L' are not derived from 'C' since they consistently have a fuller text of individual documents than 'C'. In fact 'C' so far from being the original Christ Church cartulary is an abbreviated version of it, which records the texts in a shortened form¹. Moreover, ^{'L'}the latest of the three manuscripts sometimes preserves a better text of individual documents than either 'C' or 'P'². Thus 'C', 'P', and 'L' must be regarded as versions (each independent of the other) of a Canterbury cartulary, which we may call 'X', and which may be dated after 1106-9 (the date of the last documents) and before c.1150 (the date of 'C'). Discussion of the complex relationship between the extant manuscripts, 'C', 'P', and

Anselm's grant of Stisted must belong between this and his death (April 21st 1109); it is printed as Ep.474 by F.S.Schmitt O.S.B., Sancti Anselmi Opera Omnia, v, (1958). It seems likely that these 2 entries in the cartulary were made before Anselm's grant of Hythe and Saltwood to the community (ibid., Ep.475) in the last year of his life, since the cartulary omits this grant.

1. 'C' consistently omits the anathemas which are found in the texts in 'P' and 'L'. Since there could be no motive for the later addition of these formulae, and since they are of a piece with the other spurious formulae of the cartulary entries (see below p.), they can be accepted as the work of the compiler of the cartulary and not of a later reviser.
2. See for instance the superior readings of 'L' in the hitherto unprinted texts, Appendix A, no.6.

'L', and this archetype ('X') may conveniently be postponed until we have examined its contents and learnt something of the compiler's intentions and manner of work. In what follows, the earliest manuscript ('C') has been taken as the best indication of the documents that were included in 'X' and of the order in which they were recorded; but 'P' and 'L' have been used where they provide better texts of individual documents.

The most noticeable feature of the cartulary ('X') is that it imposes upon all but a few of the later texts a common pattern, even though this may involve substantial alterations to the text of the document it is recording. A few examples will show how the cartularist straight-jacketed the text of the original charters into his common form:

i) B.C.S.214 (Stowe ch.
O.S.Facs.iii.4)

....(invocation & proem)..Ego
Offa rex totius Anglorum
patriae dabo et concedo
Iaenberto archiepiscopo ad
aecclesiam Christi aliquam
partem terrae trium aratrorum
...in occidentali parte regi-
onis quae dicitur Merscuuare
ubi nominatur ad Hlidum. Et
hujus terrae sunt haec
territoria...(boundaries)..Et
hoc praedictum donum in perpet-
uum largitum qui averterit a
possessione aecclesiae Christi,
avertat a se Christus miseri-
cordiam suam.signum
sanctae crucis Christi anno
dominicae incarnationis
DCCLXXIIII impressimus cum
sacerdotibus et senioribus
populi more testium subsscri-
bendo.(witnesses).

Cartulary version
(B.C.S.215)

Anno dominicae Incarnationis
DCCLXXIIII Ego Offa rex concedo
partem terrae in marisco ubi
dicitur Hlide ad opus familiae
Christi id est monachorum qui
in ecclesia Christi quae sita
est in Dorobernia civitate,
Jamberto archiepiscopo ejusdem
civitatis rogante pro salute
anime mee, liberam ab omni
seculari servicio et fiscali
tributo exceptis expeditione,
arcis constructione et pontis.
Si quis huic donationi nostre
contradixerit perpetuo anath-
emate subjaceat.

- ii) B.C.S.1101 (Stowe ch.27
O.S.Facs.iii.30)

(endorsements)

+ ðas boc sealde Ingram mid
lande Dunstane arcebisceope.
+ þis is para. vii. hida land
boc æt Fengge.....

(text)

...Ego Eadgar..quandam telluris
particulam. vii. videlicet
cassatos loco qui celebri æt
Fengge numcupatur vocabulo,
cuidam ministro mihi valde
fideli...Ingelram..largitus sum
..cum omnibus utensilibus pratis
videlicet pascuis silvis....Sit
autem predictum rus omni terren-
ae servitutis iugo liberum,
tribus exceptis rata videlicet
expeditione, pontis arcisve
restauratione.

Si quis.....(anathema
followed by boundaries)....anno
dominicae incarnationis
DCCCCLXIII scripta est haec
carta, his testibus consentien-
tibus.....(witnesses).

Cartulary version
(B.C.S.1102)

Anno dominice Incarnationis
DCCCCLXIII. Ego Dunstanus primas
tocius Britannie consentiente et
Eadgaro rege terre partem septem
aratrorum quod anglice dicitur
vii hidas, cum libro ejusdem
terre emi, quae nominatur Fenge,
pro competenti peccunia ab
Ingelram optimato regis Eadgari
cum omnibus ad eam rite perti-
nentibus, liberam ab omni iugo
terrene servitutis tribus
exceptis expeditione, pontis
arcisve restauratione. Hanc
autem terram cum ejus libro
Christi ad ecclesiam contuli.

- iii) Whitelock, Wills xx
(Stowe ch.37, O.S.Facs.iii.38)

..Ic Æpestan æpeling geswutelige
on þysum gewrite. hu ic mine
are.....geunnen hæbbe. gode to
lofe. 7 minre saule to
alyshednysse. 7 mines fæder
Æpelredes cynges. þe ic hit æt
geearnode..... 7 ic geann into
Cristes cyrican on Cantwarabyrig.
þæs landes æt Holungaburnan
þæs þarto hyrð. buton þære anre
sulunge þe ic Siferðe geunnen
hæbbe. 7 þæs landes æt
Garwaldintune.....

Cartulary version
(L.1212 p.325)

Anno dominice Incarnationis
DCCCCLXXX. Ego Athelstanus filius
Agelredi regis cum consensu et
licencia eius concedo ecclesie
Christi in Dorobernia terram
iuris mei nomine Holingeburnan
quam emi a patre meo cum omnibus
ad eam rite pertinentibus, lib-
eram ab omni seculari servitute
exceptis expeditione, pontis et
arcis constructione. Quisquis
hanc meam largifluam munificentiam
violare presumpserit, cum reprobis
in die iudicii a sinistris
iudicii Christi collocatus,
accipiat sententiam dampnationis
cum diabolo et angelis eius.

These examples serve to establish the pattern of the cartulary entries. The texts are recorded in the form of Latin diplomas - with date, disposition, appurtenance clause, immunity, reservation of the three 'common burdens', and sometimes an anathema; witnesses are not included. This form prevails when the original text was in English (ii, iii), when it was not a diploma at all but a will (iii), and even when it was merely a single sentence endorsement (ii). Where the original text was itself a Latin diploma, the cartulary version sometimes uses its formulae for the appurtenance clause, anathema, or (ii) immunity; but more frequently the cartulary's phrasing is entirely (as in (i)) or largely independent. The compiler of the cartulary provided spurious immunity clauses and anathemas, even though they were in no way more powerful or more favourable to Canterbury than the formulae found in the charters themselves. There seems to have been little fraudulent intent in these formulae invented by the cartularist. What ulterior motive can there have been in insisting so regularly that Canterbury estates were obliged to render the threefold necessity of borough-work, bridge-work, and fyrd-service? We do not find - as we might have expected - any claim to exemption from the three burdens. Rather the compiler of the cartulary seems only to have been concerned to establish that all the Christ Church estates had the privilege of bookland. From the original texts he was content to extract (where possible) the date, the name of the donor, and the nature of the transaction; unless his eye then happened to light upon some suitable formula, he was ready to invent the rest of the text that he required rather than copy the whole of the original charter or work out a grammatical paraphrase.

More significant are the changes that the cartularist makes to the recipients of the charters he was cataloguing. Thus Offa's purported grant of Lydd to archbishop Jaenbert and to Christ Church is entered in the cartulary as a grant to the monks of Christ Church at the request of the archbishop (i); whilst the statement of the endorsement to B.C.S.1101 that Ingeram gave (sealde) Vange to Dunstan is transformed by the cartularist into a formal record of Dunstan's purchase¹ of the estate from Ingeram and subsequent grant to Christ Church (ii). Other examples show that these changes are not fortuitous: a grant of Offa to thegn Ealdbeorht and his sister Selethryth (B.C.S.247/8) is entered in the cartulary as a grant of Offa to Christ Church²; Æthelred II's grant to his man Æthelred (Stowe ch.35, O.S.Facs., iii.36) is entered as a grant by Æthelred 'dux' to Christ Church³; and a series of royal diplomas in which the donees are the archbishops alone, appear in the cartulary as grants to the archbishops 'ad opus monachorum' or 'ad opus ecclesie Christi'⁴.

It is evident that the compiler of the cartulary consistently altered the documents he was copying in favour of the community at Christ

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1. Sellan retains its basic meaning 'to give' throughout the O.E. period, but the sense 'to sell' is also common (see J.Bosworth and T.N.Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, 1898, sub verbo, IV).
 2. L.1212 p.310, f.155; Reg.P. f.21; C.C.C.189 f.199v; printed as B.C.S.263.
 3. L.1212 p.326, (f.163); Reg.P. f.23; C.C.C.189 f.200v.
 4. Compare the original donations to Archbishop Wulfred (B.C.S.322, 348) with the corresponding cartulary text (B.C.S.323). Compare also other charters to Wulfred (B.C.S.340, 335, 344, 370, 378) with cartulary texts (B.C.S.329, 336, 345, 371, 372).

Church. Sometimes the cartularist may have had access to charters no longer extant showing that the estates passed to the monks as he recorded. But it would be rash to assume that such documents ever existed. For the compiler was mistaken when he specified the monks as the recipients of grants of the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries, when the community was composed, not of monks, but of secular clerks¹. Moreover the purported grants to the monks of Christ Church in the cartulary are frequently verbally dependent upon the text of extant charters where the monks do not feature among the beneficiaries. Thus in one of the examples already quoted (ii), Dunstan's purchase of Vange and his bequest of the estate to the community borrow both date and immunity clause from the charter, which survives in contemporary form, by which Eadgar gave Vange to his thegn Ingeram. Had a document recording Dunstan's bequest to the monks ever existed, it would surely have been far easier to copy that? We have an instructive parallel concerning an estate at Eythorne (Kent). The land was given in 805 by king Cuthred of Kent to his reeve Æthelnoth, and subsequently by Æthelnoth and his wife to Archbishop Wulfred (B.C.S. 318 and endorsement). The charter was preserved in two contemporary manuscripts in the Canterbury archives², but was not copied into the cartulary because the archives also preserved a contemporary text of the transaction by which the community acquired Eythorne from

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1. For the composition of the Christ Church community in the Anglo-Saxon period, see below pp. 238-41, 254-5, 277-8, 285-8.
 2. B.M.Stowe ch.7. (O.S.Facs., iii 8); B.M.Cotton Augustus II 160 (B.M.Facs., ii 7). Only the Stowe ms. has the endorsement.

Archbishop Wulfred (B.C.S.381)¹. It was a version of this document which was entered into the cartulary, not of the original royal grant to a layman, nor of its endorsement recording the acquisition of the estate by the archbishop. We may conclude that when the compiler of the cartulary came to deal with Vange, he found no comparable text recording Archbishop Dunstan's bequest to Christ Church; only for this reason did he make use of Edgar's original charter to Ingeram with its endorsement noting Ingeram's gift of the estate to Dunstan.

The cartularist's concern was to show how the Canterbury community came to possess its lands and privileges. Therefore none of the 37 diplomas with lay recipients which were preserved in contemporary form in the Christ Church archives were copied into the cartulary. They were only used if they contained some indication, either in the text or in an endorsement, about how the estate passed to Christ Church. Similarly grants to the archbishops were repeatedly modified to make the community joint or sole beneficiary². Only grants to the Kentish minster churches of Reculver and Lyminge (whose communities from the 9th century at least were regarded as part of the Christ Church familia) were allowed to remain with their donees unaltered³.

1. B.M.Stowe ch.13. (O.S.Facs., iii 14)

2. There are two exceptions where the cartularist records purchases by archbishops Ceolnoth (B.C.S.427) and Wulfhelm (B.C.S.637) without mentioning any subsequent grant to the community.

3. The relationship between the see of Canterbury and the minsters of Kent is discussed below in Chapter 4.

The liberties that the cartularist took with the text and the terms of the documents he was recording make the cartulary a very unreliable source for the historian today. It is the only authority for 34 of the pre-Conquest charters of Canterbury, but these texts need to be used with extreme caution. In form, it is unlikely that they owe much, if anything, to the lost documents that the cartularist used¹, and in content there must always be doubt whether they have been altered in favour of the Christ Church community, quite apart from minor interpolations and errors of transmission; for there are many inaccuracies in the dates to which individual benefactions are ascribed², and even in the names of the donors³. And there are some obvious interpolations that may be laid at the door of the compiler of the cartulary, such as references (not found in the original texts) to archbishops in terms that imply a primatial authority over the whole of Britain⁴.

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1. In particular it is dangerous to use the cartulary as evidence for the existence of a lost Latin diploma as does C.Hart (The Early Charters of Essex, 1957, pt.ii, appendix A, no.1.) in connection with the grant of Bocking (Essex) by Ætheric and his wife Leofwynn.
 2. E.g. a grant of King Coenwulf (796-823) entered under the year 791 (B.C.S.301); decree of Archbishop Æthelheard (B.C.S.290) wrongly dated 798 (recte 803) and located at Bapchild (recte Clofesho); other misdated entries include B.C.S.385 (822 recte 825) and B.C.S.766 (grant of Athelstan dated 941). Worse errors occurred where the cartularist had to cope with wills and writs which bore no date. Thus for instance Æthelflæd's bequest of Hamme to Christ Church (Whitelock, Wills, 14) which can be dated between 962 and 991, is entered in the cartulary under the year 933 (B.C.S.698).
 3. The cartulary confuses Coenwulf and Ceolwulf in B.C.S.371 and 374; Ceadwalla, Cenwalh, and Coenwulf in B.C.S.69 (see above pp.13-14).
 4. Compare the text of B.C.S.293 which survives in a contemporary ms. (B.M.Stowe ch.6., O.S.Facs. iii 7), '....ÆDILHARDO archiepiscopo nostro rogante....' with the cartulary form (B.C.S.294)'...venerabili archiepiscopo Athelardo et primate totius Britanniae rogante.....'

Such defects limit the historical value of the entries in the Canterbury cartulary ('X'); these texts are useless for the study of the diplomatic of the period to which they purport to belong. Nonetheless the cartulary remains an important source when its limitations are understood and its texts used with care; for where they can be checked against extant manuscripts the majority do accurately record the name of the donor, the name of the estate, and (less reliably) the date of the grant. Sometimes the cartularist noted additional details, apparently circumstantial, that are not found in the original documents, and which may derive from the living memory of the community¹. Moreover even where the cartulary's record of a grant to the community is unsupported by any evidence from Canterbury, its substantial accuracy can sometimes be established from records preserved in other archives². Thus despite

Similarly B.C.S.1064 (Harmer, S.E.H.D., xxiii) has simply 'Eadgifu cyp bam arcebiscop' whereas the cartulary has '...Odoni archisacerdoti totius Britanniae primati...' Other primatial titles are found in cartulary texts B.C.S.881, 1102, but not in the manuscripts from which they derive (B.C.S.880, 1101). An interpolation of a different type is found in B.C.S.161 where the cartularist has wrongly identified the donee, king Eadbert (of Kent), with the Eadbert Eating, king of Northumbria, whose accession is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 738. (A.S.Chron., A, E, sub anno).

1. For instance the cartulary version (Harmer, Writs, 35b) of the writ of Edward the Confessor announcing Sigweard's bequest of Mersham (Kent) (ibid., 35) associates Matildis (Sigweard's wife) with the grant). The Canterbury obituaries preserved only the name of Matildis (ibid., p.181). It may well have been personal memory of the masses said for the souls of benefactors of Christ Church that enabled the cartularist to couple Godwin with Wulfgyth in the grant of Stisted (and Goggeshall), where the extant will only mentions Wulfgyth (Appendix A, 15, and compare Whitelock, Wills, 32).
2. The cartulary's record of Wulfric's grant of Patching (B.C.S.823) to Christ Church finds no support in the Canterbury archives, but a charter from Abingdon (B.C.S.1055) records the restoration of Patching (among other estates) to Wulfric by king Edgar in 960 -

all its imperfections and inadequacies, the cartulary is an invaluable guide to the history of the endowment of the cathedral church and monastery of Canterbury, and forms an important supplement to the documents from the Christ Church archives that have survived on single sheets of parchment or as entries in gospel-books.

Close analysis of the cartularist's methods can therefore produce some criteria for establishing the validity of texts from the cartulary. Similar study of the internal evidence may allow us to define more precisely the date and stages of its compilation. As we have seen, the three extant manuscripts of the cartulary ('C', 'P', and 'L') all derive from an archetype ('*X') whose latest documents belonged to the years 1106-9. But we should not necessarily assume that the cartulary was first compiled after this time. Earlier in this chapter we saw how texts of Canterbury charters were added to Christ Church gospel-books at various times during the 11th and early 12th centuries. Such additions were certainly made to the cartulary after 1106-9, as the additional documents in 'P' and 'L' show. Could similar additions have been made before 1106-9? Is it possible that many of the later documents in the cartulary ('*X') are additions to a basic compilation that had been drawn up much earlier?

which shows that the cartulary's date is impossible, but suggests that the compiler had good reason to associate Wulfric with Patching. Even more striking is the fact that the cartulary's record of Agylfleda's gift of Hamme is directly confirmed by the will of Ethelflæd, the widow of ealdorman Æthelstan, which was preserved at Bury St Edmund's (Whitelock, Wills, 14) - tho' here again the cartulary's date is in error (above p.112, note 2).

These questions need to be asked because of the irregularities that become more and more noticeable towards the end of the cartulary. The chronological order breaks down, and the cartulary ceases to impose its characteristic pattern on the texts that it is recording; the spurious immunity clauses and anathemas disappear, and for the first time some of the texts include the names of witnesses. In fact the cartulary departs from its overall plan, and the suggestion may be made that these irregular texts are additions inserted in subsequent revisions by different men. It is true that in the main body of the cartulary there are a few texts - such as the lengthy records of synods at Bapchild and Clofesho (B.C.S.94, 290, 385) and the long memorandum under the year 743 (Appendix D, pp. 326-7) about the burial of the archbishops of Canterbury - which could not be reduced to the characteristic short diploma form of the cartulary. There is no reason to doubt that these texts were part of the original scheme of the cartulary. But if we leave aside these few exceptionally long entries, and follow the order and numeration of the documents in 'C'¹ (and we may suppose in '*X'), we find that in the early stages the cartulary entries conform to the regular pattern; this persists up to and including 'C' no. 37 (B.C.S. 637); then follow five documents ('C' 38-42) which are out of chronological order and have a quite different form - they have none of the superfluous immunity clauses and anathemas, and they include witnesses. These five records form a group of highly doubtful texts concerned with lands that were in dispute after the Norman Conquest². The characteris-

1. As set out in Appendix C, below pp. 320-5. The numbers are supplied, not being found in the manuscript.

2. Below, p. 120 n.2.

tic cartulary format then resumes again, and continues until 'C' no.65, being interrupted only by a single text ('C' no.46) which again has a dubious witness list and should be classed along with the previous five ('C' 38-42). Of the remaining 16 entries ('C' 66-81) only six ('C' 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, and 77) are in the regular cartulary form. The other ten are a mixed bag of writs, summaries of wills, and narrative charters¹; but there is nothing in their content or length to suggest that the compiler of the cartulary would have had any difficulty in reducing them to his normal pattern, had he been responsible for their inclusion in the cartulary.

In the absence of the archetype, '*X', we cannot distinguish the work of the original compiler from that of later revisions with certainty. But it would be difficult to explain the irregularities in the order of the entries and the breakdown of their characteristic format if the cartulary were the work of one man. There will always be room for argument about whether a particular text was part of the original compilation or was a later addition². But we can probably accept that 'C' nos. 1-37, 43-45, 47-65, 68-69, and 74-77 represent the cartulary in its earliest form³, and that 'C' nos. 38-42, 46, 66-7, 70-74, and 78-81 were added on various occasions on available blank spaces, inserted leaves, and at the end of the cartulary.

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1. See for instance the narrative of the supposed grant of Saltwood and Hythe by Haldene Scearpa (Appendix A, no.13).
 2. See the discussion of the privilege of Boniface IV, above pp.88-90.
 3. Numbers as in 'C' in Appendix C.

The cartulary in its earliest form probably therefore contained sixty-five entries, more or less consistent in format, and with only a few errors in the chronological order. Anyone who has worked with the original charters will sympathise with the efforts of the cartularist to impose order on a heterogeneous collection of documents. The single sheets of parchment varied in size, shape, script and legibility; each was folded into a tiny bundle and as yet few bore any archival endorsement; so far as we can tell they were not kept in any systematic order at all¹. It is not surprising that as he worked the cartularist came across new evidence of bequests to Christ Church which he had previously overlooked, and that as a result 'C' nos. 17-18, 56-60, and 68, were misplaced. It was pioneering work and should be judged as such.

The last document ('C' no.77) in the cartulary in its hypothetical early form is Archbishop Æthelnoth's purchase of Godmersham in 1037, and this provides a terminus post quem for its compilation. However some of the undated documents must be somewhat later: Godwin's grant of St Osyth ('C' no.74) belongs to the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), and Godwin and Wulfgyth's purported bequest of Stisted and Coggeshall ('C' no.69) may be dated c.1046². Moreover there are a number of indications that the cartulary was not drawn up at least until the pontificate of Lanfranc (1070-89). The interpolation by the cartularist of archiepiscopal titles claiming primacy over the whole of Britain establishes that the cartulary cannot have been compiled before the

1. Above, p.49-50.

2. Appendix A, nos.15, 16.

opening of the primacy dispute in 1070. One omission could be significant. In 'P' and 'L' the forged privilege of Pope Boniface IV purporting to confirm the permanent establishment of a monastic community at Christ Church¹ is the first entry in the cartulary. It is not found in 'C', and therefore may not have been in '*X'². If we could be certain that the omission was the result of the fact that the privilege was not in the Canterbury gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii, when the cartularist was recording texts from this source, then we could date the cartulary before 1073³. But since the cartularist also omitted the spurious 'refoundation' charter of Æthelred⁴ which was the first of the texts to be entered into the gospel-book, we cannot exclude the possibility that he omitted the Boniface privilege as being irrelevant to his primary purpose of showing how and when the community acquired its lands and rights.

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1. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1.
 2. Since 'C' is a stray quire now bound up with a 14th century St Augustine's chronicle, it may be defective at the beginning. The only heading ('Evidentie ecclesie Christi') is in a 16th century hand, so it is possible that one leaf containing the privilege is missing from 'C'.
 3. The spurious privilege was in existence before the death of Pope Alexander II (23rd April 1073), and there is every reason to believe that the gospel entry is the forger's draft (see above, p.90 n.3). All the individual grants to Christ Church recorded in the gospel-book before the Conquest are included in the cartulary ('C' nos. 52, 54, 61, 62, 66, 77; see Appendix C).
 4. K.C.D.715. The omission of this text may have been because it gave the lie to the cartularist's belief that there had always been monks at Christ Church (as indeed did the privilege of Boniface).

The long memorandum on the burial of the archbishops of Canterbury ('C' no.9) which is found in all manuscripts of the cartulary relates to a dispute with the monastery of St Augustine's, which according to Gervase was the first of a number of clashes between Lanfranc and St Augustine's¹; in fact, however, the burial of the archbishops seems only to have become a matter of contention in the last years of Lanfranc's life, that is from c.1085². More generally the overriding concern of the cartulary to establish that the bequests it records were grants to the monks, even where in the original charters the beneficiaries were laymen or archbishops, suggests that when the compiler was working there was a need to justify the community's claims to the lands assigned for their sustenance. Whilst it is possible that Lanfranc, the great defender of the community's property, encouraged the composition of a cartulary that would protect their interests in the future, a more likely context is provided by the four-year vacancy that followed Lanfranc's death (1089-93) when the estates of the church were in the hands of the king, who assigned to the monks only what his officials estimated to be necessary for their sustenance³. In the absence of the original

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1. Gervase, Historical Works, ed.W.Stubbs (R.S.), 1880, i 82.
 2. The memorandum is printed and its date discussed below in Appendix D.
 3. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed.M.Rule, 1884 (R.S.), p.26. Comparable problems may have arisen during Anselm's periods of exile (1097-1100, 1103-7), but the monks protected themselves by securing from William Rufus in 1099 a writ granting them full powers over their own estates (Facs.Eng.Royal Writs, pl.Vb.), which had already been ceded to them by Archbishop Anselm (Eadmer, Historia Novorum, p.219).

manuscript, there can be no certainty, but we shall probably not be far wrong if we date the cartulary to c.1090¹.

The first additions to the cartulary are those which are found to in all the extant manuscripts ('C', 'P', and 'L'), but which we have distinguished from the work of the original compiler because of their different form ('C' nos. 38-42, 46, 66-7, 70-74, 78-81). They are not a very coherent group and may have been added piecemeal over a number of years. But all except two ('C' nos. 67, 73) are concerned with estates and rights that are known to have been the subject of litigation at the famous trial on Penenden Heath and in subsequent law-suits in the reign of William I². It is likely that nos. 38-42 were added at one time on

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1. It does not seem to be possible to get any indication of the date of the cartulary from its relationship with the different manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Some of the texts found in the cartulary (B.C.S. 92, 162A, 290) are also found inserted in the Latin annals of A-S.Chron. 'F' (B.M.Cotton Domitian A.viii: printed by F.P.Magoun, Jr., 'Annales Domitiani Latini', Mediaeval Studies, ix 1947, pp.235-295). But the texts in 'F' are not the source of those in the cartulary; the cartularist probably used A-S.Chron. 'A' or the exemplar of 'E' for the patronymic 'Eating' applied (wrongly, B.C.S. 161) to King Eadbert of Kent (A-S.Chron., 'E' sub 738, 758; 'A' sub 758) and when he was seeking suitable dates for such documents as B.C.S. 92.
 2. The course of this litigation is analysed and the documents translated in Du Boulay, Lordship, pp.37-47. So far as the cartulary entries are concerned, Ruckinge ('C' no.40, = B.C.S. 263) and Preston ('C' no.46, = B.C.S. 766) were restored at Penenden Heath; Folkestone ('C' nos.41, = B.C.S. 660, and 'C' no.70, = Robertson, Charters, 85) was lost despite the community's plea in 1078/9; Hayes (no.39, = B.C.S. 265), Saltwood and Hythe (no.66, = Appendix A, 13), Stisted (no.80, = C.E.Hart, Early Charters of Essex, 107), and Sandwich ('C' no.79, = K.C.D. 1328) were restored by William I; Twickenham ('C' nos. 39, = B.C.S. 265, and 46, = B.C.S. 766) and Thurrock ('C' no.78, = Appendix A, 14) were lost permanently after the Conquest; the pancarta of Edward the Confessor ('C' no.72, = Robertson, Charters, 95) and the associated writ ('C' no.71, = Harmer, Writs, 34) were drawn up to support the community in their litigation after the

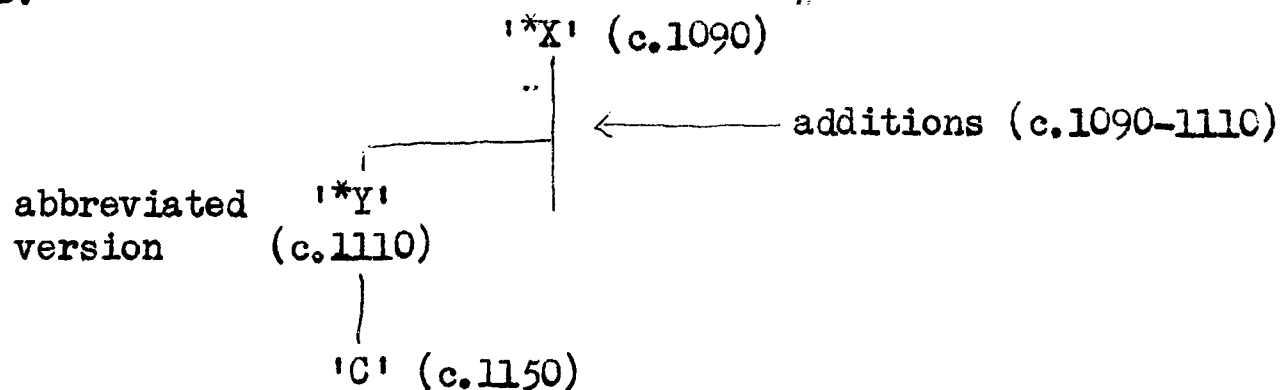
a separate leaf inserted into the cartulary, and that 'C' no.46 which shares a spurious witness-list with several of this group¹, was also inserted at this time at the foot of the next page. Nos.66-67, and 'C' nos.70-74 were presumably similar insertions; and 'C' nos.78-79, 80 and 81 texts that were added at various times at the end of the cartulary. The latest of these additions ('C' nos.80, 81) cannot be earlier than 1106-9².

Conquest; the unidentifiable 11 acres to the south of Canterbury ('C' no.38, = B.C.S.733) may well have been among the meadow-lands outside the walls restored by Odo of Bayeux in 1078/9; of the two entyres where the monk's possession of the estate is not known to have been interrupted ('C' no.73, = Harmer, Writs, 35; 'C' no.80, = Appendix A, 6), it should be noticed that one (73) concerns the estate at Mersham which in 1086 was held as^a/knights fee by Hugh de Montford from the archbishop. Hugh was a noted despoiler of church property, and it was common for churches to reconcile themselves to the virtual loss of estates seized by Normans after 1066 by enfeoffing the intruder. (See as concerns Christ Church, Du Boulay, Lordship, p.53).

1. 'C' no.46 (B.C.S.766) like 'C' nos.38, 41, and 42 (B.C.S.733, 660, 747) attributes Oda to Sherborne; it seems likely that an authentic witness-list of 941 was used as a model when B.C.S.766 was forged, and that the other texts (B.C.S.733, 660, 747) are based upon it.
2. Above p.102 n.12. It is surprising that apart from nos. 80 and 81, the documents which have been regarded as additions to the initial compilation concern estates and rights that were in dispute in the reign of William I rather than in the reigns of his sons. If the long memorandum on the burial of the archbishops (Appendix D) were regarded as one of the added texts and not part of the original work, it would be possible to place the original cartulary as early as 1070-1075, and to suppose that most of the insertions and additions were made whilst the disputes over the estates were still in progress. Nonetheless the vacancy after Lanfranc's death seems the most likely context for the composition of the cartulary. A similar situation at Worcester led to the work of Hemming of c. 1095-1100 (see V.H.Galbraith, 'Notes on the career of Samson, bishop of Worcester,' Eng.Hist.Rev., lxxxii (1967), p.95).

It is not uncommon in mediaeval cartularies to find that the original plan and format is disrupted by subsequent insertions by different scribes¹. At Christ Church it is suggested that the main cartulary had already received many insertions and additions by c.1106-9 when an abbreviated version of the cartulary ('*Y') was made, from which the earliest extant manuscript ('C') derives². A later series of additions to the cartulary are those texts that are found in 'P' and in 'L', but not in 'C' (i.e. 'P' nos.1, 63, 69, 82, 83, 85). They were certainly added to the cartulary ('*X') later than 1106-9, but apart from a brief note on the customal payments due to the church of Newington (Kent) ('P' no.85)³, all the texts purport to belong to the pre-Conquest period. Only one of these however - the record of the synod of Clofesho of 798 ('P' no.82, B.C.S.291) which shows how Christ Church acquired estates in

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1. See for example the additions to the Cartulary of the Priory of St Gregory, Canterbury, ed. A.M.Woodcock (Camden Soc., 3rd ser. lxxxviii), 1956, passim and especially p.viii.
 2. It is not likely that 'C' (of C.XII mid.) is directly derived from '*X', since it would then be difficult to explain why 'C' does not include the early 12th century additions in 'P' and 'L' (below, pp. 122-7). The relationship of 'C' and '*X' may be represented thus:



3. Canterbury's claim to these dues was established after an obscure dispute by a writ of William I of 1070-82 (Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, i, 190, ed.H.W.C.Davis, no.176), and the claims of St Augustines by charters of William I and II (ibid., nos. 66, 464).

north Kent at Teynham, Northfleet, and in the Cray valley can properly be regarded as an omission from the original cartulary¹. For the remaining four texts are concerned not so much with the lands as with the status of the see and community. Boniface IV's privilege addressed to Ethelbert ('P' no.1, B.C.S.11) and Ethelred II's restoration of the monastic community ('P' no.69, K.C.D.715) are texts from the gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A ii, which were passed over by the original cartularist. Similarly Coenwulf's restoration~~of~~ of the whole of the southern province to the authority of Canterbury ('P' no.83, B.C.S.311) was irrelevant to the endowment of the community, but of great interest at a time when the primacy dispute was still raging², and Cnut's purported confirmation of the privileges of the see and of the Kentish 'monasteria' ('P' no.63, K.C.D.727) reflects a somewhat obscure struggle for control of the Kentish minster churches and their revenues in the late 11th century - a struggle which also gave rise to the lists of churches and the payments due from them which stand at the head of Domesday Monachorum³.

Domesday Monachorum is of particular relevance to the history of the cartulary, since in both 'P' and 'L' the text of the cartulary is

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1. One of the entries in the main cartulary (no.13, B.C.S.301) concerns some of the same lands, but seems to be a summary of a quite different transaction.
 2. The only terminus ante quem for these additional texts is that they are earlier than the additional texts in 'L' which are themselves before c.1121-3 (see below, pp.126-7).
 3. Canterbury, D.&C., MS F.28; The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury, ed. D.C.Douglas, 1944, pl.1-2 (fos.1, 1v) (henceforth cited as D.Mon.). See especially Professor Douglas's discussion, on pp.5-15.

immediately followed by a copy of Domesday Monachorum¹. This may be no more than coincidence, but it is possible that the original cartulary ('*X') had also been bound up with the monastic 'Domesday'. Certainly they are both productions of much the same era. Domesday Monachorum survives as a separate quire of 8 folios written in a handsome hand of c.1100², and is not now part of any larger work. But it would certainly have been appropriate if this composite survey of the revenues and estates of the archbishops and monks had been bound up with, or at least kept in close association with, the cartulary which recorded the acquisition of these rights and lands³.

The last additions to the cartulary are those texts that appear in 'L', but not in 'C' or 'P' ('L' nos.7-8, 88-94, 97-102)⁴. Apart from the last two texts ('L' nos.101, 102) which were added by a scribe

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1. In both 'P' and 'L' the same hand copied both cartulary and D.Mon. No argument can be based upon the absence of D.Mon. from 'C', since 'C' is a stray quire whose last page is mutilated.
 2. ~~Cartulary~~ The date is of course approximate; Lanfranc is referred to as 'of blessed memory', so it must be post-1089 (D.Mon., p.1). Only the main parts of D.Mon. are in this hand (fos.1-7, ibid. pp. 77-104). The later additions on fos.7-8v in two hands of saec.xii med and saec.xii ex. respectively are copied into 'P', but not into 'L', which suggests that the association of D.Mon. with the cartulary is earlier than either 'P' or 'L' (c.1200, and c.1280), and that 'L's exemplar ('Z') must be earlier than saec.xii med (see the stemma below p.127).
 3. It may be relevant that in D.Mon. the initial letter of each entry is a coloured capital. In 'C', 'P', and 'L' the initial letter of each entry has been left blank to receive coloured initials which may suggest that their exemplar was similarly decorated.
 4. Numbers here and hereafter refer to 'L' as in Appendix C.

later than the main hand of Lambeth 1212 (c.1280)¹, these additions represent a far more thorough attempt than had hitherto been made to make the cartulary a complete record up to the end of the reign of William I. It does not seem likely that the archiepiscopal clerk who compiled Lambeth 1212 and was working about the time of the accession of Archbishop Pecham (1279), would have been responsible for these additions or for correcting the chronological order of the entries. We know that in the early 15th century there was at Christ Church a version of the cartulary that contained the same additions and had the entries in the same revised order as 'L'²; it is probable that this was the 'old book at Canterbury' from which 'L' was copied³.

The additions in 'L' reflect an interest in the primacy dispute ('L' nos.7-8), in the lands and rights that were the subject of litigation in the reign of the Conqueror ('L' nos.89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 100), in restricting hunting on archiepiscopal estates, ('L' nos.88, 94)⁴, and in establishing the monastic status of the cathedral chapter and the right

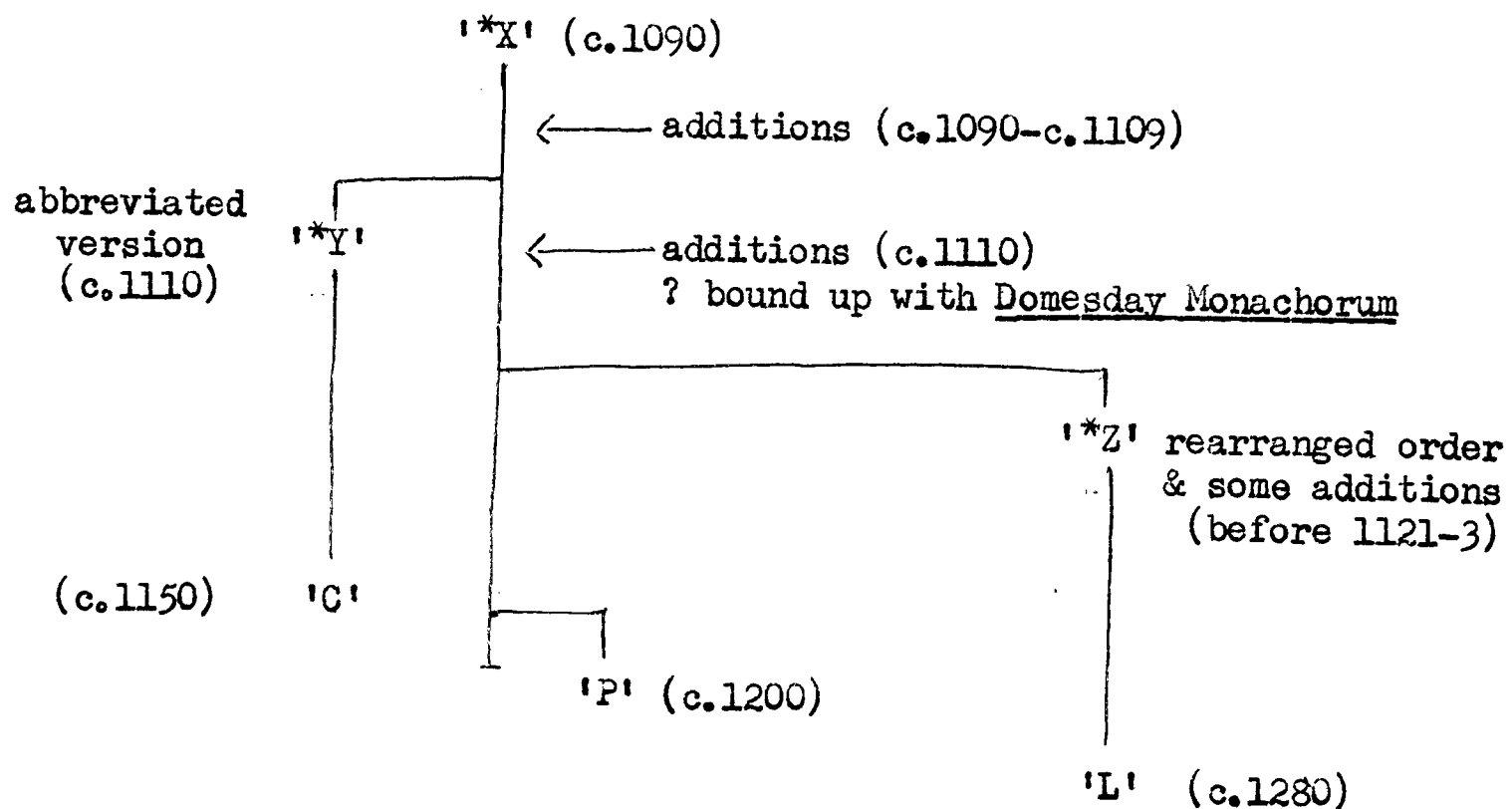
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1. The compilation of the main part of Lambeth 1212 (pp.14-185, 234-85, 294-301, 304-39) may have occupied a number of years in the late 1270s and early 1280s (see F.R.H. Du Boulay, Lordship of Canterbury, 1966, pp.4-6, and J. Sayers, 'The mediaeval care and custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Archives', Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, XXXIX, 1966, p.98).
 2. Such a version of the cartulary was used by the compiler of the lists of benefactions to Christ Church printed by W. Dugdale (Monasticon Anglicanum, new ed., 1817, i p.95-8) and by W. Somner (Antiquities of Canterbury, 2nd ed., 1703, Appendix pp.36-41). They are probably the work of Stephen Birchington (see above, p.63).
 3. 'L' is entitled in the main hand 'Transcripta de veteri libro Cantuar'.
 4. These rights were disputed in the reign of Henry I by inter aliis ~~among others~~ the citizens of London. See Miss Harmer's comments on these writs (Writs, pp.178-80).

of the monks to perform priestly offices ('L' nos.97, 98, 99)¹. These entries may have been added to the cartulary (or rather to 'L's exemplar')² at the same time, that is certainly after 1106-9 and after the insertions and additions to the cartulary that are found in both 'P' and 'L'. Some at least were added within the first quarter of the 12th century; the two privileges of Sergius I are texts from the famous series of papal privileges forged at Canterbury in order to gain recognition of Canterbury's primacy over York. What is interesting is that ~~but~~ the other 7 primacy forgeries are not included in 'L' (Boehmer, nos.2-4, 7-10). For the Sergius privileges were the first to be entered into the Canterbury gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A ii³, where they are written in a hand of the early 12th century. The other seven privileges in the series were added later by a different scribe. It would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Sergius privileges alone were copied into the cartulary ('L's exemplar') because at that time the remaining primacy forgeries had not yet been inserted into the gospel-book. Eadmer states that the papal privileges were discovered as a result of a search among the church's chests and gospel-books in the year 1120⁴.

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1. The spurious canon ascribed to Boniface IV ('L' no.97) was forged, probably in Italy, about the year 1050 (see H.Frank, 'Zwei Fälschungen', Studien u. Mitteilungen z. Gesch. d. Benediktiner-Ordens, lv, 1937, pp.19-47), and was used at Canterbury when the monastic chapter was under attack (1070-3). Cf. Boehmer, Fälschungen, pp.61-82, 161-3.
 2. It is unlikely that the additional texts in 'L' were ever in 'X'. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why they were not in 'P' as well. See the stemma on p.127 where 'L's exemplar' is styled '*Z'.
 3. Above pp. 98-9.
 4. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M.Rule, 1884, p.261.

However, Professor Southern has argued that Eadmer's date is probably slightly too early; he suggests that the privileges were both forged and entered into the gospel-book between January 1121 and February 1123¹. These dates therefore, if not 1120, may serve as a terminus ante quem for the inclusion of the two privileges of Sergius in the cartulary from which 'L' is derived. There is no reason to suppose that any of the other entries that are unique to 'L' were added much later than these two privileges, apart from the two late 13th century additions to 'L' (nos. 101, 102).

The complex development of the main Christ Church cartulary and the relationship of the various manuscripts, both extant and lost, which has been set out here at considerable length may conveniently be summarised in diagrammatic form:



1. Between Archbishop Thurstan's return to his see (York) and William of Corbeils's journey to Rome for the pallium. He took the privileges with him. (R.W.Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', E.H.R., lxxiii, 1958, p.223).

The growth of the cartulary in the late 11th and early 12th centuries is evidence of the disputes and concerns of the Christ Church monks over a period when the community's determination to maintain and extend what they regarded as their rights was coming to dominate the policies of the archbishops¹. In discussing individual texts from the cartulary, it is necessary to determine - so far as is possible - whether the entry formed part of the original cartulary or when it is likely to have been added. For the cartulary has so abbreviated and altered the texts it records to serve the interests of its own day that the entries must first be considered in the light of the conditions and disputes of the century after the Norman Conquest, and only afterwards as evidence for the periods to which they purport to belong.

1. Ibid., p. 210

THE WRITING OF CHRIST CHURCH CHARTERS

Early Anglo-Saxon charters abound in problems for the historian. The difficulty of establishing the authenticity of documents that bear neither seals, autograph signatures, nor the name of the scribe¹, and the lack of basic palaeographical studies of the surviving documents have hampered progress. Little if anything is yet known of the scriptoria where the early diplomas were written or of the circumstances attending their production and transfer to the beneficiary². The assumption that Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas were written by clerks in the service of their donors, so that charters drafted in the name of Mercian kings could therefore be regarded as Mercian, those in the name of Kentish kings as Kentish, and those in the name of West Saxon kings as West Saxon,

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1. Two important and largely parallel attempts have recently been made to establish criteria for judging the authenticity of apparent originals: A.Bruckner, 'Zur Diplomatie der älteren angel-sächsischen Urkunde', Archivalische Zeitschrift, lxi (Munich, 1965), pp.11-45; P.Chaplais, 'Some early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas on single sheets: Originals or Copies?', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (7), 1967, pp.315-336.
 2. A.Bruckner (art.cit., pp.42-5) deduces a variety of possible procedures of drafting and traditio from the physical appearance and from internal evidence of 7th and 8th century charters. See also M.Parsons, 'Some scribal Memoranda for A-S. Charters of 8th and 9th C.', Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg.xiv, 1939, pp.13-32.

was common to many palaeographers of the late 19th and early 20th century¹; but it did not prove acceptable to philologists. H. Sweet who examined all the charters extant in manuscripts earlier than c.900 saw some of the palaeographical and linguistic difficulties in this assumption; in particular some documents which on this basis should have been regarded as Mercian or West Saxon nonetheless showed Kentish dialect in those parts which were written in the vernacular². Unfortunately, however, Sweet was content to list as 'Mercian-Kentish' and 'Saxon-Kentish' documents issued in the name of Mercian and West Saxon kings to Kentish beneficiaries, even though he was aware that some of these charters were written by the same scribes as other charters that he had listed as purely 'Kentish'³. Subsequent work on Old English dialects has been handicapped by the inadequacy of Sweet's classification of the charters, and by the uncertainty about where royal diplomas were written, so that the identity of the dialects used in the charters is still a matter of doubt and controversy⁴.

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1. E.A. Bond, B.M. Facs., iv, p.6; W. Keller, Angelsächsische Palaeographie, 1906, passim. H. Sweet (Oldest English Texts, Early Eng. Text Soc., lxxxiii, 1885, p.423) quotes the opinion of the authorities he had consulted (apparently 'Messrs. Bond, Thompson, and Warner' [p.viii]) that the charters were written in the kings scriptorium; E.M. Thompson, 'The History of English Handwriting, 700-1400', Trans. Bibliographical Soc., v (1898-1900), pp.119-123.
 2. Oldest English Texts, pp.420-60, especially pp.423-4.
 3. Ibid., p.424. It is particularly unfortunate that Sweet did not extend his palaeographical comments, since it is clear that he had a reliable but cautious eye in identifying the hands of 9th century charters.
 4. Thus the charters described by Sweet as 'Kentish' (nos.34, 37-44: Oldest English Texts, pp.443-53) were regarded as mixed Kentish-Mercian by W.F. Bryan, (Studies in the Dialects of the Kentish

Historians have naturally therefore been cautious to pronounce upon the origin of early royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas. Even in the late Old English period some royal diplomas were drawn up by the beneficiaries or by 'interested ecclesiastics'¹, and the trend of opinion among recent studies has been to suppose that at least until the reign of Æthelstan (924-939) royal diplomas were normally drafted and written by or for the recipients². Nonetheless scholars of the calibre of W.H.Stevenson, W. Levison, Sir Frank Stenton, and most recently A.Bruckner, have all suggested that some of the royal charters of the 8th and 9th centuries may have been the work of priests in the royal entourage³.

The ninth century charters from Christ Church, Canterbury, provide unique material for testing these issues. For not only do a

Charters of the O.E. period, 1915) but as 'pure West Mercian' by R.Vleeskruyer, The Life of St Chad, 1953. A.Campbell, however, has argued that while some influence of Mercian spelling may be detected the language may be accepted as Kentish: 'An Old English Will', Journ.Eng. & Germ.Philology, xxxvii, 1938, pp.132-152; Old English Grammar, 1964, 307, 314; The Vespasian Psalter, (Early Eng.MSS.in Facsimile, xiv), 1967, pp.85-6. Charters may of course have been written in one region in the dialect of another, but if their provenance can be determined one of the uncertainties in the argument would be removed. For the dangers of deducing origin from the language of a document or a book, see K.Sisam, 'Canterbury, Lichfield and the Vespasian Psalter', Rev.Eng.Stud., n.s.VII, 1956, pp.1-10, 113-31.

1. Harmer, Writs, pp.38-41.
2. M.Parsons, 'Some scribal Memoranda....', Mitt.Inst.Öst.Gesch., xiv 1939, pp.13-32; P.Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, pp. 48-66; Ch.L.A., iii passim, iv pp.xiii-xxiii.
3. For W.H.Stevenson's views, see Eng.Hist.Rev., xi, 1896, pp.731ff. and Crawford Charters, p.ix; W.H.Levison, England and the Continent, 1946, pp.221, 232; F.M.Stenton, Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, 1955, pp.38-39; A.Bruckner in Ch.L.A., p.xviii.

high proportion of them survive in contemporary form, but they also span the transition from Mercian to West Saxon rule in Kent. Moreover they are remarkably diverse in character: they include not only grants of land to the church of Canterbury (both royal diplomas and the bequests of lay nobles), and documents of interest only to Canterbury such as exchanges of land between the archbishop and the community, but also documents of no concern to Christ Church at all such as royal diplomas granting lands to laymen and private agreements between laymen. If the royal charters of the 9th century were always or sometimes drafted and written by royal clerks, it should be possible to identify the work of particular royal scribes, and to show that documents from the Mercian royal scriptorium differed in the formulae they use and in dialect from documents drafted and written by West Saxon royal clerks; it should also be possible to show that charters issued by the Mercian and West Saxon kings are distinct from documents of purely Kentish interest and from those that concern the church of Canterbury alone. Conversely if royal diplomas were normally or sometimes written by the beneficiaries, or by ecclesiastical scriptoria on behalf of the beneficiaries, it should be possible to demonstrate that the palaeographical and diplomatic distinctions in the extant charters correspond not to the political divisions, but to the main ecclesiastical centres, whether monastic or episcopal¹.

1. Dr Chaplais has independently noted that some 9th century formulae appear to follow diocesan boundaries, and has thus anticipated some of my conclusions ('The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, pp.58-9).

A) Palaeographical Evidence

The development of English scripts of the 9th century is still a largely uncharted field. Apart from the few manuscripts associated with the Alfredian revival of learning, few books of the 9th century can be closely dated or attributed to a particular scriptorium¹. And there is no general survey to provide the basic evidence that E.A.Lowe's Codices Latini Antiquiores has displayed for the centuries up to c.800. In order to view the development of English scripts of the 9th century, the historian has therefore to rely primarily on the charters. Whilst there has been considerable agreement among palaeographers about which charters may be accepted as being in 9th century hands², the awkward fact remains that whilst over 40 charters in what appear to be contemporary hands survive from the Christ Church archives³, there are only eight other charters in 9th century texts: two from Worcester⁴, one from Winchcombe⁵, one from Winchester⁶, and four from Rochester⁷. In

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1. An exception is Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Digby MS.63 written by Rægenbold a priest of Winchester in the mid-9th century, and certainly before 863 (Palaeographical Soc., 1873-94, i.165).
 2. See B.M.Facs., iv, pp.6-7; H.Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p.424; M.Parsons, 'Some scribal Memoranda...', Mitt.Inst.öst.Gesch., Erg. xiv, 1939, p.14 n.13.
 3. They are listed above in Chapter 1, p.21 n.1.
 4. B.C.S.343 (B.M.Harley Ch.83.A.i: B.M.Facs., ii 14) dated 814; B.C.S.416 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 9: B.M.Facs.ii 24) dated 836.
 5. B.C.S.480 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii 39: B.M.Facs., iv 6) datable 797-821.
 6. B.C.S.451 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii 36: B.M.Facs., ii 30) dated 847 (c. 846)
 7. B.C.S.339 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii 31: B.M.Facs., ii 10) dated 811; B.C.S.152 (B.M.Cotton Ch.xvii.1: B.M.Facs., ii 1) confirmation of

all there are only three charters in contemporary form of certain Mercian origin - in that the donor, the donee, and the estate transferred are all Mercian¹; and there is only one charter that is certainly West Saxon². The vast majority of the extant documents concern estates in the south-east, especially in Kent.

This imbalance in the surviving material handicaps any attempt to locate the provenance of particular charters by means of script alone. It is for example very dangerous to argue that a charter was written at Canterbury on the grounds that comparable letter-forms are found in other charters that are from the Christ Church archives or for which a Canterbury origin is likely, for we have insufficient evidence to establish whether or not similar scripts were in use elsewhere³. It is equally misleading to describe certain letter-forms, such as the g and t with 'hooked' tops (, ) as specifically 'Mercian', when they are not found in any of the three 9th century charters for which a Mercian

c.845; B.C.S. 502 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii.29: B.M.Facs., ii 35) datable 860x2; B.C.S. 506 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii.32: B.M.Facs., ii 36) dated 862.

1. B.C.S. 416, 480, Harmer, S.E.H.D., 3 (Cant.Red Book 9: O.S.Facs., i 8).
2. B.C.S. 451.
3. Miss Parsons ('Some scribal Memoranda....', Mitt.Inst.öst.Gesch., xiv, 1939, pp.13-32) argues that the following charters were written by Canterbury scribes on the basis of similarity of some letter forms to those of other charters that she connects with Christ Church: B.C.S. 310, 332, 403, 405, 417, 442, 449, 496, 507, 516. I have not found Miss Parsons' detailed palaeographical comments and comparisons reliable, though my conclusions (below pp.136-151, 186-9) are often comparable.

provenance is certain¹. The extant charters can be used to show some of the varieties of pointed minuscule in use in various as yet unidentified scriptoria, but they cannot prove that any particular script or letter-forms were exclusively characteristic of a particular region or writing-office.

A more valuable approach to the problem lies in the fact that a number of scribes can be shown to have written more than one of the extant 9th century charters. Internal evidence from one charter may enable us to assign the scribe to a scriptorium, though we need to remember that scribes could and did move from one centre to another in the course of their careers. By the 9th century the vast majority of charters were written in the 'pointed' minuscule which had come to serve both as a formal script for books and as a script suitable for documents, glosses, and informal memoranda². The task of identifying the work of

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1. B.C.S. 416, 480; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 3. (MSS. cited above, p. 133 n. 4, 5). W. Keller (Angelsächsische Paläographie, 1906, i. 20-1) and S. M. Kuhn ('The Vespasian Psalter and Old English Charter hands', Speculum, xviii, 1943, pp. 463-73) assumed these letter-forms to be Mercian because some of the charters in which they occur are diplomas of Mercian kings. Moderate forms of 'hooked' g and t are used (rarely) in one certainly Mercian charter of the late 8th century (B.C.S. 274: B.M. Add. Ch. 19790: B.M. Facs., ii 5, datable 793x6) but this is scarcely proof that these forms originated in Mercia. Kuhn admits (art. cit., p. 476, 480-1) that the two forms occur in documents written at Canterbury, and he seriously antedates their disappearance from Kentish documents. 'Hooked' g and t are still found in documents written at Canterbury in the 850s and 860s (see the works of scribes 4 and 6, below pp. 142, 144-5). It should be noted that they also occur in a manuscript of probable West Saxon origin (B.M. Harley MS. 2965: Lowe, Cod. Lat. Antiq., ii. 199, of C. VIII/IX) and even in Irish manuscripts (Trinity Coll., Dublin 52: Lowe, Cod. Lat. Antiq., ii. 270).
 2. There is one charter of the early 9th century in a formal and archaic majuscule script (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1: B.M. Cotton Aug. II 79: B.M. Facs., i 15). A remarkably cursive variety of the pointed minuscule may be seen in B.C.S. 312 (Cant. Red Book: O.S. Facs., i 4).

individual scribes is therefore simplified, since 9th century writers made little attempt to vary the style of their script to suit the nature of the document they were recording¹. At least eight scribes can be shown to have written two or more of the 9th century charters that are extant in contemporary form²:

Scribe 1 (811-814)

- a) B.C.S.335 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 10: B.M.Facs., i.14) dated 811.
- b) B.C.S.348 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 74: B.M.Facs., ii.¹³~~15~~) dated 814.

Both charters are grants of land in Kent by King Coenwulf of Mercia to Archbishop Wulfred. This scribe writes a well controlled slightly cramped pointed minuscule. His hand is comparable to that of scribe 3 and to the hand of B.C.S.341³, but has fewer flourishes. Of the two extant documents of this scribe, B.C.S.348 is rather more carefully written with greater use of decorated initials.⁴ Distinctive letter-forms are⁴:

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1. Occasionally the last line is in rustic capitals, as in Harmer, S.E.H.D., 3(B.M.Cotton Aug.II 79: B.M.Facs., i.15), but there is no distinction in script between Latin and O.E. texts as occurs when caroline minuscule is adopted for Latin texts in the late 10th century. Nor is there any distinction between royal and private deeds by the same scribe, except that the former sometimes have rather more flourished initials.
 2. The list is limited to documents where I have no doubts about the identity of the hands. Hands that are closely similar, but which show some persistently different letter-forms are indicated in the notes.
 3. Cant.Red Book 6: O.S.Facs., i.6.
 4. Notice initial S, initial q with a z-like projection from the lobe, uncial T used terminally, and raised e with a horizontal projection over the next few letters. B.C.S.341 could have served as the model for all these letters.

- a somewhat more rounded than is common, and in B.C.S.335 open a is found. Words ending in -am are abbreviated, and the contraction mark forms a continuous stroke from the back of the a.
- d the ascender is very short and almost flat; the lobe is straight-sided.
- c, e. ^cis never raised; e very rarely except in et and ego.
- g always 'hooked', except in the ligatures gr and gn (which are used sparingly) where there is no bar and the first minim of the n or r joins the head of the g.
- l does not extend below the line, except once initially in B.C.S.348 (line 2).
- m the final minim of terminal m extends below the line, and finishes with a slight hook to the left.
- s low s is always used; B.C.S.348 uses round s 3 times as an initial.
- t is hooked, except terminally. Ligatures for ti and tio are used occasionally.
- x the second stroke extends below the line as a diagonal hair-stroke, is doubled back to the right on itself, and finishes with a little hook to the right.

Scribe 2 (822-3)

- i) B.C.S.370 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 93: B.M.Facs.,ii.15) dated 17 Sept.822.
- ii) B.C.S.373 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 75: B.M.Facs.,ii,16) dated 26 May, 823.

Both charters are grants of land in Kent by King Ceolwulf of Mercia to Archbishop Wulfred. B.C.S.373 is endorsed in the hand of the text, 'londboc minra wica 7 ðritiges æcra be norðan byrg'; the endorsement would serve to inform the beneficiary of the contents of the document, so the first person is more likely to refer to the archbishop than to the king. In which case Archbishop Wulfred himself may have been the scribe of these two charters. The scribe writes another well-controlled pointed minuscule; the individual letters are somewhat larger than those of

scribe 1 and their angularity is stressed by the greater contrast between hair-strokes and strokes made with the full width of the nib. The descenders are notably straight. Individual letter-forms:

- a the junction of the lobe with the top of the back forms a sharp point. Only rarely does the back project above the lobe.
- e raised e is common before g, m, n, p, r, s, x.
- g always 'hooked', except after raised e.
- l never extends below the line.
- m the final minim of terminal m sometimes descends vertically below the line.
- s low s is normal, but long s is found in est and -æst-, and round s occurs initially and terminally.
- t the bar is always 'hooked' except terminally. The lower part of the letter is formed in two strokes which make an angle, rather than as a single gradual curved stroke. The ligature for tio in which the o is superscript rather than subscript appears to be unique in English charters. Uncial T occurs terminally in et.
- x the diagonal hair-stroke descending below the line is bent back at a sharp angle to the right.
- y curved y is used rather than the gamma-like form current in most contemporary charters.

Scribe 3 (c.805-c.835)

- i) B.C.S.289 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 97: Ch.L.A., iii 191) dated 798 with additional grant, 798x810.
- ii) B.C.S.384 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 78: B.M.Facs., ii.18) dated 825.
- iii) B.C.S.400 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 94: B.M.Facs., ii.20) dated 1st Sept.831
- iv) Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 64: B.M.Facs., ii.23) c.835, main text only, excluding witnesses and Heregyth's bequest.
- v) B.C.S.380 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 72: B.M.Facs., ii.17) witnesses on dorse only, 833x38.

The work of this scribe must be accounted among the finest examples of pointed minuscule. Careful preparation of the parchment may have had much to do with the outstanding appearance of his extant documents; but the regularity of the individual letters and of their spacing and alignment distinguish the work of scribe 3 from that of contemporary writers whose individual letter-forms are very similar¹. Only when writing the witnesses on the dorse of B.C.S.384 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 78) and of B.C.S.380 did he slip into a more cursive and less controlled script. It is difficult to determine when scribe 3's career began. There must be a suspicion that B.C.S.289 is a copy of the period from 825 to c.835 to which his other documents belong. Both parts of this document - Coenwulf's grant to ealdorman Oswulf in 798 and Oswulf's subsequent alienation of the land to the monastery of Lyminge - were written at the same time². It is at least a coincidence that another bequest of Oswulf,

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1. Compare for instance the other contemporary copy of B.C.S.384 (B.M. Stowe Ch.15: O.S.Facs., iii.15) with that of scribe 3. B.M.Cotton Aug.II 78 is copied from Stowe 15, and is far more impressive in appearance, although only the consistent difference in the letter x and in some of the initials and ligatures establishes that they are by different scribes. The editors of Ch.L.A. identify the hand of B.C.S.289 with that of B.C.S.318 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 100: B.M.Facs., ii.7; also B.M.Stowe Ch.7: O.S.Facs., iii.8). Although the hands are similar, I am not convinced that they are by the same scribe. B.C.S.318 uses a rounder form of a, and a more consistently 'hooked' t than scribe 3. B.C.S.318 does not use ei and ci ligatures, nor the low l, nor the decorated capitals of scribe 3. R.Drögereit ('Kaiseridee und Kaisertitel bei den Angelsachsen', Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ.Abt., lxix, 1952, pp. 55-6) correctly identified B.C.S.289, 384, and 400 as by one scribe; he also argued that B.C.S.348 was the work of this scribe. But there are consistent differences between scribes 1 and 3 in the letters a, d, ci ligature, terminal m, long s, and t.
 2. It is possible, as A.Bruckner has suggested (Ch.L.A., iii.191) that both transactions took place on the same occasion in 798, and that the same men witnessed both transactions. But the date of the other mss. of this scribe militates against this view.

this time to Christ Church with a subsequent confirmation by Archbishop Wulfred, is under similar suspicion of being a later copy since both parts were again written by one scribe (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1)¹. Oswulf's bequest to Christ Church is written in an archaic script, majescole, which makes identification difficult, but it may well also have been written by scribe 3². Oswulf's inheritance aroused disputes after his death, and despite the decision of a synod at Acleah in 810 it was not until 844 that the communities of Christ Church, Lyminge, Folkestone and Dover finally established their claims³. It is not certain whether the lands granted in B.C.S.289 and Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1 were amongst those in dispute⁴, but the script of the two documents would be consistent with their having been written in the period from 810 to 844.

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1. B.M.Cotton Aug.II 79: B.M.Facs., i.15. Miss Harmer (S.E.H.D., p.70) suggested that both parts of the transaction belong to the same occasion, perhaps in 806. But Wulfred refers to (Bishops) Bourne as an archiepiscopal estate, so his confirmation cannot be earlier than 811 when he acquired Bishopsbourne (B.C.S.332). Oswulf's bequest must be earlier than 810, for he was dead by that year (B.C.S.445).
 2. Like B.C.S.289, Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1 ends with a farewell written in a mixture of rustic capitals and uncials. Otherwise only the minuscule letters in S.E.H.D., 1 afford a comparison with the hand of scribe 3. The only difference seems to be that S.E.H.D., 1 uses the f-shaped and curved forms of y in addition to the gamma-form used exclusively by scribe 3. W.Keller (Angelsächsische Palaeographie, i, p.1) considered that majescole was the natural script of the scribe of S.E.H.D., 1, and explained the greater use of minuscules in the first part of the document by supposing that the scribe was here copying a document in minuscule. But it may be doubted that majescole was the natural script of any early 9th century English scribe, and it is more likely that the scribe was experimenting with an archaic display script in order to give his text additional authority.
 3. B.C.S.445.
 4. Miss Harmer (S.E.H.D., pp.69-70) established that the altera kartula referred to in B.C.S.445 by which Oswulf granted his inheritance to his wife and his son and daughter, with reversion to the Kentish

Scribe 3's activity cannot therefore be shown to extend beyond the period from 825 to c.835. In this time he wrote one undoubted diploma of a Mercian king to the archbishop (B.C.S.400), a grant by a layman to Christ Church (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2), a record of the settlement of a long dispute between the Mercian royal house and Archbishop Wulfred over the minsters of Reculver and Southminster which is drawn up in terms very favourable to the archbishop (B.C.S.384), and he also added witnesses to a document of interest only to the church of Canterbury (B.C.S.380)¹. The distinctive letter-forms of scribe 3 are:

- a, q are both very pointed. Initially a variety of high-backed and open a's are used.
- e raised e is common before g, m, n, o, r, and t. In -et- the loop of the e sometimes appears to continue as the down-stroke of the t, but they are always, I think, made separately.
- g, t the bar is frequently hooked, but almost flat forms are nearly as common. The ligatures gr, gn, ti, tio are beautifully executed, but not used regularly. Initial majescule T occurs occasionally.
- h the ascender of initial h is sometimes decorated with terminal dots. (Dots are also found on initial D and on raised e). The ascender is normally curved to the left at the top, but a form with the curve to the right and with the arch pointed is also used by this scribe in some of his mss.

churches is not S.E.H.D., 1. B.C.S.289 and Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1 if they are authentic, appear to be grants taking effect during Oswulf's lifetime, rather than the reversionary bequests mentioned in B.C.S.445.

1. A.Campbell (Journ.Eng. & Germ.Philology, xxxvii, 1938, p.144) states that witnesses were originally written on the face of the document but were subsequently erased and the witnesses on the dorse then written in their place. But examination of the faint traces of writing at the bottom of the face of the document with a mirror establishes that they are not the remnants of erased witnesses, but merely offsets from the main text. The document was evidently folded before the ink was fully dry.

- i i occurs as a straight descender after t, and as a curved descender in ligatures with raised c and e. Subscript i is found after h, m, n, and long s.
- l low l is found occasionally before i and o, principally in words in O.E.
- m terminal m has the last minim extended below the line as a curved descender and ending with a little hook to the right only when it occurs at the end of a sentence.
- s long s is used occasionally, especially before t.
- x the hair-stroke diagonal descender is turned back to the left.
- y gamma-form only.
- ð the form that looks as if it were made in a single stroke occurs rarely.

Scribe 4 (c.832-c.860)

- i) B.C.S.380 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 72: B.M.Facs., ii.17) text on face
only, c.832.
- ii) B.C.S.421 [(B.M.Cotton Aug.II 20: B.M.Facs., ii.¹⁷~~26~~)] text and Canter-
[(B.M.Cotton Aug.II 21: B.M.Facs., 1.²⁶~~26~~)] bury witnesses
only, 838.
- iii) Harmer, S.E.H.D., 9 (Stockholm, Codex Aureus f.10: J.O.Westwood,
Facsimiles of the Miniatures...of Anglo-Saxon MSS, pl.ii) after 853.

Scribe 4's hand is a superb specimen of English handwriting of the 9th century, that rivals the closely similar script of scribe 3. Nearly all the letter forms are the same as those used by scribe 3; indeed it is not impossible that the two scribes are in fact one¹, but

1. A further argument for identifying scribes 3 and 4 is to be found in the endorsements of B.C.S.289 ('hafing seotan boec'), B.C.S.400 ('botewællan boec'), and of B.C.S.380 ('sceldes fordæs boec 7 ðeara wica on byrg'). All these endorsements are in the hand that wrote the text of the documents (i.e. scribe 3 for the first two, scribe 4 for the last). The spelling 'ðeara' is also found in the endorsement

there are fewer capitals and flourishes in the documents ascribed to scribe 4, and the letters are more widely spaced and show less variation in the thickness of the stroke. Scribe 4 wrote one grant by the archbishop to the community (B.C.S.380), two of the three extant copies of the record of the settlement of long-standing disputes between Archbishop Ceolnoth and the West Saxon kings Egbert and Æthelwulf (B.C.S.421)¹, and he also wrote an entry in the 'Golden Gospels' recording ealdorman Ælfred's bequest of the gospel-book to Christ Church (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,9).

Individual letter-forms are like those of scribe 3, except:

- a the lobe is more often curved rather than the angular form preferred by scribe 3.
- g, t hooked g and t do occur, but flat-topped forms are far more common. Ligatures gr and gn are not used. Ligatures for ti and tio are only used on the dorse, or where there is a need to save space at the end of a line.
- s long s is very rare.
- y by the time of Harmer, S.E.H.D.,9 curved y has replaced the gamma form.
- ð the form made in one stroke is not used.

of scribe 3's copy of B.C.S.384 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 78) where the other copy (B.M.Stowe Ch.15) has 'ðara'.

1. The third copy of B.C.S.421 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 37: B.M.Facs., ii.27) is in the same hand (as far as the Wilton confirmation) that wrote the Wilton confirmation on the second copy of B.C.S.421 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II.21: B.M.Facs., i.17), as noted by H.Sweet (Oldest English Texts, p.435) and Dr.P.Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii(2), 1965, p.57 and n.85). Dr.Chaplais (loc.cit.) argues that the hand is also the same as that of B.C.S.451 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii.36: B.M.Facs., ii.30). Whilst the scripts are certainly very similar, especially in the rare form of g, the use in B.C.S.451 of open a, raised c, and long s throws doubt upon their identity.

Scribe 5 (845-845 53)

- i) B.C.S.448 (B.M.Stowe Ch.17: O.S.Facs., iii.18) dated 845x.
- ii) B.C.S.449 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 60: B.M.Facs., ii.29) dated 845.
- iii) Robertson, Charters, 6 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 42: B.M.Facs., ii.25)
datable 845x853.

Scribe 5 wrote a diploma of a West Saxon king granting land to a layman (B.C.S.449), an exchange of property between a Mercian thegn and a Canterbury priest (B.C.S.448), and the will of a layman granting land to Christ Church (Robertson, Charters,6). His hand is comparable to that of scribe 4, but has a far less finished appearance; there is more variation in the form of letters, and inadequate preparation of the parchment has led to the blotched appearance of B.C.S.448 and 449. Initial letters receive little or no ornament. Distinctive forms of this scribe are:

- d this letter varies in size and slope. The ascender is sometimes bent, sometimes a regular curve. Majescale d is used in the first lines of Latin texts.
- g, t the bar forms a gentle wave rather than a hook. Ligatures of g with n and r, and of t with i and io are not used.
- l low l is frequent before any vowel.
- s long s is very rarely used.
- y gamma-shaped y never occurs. A variety of curved forms are used; sometimes the first stroke is the descender, sometimes the second. The fork is sometimes very large.

Scribe 6 (c.850-863x7)

- i) Harmer, S.E.H.D.,4 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 92: B.M.Facs., ii.22)
datable 843x63.
- ii) B.C.S.406 (B.M.Stowe Ch.15: O.S.Facs., iii 16) datable 863x7.

Scribe 6 wrote a bequest by a nun, Lufu, of food-rents to Christ Church (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 4), and a grant by Archbishop Ceolnoth to the Canterbury familia. The scribe is therefore likely to have been a member of the community at Canterbury, and his hand is important in showing that a well controlled pointed minuscule was still being written at Canterbury in the 860s¹. Letter-forms of note are:

- a always pointed, but the back does not rise higher than the lobe.
- b, h, l ascenders are headed by a tag or wedge to the left as in scribes 1-5, but here the tags are more prominent and sometimes have a hair-line projecting downwards to the left.
- d the ascender is gently curved. In ð the bar finishes with a slight downwards twist.
- g, t are hooked, except after raised e and terminally. The ligature gn is common, but not gr, ti, or tio.
- l low l is common in Latin, but not in O.E.
- s is always low, except that round s is used initially.
- x the projecting tail is short and curved to the left.
- y gamma-form throughout.

Scribe 7 (855-873)

- i) B.C.S.467 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 71: B.M.Facs., ii.31) dated 855.
- ii) Harmer, S.E.H.D., 5 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 52: B.M.Facs., ii.21)
datable c.850x c.860.
- iii) B.C.S.496 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 66: B.M.Facs., ii.33) dated 859.
- iv) B.C.S.497 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 16: B.M.Facs., ii.34) dated 859.

1. The argument of A.Campbell that hands of this type were written in Kent only up to c.840 cannot stand (The Vespasian Psalter [Early Eng. MSS. in Facsimile, xiv] ed. D.H.Wright & A.Campbell, 1967, p.83).

v) Harmer, S.E.H.D., 4(ii) (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 92: B.M.Facs., ii.22)

confirmation by Lufu only, c.860.

vi) B.C.S.507 (Cant.Red Book 10: O.S.Facs., i.10) dated 863.

vii) B.C.S.536 (B.M.Stowe Ch.19: O.S.Facs., iii.19) dated 873.

More documents can be attributed to scribe 7 than to any other charter-writer of the 9th century. He wrote three diplomas by which West Saxon kings granted lands in Kent to lay nobles (B.C.S.467, 496, 507), one private agreement recording the purchase of an estate by one Kentish landowner from another (B.C.S.497), an alienation of property by the Archbishop and community of Canterbury with the king's consent to a layman (B.C.S.536), and two bequests by laymen of food-rents from Kentish estates to Christ Church (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 4, 5).

Scribe 7's hand is quite unlike those previously described; the letters are rather large in relation to the distance between the lines, and they are widely spaced, often with poor word division. There is virtually no attempt at ornament; initial letters are not distinguished in size or form from those in the body of the text, the tops of ascenders are not tagged, and there are no calligraphic flourishes such as hair-strokes and 'hooks'. Ligatures for gr, gn, ti, and tio are not used. It is clear that this script is a variant of the pointed minuscule with different conventions than those of scribes 1-6. Hands of this type have been characterised as 'rough', and have been regarded as 'West Saxon' or 'Southern'¹. But the evidence is scarcely sufficient

1. E.M.Thompson, Introduction to Greek & Latin Palaeography, 1912, p.393; E.M.Thompson, 'History of Eng.Handwriting, 700-1400', Trans. Bibliographical Soc., v, 1898-1900, p.123; H.Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p.423.

to allow the script to be localised, or to make certain that it did not evolve from the more calligraphic minuscule of scribes 1-6¹. Distinctive letter-forms of scribe 7 are:

- a the lobe is sometimes rounded, sometimes rectangular.
The back never projects above the lobe.
- d the bow is sometimes pear-shaped, sometimes rectangular.
- b, h, l ascenders are not tagged until slight tags appear
occasionally in B.C.S.507, and more commonly in B.C.S.536.
- e raised e is only very slightly taller than normal e.
- g the bar is small and virtually flat.
- q the lobe varies like that of a. Abbreviations for qui and
quo omit the u and have the i or o superscript.
- s an intermediate form between low and long s is used
throughout.
- t the bar is almost flat. The lower part of the letter is
tightly curved, set at 45 degrees to the bar, and
terminates with a small hook or twist downward.
- x the projecting second stroke is hooked back to the left.
By the time of B.C.S.536 this hook has become a small
loop.

Scribe 8 (c.860-889)

- i) B.C.S.502 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii.29: B.M.Facs., ii 35) datable 860x2².
- ii) B.C.S.506 (B.M.Cotton Ch.viii.32: B.M.Facs., ii 36) dated 862.
- iii) B.C.S.562 (Cant.,Ch.Ant.H.130: O.S.Facs., i.11) dated 889.

-
1. An early example of this type of 'rough' script occurs in a charter of 844/5 from the Rochester archives, which could be considered a half-way stage between the two types (B.C.S.152: B.M.Cotton Ch.xvii.1: B.M.Facs., ii.1). There are no charters from Wessex extant in the 'rough' script, but Rægenbold, priest of Winchester, wrote Oxford, Bodl.Lib., Digby MS.63 in a comparable script.
 2. A later hand altered the date of B.C.S.502, apparently thinking it to be a grant to the first Bishop Waermund (781x5-803x5). The date was originally either 860, 861 or 862.

Only one of the extant documents of scribe 8 comes from the Christ Church archives (B.C.S.562). The other two charters of this scribe are from Rochester; one a royal diploma to the bishop of Rochester (B.C.S.502), the other a royal diploma granting land in Kent to a Kentish thegn (B.C.S.506). Since the charter from Christ Church is in fact the record of the alienation of property by the bishop and community of Rochester to a priest, there is good reason to connect scribe 8 with Rochester, and certainly the preservation of one of his charters at Christ Church was only an accident of the later history of the estate.

Scribe 8's hand must be accounted among the worst examples of mediaeval handwriting. It is not fanciful to regard it as the product of an age when the survival of literacy was at stake. Indeed palaeographers have been uncertain how to date the script of these three charters. E.Bond suggested that B.C.S.502 and 506 were in imitative scripts, and probably of the 11th century; W.H.Stevenson concurred at first, but subsequently argued for a date somewhat after 860; N.R.Ker has suggested that B.C.S.502 and 506 may be 10th or 11th century imitations of 9th century charters¹. But it is difficult to account for the preservation of Kentish forms in the boundaries in 10th or 11th century copies². There is no doubt that the script is imitative in the sense

1. E.Bond in B.M.Facs., iv, p.7; W.H.Stevenson, Asser's Life of Alfred, 1904, p.230 n.2, and 'Trinoda Necessitas', Eng.Hist.Rev., xxix, 1914, p.703 notes 75, 76. N.R.Ker quoted by M.Deanesly, 'The Court of King Æthelbert of Kent', Camb.Hist.Journ., vii, 1942, p.107 n.11.

2. See Miss Whitelock's comment on B.C.S.506 in S.A.L.B. no.331. Kentish forms are also found in B.C.S.502 (Aeðælbeaht, ðannæ, lond, friðæ, sio, ealdæ, halfæ, stydæ, biddanstiorf, healfæ, scipfliot, meodowæge, lifwynne, cioldryðæ, ðaræ, strætæ, swæ, sio, twoentig), and in B.C.S.562 (hunesbiorge, ciolmundes, swe, ober, del, wioda, bioccanlea).

that the scribe is struggling to achieve competence with a script he has difficulty in mastering, but there are no letter-forms that are anachronistic. It is in fact exactly the sort of script one might expect in the period when Alfred could remember very few men south of the Humber who could translate a letter from Latin into English. The quill and the parchment were ill-prepared with the result that the script is uneven and blotchy in appearance; the writing is irregular and wanders off the line. In the two earlier charters (B.C.S. 502, 506) the scribe attempts, not altogether successfully, some of the elaborations that were in vogue earlier in the 9th century, such as 'hooked' g and t, long s and l, enlarged initials with slight flourishes, and ligatures for ti and tio. By 889, when to judge from the shakiness of the script scribe 8 was an old man, he was content with the unadorned forms of the late 9th century.

Distinctive letter-forms are:

- a the lobe tends to hang below the level of the back.
The top of the back sometimes projects above the lobe.
- b, l, h the tops of ascenders have a slight thickening and/or
a small tag.
- e raised e is very frequent.
- g sometimes 'hooked', sometimes flat-topped. Always
flat-topped in B.C.S. 562.
- s long s is common in B.C.S. 502, less common in 506,
and is not used in 562.
- y always straight-limbed, and the tail is rather short.
At the top of the second stroke is a short horizontal
hook to the left.
- t sometimes wavy-topped, but the flat-topped form
predominates. Ligatures of ti and tio are found in
B.C.S. 502, 506.

a distinctive abbreviation mark is used in addition to the usual wavy line. It consists of a thick horizontal line bounded at each end by a diagonal hair-stroke. At the left this diagonal only projects above the horizontal bar, but at the right both above and below.

Where did these eight scribes work? With scribes 1 and 2 the evidence is inconclusive for their extant works were all diplomas of Mercian kings granting land to the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is however a possibility that scribe 2 was Archbishop Wulfred himself, since the endorsement written by the scribe refers to his property in Canterbury as 'my tenement'. The content of the documents written by scribes 3-8 suggests that they were all ecclesiastical scribes from the churches of Canterbury and Rochester. Thus scribe 6 wrote only bequests to Christ Church, one of them a grant by the archbishop. It is scarcely likely that a royal scribe would be required to write such documents. In scribes 3, 4, 5, and 7 we have men who wrote royal diplomas, or the solemn records of royal synods, but also grants by laymen to the church of Canterbury and documents that were only of interest to the archbishops and the community of Christ Church. They are likely to have been members of the Christ Church familia. It is of course possible that an individual scribe might pass from a royal scriptorium into the archbishop's familia, or that one of the Canterbury priests might be drawn into the king's service. But it is highly unlikely that there was the amount of interchange between the priests of Canterbury and those attached to the king as the assumption that every charter drawn up in the king's name was drafted and written by a royal scribe would necessitate. It is more

reasonable to suppose that scribes 3, 4, 5, and 7 were members of the Christ Church community, who were on occasion required to write royal diplomas. For the same reason scribe 8 may be regarded as a Rochester scribe.

If scribes from Canterbury and Rochester could be required to write not only the bequests of kings and nobles to their own church, but also charters in which their church had no interest, such as royal diplomas to laymen and private agreements between laymen, we need to consider whether this activity was exceptional or a matter of course. Palaeography cannot help here, because we cannot be certain whether the close resemblance of the script of extant charters to that of some of the scribes that have been attributed to Canterbury or Rochester is the result of their having written in the same scriptorium or because similar scripts were being written in several centres in the 9th century. Only a wide-ranging study of the diplomatic of the 9th century can hope to determine where and how most of the extant charters were produced.

B) Diplomatic Evidence.

The 9th century charters from Christ Church may be compared with the large number of documents purporting to belong to this period from the archives and cartularies of the sees of Worcester and Rochester, and with the smaller number of documents from Winchester, Sherborne, and the monasteries of Abingdon, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, St Augustine's, Shaftesbury, and Wilton. If we reject the more evident forgeries, these

ecclesiastical archives provide ample material to establish the main diplomatic developments and the significant distinctions.

It is clear that the charters from Christ Church share the general characteristics of 9th century documents from other archives. The Latin diplomas (with which we are principally concerned) normally omit any proem or arenga¹; immunity clauses with the reservation to the crown of fyrd-service, bridge-work, and borough-work gradually become regular constituent parts of the land-book; witnesses normally attest under the simple formula, Ego N...(rank)...consensi et subscripsi². Moreover the formulae found in charters from Christ Church can often be exactly paralleled in documents from other churches. We may compare the anathema of a grant by Archbishop Æthelheard to a Canterbury priest in 805:

'Si quis autem quod non optamus fringere voluerit, sciad se rationem redditurum in die iudicii ante tribunal Christi nisi ante emendaverit'.³

with that of a royal diploma to Bishop Denewulf of Worcester in 814:

'Si quis autem quod non optamus in aliquo frangere vel minuire temptaverit, sciat se ante tribunal Christi rationem redditurum.....nisi antea cum satisfactione emendaverit'.⁴

Or we may compare the immunity clause of a royal diploma to a layman of the year 860 from the Shaftesbury cartulary:

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1. There are 6 proems from Christ Church charters (B.C.S. 344, 348, 381, 406, 445, 507), and about 40 from charters from other houses.
 2. It is not always clear how abbreviated forms like cons' et subs' should be extended, and Birch's extensions in B.C.S. always need checking against the mss.
 3. B.C.S. 321.
 4. B.C.S. 351.

'sit hec terra prefata segura et immunis omnium rerum
regalium et principalium tributum et vi exactorum
operum, furisque comprehensione simulque et omni popu-
lari gravedine nisi expedicione et pontis faccione
et arcium municione'.¹

with another grant to a layman, but from the Christ Church archives and
some two years earlier:

'ut omnium regalium tributum et vi exactorum operum..
furisque comprehensione et cuncta seculari gravidine
absque expeditione sola et pontium structura et
arcium munitionibus segura et immunis'.²

Or again we may compare the clause conveying the 'appurtenances' of an
estate from an exchange between a Canterbury priest and a Mercian thegn
in 845:

'cum campis ⁊ silvis ac pratis omnibusque utilitatibus
ad eam rite et recte pertinentibus....'³

with that in a diploma of Æthelwulf of Wessex granting land to a Kentish
nobleman, which has been preserved in the St Augustine's cartularies:

'cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eam pertinentibus,
campis silvis pratis pascuis atque omnia in
omnibus'.⁴

Similar examples could be multiplied. But they will serve to
indicate that there was a considerable common stock of formulae available
to the drafters of charters. Whilst it is comparatively rare to find
charters from different archives with identical wording throughout,

1. B.C.S. 500

2. B.C.S. 496

3. B.C.S. 448

4. B.C.S. 459/854.

individual phrases and formulae recur again and again. In order to analyse the extent of the interchange of formulae between Christ Church charters and those that have been preserved in other archives, and in order to assess its significance, the century has been divided into three periods: i) 798-825, ii) 825-858, and iii) 858-898 - corresponding in terms of Kentish politics to the reigns of i) the Mercian kings Coenwulf, Ceolwulf, and Beornwulf, ii) the West Saxon kings Egbert and Æthelwulf, and iii) the West Saxon kings Æthelbald, Æthelbert, Æthelred, and Alfred.

In the first period the charters from Christ Church are compared with those from other churches that were under Mercian rule at that time, and in the second and third periods the Christ Church charters are compared with those from houses under the control of the West Saxon kings. The survey is restricted to Latin documents, since there are very few vernacular documents from archives other than Christ Church in the 9th century¹. Charters that survive in contemporary form on single sheets of parchment have been marked by an asterisk, and where the scribe has been identified, this is indicated; the archive where the charter was preserved in the Middle Ages is given, and also the date of the charter. Thus a reference to:

B.C.S. 348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814)

indicates that the charter survives in contemporary form in the hand of scribe 1, was preserved at Christ Church, and is dated 814. Where, however, the church in whose archives the charter was kept, is not a

1. The formulae of O.E. documents of the 9th century correspond closely to those of the contemporary Latin diplomas (see A. Campbell, 'An O.E. Will', Journ. Eng. & Germ. Phil., xxxvii, 1938, pp. 138-141 and notes 1-22).

beneficiary of the document¹, the reference is given in a different form:

B.C.S.459 (St Augustine's, 850, lay)

- indicating that the charter is a grant to a layman, but has been preserved (not in contemporary form) at St Augustine's. Non-royal documents such as episcopal diplomas and the few Latin private deeds are cited thus:

B.C.S.562* Rochester (scribe 8, Canterbury, 889, ? Rochester).

- indicating a grant by the church of Rochester to a priest perhaps from Rochester, but preserved in the Christ Church archives. Similarly:

B.C.S.497* lay (scribe 7, Canterbury, 859, lay)

- indicates that the charter is a grant by a layman to a layman but preserved in the Canterbury archives.

i) The Latin Charters of the reigns of Coenwulf, Ceolwulf,
and Beornwulf, (798-825).

24 Latin charters of the period from 798 to 825 from Christ Church² may be compared with 20 from other churches that were then under Mercian rule³.

-
1. For the purpose of this analysis charters to the bishop or to a priest of a church have not been distinguished from grants to the community.
 2. B.C.S.289*, 291, 293*, 317, 318*, 319, 321*, 322, 1336, 326*, 328, 332*, 335*, 340, 341*, 342, 344, 348*, 353*, 370*, 373*, 378*, 381*, 384*. I omit all the abbreviated versions of Christ Church charters from the main Christ Church cartulary, because the compiler altered the formulae of the texts he recorded (above pp.106-114). I also omit as later forgeries B.C.S.296 and 346, and genuine texts whose form is too unique to be of use in this analysis (B.C.S.310*, 312*).
 3. From Worcester: B.C.S.295, 304, 307, 308, 309, 313, 343*, 349, 350, 351, 357, 359, 360, 368, 379.
From Rochester: B.C.S.303, 339*,
From St Augustine's: B.C.S.316, 1337.
From Winchcombe: B.C.S.364.

Invocations

A great variety of invocations were in use in this period. They divide into two types; one using an ablative absolute (Regnante...) the other beginning In nomine... Both types had long histories in English diplomatic, but it may be noticed that charters from Worcester show a preference for the ablative type, whilst Christ Church documents generally use In nomine... forms. Indeed only two Worcester charters of this period have invocations that are used by charters from Christ Church:

a) In nomine domine nostri Jhesu Christi

B.C.S. 308 (Worcester, 803, lay)
 339 (Rochester, 811, lay)
 340 (Canterbury, 812)
 1337 (St Augustine's, 826)¹.

This is of course the archetypal invocation, widely used in the 7th and 8th centuries, and no significance can be attached to its wide use in the 9th.

b) In nomine Dei excelsi

B.C.S. 350 (Worcester, 814)
 353* (Canterbury, 815)

Not all these charters are free from suspicion; there are difficulties in accepting B.C.S. 295, 307 and 316 as they stand. I have included them as they seem to be based on authentic documents, but I omit the more blatant forgeries: B.C.S. 325, 338, 352, 356, 365, 366, 383 - even though their forgers may have had access to some genuine records.

1. I include this document despite its date as it was drawn up when Beornwulf's authority was apparently still recognised at Canterbury. It may be noticed that the other St Augustine's charter of this period (B.C.S. 316) has an invocation (In nomine redemptoris mundi) also used by a Christ Church charter, B.C.S. 293* (Canterbury, 799).

As will become apparent¹, B.C.S.353 is the one charter from Christ Church in this period which consistently follows formulae used by diplomas from Worcester.

Proems

Only seven charters of this period have proems². Two from Christ Church use the same proem³; otherwise they are all different.

Royal title

The style rex Merciorum was the normal title for Coenwulf, Ceolwulf, and Beornwulf. The addition of gratia Dei is found only in charters from Kentish archives:

B.C.S.293* (Canterbury, 799)
 303.. (Rochester, 803, lay)
 316 (St Augustine's 804)
 339* (Rochester, 811)
 340.. (Canterbury, 812)
 344* (Canterbury, 814)
 348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814)

Gratia Dei is never found in the royal titles in charters of this period from the Worcester archives, although more complicated phrases of similar meaning were used:

ejus melliflua gratia largiente rex Merciorum

B.C.S.350 (Worcester, 814)

ejus praeclara gratia concedente rex Merciorum

B.C.S.351 (Worcester, 814)

Ceolwulf's title in his two charters granting lands to the archbishop of Canterbury marks a departure from previous practice by adding the men of

1. Below, pp. 159, 160-1, 162, 163.

2. From Worcester: B.C.S.295, 304, 307, 308; from Christ Church: B.C.S.344, 348*, and 381*.

3. B.C.S.344 (Canterbury, 814); B.C.S.348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814).

Kent to the Mercians¹:

rex Merciorum vel (seu) etiam Cantwariorum

B.C.S. 370* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 822)
 373* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 823)

Verba Dispositiva

A variety of verbs are used to describe the granting of an estate. There is some preference for the future tense in the charters of all archives. Dabo is found in documents from Kentish archives and from Worcester:

B.C.S. 303 (Rochester, 801, lay)
 307 (Worcester, 802, lay)
 318 (Canterbury, 805, lay)
 1336 (Canterbury, 805, Lyminge)
 351 (Worcester, 814)
 359 (Worcester, 817)
 368 (Worcester, 814?)

The use of two verbs, one in the future, one in the present, in the form dabo et concedo² is unique to charters from Christ Church in this period:

B.C.S. 289* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 798, lay)
 328.. (Canterbury, 809)
 340 (Canterbury, 812)
 342 (Canterbury, 813)
 344 (Canterbury, 814)
 348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814)
 370* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 822)
 373* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 823)

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1. The change may have been associated with the difficulties that Ceolwulf seems to have had in securing recognition at Canterbury. Most of the moneyers at Canterbury seem to have preferred to issue their coins without the king's name, only Oba and Sigestef issuing coins for Ceolwulf (see C.E.Blunt, C.S.Lyon, & B.H.Stewart, 'The Coinage of Southern England, 796-840', Brit. Num. Journ., xxxii, 1964, pp.14-18, 41-2.)
 2. The formula does not occur before 798 except in two Christ Church charters of doubtful authenticity purporting to be grants by King Offa of Mercia to Archbishop Jænberht (B.C.S. 213, 214; see above p.15 n.1).

It is very unlikely that the prevalence of this formula in documents from Christ Church and its absence elsewhere can be a coincidence.

The Powers

The clause which grants the beneficiary powers over an estate takes one of two forms¹. Either an ut clause is used (ut habeat et possideat.....) or a gerundive construction (ad habendam et possidendam..). Both types are found in charters from Worcester and from Christ Church. At Christ Church the ut.. clause is used until 805², when it is replaced by the gerundive construction³. The only diplomas from Christ Church to use the ut.. construction after 805 are B.C.S. 341 whose formulae are copied from an earlier charter dealing with the same estate (B.C.S. 321 of 805), and B.C.S. 353 a charter which consistently departs from the normal form of documents from the Canterbury archives⁴.

A feature of documents from the Christ Church archives is the use of the verb derelinquo (rather than relinquo, tribuo, dono etc.) to describe the recipient's right to alienate the property as he might wish⁵.

Derelinquo is used in the following charters:

-
1. Some charters, however, do not use a verbal clause, but simply attach a phrase such as in perpetuam hereditatem to the dispositive verb, (e.g. B.C.S. 349).
 2. B.C.S. 289, 318, 321, 322.
 3. B.C.S. 1336, 326, 328, 340, 370, 373, 378, 381, 384.
 4. See pp. 156-7, 160-1, 162, 163.
 5. Relinquo is used in some documents from Christ Church: B.C.S. 318* (Canterbury, 805, lay), B.C.S. 321* (Canterbury, 805), and B.C.S. 370* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 822).

B.C.S. 322 (Canterbury, 805)
 326* (Canterbury, 808, lay)
 340.. (Canterbury, 812)
 341* (Canterbury, 812)
 353* (Canterbury, 815)
 373.. (scribe 2, Canterbury, 823)
 378* (Canterbury, 824)
 381* Canterbury, (Canterbury, 824)
 384.. (scribe 3, Canterbury, 825)

- but is not found in this period in diplomas from any other archive.

Immunity and Reservation of the Trinoda Necessitas

A wide variety of clauses are used to free the estate from secular services and payments, and to reserve to the crown service in the army, and at bridges and fortifications. In Worcester charters the formulae are more standardised than in those from Canterbury; they are frequently introduced with the words:

<u>liberam quoque terram istam</u>	[	conscripsi	
		concedo	ab...

B.C.S. 351 (Worcester, 814)
 357 (Worcester, 816)
 368 (Worcester, ?814)
 Cf. also B.C.S. 359 (Worcester, 817), 360 (Worcester, 817).

- and a brief reservation of the three common burdens (and sometimes also of the angyld or compensation paid to the victims of thieves) is normal.

B.C.S. 351 (Worcester, 814) may be taken as a typical example of the Worcester type:

'liberam quoque terram istam concedo ab omnium
 saecularium rerum operibus ac tributum oneribus
 atque exactorum conflictione exceptis his
 expeditione, arcis et pontis constructione, et
 singulare pretium foras nihilque ad poenam
 resolvat'.

Only one charter from the Christ Church archives follows this pattern, B.C.S. 353* (Canterbury, 815):

'liberata quoque terra ista ab omnibus saecularium rerum servitutibus permaneat exceptis his arcis et pontis constructionibus et expeditione ac singulare pretium, ad penum, id est angylð, aliqua vero foras nihil persolvat'.

It is clear that here as elsewhere B.C.S.353 is following a Mercian formula. The immunity clauses in the remaining charters from Christ Church are too varied for meaningful analysis. No two are alike, and there is a tendency for them to become longer and longer as scribes struggled to find a form of words to cover complex legal rights and obligations¹. The reservation of the three common burdens, normal at Worcester, is rare in Christ Church documents; and it is noticeable that apart from B.C.S.353, every Christ Church diploma which includes the reservation of the three military obligations associates them specifically with the Viking threat². Whether or not the three burdens had been exacted from Kentish estates before, it is clear that the recording of the obligation for the first time in Kentish charters was the result of the raids of Viking armies in Kent that are not recorded in the historical narrative sources.³

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1. E.g. the immunity clause in charters of scribe 1 (B.C.S.335, 348) and of scribe 2 (B.C.S.370).
 2. In B.C.S.332 and 335 bridgework is required adversos (contra) paganos; in B.C.S.348 borough-work, and in B.C.S.370 fyrd-service are to be contra paganos.
 3. Rochester charters do not yet include the reservation of the 3 burdens. It may be noted that B.C.S.335 and 370 require not only borough-work but also the destruction of fortresses built by the pagans ('...arcis munitione vel destructione in eodem gente.'). This shows that the Viking attacks of the first two decades of the 9th century were not brief raids but major military enterprises.

Benediction and anathema

The majority of the anathemas of the period from 798 to 825, whether or not they are preceded by a blessing, are of the type beginning, Si quis... which had had a long history in England and on the Continent¹. A different form beginning, Augentem vero vel servantem.... or Pax augentibus.... is found only in Worcester charters:

B.C.S.295 (Worcester, 799, Kempsey)
 304 Worcester, (Worcester, 802)
 357 (Worcester, 816)
 360 (Worcester, 817)

In the anathemas of the Si quis... type there is much similarity between diplomas from the archives of Worcester and those from Rochester, and Christ Church, but in the final clause which allows the infringer of the charter to redeem himself if he makes amends in this world, Worcester charters consistently use cum, thus:

nisi antea cum satisfactione emendaverit

B.C.S.351 (Worcester, 814)

Cum is used before satisfactione in the following charters:

B.C.S.349 (Worcester, 814)
 350 (Worcester, 814)
 351 (Worcester, 814)
 353* (Canterbury, 815)
 357.. (Worcester, 816)
 360 (Worcester, 817)
 368 (Worcester, ?814)

With the single exception of B.C.S.353 which has already been seen to follow the pattern of Worcester diplomas, all the charters from

1. J.Studtmann, 'Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden', Archiv f. Urkunden forschung, xii, 1932, pp.267-271.

Christ Church, as well as those from Rochester and St Augustine's, avoid the use of cum here by such means as:

nisi prius digna satisfactione emendaverit

B.C.S.348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814).¹

Dating clause

The dating clause provides one of the clearest criteria for distinguishing between the charters of Christ Church and those of other archives. Worcester charters show a preference for Acta est.... or Peracta est:

B.C.S.350 (Worcester, 814)
 351 (Worcester, 814)
 353* (Canterbury, 815)
 357.. (Worcester, 816)
 359 (Worcester, 817)
 360 (Worcester, 817)

B.C.S.353 here again proves to be the sole Christ Church charter using Worcester formulae.

Christ Church charters after some early variation², settle on Actum est... which is then used to the exclusion of all other formulae:

B.C.S.312* (Canterbury, 803)
 316.. (St Augustine's, 804)
 326* (Canterbury, 808, lay)
 328.. (Canterbury, 809)
 332* Canterbury (Canterbury, 811)
 340.. (Canterbury, 812)
 344 (Canterbury, 814)
 348* (scribe 1, Canterbury, 814)
 370* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 822)
 373* (scribe 2, Canterbury, 823)
 381* Canterbury, (Canterbury, 824).

1. Other charters from Christ Church to omit cum are: B.C.S.316, 317, 322, 326, 328, 332, 341, 348, 373, 1336.

2. Facta est B.C.S.293* (Canterbury, 799); Scripta est B.C.S.321* (Canterbury, 805); Actum fuit B.C.S.319 (Canterbury, 805). The only

The charters from Christ Church can thus be seen to differ from contemporary charters from Worcester in their regnal styles, the verba dispositiva, the powers, the immunity, anathemas, and in the dating clause. The differences can only be explained by the assumption that the charters were products of different scriptoria, each of which produced royal diplomas to both ecclesiastical and lay beneficiaries. There are too few charters of the period from Rochester to determine whether they too are consistently different from Christ Church documents, but it is noticeable that the two charters from St Augustine's (B.C.S. 316, 1337) tend to follow the Christ Church pattern, whilst those from Rochester do not (B.C.S. 303, 339). One charter (B.C.S. 353), by which King Coenwulf granted land in Kent to Archbishop Wulfred, repeatedly follows the pattern of the Worcester charters rather than those of Christ Church¹. It may be noted that the transaction is stated to have been carried out (peracta) at the royal vill at Wychbold (Worcs.). It can scarcely be a coincidence that the only Christ Church charter to follow Worcester formulae should be the record of a grant made in the diocese of Worcester.

Rochester charter with this clause in this period (B.C.S. 339) has Scripta est.

1. The estate is assessed in hides (manentes) rather than sulungs (aratra) which were the normal units of assessment in Kent in the 9th century. But Cf. B.C.S. 321 and 341 which equate 1 sulung with 2 hides, and see B.C.S. 291, 384, 402 for hides in Kent. B.C.S. 353 does, however, use derelinquo in the 'powers', which suggests that a Christ Church scribe may be following a Worcester model, but occasionally returning to the formulae of his own scriptorium.

ii) The Latin Charters of the reigns of Egbert and Athelwulf (825-855)

12 charters from Christ Church of the period from 825 to 855¹ may be compared with 17 from other archives at that time under West Saxon rule: Rochester, Winchester, Sherborne, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Shaftesbury, and St Augustine's².

Invocations

The most common invocations (In nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi, and Regnante inperpetuum domino nostro Jhesu Christo) are found in charters both from Kentish and West Saxon archives; but some variant forms are unique to Christ Church documents:

In nomine Dei summi regis aeterni

B.C.S.407 (Canterbury, 833x8)
 426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
 445* (Canterbury, 844).

Regnante inperpetuum domino Deo nostro sabaoth (omnipotenti)

B.C.S.421* (scribe 4, Canterbury, 838/9)
 448* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845)
 449* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
 467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay).

1. B.C.S.380*, 396, 400*, 407, 419, 421*, 426, 442*, 445, 448*, 449*, 467*. I omit B.C.S.411, a forgery of the 11th century.

2. From Rochester: B.C.S.395, 418, 437, 439, 460, 486
 From Winchester: B.C.S.423, 451*, 491
 From Sherborne: E.C.W.567
 From Glastonbury: B.C.S.431, 438
 From Malmesbury: B.C.S.444, 457
 From Shaftesbury: B.C.S.410
 From St Augustine's: B.C.S.459/854, 852, 853.

Though not all these charters are entirely satisfactory as they stand, their corruptions appear to be the result of error or shortening rather than deliberate falsification. I have omitted from this survey all the spurious charters associated with the 'Athelwulf donation' (B.C.S.447, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475/6, 477, 480, 483, 484, 485), and a number of other spurious charters (B.C.S.389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 413, 481, E.C.W.566, 642).

Royal title

The style used for King Ceolwulf in his two grants to Archbishop Wulfred (Rex Merciorum vel (seu) etiam Cantuariorum) was adapted for West Saxon kings in Kentish charters:

Rex occidentalium Saxonum seu etiam (necnon et) Cantwariorum

B.C.S.396 (Canterbury, 845 for 830, lay)
 442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
 853.. (St Augustine's, 845)
 449* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
 467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay)
 486.. (Rochester, 855, lay).

Other attempts were made in Kentish charters to describe Æthelwulf's rule over all the lands south of the Thames:

Rex australium populorum

B.C.S.439 (Rochester, 842, lay)

Rex...occidentalium Saxonum...Cantwariorum et omni
(necnon cuncti) australi populi (Anglorum) domini
(Dei) arridente gratia prelatus regimni

B.C.S.426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
 444 (Malmesbury, 855).

Apart from this single charter from Malmesbury (B.C.S.444) which elsewhere follows the formulae of Christ Church charters¹, Egbert and Æthelwulf are always styled Rex....occidentalium Saxonum in authentic charters from West Saxon houses with a variety of phrases meaning 'by divine grace'.

Verba dispositiva

Dabo et concedo is again the most common dispositive formula in Christ Church charters, but is also found in documents from St Augustine's and Rochester:

1. Below p. 172.

- B.C.S.380 Canterbury (scribe 4, Canterbury, ?832)
 396 (Canterbury, 845 for 830, lay)
 400* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 831)
 852.. (St Augustine's, 836)
 437 (Rochester, 841)
 442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
 853. (St Augustine's, 845)
 460 (Rochester, 850, lay)
 467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay)

Diplomas from West Saxon archives never use dabo et concedo, and they generally prefer the verb in the past tense rather than in the future or present:

conscribere (describere) jussi

- B.C.S.410 (Shaftesbury, 833)
 451* (Winchester, 847, lay)

- largitus sum B.C.S.423 (Winchester, 838/9)
 431 (Glastonbury, 840, lay)
 438 (Glastonbury, 842, lay)
 457 (Malmesbury, 850)
 459 (St Augustine's, 850, lay)
 444 (Malmesbury, 855).

It is surprising to find a charter from St Augustine's (B.C.S.459) agreeing with West Saxon charters, but this diploma repeatedly uses West Saxon formulae¹.

The powers

During the period of Mercian rule charters from Christ Church had settled on a gerundive construction for the clause describing the powers to be enjoyed by the beneficiary over the estate. After 825 its form becomes increasingly standardised, reaching definitive form about 843:

1. Below, pp. 170, 172.

(in sempiternam hereditatem) habendam et possidendam
feliciterque in dies ejus perfruendum et post dies
ejus cuicumque ei heredi placuerit derelinquendum
liberam per omnia habeat potestatem.

B.C.S.442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
449* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay).

Earlier charters from Christ Church follow the same formula, but omit parts of it:

B.C.S.396 (Canterbury, 845 for 830, lay)
400* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 831)
419 (Canterbury, 838)
426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
448* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845)

No charter of this period from ~~the~~ Christ Church departs from this pattern, and two charters from St Augustine's also use the same formulae:

B.C.S.852 (St Augustine's, 836)
853 (St Augustine's, 845).

Rochester charters, however, use an ut.. clause (ut habeat et possideat):

B.C.S.418 (Rochester, 838)
437 (Rochester, 841)
439 (Rochester, 842, lay)
460 (Rochester, 850, lay)

- until 855 when a modified version of the Christ Church formula is used:

ad habendam et possidendam....et post dies tuos
cuicumque herede tibi placuerit derelinquendum
cum plena libertate habeas potestatem.

B.C.S.486 (Rochester, 855, lay)

The use of the second person singular, which elsewhere had dropped out of use in the 8th century, is a feature of Rochester charters of the 9th century¹.

1. B.C.S.439, 486, 506, 562. One Christ Church charter of the 9th century (B.C.S.426) does, however, use the 2nd person singular.

In West Saxon diplomas the powers-clause is frequently omitted altogether; those charters that have it use a variety of gerundive constructions quite distinct from that in use at Canterbury, for example:

in jus proprium habendi et fruendi vita comite
et post obitum eius qualicumque heredi prout
illi placeat relinquendi.

B.C.S.431 (Glastonbury, 840, lay)¹

Immunity and reservation

In charters from Christ Church the immunity clauses are somewhat more standardised than they had been before 825. Reservation of the three common burdens has also become more common, but is still sometimes omitted²:

ab omni.....liberabo (permaneant), nisi his tribus causis...

B.C.S.400* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 831)
419.. (Canterbury, 838)
426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
449* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay).

This form also occurs in two charters from the St Augustine's cartularies:

B.C.S.852 (St Augustine's, 836)
853 (St Augustine's, 845).

Charters from Rochester, on the other hand, are quite distinct and use an ut.. clause:

ut sit.....libera ab omni regali.....

B.C.S.395 (Rochester, 823 for 828)
437 (Rochester, 841)
439 (Rochester, 842, lay)
460 (Rochester, 850, lay)

1. Cf. B.C.S.438, 451.

2. B.C.S.396, 419, 449*.

The immunity clauses in diplomas from West Saxon archives are distinguished from those in Kentish charters in freeing the land not only from royal services, but also from payments to the ealdorman (principalium tributorum); the immunity also includes the right to the payment of fines or wites (poenaliu causarum), and what is later called infangenetheof (furisque comprehensio), neither of which normally appears in Kentish charters:

B.C.S.431 (Glastonbury, 840, lay)
 E.C.W.567 (Sherborne, 841, lay)
 B.C.S.438 (Glastonbury, 842, lay)
 E.C.S.451* (Winchester, 847, lay)

One Kentish charter - B.C.S.459 (St Augustine's, 850, lay) again proves exceptional, and follows the West Saxon pattern in its immunity clause¹ as in its other formulae.

Anathema

Canterbury charters use a very stereotyped anathema in the period from 825 to 855, whose origin lies in the formulae in use at Christ Church earlier in the 9th century². Although there are minor variations from one charter to another, the basic form recurs again and again:

Si autem quod non optamus alicuius personae homo
(diabolica temeritate instigatus surrexerit qui
hanc nostram donationem)..infringere vel minuere
temptaverit, sciat se rationem esse redditurum..
nisi ante digna satisfactione (Deo et hominibus)
emendare voluerit, (manente hac cartula in sua
nihilominus firmitate).

-
1. The immunity clause in B.C.S.459 follows almost verbatim that of B.C.S.451*, the famous charter by which Athelwulf booked land at South Hams in Dorset to himself.
 2. Cf. B.C.S.326*, 328, 348*, 373*, 381*.

B.C.S.400* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 831)
 852.. (St Augustine's, 836)
 419 (Canterbury, 838)
 426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
 442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
 449.. (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
 853.. (St Augustine's, 845)
 467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay)

Rochester charters use comparable formulae (e.g. B.C.S.395), but tend to be more brief (B.C.S.439, 460), or to omit the anathema altogether (B.C.S.437, 486).

West Saxon charters have anathemas similar to those from Kent, but they retain the Si quis... or Si autem aliquis... opening which was going out of use at Christ Church¹; they also include a threat of excommunication from the church, and where Canterbury charters have diabolica temeritate instigatus the equivalent formula in West Saxon charters is always diabolica fraude deceptus:

B.C.S.410 (Shaftesbury, 833)
E.C.W.567 (Sherborne, 841, lay)
B.C.S.438 (Glastonbury, 842, lay)
 451* (Winchester, 847, lay)

Dating clause

The dating clause again provides a clear means of distinguishing the extant charters. Scripta est... is used by charters from Rochester and from West Saxon archives:

B.C.S.395 (Rochester, 823 for 828)
 410 (Shaftesbury, 833, lay)
 418 (Rochester, 838)
 437 (Rochester, 837)
E.C.W.567 (Sherborne, 841, lay)
 438 (Glastonbury, 842, lay)
 439 (Rochester, 842, lay)
 451* (Winchester, 847, lay)
 459.. (St Augustine's, 850, lay)
 460 (Rochester, 850, lay)
 491 (Winchester, 856, lay).

1. Though it still occurs in B.C.S.467*

By contrast Actum est is found predominantly in charters from Christ Church and from St Augustine's:

B.C.S.400* (scribe 3, Canterbury, 831)
 852.. (St Augustine's, 836)
 419 (Canterbury, 838)
 421* (scribe 4, Canterbury, 838/9)
 423.. (Winchester, 838/9)
 426 (Canterbury, 839, lay)
 442* (Canterbury, 843, lay)
 448* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845)
 449* (scribe 5, Canterbury, 845, lay)
 853.. (St Augustine's, 845)
 467* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 855, lay)
 444.. (Malmesbury, ?855).

This contrast between the dating clauses of charters from Canterbury archives and those from West Saxon houses and from Rochester is all the more remarkable if we examine the exceptions. The only charter of this period from Christ Church or from St Augustine's to use Scripta est... is B.C.S.459 - a charter whose verba dispositiva, grant of the powers, and immunity clause have already been seen to be of West Saxon type. Its other formulae also follow West Saxon rather than Kentish models¹, and it can therefore scarcely be a coincidence that this charter is stated to have been written at Wilton, that is in the heart of Wessex, and that the only bishop to attest the document is Ealhstan of Sherborne². The two West Saxon charters which use Actum

1. The invocation, proem, and opening sentences of the dispositio are identical with those of B.C.S.457 (Malmesbury, 850). The immunity clause, anathema, and dating clause are found in an Abingdon charter of 852 ascribed to Berhtwulf of Mercia (B.C.S.466) which seems to be a forgery based on an authentic charter of the period.

2. The witness-list is cut short by the cartularists, but one would not expect them to include the Bishop of Sherborne but cut out the archbishop, if Ceolnoth had been included in the original. Note that the estate is assessed in hides (cassati), whereas B.C.S.316 concerned with the same estate is assessed in sulungs.

est¹ (B.C.S.423, 444) may both have been drafted by Kentish clerks.

B.C.S.423 from the Winchester cartulary was either drafted by the same man as, or was copied from, the Christ Church charter issued on the same occasion (B.C.S.421) which survives in three contemporary manuscripts, two of which were written by the Christ Church writer scribe 4². It is therefore scarcely surprising to find the Winchester charter following Canterbury formulae. B.C.S.444 only survives in an abbreviated and corrupt form from the Malmesbury cartularies, but we have already seen that the lengthy title by which Æthelwulf is styled is of Kentish rather than West Saxon type, and it is likely that the drafter had Kentish models before him³.

Apart from these three exceptional charters (B.C.S.423, 459, 444) which may be said to prove the rule, the diplomas of the period from 825 to 855 like those of the first quarter of the century are consistent in using formulae that are typical of diocesan and not of political boundaries. Charters from Christ Church agree with those from St Augustine's, but are distinct from those of Rochester, and from those from West Saxon archives. It would be a mistake to attach too much

1. In B.C.S.444 the form is Et hoc actum est.

2. See above, p.143 and n.1. The writer of the third manuscript of B.C.S.421 (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 37: B.M.Facs., ii 27) was writing no earlier than the confirmation at Wilton (839) and cannot therefore have drafted the charter.

3. But the verba dispositiva are of West Saxon type (largitus sum). The earliest cartulary version (Magd.Coll.Oxford, MS.172 fos.91v-92) has the date 855 (rather than the impossible 880), but even this date is difficult to reconcile with the attestation of Athelstan, sub-king of Kent.

significance to the archive in which a particular charter, especially a grant to a layman, came to be preserved. Rather we should notice that all the Latin diplomas from the archives of Christ Church and of St Augustine's of this period deal with estates in East Kent¹, that is in the diocese of Canterbury, whereas the charters from the Rochester archives are all concerned with estates in West Kent. It looks very much as if in the mid-9th century a Kentish charter would normally be written by a scribe from the church in whose diocese the estate lay, whether the recipient was a layman, a monastery, or the cathedral church itself. The evidence for the period 825-855 is too scanty to establish whether similar arrangements were in force in the dioceses of Winchester and of Sherborne.

iii) The Latin Charters of the reigns of Æthelbald,
Æthelbert, Æthelred, and Alfred (855-899)

11 charters of the period from 855 to 899 from Christ Church² may be compared with 22 charters from the archives of Winchester, Rochester, St Augustine's, Abingdon, Athelney, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Wilton, and Shaftesbury³.

-
1. Except B.C.S.421 which in part concerns the restoration of East Malling which is just in West Kent, and in part records the settlement of the dispute over the Kentish minsters.
 2. B.C.S.496*, 497*, 507*, 515*, 406*, 516*, 519, 536*, 539, 562*, 576*. I have omitted B.C.S.577/8 more because it has none of the formulae of a diploma than because of the difficulties in accepting it as an authentic text.
 3. From Winchester: B.C.S.495, 508, 520, 544, 550
 From Rochester: B.C.S.502*, 506*, 518, 548
 From St Augustine's: B.C.S.837, 855.

Proems

As earlier in the century, few charters from Christ Church include an arenga¹; they are more common at Rochester², and are normal in West Saxon charters where the text has been preserved in full. Even in grants to laymen, West Saxon charters have proems concerned with the ephemeral quality of the present life and the need to store up a permanent reward in heaven by good deeds and pious acts. Five West Saxon charters of this period share virtually the same proem:

B.C.S. 505 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
 508 (Winchester, 863, lay)
 520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
 544 (Winchester, 844)
 873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)

- and some of the same formulae are also found in the arengas of:

B.C.S. 495 (Winchester, 858)
 499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 500 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 522 (Shaftesbury, 869, lay)
 886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)

From Abingdon: B.C.S. 504/5, 581, 873

From Athelney: B.C.S. 545

From Glastonbury: B.C.S. 564, 886

From Malmesbury: B.C.S. 568

From Wilton: B.C.S. 567

From Shaftesbury: B.C.S. 499, 500, 525

Several of these charters survive in a corrupt form, but I have included them as they seem to preserve authentic formulae of the period. I have omitted the more evident forgeries: B.C.S. 532, 549, 563, 565, 571, and 740.

1. Only B.C.S. 406*, 507*, and 562* (the last being a grant by the community and Bishop of Rochester).
2. B.C.S. 502*, 506*, 518.

Royal Title

In Kentish charters the royal style continues to be Rex....

occidentalium Saxonum necnon et (seu) Cantuariorum

B.C.S.855 (St Augustine's, 861)
 502* (scribe 8, Rochester, 860x2)
 506* (scribe 8, Rochester, 862, lay)
 507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay)
 516* (Canterbury, 867)
 518.. (Rochester, 868).

But between 868 and 880 there was a change to Rex Saxonum

B.C.S.548 (Rochester, 880)
 576* (Canterbury, 898, lay).

Since B.C.S.576 concerns an estate (East Farleigh) which is in the diocese of Rochester, we cannot be certain that this title was in current use at Canterbury as at Rochester¹.

In West Saxon charters the style gratia Dei (Dei gratia) occidentalium Saxonum rex is normal:

B.C.S.495 (Winchester, 858)
 499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 500 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
 520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
 873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)
 886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)

- until 870 when ...rex Saxonum first appears:

B.C.S.525 (Shaftesbury, 859 for 870, lay)
 550 (Winchester, 882, lay).

This title appears in its turn to be replaced between 882 and 891 by

....Anglorum Saxonum (Angulsaxonum) rex

1. Two Canterbury charters - B.C.S.496* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 858, lay), B.C.S.536* Canterbury, (scribe 7, Canterbury, 873, lay) style the king simply: rex.

B.C.S. 564 (Glastonbury, 891, lay)
 567 (Wilton, lay, 892)
 568 (Malmesbury, 871x99)
 581 (Abingdon, 892x99, lay)¹

Verba Dispositiva

Dabo et concedo remains the prevailing formula of Canterbury charters²:

B.C.S. 496* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 858, lay)
 855.. (St Augustine's, 861)
 507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay)
 515* lay (Canterbury, 861x6, lay)
 406* Canterbury (scribe 6, Canterbury, 863x7)
 516* (Canterbury, 867)
 519.. lay (Canterbury, 868, lay)
 539 lay (Canterbury, 875, lay).

- and as earlier³, it is also occasionally found in Rochester diplomas:

B.C.S. 506* (scribe 8, Rochester, 862, lay)
 518.. (Rochester 868)

West Saxon charters never use dabo et concedo; largitus sum remains in use:

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1. None of these charters is beyond dispute, and B.C.S. 567 has clearly been tampered with, but the fact that three are grants to laymen is in their favour. Asser's Life of Alfred (ed. W.H.Stevenson, 1904) which was written in 893 styles Alfred as Anglorum Saxonum rex in the dedication, and as rex Angulsaxonum in the text. On his coins the commonest style is rex S. or rex Saxonum, but already in coins of c.874-c.885 the style Rex A. is frequent, and one famous coin has rex Anglo. (see, Anglo-Saxon Coins, Studies presented to F.M. Stenton, ed. R.H.M.Dolley, 1961, pp.80-1). We cannot be certain whether these styles should be extended to rex Anglorum or to rex Anglorum Saxonum, but the evidence of the coins and of Asser shows that there is nothing remarkable in the appearance of these styles in the charters.
 2. Other formulae in use at this time at Canterbury are do et concedo (B.C.S. 538), donabo (B.C.S. 497), concedimus (B.C.S. 536*).
 3. Above, p.167. Most Rochester charters use a single verb in the present or future tense: trado (B.C.S. 502*), concedo (B.C.S. 576*), dabo (B.C.S. 548).

B.C.S. 520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
 873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)
 545 (Athelney, 852 for ?886)

But a more common formula in this period is doneo atque concedo¹:

B.C.S. 495 (Winchester, 858)
 499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 500 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
 886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)
 581 (Abingdon, 892x9, lay)

The powers

The Canterbury formula in use during Æthelwulf's reign², continues without change in documents from Christ Church and St Augustine's during the reigns of his sons:

B.C.S. 497* lay (scribe 7, Canterbury, 859, lay)
 855.. (St Augustine's, 861)
 507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay)
 515.. lay (Canterbury, 860 6, lay)
 837.. lay (St Augustine's, c.860-70, lay)
 406* (scribe 6, Canterbury, 863 7)
 516.. (Canterbury, 867)
 519.. lay (Canterbury, 868, lay)
 536* Canterbury (scribe 7, Canterbury, 873, lay)
 539.. lay (Canterbury, 875, lay).

The same formula occurs in a Rochester charter - B.C.S. 518 (Rochester, 868) - by which King Æthelred I gave property in Rochester to the bishop. This charter remarkably follows Canterbury formulae throughout and must have been drafted from Canterbury models. A very similar powers clause is also found in B.C.S. 562* which although preserved at Christ Church is in fact a grant by the bishop and community of Rochester to a priest;

1. The past tense is used in a comparable formula, dedi atque concessi (B.C.S. 495, 564).

2. Above, pp. 167-8.

but here the clause is drafted in the second person singular in accord with the Rochester tradition¹.

Most Rochester charters, however, continue to use an ut.. clause:

B.C.S. 502* (scribe 8, Rochester, 860x2)
 506* (scribe 8, Rochester, 862, lay)
 548.. (Rochester, 880)
 576* (Canterbury, 898, lay)².

West Saxon charters also use an ut.. clause in a distinctive form which achieves considerable consistency over the period:

ut habeat et (atque) possideat (perfruet) praefatam
 terram quamdiu in hac vita vixerit (demoratus fuerit),
 et post finem vitae illius heredi cuicumque placuerit
 liberam habeat donandi vel concedendi potestatem.

B.C.S. 495 (Winchester, 858)
 499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 500 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
 508 (Winchester, 863, lay)
 520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
 873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)
 886 (Glastonbury, lay, 869).

Immunity and Reservation

Charters from Canterbury archives continue to use the more standardised form of immunity clause with or without the reservation of the three common burdens that had been evolved in the period from 825 to 855:

ab omni.....liberabo (aeternaliter permaneat),
 nisi his tantum tribus causis.....

1. Cf. B.C.S. 486, and above, p. 168 and n. 1.

2. This charter never follows Christ Church formulae, and the estate (East Farleigh) lay in the diocese of Rochester, so it may well have been drafted by a Rochester clerk.

- B.C.S.855 (St Augustine's, 861)
 507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay)
 516* (Canterbury, 867)
 837.. lay (St Augustine's, c.860-70, lay)
 518 (Rochester, 868)
 519 lay (Canterbury, 868, lay)
 539 lay (Canterbury, 875, lay)

The Rochester charter, B.C.S.518, is here again exceptional in following Canterbury formulae¹.

The immunity clauses of West Saxon charters continue to be distinct from those of Kentish diplomas. Three main types may be discerned:

- a) sit autem praedicta terra libera (terra autem predicta secura et immunis permaneat) ab omni regali servitio et omnium saecularium servitute praeter expeditionem et pontis factione et arcis munitione.

- B.C.S.495 (Winchester, 858)
 499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
 508 (Winchester, 863, lay)
 520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
 873 (Abingdon, 866 71, lay)
 886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)

- b) ut.....omnium regalium et principalium tributorum et vi exactorum operum atque poenaliu causarum furisque comprehensione cunctaque saeculari gravidine absque (sine, nisi) expeditione (sola) et pontium structura (factione) et arcium munitione secura et immunis permaneat.

- B.C.S.496* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 858, lay)
 500.. (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
 525 (Shaftesbury, 859 for 870, lay)
 545 (Athelney, 852 for ?886).

1. Only one other Rochester charter of this period has an immunity clause (B.C.S.506*), and this is a complex ut... clause drawing on many different formulae of both Kentish and West Saxon origin.

It is surprising to find the Christ Church writer, scribe 7, using a West Saxon formula here, but he uses a West Saxon anathema in this charter, so it is likely that a West Saxon model was used in part in the drafting of this diploma.

- c) est autem praedicta terra ab omnibus saecularibus negotiis libera praeter expeditionem et pontis arcisve instructionem.

B.C.S.564 (Glastonbury, 891, lay)
 567 (Wilton, 892, lay)
 568 (Malmesbury, 871x99)

Anathema

The anathema that had been used regularly in Christ Church charters of the reign of Æthelwulf¹ remained the standard formula in Canterbury charters under his sons:

B.C.S.855 (St Augustine's, 861)
 507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay)
 837.. lay (St Augustine's, c.860-870, lay)
 515* lay (Canterbury, 860x6, lay)
 406* Canterbury (scribe 6, Canterbury, 863 7)
 516* (Canterbury, 867)
 518.. (Rochester, 868)
 536* Canterbury (scribe 7, Canterbury, 873, lay)
 539* lay (Canterbury, 875, lay).

Apart from B.C.S.518 which here as elsewhere uses Canterbury formulae, the anathemas of Rochester charters are distinct from those of Canterbury. In B.C.S.506* it is true that scribe 8 uses a closely comparable formulae, but the final phrase nisi prius digne emendaverit where Canterbury charters always have nisi ante digna satisfactione.... emendaverit establishes that we have here a version of this anathema that is distinctive of Rochester². Two other Rochester charters share an anathema that is of quite different form:

1. Above, pp.170-1.

2. Cf. earlier Rochester charters with nisi prius digne emendaverit: B.C.S.339, 395, 439.

B.C.S. 502* (scribe 8, Rochester, 860-2)
548.. (Rochester, 880).

West Saxon charters are again distinct from those of Kent.

The earlier type including the phrase diabolica fraude deceptus, and threatening expulsion from the church is continued:

B.C.S. 496* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 858, lay)
508.. (Winchester, 863, lay)
525 (Shaftesbury, 869, lay)
545 (Athelney, 852 for ?886)

B.C.S. 496 here again uses a West Saxon formula, as in its immunity clause, though the rest of the charter follows the Canterbury pattern. A more common anathema in West Saxon charters of the reigns of Æthelbald, Æthelbert, and Æthelred is:

Si vero quis infringere vel mutare presumpserit, sciat se coram Christo et omnibus sanctis (noscat se ante tribunal eterni iudicis) in die iudicii rationem redditurum esse, nisi prius satisfactione emendaverit.

B.C.S. 495 (Winchester, 858)
499 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
500 (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
525 (Shaftesbury, 869, lay)
873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)
886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)
550 (Winchester, 882, lay)

This West Saxon formula occurs in charters dealing with lands from almost every shire in the kingdom of Wessex. No distinction can be detected in charters relating to lands in the diocese of Sherborne and those in the diocese of Winchester.

Dating Clause

Actum est... remains the standard formula in Canterbury diplomas¹, and is more rarely used at Rochester:

1. Acta est which is common in West Saxon charters is found in B.C.S.

- B.C.S. 496* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 858, lay)
855.. (St Augustine's, 861)
506* (scribe 8, Rochester, 862, lay)
516* (Canterbury, 867)
518.. (Rochester, 868)
536* Canterbury (scribe 7, Canterbury, 873, lay)
539.. lay (Canterbury, 875, lay)

Scripta est... is the normal formula in diplomas from Rochester and from West Saxon archives:

- B.C.S..495 (Winchester, 853)
502* (scribe 8, Rochester, 860x2)
500.. (Shaftesbury, 860, lay)
504/5 (Abingdon, 862, lay)
508 (Winchester, 863, lay)
520 (Winchester, 868, lay)
525 (Shaftesbury, 869, lay)
886 (Glastonbury, 869, lay)
873 (Abingdon, 866x71, lay)
548 (Rochester, 880)
550 (Winchester, 882, lay)
545 (Athelney, 852 for ?886)
562* Rochester (scribe 8, Canterbury, 889,
?Rochester)

- but seems to have been replaced late in Alfred's reign by Acta est:

- B.C.S. 564 (Glastonbury, 891, lay)
568 (Malmesbury, 871x99)
576* (Canterbury, 898, lay)

B.C.S. 576 though preserved in the Christ Church archives, shares none of the features of Canterbury diplomas, and since it concerns an estate in West Kent there is no reason to expect it to conform to the Canterbury pattern¹.

507* (scribe 7, Canterbury, 863, lay) and in B.C.S. 576* (Canterbury, 898, lay). But the latter charter concerns land in West Kent.

1. In B.C.S.576 Alfred's attestation formula (cf. B.C.S.562), and the single dispositive word (concedo) suggest a Rochester origin; but the powers clause (Cf. B.C.S.508) is rather closer to West Saxon formulae.

Here again then, in the period from 855 to 899 the diplomas from Rochester and from West Saxon archives prove distinct from the formulae that are characteristic of the charters from the Christ Church archives. The only charters of the period from Christ Church which do not conform to the normal Christ Church pattern are grants to laymen or to ecclesiastics of other churches which convey lands outside the diocese of Canterbury (B.C.S.562*, 576*); their preservation at Christ Church is a result of the later history of the estates, and has nothing to do with where and by whom they were written. The bulk of the charters from Christ Church, however, concern lands in East Kent, and their formulae show a steady development from those in use in Christ Church charters earlier in the century. Occasionally a Canterbury writer, like scribe 7 in B.C.S.496 makes use of a few West Saxon formulae. Some interchange of formulae is to be expected as a result of personal contacts at ecclesiastical councils and of the journeyings of the archbishop and those members of his familia that he took with him. One Rochester document - a grant to the bishop of land in Rochester (B.C.S.518) - breaks the normal pattern by using Canterbury formulae throughout. It was either drafted by a Canterbury clerk or was based upon a Canterbury charter. We can only guess why a Rochester scribe or a Rochester exemplar was not available at the time when this charter was drafted. The two charters from St Augustine's of the period from 855 to 899 (B.C.S.837, 855) like the earlier diplomas from this house stick closely to Christ Church formulae, and there is no reason to doubt that they were drafted and written in the same scriptorium. Only one (B.C.S.855) is a

grant to the monastery, for B.C.S. 837 is one of a small but distinctive group of late 9th century Latin diplomas by which Kentish laymen sold land in East Kent to other laymen; all those that are extant¹ are in formulae typical of Christ Church charters.

C) Conclusions

The analysis of the formulae of 9th century charters therefore reinforces the evidence of their script. Together they establish that the drafting and writing of royal diplomas - as of private deeds, wills, the records of the decisions of the great ecclesiastical and lay councils, and of the bequests of laymen to churches, - was the work of a few ecclesiastical scriptoria. Mercian royal diplomas from the archives of Christ Church are distinct from the charters of the same kings at Rochester or at Worcester. West Saxon royal diplomas likewise vary according to whether they are from Canterbury, Rochester, or from a West Saxon centre. Amongst the Christ Church diplomas the transfer from Mercian to West Saxon rule is not mirrored by any sudden change in diplomatic. The distinctive formulae of the Christ Church diplomas begin to appear in the first decade of the 9th century, and develop steadily thereafter. The royal diplomas share the same characteristics and are often written by the same scribes as the grants of laymen to Christ Church, and as grants by the archbishops to the community. It is therefore clear that the diplomatic of the 9th century needs to be studied

1. B.C.S. 497*, 515*, 519*, 539*, 837.

not by reigns, but by scriptoria. We have to deal with a Canterbury diplomatic, a Rochester diplomatic, a Worcester diplomatic, and so on.

Some charters of the 9th century may be considered products of the Canterbury scriptorium by virtue of their distinctive formulae or because they were written by Christ Church scribes¹. In the first decade of the century there are few fixed formulae in Kentish charters, and those that survive in contemporary manuscripts are all by different scribes. If there was a Christ Church scriptorium in the years up to 805, there was little in the way of a house pattern. Even a charter like B.C.S.319, a grant by Archbishop Athelheard to the Canterbury community in 805, contains no formulae that can be shown to be characteristic of the Canterbury scriptorium. It is therefore likely that several of the extant charters of the period from 798 to c.805 which are similarly individual in their formulae² were also written and drafted at Canterbury before the scriptorium began to impose a set pattern upon its clerks. In the second and third decades of the 9th century formulae characteristic of the Christ Church scriptorium appear in the regnal style, the powers clause, the anathema, and the dating clause. Thereafter these and other formulae become ever more stereotyped as the

1. B.C.S.289*, 293*, 316, 322, 326*, 328, 332*, 335*, 340, 341*, 344, 348*, 370*, 373*, 378*, 381*, 384*, 396, 400*, 419, 421*, 423, 426, 442*, 448*, 449*, 467*, 496*, 497*, 507*, 515*, 406*, 516*, 518, 519, 536, 539, 837, 852, 853, 855, 1336, 1337. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1*, 2*, 4*, 5*, 9*. Robertson, Charters, 6*.

2. E.g. B.C.S.291, 317, 318, 319, 321. Of these B.C.S.291 is drawn up in terms favourable to the church of Canterbury, and B.C.S.319 is only of concern to the archbishop and community of Canterbury.

century progresses until the 870s when the series of diplomas in Canterbury formulae comes to an end.

33 of the 49 charters ascribed to the Canterbury writing-office by virtue of their diplomatic or palaeographic forms survive in contemporary manuscripts¹. Although we cannot automatically assume that a diploma drawn up in Canterbury formulae was necessarily written by a Canterbury scribe, it is likely that the majority of such charters were. These 33 charters therefore become the basic and unique evidence for the development of the scripts of a major English scriptorium of the 9th century. We may note that the charters written by scribes 1 and 2 (B.C.S. 335, 348, 370, 373) are all in Canterbury formulae, and these two writers may therefore be regarded as Christ Church scribes. In addition to the documents already attributed to scribes 1-7 these 33 charters in Christ Church formulae include twelve written by different scribes², which raises the number of Christ Church scribes of the 9th century to nineteen, spanning the years 799-875.

The pointed minuscule written by all these 19 scribes is a well-balanced and not too difficult script, and many of them learnt to

1. Those that are asterisked in n. 1 on p. 186.

2. B.C.S. 293 (B.M. Stowe Ch. 7: O.S. Facs., iii 7), B.C.S. 326 (B.M. Cotton Aug. II 98: B.M. Facs., ii 9), B.C.S. 332 (B.M. Cott. Aug. II 47: B.M. Facs., ii 11), B.C.S. 341 (Cant. Red Book 6: O.S. Facs., i 6), B.C.S. 378 (B.M. Stowe Ch. 14: O.S. Facs., iii 14), B.C.S. 381 (B.M. Stowe Ch. 13: O.S. Facs., iii 13); B.C.S. 384 (B.M. Stowe 15: O.S. Facs., iii 15), B.C.S. 442 (B.M. Stowe Ch. 17: O.S. Facs., iii 17), B.C.S. 515 (Cant. Red Book 8: O.S. Facs., i 9), B.C.S. 516 (B.M. Cott. Aug. II 95: B.M. Facs., ii 37), B.C.S. 519 (B.M. Cott. Aug. II 17: B.M. Facs., ii 38), B.C.S. 539 (B.M. Cott. Aug. II 89: B.M. Facs., ii 40).

write it well; during the pontificate of Wulfred (805-832) several scribes mastered it and wrote superb specimens of calligraphy with many elaborate but controlled ligatures and initials¹. Under Archbishop Ceolnoth (833-870) these elaborations were gradually dropped, and the best scribes achieved a script of stately beauty, most notably scribe 4. Although some excellent examples of the pointed script continued to be written in the 850s and 860s by scribes 4 and 6, and by the writer of B.C.S. 516, a widespread decline is apparent at first in the writing of vernacular documents, which were always written with less care than solemn Latin diplomas, but already in the works of scribes 5 and 7 in Latin texts as well. Scribe 7 seems to have been the chief writer of the scriptorium from c.855, and the fact that so many of the extant documents were written by him may suggest that there were far fewer men at Canterbury capable of writing a diploma than there had been earlier in the century. Scribe 7's last extant work (B.C.S. 536) is a pathetic testimony to the state of the scriptorium by 873. The poor grammar and curious orthography of this document are typical of his earlier charters and of other Canterbury scribes². But the numerous corrections and

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1. See especially the works of scribe 3 and also the hands of B.C.S. 341, 381, 384 (B.M.Stowe Ch.15).
 2. Poor grammar in Anglo-Saxon charters is nothing new. See the remarks of P.Chaplais on B.C.S. 45 and 81 in Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (7), 1968, pp.317, 327-8. But the grammar of Christ Church scribes of the second and third quarters of the 9th century was so bad that when they departed from the set form of a diploma, their sense frequently becomes impossibly obscure. Two of the most important documents of the period (B.C.S. 384 and 421) written with great care by scribes 3 and 4 are virtually unintelligible in crucial passages (see below, pp.201-5, 228-9). The influence of vernacular speech and spelling on Latin orthography in England needs extensive study; confusion of b and v, b and p etc. are not

interlineations by scribe 7 himself, the repetition of phrases by mistake and the omission of others¹, culminating in the fact that the wrong witnesses are written twice and the witnesses of the 873 transaction entirely omitted, suggests that scribe 7's sight was failing and that he either could not see clearly what he had written or could not be bothered to do so². If such a scribe was still required at Canterbury in the 870s to write charters we may well believe that there were few men at Christ Church who could write Latin at the beginning of Alfred's reign.

restricted to Kentish documents (nor indeed to English), but it is clear that misspellings become far more frequent at Canterbury in the 850s and 860s than they had been earlier in the century, and this must be related to the state of learning in the scriptorium. The principle confusions and misspellings are: y for b (B.C.S.467, 496, 497, 502, 506, 562), b for y (B.C.S.467, 496, 497, 506, 507, 516, 406, 536), omission of initial h (B.C.S.467, 496, 497, 516, 536, 539, 576), insertion of h (B.C.S.467, 496, 507, 562), t for d (B.C.S. 467, 496, 507, 536, 539), d for t (B.C.S.507), t for th (B.C.S.496), ð for d (B.C.S.519, 536), ð for t (B.C.S.506, 536), y for f (B.C.S.536), f for y (B.C.S.576). Many of these misspellings are also found in Welsh and Irish mss. (see W.M.Lindsay, Early Welsh Script, 1912, p.4).

1. Line 2 mea (meea) repeated; line 3 et 'pos' sidendūm; line 5 serbetur is meaningless and superfluous; line 7 in aliut (in aliud) repeated, quam a nobis omitted, line 8 indictiones for indictione.
2. The witness list divides into two parts: i) King Æthelwulf and West Saxon laymen, (This list is written twice), and ii) Archbishop Ceolnoth, King Æthelstan (sub-king of Kent) and Kentish witnesses. Both sections of the witness-list belong to 838-c.853 rather than to a document of 873. But it is highly unlikely that scribe 7 would forge a document alienating property from his own church. The O.E. note states that Liaba bought the charter and the land mið ðy friadome ðe hit hær gefriað was to cristes cirican on ece erfe. This suggests that the witnesses were understood to witness the original booking of the land by Æthelwulf, and that the scribe mistakenly wrote Æthelwulf and his followers twice instead of writing King Alfred, Archbishop Æthelstan and the witnesses to the alienation of Christ Church property first, and the earlier witnesses second.

In the course of the 9th century virtually all the Latin diplomas concerned with land in Kent were drafted and written by clerks either from Rochester or from Canterbury. Leaving aside grants specifically to these two episcopal churches - for we may suspect that grants to an episcopal church would normally be written in their scriptorium wherever the land lay - we find that of the twenty diplomas to laymen and to other churches that are drafted in Christ Church formulae¹, no less than eighteen concern estates that are in the diocese of Canterbury². By contrast there are seven charters to laymen that are in Rochester formulae, and all seven are grants of land in the diocese of Rochester. The conclusion that the churches of Canterbury and Rochester were the regular writing-offices for grants of land in their dioceses is clear. Moreover the Christ Church scriptorium was responsible not only for writing royal diplomas to laymen, but also to other religious houses. All of the five charters granting lands to the abbey of St Augustine's in the 9th century³ are in formulae typical of the Christ Church scriptorium. None of the St Augustine's charters have survived in original form, but there is no reason to suppose that they would have been written by scribes from St Augustine's rather than Christ Church.

Four 9th century charters prove exceptions to the rule that Kentish charters were written by clerks from the diocesan writing-office.

1. B.C.S.289*, 316, 326*, 396, 426, 442, 449, 467*, 496*, 497*, 507*, 515*, 518, 519*, 539*, 837, 852, 853, 855, 1337.

2. All except B.C.S.326 which concerns land at Cooling in West Kent, and B.C.S.518 which grants land in and about Rochester.

3. B.C.S.316, 852, 853, 855, 1337.

B.C.S.326, a grant by Coenwulf in 808 to a thegn Eadwulf of land in West Kent is drafted in Christ Church formulae where we should expect it to follow Rochester charters. B.C.S.353, a grant by Coenwulf in 815 of land in East Kent to Archbishop Wulfred, follows Worcester formulae almost exclusively¹. We know that the grant was made at Wychbold in Worcestershire, and if it was written by a Worcester scribe it serves as a salutary indication that a hand of a type very close to that of several Christ Church scribes could be written in a distant scriptorium. B.C.S.459 a grant by King Æthelwulf to a Kentish nobleman of land in East Kent follows West Saxon rather than Kentish formulae, but again our surprise is mitigated when we find that the charter was written at the West Saxon royal vill of Wilton. Finally B.C.S.518, a grant of land in Rochester to the bishop by King Æthelred proves to be drafted in Christ Church formulae from start to finish. Either it was produced by a Canterbury clerk, or else a Rochester scribe was copying verbatim from a Christ Church charter.

These exceptions show that even in Kent the system was not entirely rigid. There were occasions when a scribe from the diocesan church was not available and the charter was therefore written by a scribe trained in a different scriptorium with different diplomatic traditions. It is difficult to know whether the episcopal churches outside Kent also acted as the writing offices for all diplomas dealing with estates in their dioceses. In Mercia we have too few charters of

1. But the use of derelinquo in the powers clause (above, p.160) suggests that a Christ Church scribe may otherwise be copying Worcester formulae here.

the 9th century from houses other than Worcester to prove the point, but Dr. Chaplais has drawn attention to the fact that charters ~~of~~^{for} the bishop and community at Worcester share the same distinctive formulae as the royal diplomas preserved in the archives of the church¹. In Wessex the analysis of the formulae that recur most frequently in the period from 825 to 899 has not brought to light any criteria for distinguishing between charters connected with particular religious centres. More especially it does not seem to be possible to detect two separate diplomatic traditions represented by charters granting lands in the West Saxon dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne. It is possible that further analysis may bring such distinctions to light, but the poverty of the 9th century material from the archives of Winchester and Sherborne, and the fact that only one 9th century West Saxon charter is extant in contemporary form handicap any attempt to establish how West Saxon charters were produced at this time. At present it is clear that West Saxon charters are quite distinct from Kentish charters, but it is very possible that a single scriptorium was responsible for drafting and writing all diplomas within the old West Saxon kingdom during the period from 825 to 899. Whether this scriptorium was attached to the king or to a particular church can only be a matter of conjecture.

D) The writing of Christ Church charters in the 10th and 11th centuries

Only two charters of the 10th century use the formulae distinctive of the 9th century scriptorium at Christ Church. A lease of property

1. 'The Origin and Authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, p.59 and notes 92, 93.

in Romney Marsh to a layman and his two heirs by Archbishop Plegmund, which can probably be dated 905¹, uses the verba dispositiva, powers-clause, anathema, and dating clause typical of documents issued by the Christ Church scriptorium in the 860s and 870s. There can be little doubt that this document, which is attested only by members of the Christ Church familia and by three thegns, was written and drafted by a Christ Church clerk. The second charter is a curious bilingual document which records the sale of property near Teaterden by a certain Æthelflæd to Ælfwold in 968²; it begins in English, but reverts to the Latin formulae of the private deeds written in the Christ Church scriptorium in the 9th century³. Since the document was witnessed by the port-reeve and the three fellowships of Canterbury, as well as by the communities of Christ Church and of St Augustine's, there is no difficulty in supposing that it too was written and drafted at Canterbury by a Christ Church scribe.

These two documents are of importance in showing that when diplomas were written at Christ Church in the first seventy years of the 10th century, their form was little different from those of the 9th. But neither charter is a royal diploma. The Christ Church archives have, in fact, preserved eight royal diplomas of the first half of the 10th

1. B.C.S.638 (B.M.Stowe Ch.23: O.S.Facs., iii.24). The hand is contemporary, but the incarnation date (924) has been rewritten over an erasure.

2. B.C.S.1212 (B.M.Stowe Ch.30: O.S.Facs., iii.31). A later hand has added the agreement of Eadwold, and the attestation of the community at Appledore.

3. Cf. B.C.S.497, 515, 519, 539, 837.

century which grant lands in East Kent to laymen and which have survived in contemporary manuscripts¹. In the previous century such documents would have been written and drafted by Christ Church scribes. But since the work of R. Drögereit², it has been well known that from c.931 until at least 951 the form of the majority of English royal diplomas undergoes such a change as to establish that they were produced in a single scriptorium. In this period charters of the same date from widely separated parts of the English kingdom were drafted in identical formulae, and (where they are extant in contemporary form) often written by the same scribes. It is possible that this marks an extension to Kent and north of the Thames of West Saxon practice; for we have seen that a single scriptorium may have served the needs of the West Saxon kings of the 9th century within the bounds of Wessex itself.

Drögereit identified the hands of three scribes of the period 931-951 amongst the charters that are extant on single sheets; between them they wrote ten surviving diplomas, of which no less than eight have been preserved in the Christ Church archives³. One of these scribes

1. B.C.S. 702, 741, 753, 780, 791, 813, 820, 869

2. 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', Archiv f. Urkundenforschung, xiii (1933-5), pp.335-436.

3. Scribe 1: B.C.S. 677, 702 (B.M.Facs., iii.3,5).
 Scribe 2: B.C.S. 741, 753, 780 (B.M.Facs., iii.9,10; O.S.Facs., iii.25)
 Scribe 3: B.C.S. 791, 813, 820, 869, 877. (O.S.Facs., iii.26; B.M.Facs., iii.12,13; O.S.Facs., iii.27; B.M.Facs., iii.16). I follow the numbering of scribes used by P. Chaplais, 'The origin and authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diploma', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (2), 1965, pp.60-1.

also wrote one of two contemporary entries in the gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tiberius A.ii, recording the bequest of the gospels by King Athelstan to Christ Church¹. It does not, however, seem likely that these diplomas were written at Christ Church, for they do not show any traces of Kentish dialect² and N.R.Ker has argued that the similarity of the hands of scribes 2 and 3 to the hand of the Parker Chronicle for the years 939-955 is so close as to suggest that they represent a script distinctive of a scriptorium at Winchester³. Moreover the formulae and the Aldhelmic vocabulary of these charters have nothing in common with any charters known to have been written at Christ Church.

Even in the period 931-951, however it is likely that other scriptoria were in use for the writing of royal diplomas. Professor Whitelock has drawn attention to a group of alliterative charters which are likely to have been written and drafted in a Mercian centre⁴. No Christ Church charter of this type has survived, but Eadred's grant of Reculver to Christ Church in 949 (B.C.S.880) is one of a group of charters plausibly associated by Dr. Chaplais with the scriptorium of the reformed monastery of Glastonbury under Dunstan⁵. After 951 the wide

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1. As pointed out by F.Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.163 and plate I (= scribe 3). Dr. Chaplais argues that the second,metrical, record of Athelstan's bequest was alone written by a Christ Church scribe.
 2. Cf. the dialect forms of Robertson, Charters, 32, and of B.C.S.1212. However there are dialect forms in B.C.S.702, presumably South Saxon if the estate is Durrington.
 3. N.R.Ker, Catalogue, p.lix.
 4. E.H.D., i, p.340.
 5. Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, pp.163-5.

uniformity of the formulae of royal diplomas ceases, and Drögereit noted that this coincided with the deaths of Bishops Ælfheah of Winchester and Theodred of London whom he suggested had been successively in charge of the production of charters¹. Three further scribes, who have been connected with Winchester by N.R.Ker², wrote royal diplomas after 951, but the diversity of formulae, for instance, in the numerous diplomas of the years 956 and 957 suggest that several different scriptoria were by then in use. R. Drögereit first suggested that the writer responsible for five extant diplomas of King Eadgar of the years 960 to 963 was connected with the abbey of Abingdon under abbot Æthelwold³; one of his charters concerns land in Essex and has been preserved in the Christ Church archives⁴. St Augustine's, Canterbury, may have been another scriptorium used at this time for writing royal diplomas, for T.A.M. Bishop has noted that a charter of 962 by which King Eadgar granted land in Middlesex to a layman is in the same hand as the Bosworth Psalter (B.M., Add. MS. 37517)⁵.

1. Art.cit., p.414

2. Catalogue, p.lix. Scribe 4: B.C.S.926 (B.M.Facs., iii.21) also wrote the 951 annal in the Parker Chronicle. Scribe 5: B.C.S.961, 1347 (B.M.Facs., iii.21; Bodleian Lib.Record, vi, 1957, pl.1). Scribe 7: B.C.S.1003 (O.S.Facs., ii, Winchester Cathedral, 2). B.C.S.954 (William Salt Lib., MS.84/1/41) is also by scribe 7.

3. Art.cit., p.416. Scribe 6: B.C.S.1055, 1066, 1082, 1083, 1101 (B.M.Facs., iii.22, 23, 24, 25; O.S.Facs., iii.30).

4. B.C.S.1101

5. 'An early example of square minuscule', Trans.Cambridge Bibliographical Soc., IV (3), 1966, p.247 n.1.

How soon royal diplomas were once more written at Christ Church is not clear. The Christ Church scriptorium never regained its pre-eminent position of the 9th century, but T.A.M. Bishop has shown that a diploma of 1003 by which King Æthelred granted land in Canterbury to a layman with reversion to Christ Church was written by a Christ Church scribe¹, and Cnut's bequest of land in Sussex to Archbishop Ælfstan in 1018 is written by a well known Christ Church scribe². Thus by the 11th century at least charters in which the archbishop or community were immediate or ultimate beneficiaries might be written by Christ Church writers. There is, however, as yet no evidence from the 10th or 11th century that the Christ Church scriptorium also wrote royal diplomas to other beneficiaries.

1. 'Notes on Cambridge MSS.: The early minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury', Trans.Camb.Bibl.Soc., iii, 1959-63, p.418.

2. Above, p.74.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE KENTISH
MONASTERIES, 800-850

The abolition of the archiepiscopal see of Lichfield and the restoration of full rights to Canterbury, formally accomplished at the synod of Clovesho in October 803¹, did not lead to a long period of peaceful relations between the archbishops of Canterbury and the Mercian kings. Coenwulf appears to have made considerable attempts at conciliation. He had restored to Canterbury important estates that had been confiscated on one pretext or another by Offa², and when Archbishop Ethelheard died in 805, his successor was not a Mercian bishop or abbot but Wulfred who had been archdeacon in the Canterbury familia³. This was perhaps a deliberate acceptance of the advice of Alcuin who had written in 747 to Ethelheard, then in exile from the Kentish rebellion of Eadberht Præn, suggesting that he should reform the Canterbury familia inspiring them with zeal for reading, learning and singing so

1. B.C.S. 310

2. B.C.S. 291, 293, 301

3. Wulfred attests as archdeacon B.C.S. 312 (of 803) and B.C.S. 319 (of 805).

that 'they may find among their own number him whom they can elect as pontiff'¹. Thus by 805 Coenwulf had reversed the ecclesiastical policy of Offa, restoring the Kentish metropolitan see to authority over all the bishoprics south of the Humber and permitting as archbishop a member of the Christ Church community.

If Coenwulf hoped to obtain by appeasement a compliant archbishop, he had miscalculated. Archbishop Wulfred's independence may perhaps be seen in his coinage; whereas the coins of his predecessors bore on the reverse the name of the Mercian king, Wulfred's coins have only the name of the mint (Canterbury) or of the moneyer. Moreover on the obverse of Wulfred's coins there appears for the first time the highly distinctive facing bust of a tonsured prelate wearing the pallium, the insignia of the metropolitan office. By the year 808 there had apparently been a prolonged and open breach between crown and archbishop, for in that year Pope Leo III wrote to Charlemagne about troubles in Northumbria and referred also to the fact that 'Coenwulf had not yet made peace with his archbishop'². We know nothing of the matter in dispute, nor of how and when it was resolved. But in 809 Coenwulf granted Wulfred 7 sulungs of land in Kent at Barham in return for £30³: and this may indicate that peaceful relations had been restored. It is interesting to notice that it was evidently thought desirable that this grant should

1. E.H.D., vol.i, ed. D.Whitelock, no.203

2. Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, iii.563.

3. B.C.S. 328.

be witnessed not only by Coenwulf and his entourage at the archbishop's manor of Croydon, but also in the following year by the Kentish magnates (satrapes) at Canterbury. A series of exchanges of lands between Coenwulf and Wulfred and of grants in return for cash occupy the years 811-15¹, and show that 'business relations' at least were maintained. From the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we learn that in 814 Wulfred in company with Bishop Wigbert of Sherborne visited Rome and returned the next year 'with the blessing of Pope Leo'; but we are given no details of the reasons for the visit². In 816 Wulfred presided over an important - though much neglected - ecclesiastical synod of the southern province which was also attended by king Coenwulf and his magnates³. We hear nothing more of Wulfred - apart from his witnessing two grants of Coenwulf to the Bishop of Worcester in 817⁴ - until the year 821, the year of Coenwulf's death. It is to these years, 817-21, that we must ascribe the second great dispute between Coenwulf and Wulfred, about which we are fortunately somewhat better informed.

The Christ Church archives have preserved two manuscripts, both in hands that appear to be contemporary, of the record of the final settlement of this dispute at a synod held at Clovesho in 825, the third

1. B.C.S. 335, 340, 341, 344, 348, 353

2. According to Roger of Wendover, they went to Rome pro negotiis Anglicanae ecclesiae (Flores Historiarum, ed. H.O.Coxe, 1841, i.272).

3. Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, iii.579-585

4. B.C.S. 359, 360.

year of the reign of king Beornwulf of Mercia¹. Both manuscripts were written by Canterbury scribes, and the document is couched in the ungrammatical and frequently obscure Latin that is typical of the Canterbury scriptorium of the first half of the 9th century. Though it forms the final settlement of the dispute and has been described as a 'state document'², it is by no means an unbiased document, for it repeatedly records only one side - the Canterbury side - of the various agreements, and in the anathema the archbishop is referred to in the first person. It is witnessed by the full synodal assembly of lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries, but the document was both drafted and written by clerks of the Christ Church scriptorium.

The charter is long and often difficult to interpret, but five main stages in the dispute can be distinguished.

1) After the opening protocol describing in customary formulae the gathering of the synod, we are told how 'through the violence and avarice of King Coenwulf' Archbishop Wulfred had been

'deprived of all his own lordship (dominatio) and despoiled in the free monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet (Suðmynster) of all the goods and possessions that belong to them'³.

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1. B.C.S.384. B.M.Cotton Aug.II 78 is written by scribe 3 (above, pp. 138-142), and B.M.Stowe Ch.15 is in a closely similar hand which has also been ascribed to the Christ Church scriptorium (above, p.139 n.1).
 2. F.M.Stenton, Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, 1955, p.41.
 3. '....omni dominatione propria privatus est, vel in his liberis monasteriis æt Suðmynster 7 æt Ræculfo omnibus rebus ac possessionibus quae ad illos pertinebant cum violentia ac rapacitate ejusdem praefatae regis dispoliatus est'.

Nor we are told was it only the archbishop who was unjured by these disputes, for as a result of them

'the whole race of the English was deprived of his metropolitan authority and ministry of the sacred baptism for almost six years'.¹

2) Then at a council held at London Coenwulf imposed terms. He threatened Wulfred with expulsion such that neither the mediation of the pope, nor of the emperor², nor of any other ruler, would regain for him his rank in England unless he would agree to hand over three hundred hides of land at Eynsham and a sum of no less than £120; in return the archbishop was to be restored to his see with full authority as his predecessors had enjoyed it, and Coenwulf was to make the archbishop 'safe and guiltless of the affronts and discords' brought against him 'before the lord pope'. And if Coenwulf was unable to accomplish this he would return to the archbishop all the money that he had handed over to him (i.e. £120). It is important to understand that in restoring Wulfred to all the 'power and obedience that belonged to his episcopal see', Coenwulf was conceding to the archbishop control over the minsters of

1. 'Nec ille solus episcopus his aliisque rebus perplurimis inhonoratus fuisset, sed per eadem supradictas accusationes et discordias tota gens Anglorum. vi. ferme annorum curricula sua primordiali auctoritate sacraeque baptismatis ministerio privata est.'

2. 'Tuncque in eodem concilio cum maxima districtione illo episcopo mandavit quod omnibus rebus quae illius dominationis sunt dissipatus fieri, omnique de patria ista esse profugus, et numquam nec verbis domine papae nec caesaris seu alterius alicujus gradu huc in patriam recipisse, nisi hoc consentire voluisset....' There may be a reference here to mediating efforts by the Pope and emperor in the first of the disputes of Coenwulf and Wulfred of c.805-809.

Reculver and Minster-in-Thanel which had been the cause of the dispute. For we are then told that (in Canterbury eyes at least) this imposed agreement was not fulfilled; the archbishop did not receive from Minster-in-Thanel for three years after the reconciliation 'the rents of food, money, and clothing, and the obedience which belonged to the episcopal see' (i.e. while Coenwulf and his brother and successor, Ceolwulf, were on the throne), and that the archbishop was 'dishonoured in many other places in the diocese'¹.

3) The remaining part of the document describes the various attempts to achieve a settlement between archbishop Wulfred and Cwoenthryth, who was Coenwulf's daughter and heir and also abbess both of the family monastery of Winchcombe (Gloucs.) and of Minster-in-Thanel. With the deposition of Ceolwulf in 823, and the succession of Beornwulf, a member of a different branch of the Mercian royal house, the political circumstances became slightly more favourable to Canterbury. Wulfred demanded reparation from Cwoenthryth for all the losses and injuries that he and his see had suffered at the hands of king Coenwulf, and he obtained the support of a synod gathered at Clovesho. King Beornwulf, however, intervened as mediator at the request of Coenwulf's heir (Cwoenthryth) and on behalf of the inheritance, and he eventually persuaded Wulfred to accept as settlement of his claims 100 hides in

1. 'Sed nihil hujus condicte condicionis impletum est, sed haec continuo omnia fallata sunt, quia post eadem reconciliationem tribus annis integris æt Suðmynstre tam in pastu et pecunia vestimentisque ac omnia oboedientiaquae ad illam archiepiscopalem sedem pertinebat sine omni honore fraudatus est, aliisque in locis perplurimis illius porochiae inhonoratus est.'

Middlesex (Harrow, Herefrithing lond, Wembley, and Yeadding) together with the charters that went with them. The whole of this estate was given to the archbishop 'in perpetual inheritance' with the usual powers of disposal.

4) But this agreement too was not fulfilled, since 3 of these 100 hides were removed (abstractae), and the charters concerning 47 of the hides - situated in three places, Bocland, Wembley, and Herefrithing lond - had not been handed over within 12 months. At a further meeting at Oslafeshlau in the province of the Hwicce, abbess Cwoenthryth protested her ignorance of the delay in the settlement (i.e. of the land which she had been denying him). Wulfred, however, warned her that he now regarded himself 'freed of all the old causes about which they had come to terms, since those things which had earlier been promised had not been performed'¹. This threat to resume all his old claims apparently had the desired effect, and Cwoenthryth immediately handed over the missing charters and promised to restore all the land which he had not received.

5) Finally at Clofesho in 825 abbess Cwoenthryth made an additional gift to Archbishop Wulfred, 'for the sake of his amiable friendship', of a further 4 hides to the estate at Harrow and 30 hides at Cumbe in Kent, together with the relevant charters. This additional grant was made ut omnis hereditas Coenwulfi heredesque illius firmaliter

1. 'Tuncque....episcopus illa abbatissa presente exponebat quod ille omnium causarum quas ante reconciliaverunt liberatus fuisset, cum illa perfecta non fuerunt quae ante spondata habuisset'.

sint liberi. Wulfred agreed on condition that the names of these estates (the 4 hides in Middx and Cumbe in Kent) should be erased from the ancient charters kept in the monastery of Winchcombe. It is clear that by accepting this final additional grant from Cwoenthryth 'so that the whole Coenwulf inheritance and his heirs may finally be free', Wulfred renounced any further claim that Canterbury might have to any part of the lands and rights of the Coenwulf inheritance. This interpretation is confirmed by the anathema in which Wulfred states that if any heir of Coenwulf should in the future make any dispute, then 'I (Wulfred) and my heirs and Christ Church' would require amends from him, and 'all the above-mentioned injuries would remain to be reconciled'¹.

It is clear that B.C.S. 384 is describing a major clash of Church and State. The importance which both archbishop and king attached to this dispute may be deduced from the drastic measures which Coenwulf took in the hope of forcing Wulfred to give way. There may be some exaggeration in the statement that Wulfred's suspension from office lasted nearly six years, since he attests diplomas up till the year 817, and the Council of London where he was restored to his see and office cannot have been later than 821, the year in which Coenwulf died². But

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1. 'Si autem iterum aliqua altercatio ab alicui herede Coenwulfi in posterum elata fuerit absque omni dubitatione sciat me liberum esse measque heredes ecclesiam Christi justitiam et emendationem ad heredem illam requirere, omniaque suprascripta injuria irreconciliata permanere'.
 2. At most from early 817 to late 821 could only be nearly 5 years. It is just possible that the period was understood to continue into the reign of Ceolwulf (821-3), when numismatic evidence suggests that the political situation in East Kent was very confused (C.E. Blunt, C.S. Lyon, and B.H. Stewart, 'The Coinage of Southern England', Brit. Numis. Journ., xxxii, 1964, pp. 14-19, 41-2).

we need not doubt the reality of Wulfred's suspension from all his duties; not only are the years 818-821 marked by an absence of episcopal professions of faith to the archbishop, and of diplomas and charters of all kinds, but it is to these years that the coins of the archiepiscopal mint on which the archbishop's name is omitted may most plausibly be attributed¹. The archbishop's moneyers were allowed to continue to produce coin, but apparently not permitted to use the name of the suspended archbishop. Moreover the statement that Wulfred in 821 would not be able to obtain any help from Rome or from the imperial court if he did not accept Coenwulf's terms indicates that the king had some support in both these quarters - a fact which likewise testifies to the importance of the quarrel. Archbishop Wulfred must have considered that fundamental rights of his see were at stake, And the same conclusion may be drawn from the savage price (300 hides of land and £120) that he was prepared to pay in order to obtain his restoration and recognition by the king of the archiepiscopal rights over the two minsters². In terms of the importance which the participants attached to it, the dispute over

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1. C.E.Blunt, C.S.Lyon, and B.H.Stewart (ibid., pp.21, 41) prefer to attribute the anonymous archiepiscopal issues to the period 821-3 to which they assign all the royal anonymous issues of the Canterbury mint; but there is no apparent reason why the archbishop's coins should be anonymous at this time, and they do not seem to have considered the possibility that the 'anonymous-bare head' type also belongs to the period 817-821.
 2. If we take the 9th century equation of 2 hides = 1 sulung (B.C.S. 321, 341) as a guide then the 300 hides the archbishop had to sacrifice in 821 was almost equivalent to the total holding of the archbishop in Kent at the time of the Domesday survey (187 sulungs).

the control of the 'monasteries' of Minster and Reculver must rank high among the better known clashes between the crown and the mediaeval archbishops of Canterbury. We may therefore ask upon what did the kings of Mercia and the archbishops of Canterbury base their rival claims to the dominatio and revenues of these two monasteries. And how was king Coenwulf able to obtain papal support in a dispute in which, if we are to believe the Canterbury account, he was so clearly the aggressor?

The religious houses of Kent had been founded by the Kentish kings during the period of their independence. The earliest abbesses of the Kentish double-monasteries were without exception Kentish princesses or widows of Kentish kings. Thus Lyminge was founded for Æthelburg daughter of Ethelbert I of Kent, and widow of Edwin of Northumbria; Folkestone was founded for Eanswith, daughter of king Eadbert I; Minster-in-Sheppey was founded for Seaxburg, daughter of king Anna of East Anglia and widow of Earconbert of Kent; and Minster-in-Thamet was founded for Æbbe who was widow of Merewāh of the Magonsæte and daughter of the Kentish regulus Eormenred¹. Seaxburg was succeeded at Sheppey by her daughter Eormenhild, whilst at Thanet Æbbe was succeeded by her daughter Mildred (Milðryð). The Kentish houses were thus very closely associated with the Kentish ruling house, and when in 699 king

1. The traditions concerning the foundation of the Kentish monasteries are preserved no earlier than the mid-11th century, in the anonymous Tract on the Saints of England (Die Heiligen Englands, ed. F. Liebermann, 1899) and at the end of the century by Goscelin (whose writings are listed by F. Barlow, Vita Eadwardi Regis, 1962, appendix C), whence they are repeated by the St Augustine's chronicler, Thomas of Elmham (Historia Abbatiae S. Augustini, ed. C. Hardwick, (R.S.) 1858).

Wihtrred issued a charter of immunity for the Kentish churches and monasteries ab omni exactione publici tributi atque dispendio vel laesione, he ordered at the same time

'ut....mihique et posteris meis talem honorem
vel oboedientiam exhibeant qualem exhibuerunt
antecessoribus meis regibus sub quibus eis
justitia et libertas servabatur'¹.

We may here recall that oboedientia from Minster-in-Thamet was one of the matters in dispute between Coenwulf and Wulfred. It is likely that when the Mercian kings took control of Kent they claimed as their right the 'obedience' that was formerly due to the Kentish kings, for there is good reason to think that Æthelbald of Mercia confirmed Wihtrred's privilege. There survives in an 8th century manuscript (now unfortunately mutilated by the Cotton fire of 1731, but of which the surviving fragments are legible under ultra-violet light) a charter of Æthelbald of the year 749 to the churches of his kingdom with an elaborate statement of the ecclesiastical immunity². The charter is witnessed by bishops only from the Mercian sees of Lichfield and Leicester and may therefore only have

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1. B.C.S.99. For the authenticity of this neglected text, see above p.12 n.2.
 2. B.C.S.178. Birch and other editors have all taken their text from H.Spelman, Concilia....in re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici, vol.i, 1639, p.265. But it appears to have escaped their attention and that of all subsequent commentators on this charter (see S.A.L.B. 92) that Spelman's text, taken from Cotton Otho A.i. f.40, has survived among the extant fragments of Otho A.i, and is now f.7. The hand of this ms. is a handsome majescale of C.VIII (ii) (Codices Latini Antiquiores, ed.E.A.Lowe, ii, 1935, no.188, where a rather indistinct facsimile of f.7 shows part of the proem). For other texts in this important ms., see N.R.Ker, 'Membra Disiecta', B.M.Quarterly, xiv, 1940, p.79ff.

applied to Mercia itself. The Christ Church archives preserve what purports to be a similar immunity for the Kentish churches granted by Æthelbald in 742¹; but this document like the Christ Church version of the Wihtred privilege² is full of anachronistic interpolations and must be reserved for discussion later in this chapter. That Æthelbald did confirm Wihtred's privilege, however, is indicated by a much curtailed text that has survived only in the cartularies of St Augustine's³. This is a charter of Offa to the Kentish churches, and states that it is a confirmation of the privileges of Wihtred and of Æthelbald. Offa's privilege of immunity was granted at the request of Archbishop Æthelheard, and is dated (by Offa's regnal year) to 792 that is the year of Æthelheard's accession. It is difficult to establish the authenticity of a text which survives only in a late copy and shorn of its witnesses, but strongly in its favour is the fact that it contains none of the additional rights that were inserted into the Christ Church versions of the privileges of Wihtred and Æthelbald; it grants no more than had been granted in the authentic privilege of Wihtred (B.C.S.99), though its account of the immunity is much more detailed⁴.

1. B.C.S.162 (Cant.Red Book 1: O.S.Facs., i.1). Discussed below pp.210-2

2. B.C.S.91 (B.M.Stowe Ch.2: O.S.Facs., iii.2). Discussed below pp.222-6

3. B.C.S.848

4. The reservation of the three common burdens, if authentic is the earliest in a Kentish charter:

'...nisi expeditione intra Cantiam contra paganos marinos cum classis migrantibus vel in Australes Saxones si necessitas cogit, ac pontis constructionem ⁊ arcis munitionem contra paganos itemque intra fines Cantwariorum'.

The unique limitation of the military obligation to Kent might be regarded with suspicion, but its extension to Sussex in an

It therefore seems likely that the Mercian kings claimed to have acquired the rights of the earlier independent kings of Kent in their relations with the Kentish 'monasteries'. Coenwulf may have interpreted this to include the right to appoint the abbots and abbesses. Certainly we find in 804 an abbot of St Augustine's called Cunred who is described as a propinquus of Coenwulf and his brother Cuthred¹. And it may be that the election of Coenwulf's daughter Cwoenthryth as abbess of Minster-in-Thanet was the starting point of the long dispute over Minster. For we know that the Mercian kings claimed the right to dispose of the monasteries they had acquired. The papal formulary of the 8th century known as the Liber Diurnus has preserved (in its latest section) a privilege of Pope Hadrian I to somebody entitled 'excellencia vestra' and with a wife named 'Cynedridae regine'². As Sickel, the editor of the Liber Diurnus, first pointed out this can only be Cyneðryð, the wife of Offa of Mercia. By this privilege therefore Hadrian placed under the ditio of Offa and his wife Cwoenthryth, and their successors all the monasteries he had built or had acquired together with all their men, possessions, and appurtenances. Here then we may perhaps see the basis for the claim of the Mercian kings to control the Kentish monasteries.

We also know that Coenwulf received similar privileges from pope Leo III (795-816) and from Paschal I (817-824). For W. Levison showed that two texts that have survived in the 13th century cartulary

emergency does not read like the work of a forger; moreover reference to 'pagans' is a feature of the reservation-clause of all the early Kentish charters to include the reservation (B.C.S. 332, 335, 348, 370).

1. B.C.S. 316

2. Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum, ed. H. Foerster, Bern, 1958.

of Winchcombe abbey are copied from genuine papal privileges¹. By the first Leo III confers on Coenwulf the right to dispose to whom he wished of all the monasteries and various places in the 'insula Saxonia' that he had inherited from his parents or had acquired 'juste et rationabiliter'² (~~B.C.S. 337~~). The second privilege, of Paschal I³ returns to the formulae of Hadrian's privilege to Offa, but grants exactly the same privilege to Coenwulf and his heirs as he had already received from Leo III. We may well wonder why Coenwulf needed a privilege of Paschal which added nothing to his powers. The answer may be sought in the fact that the privilege of Paschal I is dated, as Levison has shown, to December 817 - that is to the very time when Coenwulf had just engaged

pp.172-3, (from Vaticanus, no.93).

1. England and the Continent, pp.255-8
2. B.C.S.337
3. B.C.S.363. I cannot agree with the suggestion of Dr.P.Chaplais (Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii(7), 1968, pp.335-6) that this privilege and also B.C.S.337 are forgeries based on the formulae of the Liber Diurnus. Dr.Chaplais has to admit that his proposed forger had access to an authentic privilege of Paschal I for the dating clause, and it is difficult to believe that such privileges were common in England in the 10th, 11th, or 12th centuries. It is scarcely likely that the abbey of Winchcombe possessed a copy of Liber Diurnus of Vaticanus type and an authentic privilege of Paschal I. The absence of the names of the estates and monasteries confirmed by Paschal to Coenwulf in both the Liber Diurnus and B.C.S.363 is not a reason for suspicion, for we cannot suppose that a forger would fail to supply them. What motive can there have been for forging a charter which did not even name the lands which were to be part of Coenwulf's inheritance and hence of the possessions of Winchcombe? One would also have to suppose that the forger when composing B.C.S.337 carefully varied the formulae of Lib.Diurn., Vat.MS, form.86 with phrases from other formulas (Cf. Levison, op. cit., p.255 n.2).

in a bitter quarrel with Archbishop Wulfred over the control of the monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet. We know from the record of this dispute that Coenwulf received papal support against the archbishop. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that this privilege preserved in the archives of Winchcombe - which we know to have been the house where the documents of the Coenwulf inheritance were kept¹ - was obtained by Coenwulf precisely in order to bolster his case against Wulfred.

Coenwulf's claim thus seems to have rested upon direct papal recognition of the proprietary rights of the king. Where, then, could Archbishop Wulfred turn for support for his claim to the revenues and obedience of the Kentish monasteries when, in the age par excellence of the proprietary church, he had not even the benefit of papal backing?

It was the duty of a bishop to consecrate the abbots and abbesses of the religious houses in his diocese, and he was charged with ensuring that true faith and genuine religious observance were maintained in these monasteries. There was room for abuse here, and the third canon of the synod of Hertford (673) specifically forbade any bishop 'to disquiet in any way the monasteries consecrated to God, or to remove by force any of their possessions'². In England and on the Continent in the late 7th and early 8th centuries the tendency was to strengthen the rights of particular monasteries against episcopal control or interference³.

1. B.C.S.1088

2. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.120 from Bede, Hist.Eccl., iv.5.

3. For the continental development, see W.Goffart, The Le Mans Forgeries, Cambridge Mass., 1966, p.7ff.

Many English monasteries are known to have obtained papal privileges granting them exemption from episcopal authority and especially safeguarding their right to elect their abbot or abbess from among their own community¹. Among the monasteries protected by papal privilege was St Augustine's². A privilege of Pope Constantine I to Bermondsey and Woking, whose authenticity was demonstrated by Sir Frank Stenton³, expresses the limits of episcopal authority at this time with particular clarity:

'Statuimus ergo...loci vero episcopus, qui e vicino monasteriis eisdem conjungitur, ordinandi presbyterum vel diaconem quem videlicet congregatio servorum Dei ibidem constituta delegerit vel poposcerit, facultatem tantummodo habeat...Similiter si abbatem de hoc saeculo migrare contigerit, idem vicinus episcopus alium pro eo ordinet quem videlicet congregatio de corpore suo delegerint, et non extraneum eis nolentibus superinferre audeat....Ceterum in rebus vel dispensatione rerum monasterii nulli episcoporum...licentiam damus inquirere vel cognoscere vel pro hoc eis insolentias aliquas irrogare. Et ut summatim nostri decreti designetur intentio: quae ad canonicam pertinent curam, episcopus loci procuret inquirere, quae ad rem et ad dispensationem monasterii pertinent, religiosus abba qui pro tempore fuerit cum praeposito suo et prioris congregationis ut providerint expedire disponatur'.

There were considerable pressures upon bishops to extend their duty to consecrate the abbots of their diocese and to watch over the religious life of the community into a right to influence elections and to control

1. Levison, England and the Continent, pp.22-27

2. B.C.S.38. See Levison, op.cit., pp.25-6

3. B.C.S.133; F.M.Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies', Historical Essays in Honour of J.Tait, ed.J.G.Edwards, V.H.Galbraith, and E.F.Jacob, 1933, p.320 ff.

monastic property. Bede himself urged Bishop Egbert of York and king Eadbert to resume those lands that had been booked to laymen on the pretence of founding a monastery but where there was no true religious life¹. The bishop's canonical powers were not sufficient to combat the spread of the proprietary church. This is tacitly admitted by the 5th chapter of the synod of Clovesho of 747 which is concerned with:

'monasteries, if it is right so to call them, which are held by laymen and which in these times on account of the power of tyrannical avarice can in no way be brought back to a state of Christian religion'.²

The synod was content to instruct the bishop to make sure with the aid of the lay lord and for the sake of the souls of the inhabitants that such houses should at least have a priest to administer the sacraments.

Somewhat more latitude seems to be allowed to the bishop by the synod held under the auspices of the papal legates George and Theophylact in 786 when the 5th chapter declares that when an abbot or abbess died, a new abbot or abbess of proved religious life was to be elected from among the community 'with the counsel of the bishop'³. But that there was no real extension of episcopal power here is suggested by the 8th canon which declares that papal privileges to churches were to be respected, and any documents that infringed them were to be destroyed.⁴

1. Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum, ed. C.Plummer (Baedae Opera Historica), i, pp.414-417.

2. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.364

3. Ibid., p.450

4. Ibid., p.451.

In the acts of Archbishop Wulfred's Synod of Chelsea of 816, however, we find a very different interpretation of a bishop's powers. The 4th canon declares that 'every bishop shall have the power of electing abbots and abbesses in his own diocese', and adds as a rider 'and this with the consent and consultation of the community'¹. The boot is now on the other foot: whereas in the 8th century the bishop had to consecrate a suitable person of the community's choice, now the bishops are asserting a right to choose the abbot or abbess themselves, and the familia has merely the right to consent. Other canons of this synod show that Wulfred and his fellow-bishops were making a determined attack upon some of the worst abuses of the proprietary churches. The 7th canon, which refers without comment to 'bishops..who receive the rule and landed possessions of monasteries', was concerned to prevent the permanent losses of ecclesiastical property which were liable to occur if lands were alienated for more than one life, or if they were allowed into the hands of the laymen who had been chosen as guardians (custodes) or defenders (defensores) of monasteries.²

The 8th canon tackles the problem of the monasteries where regular life had ceased and where laymen were in control of the estates of the house. Where the estates and religious life of the community

1. Ibid., pp.580-1: 'Ut habeat unus quisque episcoporum potestatem in sua propria diocesi abbatem vel abbatissam eligere, et hoc cum consensu et consultu familiae.'

2. 'Quia valde periculosum est illis qui deputantur custodes cenubiarum et custodes constituti, illud distribuere ac auferre quod ab aliis pro suorum animarum salute Deo omnipotente et sanctorum reliquis in propriam hereditatem concedantur...'

could no longer be preserved 'by reason of penury or of the rapacity of laymen', the bishop is instructed to intervene 'to defend the flock of Christ rather than abandon it to the aggression of the ravening jaws of wolves'. By thus authorising episcopal intervention in order to save for religious purposes the properties of lapsed monasteries, the synod deliberately over-rode the canon of the synod of Hertford which had forbidden episcopal interference with monastic property. Wulfred and his fellow bishops thus went far beyond the weak measures of the 747 synod of Clovesho in favour of a policy very similar to that advised by Bede in his letter to Archbishop Egbert. That the synod was fully aware that it was proposing a drastic step is indicated by the care with which it asserts that the bishop's intervention was to be made 'for the great need of the familia, not from (episcopal) greed', and with which it refers anyone who might cavil to the authority of the Synod of Chalcedon (c.xxiv) on which the opening sentence of this canon is based.¹ The canon does not, however, give a complete carte blanche to vigorous bishops. In the monasteries where regular life as formerly constituted was still maintained, the episcopal dominium was to extend to the election of abbots and abbesses, and to their consecration, but no further (i.e. not to interference with their property). By this proviso the synod sought to allay the charge that they were making any innovation that was contrary

1. Canon 24 of Chalcedon simply stated: 'Quae semel dedicata sunt monasteria, et res quae ad ea pertinent, monasteriis reservari, nec posse ea ultra fieri saecularia habitacula. Qui vero hoc fieri permiserint canonum sententiis subjacebunt'.

to the canons; but as we have seen they were interpreting the bishop's power in monastic elections very differently from earlier English synods.

The Synod of Chelsea was held in July 816. The following year Archbishop Wulfred was deprived of his metropolitan authority as a result of the dispute with the Mercian king Coenwulf over the control of all the possessions (omnibus rebus ac possessionibus quae ad illos pertinebant) of the monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet. In the light of the 816 synod, this dispute appears as the test case by which the strength of the determination of the bishops to prevent further loss of ecclesiastical property to lay lords or to laymen posing as abbots was weighed in the balance. We can therefore understand why Wulfred was prepared to undergo 4 or more years' deposition and then to surrender 300 hides of land and £120 in return for restoration to full archiepiscopal authority. Great principles were at stake.

None of the synodal documents so far cited to illustrate Wulfred's position have survived at Christ Church, and we may therefore ask, what could the Canterbury archives provide by way of support of the archbishop's claims? Most important is the document issued by Archbishop Æthelheard at the synod of Clovesho of October 803 after his return from a visit to Rome.¹ Æthelheard orders, in accordance with the instructions of pope Leo III that

'the communities of all the monasteries, which have once been dedicated by faithful men in perpetual liberty to the Lord Christ, shall never presume henceforth by any rash daring to elect for themselves lay and secular men as lords over the

1. B.C.S. 312 (Cant. Red Book 4: O.S. Facs., i.4).

'inheritance of the Lord. But rather, as is stated in the privileges given by the Apostolic See and as has been handed down by apostolic men in the early days of the Church through the sacred canons and also as has been constituted by the possessors of monasteries themselves, they shall take care to observe the rule, the keeping of discipline and their monastic rights'.

This declaration was attested by all the twelve suffragans of the southern province, each with the abbots, priest-abbots, and priests of their diocese. Though we may wonder how effective such a decree could be against the entrenched power of lay lords and in the absence of royal and lay attestations, the document does indicate that the climate of opinion that led to Wulfred's stand against Coenwulf was already in evidence under his predecessor.

We look in vain for other authentic documents which might have been used to support the archbishop, for the archives of the church seem to have been largely destroyed during the Kentish revolt of Eadbert Præn (796-8)¹. There is no series of diplomas from Canterbury to parallel those from Worcester showing how the 8th and 9th century bishops sought to gain and retain control of the proprietary monasteries in the diocese of Worcester and of the lands that belonged to them². But if the absence of early documents from Christ Church makes it difficult for us to reconstruct Archbishop Wulfred's case, it must also have hampered Wulfred's own efforts to justify his stance. The temptation to replace or improve upon documents that had been lost must have been strong. A

1. Above, pp. 20-26

2. B.C.S. 156, 217 (Withington); 154, 220 (Henbury and Stour); 241 (Bath, Stour, Bredon, Hampton); 273, 274, 313, 379 (Westbury and Stoke); 350/68 (Twynning); 488/9 (Blockley).

parallel situation at Le Mans in the mid-9th century where the bishop was attempting to acquire control of all the 'monasteries' of his diocese, led to an elaborate series of forgeries - not only royal diplomas, but papal privileges, saints' lives, poems, and historical narratives¹.

There are two spurious documents from the Christ Church archives which seem to bear on Archbishop Wulfred's claim to the lordship of the monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet. These are the Christ Church versions of the privileges of Kings Wihtred of Kent and Æthelbald of Mercia to the Kentish churches (B.C.S.91, 162). The privilege of Æthelbald survives in a hand of C.IX²(i) which is closely similar and perhaps identical to the hand of the Christ Church writer, scribe 2². The privilege of Wihtred survives only in a manuscript of the first half of the 11th century³. But the fact that the privilege of Æthelbald refers to that of Wihtred and quotes from it proves that a version of this grant of Wihtred must have been in existence in the early 9th century⁴.

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1. W.Goffart, The Le Mans Forgeries, 1966, passim, especially pp.191-220.
 2. B.C.S.162 (Cant.Red Book 1: O.S.Facs., i.1). For the works of scribe 2, see above, pp.1307-8. In particular note the forms of t, g, x, y, ð, a, and forms of ligatures of -ti- and et. B.C.S.¹⁶² uses long i more frequently than the extant works of scribe 2, and also uses forms of initial g, and a raised e in which the top projects horizontally above the following letters, which are both found in Christ Church charters of the first and second decades of the 9th centuries (cf. B.C.S.321: O.S.Facs., iii.9; B.C.S.341: O.S.Facs., i.6; and the works of scribe 1).
 3. B.C.S.91 (B.M.Stowe Ch.2: O.S.Facs., iii.2)
 4. B.C.S.162 refers specifically to the institutio vel praeceptum of Wihtred in two contexts, a) placing the elections of the abbots and abbesses of the Kentish monasteries under the control of the bishop rather than of laymen, and b) the liberty of the monasteries from

We may remember that the authentic privileges of Wihtrred (B.C.S.99) and of Æthelbald (B.C.S.178) to the churches of their kingdoms grant no more than immunity from secular rents and services. The Canterbury texts, however, purport to grant very different rights. We may take the Æthelbald privilege first since it survives in the earlier manuscript. The document is dated to the year 742, but as Stubbs pointed out long ago it appears from the witness-list 'that three successive bishops of Elmham and two of Dunwich were present at the same time'.¹

secular services. These are the two points that the much longer Wihtrred privilege (B.C.S.91) is concerned to establish. There are also verbal agreements between the two charters, e.g.:

B.C.S.91

'..pariter tractantes anxie
examinantes de statu aeccles-
iarum Dei.....quomodo vel
qualiter secundum normam
equitatis stare quidve servare
.....constituimus'.

B.C.S.162

'..diligenter examinantes de
statu totius christianitatis
...secundum normam equitatis
servaretur.....quomodo vel
qualiter secundum imperium
et electioni archiepiscopi
fieri (et) stare precipitur'.

1. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.342 note d. E.John (Orbis Britanniae, 1966, p.17 n.2) wrongly states that the manuscript is in a contemporary hand, and suggests that the difficulties in the witness-list can be removed by the assumption that the superfluous bishops were chorepiscopi. It is true that some 8th and 9th century charters are attested by the bishop of the see and by his successor, but the practice was scarcely so widespread to explain all the difficulties of the witness-list of B.C.S.162. Cuthbert cannot attest a genuine document both as archbishop (740-60) and as bishop (of Hereford, 736-40); Aldwulf (of Rochester) cannot attest in 742, since his successor Dunn who is not included in this list was consecrated in 740 (A.S. Chron.). Huetlac (of Elmham) is the only bishop known of that name, but his successor Æthelfrith was consecrated in 736 (Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum, ed.T.Arnold, R.S., 1842, sub anno), so they can scarcely attest together with Æthelfrith's next two successors, Redwulf (? = Eardwulf) and Eanfrith (attests in 758, B.C.S.327). Even if we assume that Ecglaf is not the bishop of Dummoc of c.775-781, but a scribal error for Ecgwulf of London, the date is still wrong for Ingweald of London (who does not attest) did not die until 745 (Symeon of Durham). To accept this witness-list as genuine we should have to suppose that

The witness-list has many comparable errors, and even makes Cuthbert attest both as bishop (of Hereford) and as archbishop. It must have been compiled at least a ^egeneration later than its purported date of 742. The document begins by describing the holding of a synod at Clovesho in formulae directly comparable with those used in texts from the Canterbury scriptorium of the early 9th century¹. It then states that there was read out before all,

'preceptum Wihtredi regis de electione dominarum cenubiarum
in regno Cantuariorum quomodo vel qualiter secundum imperium
et electione archiepiscopi fieri (et) stare precipitur'.

Everything that we know about the election of abbots and abbesses at the end of the 7th and in the early 8th century² forbids us to believe that the Kentish abbesses were elected 'by the command and choice of the archbishop'. It can scarcely be a coincidence, therefore, that precisely when the extant manuscript of this document was written, Archbishop Wulfred was seeking to establish episcopal control of monastic elections. The document goes on to declare:

at least 6 otherwise unknown chorepiscopi were present, and that the bishops of London, Rochester, and Hereford were absent. It is easier to suppose that the witness-list has been fabricated from charters of various dates with the aid of episcopal-lists.

1. The following formulae of B.C.S.162 are also found in B.C.S.378 and 384: 'anno vero dominicae incarnationis....indictione....synodus congregatum fuerat (est) in loco celebri ubi nominatur...praesidente autem....ceterisque episcopis....' The following construction of present participles ('....examinantes....inquirentes...recitantes...') is also used in B.C.S.378 and 384 though they have different words.
2. Above, pp. 212-14.

'ut per omnia honor et auctoritas et securitas
Christi ecclesiae citra Humbrensis flufio a
nulla persona denegatur'.¹

Such a declaration confirming the authority of Canterbury over the southern province is out of place in the reign of Æthelbald, but would be highly pertinent in the first half of the 9th century, when Offa's division of the province was a recent memory and when Archbishop Wulfred had been deprived of his metropolitan authority for more than four years. Finally the document frees all the Kentish monasteries from secular services. This may go back to an authentic privilege of immunity of Æthelbald, though the formulae compare with those of the 9th century rather than the 8th². To this analysis we should add the fact that the whole charter is drafted in the execrable ungrammatical Latin typical of the Canterbury scriptorium in the first half of the 9th century, but rarely found as early as the middle of the 8th century. Style, formulae, hand, content, motive, and the inconsistencies in the witnesses, all combine to suggest that this privilege of Æthelbald in the form we now have it is a forgery made at Canterbury during or soon after the archbishopric of Wulfred.

Equally spurious is the Canterbury version of Wihtred's privilege to the Kentish churches (B.C.S.91). It purports to have been confirmed by Æthelbald in 716, the year of his accession, though there is no reason to believe that Æthelbald was in control of Kent at this

1. I have supplied the gaps in B.C.S. from an examination of the ms. under u/v light.

2. Cf. B.C.S.318, 339, 373, 426, 837.

time, or indeed that Wihtred (690-725) ever acknowledged Mercian overlordship. The privilege begins with a declaration against laymen who usurp, or acquire as private property, lands dedicated to God, and goes on to threaten with the fires of hell those laymen who thus take into their 'dominium' the inheritance of the Eternal King. Then coming directly to the point, Wihtred commands 'all his successors - kings, princes, and all laymen¹ - that none of them shall ever be permitted to receive the 'dominium' of any church or monastic community which had been founded by him or his predecessors. Such a declaration (and the confirmation of Æthelbald in 716) would of course be exactly what Archbishop Wulfred would wish to find in the Canterbury archives when he was attempting to wrest control of Reculver and Minster from the Mercian king Coenwulf. It fits the climate of opinion of Wulfred's 816 Synod of Chelsea and of Æthelheard's declaration of 803, but stands in sharp contrast with the brief texts of 7th and early 8th century charters, and in direct opposition to Wihtred's careful reservation of the obedience owed to him and his successors by the Kentish monasteries in the authentic version of his privilege to the Kentish churches (B.C.S.99). That the Canterbury text was fabricated no earlier than the 9th century is indicated by what appears to be a quotation from the document of 803 which abolished the archiepiscopal see of Lichfield and restored full rights to Canterbury (B.C.S.310)².

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1. This early form of mandatory clause is a feature of Christ Church charters of the 9th century: B.C.S.380, 400, 406, 442, 449 etc.
 2. B.C.S.91: 'Ideo horrendum est exspoliare Deum vivum et scindere tunicam eius...'; B.C.S.310: 'si quis vero contra apostolicis

From lay dominium B.C.S.91 passes to the procedure for the election of abbots and abbesses. On the death of an abbot or abbess¹,

'the bishop of that diocese is to be invited for that reason, and with his counsel and consent whoever is found worthy...shall be elected....and on no account shall an abbot or abbess be chosen without the consultation and permission of the archbishop in his diocese...And nothing in this matter pertains to the authority of the secular king, since it is for him to set up princes, reeves, and secular leaders, but it is for the metropolitan bishop to rule the churches of God, and to elect, establish and consecrate, confirm and reprimand abbots, abbesses, priests and deacons, lest any sheep errs from the flock of the Eternal Shepherd'.

The Kentish monasteries where episcopal rule was thus asserted are then listed: Upmynster (dedicated to St Peter)², Reculver, Minster-in-Thamet, Dover, Folkestone, Lyminge, Minster-in-Sheppey, Hoo. It is not difficult

praeceptis...ausus sit tunicam Christi scindere...'. The phrase which I have not found elsewhere in charters, derives from John xix. 23: '...ne tunica Christi inconsutilis alicujus inter nos dissensionis scisma patiatur...' which was quoted in Coenwulf's letter of Leo III advising the abolition of the Lichfield metropolitanate (B.C.S.287).

1. '...propterea invitatur propriae porræhiæ episcopus et cum ejus consilio vel consensu quisquis dignus inveniatur...talis eligitur...et nullo modo sine consultu et licentia archiepiscopi in diocesi suo abbas vel abbatissa eligatur...neque de ac re aliquid pertineat ad regis secularis imperium, quia illius personis est principes, prefectos, seu duces seculares statuere, metropolitani episcopi est aecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, atque abbates, abbatissas, presbiteros, diacones eligere, statuere, et sanctificare, firmare, et ammonere ne quis ovis de ovibus aeterni pastoris erret'.
2. In view of the statement at the beginning of B.C.S.91 that it is concerned with monasteries in Kent, this monastery is unlikely to be Upminster in Essex, though Wihtred may have had some authority there at the beginning of his reign. No place or monastery of this name in Kent is known, but it may have been a means of referring to St Augustine's (which was dedicated to St Peter) in order to distinguish it from Christ Church, and to denote its position outside the walls.

to understand the value of this assertion of episcopal control of diocesan monasteries at a time when Archbishop Wulfred was struggling to assert his claims over Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet following the decisions of the synod of Chelsea of 816 but it is quite alien to what we know of the relations of bishops and monasteries a century or more earlier. Similarly the value of the straight prohibition of royal influence in monastic elections is clear at a time when Coenwulf had secured the appointment of his propinquus Cunred to St Augustine's¹ and of his daughter, Cwoenthryth, to Minster-in-Thamet. But we can scarcely suppose that Wihtred would grant such a privilege in the early 8th century, when most if not all the Kentish abbesses were of royal blood and the obedience of the monasteries was carefully reserved to the crown.

The Christ Church privilege of Wihtred (B.C.S.91) like that of Æthelbald must be regarded as a compilation of the early 9th century, and (though it is probable that the forger had access to some authentic early material particularly in the composition of the witness-lists²) it is doubtful if any of the text preserves genuine formulae of the early 8th century³. There may even be 11th century interpolations⁴. The document

1. B.C.S.316

2. The witness-lists of Wihtred's privilege may well have been taken from authentic documents, but they are difficult to check. The first seems to date between 699 (the last appearance of Tobias's predecessor, Gefmund, at Rochester (B.C.S.99), and 708 (death of Hadrian). Werburg is not otherwise known, but her son Alric is mentioned by Bede (Hist. Eccl., v.23, ed.C.Plummer, i, p.348).

3. Even the immunity clause, as W.H.Stevenson pointed out ('Trinoda Necessitas', Eng.Hist.Rev., xxix, 1914, p.699 n.48), follows 9th rather than 8th century formulae.

4. Such phrases as nec habeatur in malam consuetudinem might seem to belong to the 11th rather than the 9th century.

therefore tells us nothing of the state of the Kentish church under Wihtred, and must rather be used to indicate the means adopted by the community of Canterbury and the archbishop in the attempt to rid the Kentish monasteria of lay control. The Canterbury privileges of Wihtred and Æthelbald put us on our guard against the assumption that forgery of Anglo-Saxon charters did not take place on any significant scale until the 11th and 12th centuries. When their interests were threatened, the 9th century priests of Canterbury provided themselves with suitable documentation just as their successors were to do three centuries later. Desperate struggles led to desperate remedies.

It remains, however, far from clear how far these forgeries achieved their purpose. As a result of the settlement of 825 at Clofesho, Archbishop Wulfred resumed control of Reculver and Minster, and a few months later we find Wulfred as archiepisopus ejus familie que in Tenet Australe nominatur Monasterium arranging with abbot Wernoth of St Augustine's and exchange of property between Minster and St Augustine's¹. But the West Saxon conquest of Kent following the battle of Wroughton in 825 must have necessitated a new settlement with the new overlords. Moreover the days of the Kentish monasteries were numbered. In 835 Viking raiders ravaged the island of Sheppey; in 851 they wintered on Thanet,

1. B.C.S.1337. The charter may be compared in its phraseology to B.C.S. 332 and 381 which record exchanges between the archbishop and the Christ Church community; it has no suspicious features, and is of interest in that it shows that Beornwulf was still recognised at Canterbury early in 826. The incarnation date (826) agrees with the indiction (4), and the third regnal year shows that it must at least be before 30th October (B.C.S.379 of 30th October 824 is 2nd year of Beornwulf).

and in 855 on Sheppey¹. Apart from St Augustine's and Lyminge all the Kentish monasteries were situated in exposed positions on the coast, and so were easy targets for sea-borne attacks. They disappear from history, and were not revived as monasteries or nunneries in the 10th century reform movement.

Before the eclipse of these communities, however, the archbishop had come to terms with the new West Saxon rulers of Kent. The Christ Church archives have preserved three contemporary copies of an agreement made at the synod of Kingston held by Egbert in 838, with subsequent confirmations after Egbert's death by Æthelwulf at Wilton in 839, and by all the bishops of the southern province at an unidentified assembly-place called æt Astran (B.C.S.421)². Two of the three copies are in the hand of the Christ Church writer, scribe 4, and the third was written at Wilton probably by a West Saxon scribe. The charter uses distinctive Canterbury formulae, and there can be little doubt that it was drafted

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1. A.S.Chron., sub annis 832, 851, 855. The last reference to the Kentish monasteries (apart from St Augustine's) is in B.C.S.445 of 844, where we hear of the communities of Christ Church, Dover, Folkestone and Lyminge involved in litigation over the inheritance of Oswulf, and where 26 members of these communities are named in the witness-list.
 2. a) B.M.Cotton Aug.II 20: (B.M.Facs., i.17) the confirmations at Wilton and at æt Astran are written by different scribes from the main text;
 b) B.M.Cotton Aug.II 21: (B.M.Facs., ii.26) in same hand as a) (i.e. scribe 4) but without confirmations and with paragraph on monasteries omitted by mistake and written on the dorse for insertion at the correct place;
 c) B.M.Cotton Aug.II 37 (B.M.Facs., ii.27) in one hand to the end of Wilton confirmation and in the same hand as wrote the Wilton confirmation in a). The æt Astran confirmation is in the same hand as this confirmation in a).

in the Christ Church scriptorium¹. In part the document is concerned with the restoration of an estate at Malling (probably East Malling in Kent) which had been granted by Baldred, the sub-king in Kent under Beornwulf of Mercia, whilst (according to the charter) he was actually in flight from the victorious armies of Egbert and Æthelwulf. But the charter then goes on to record a complex pledge of mutual friendship and support between on the one hand the archbishop (Ceolnoth), his successors, and the community of Christ Church, and on the other King Egbert, Æthelwulf, and their heirs. This seems unusual in a charter of restoration, but the reason may lie in the fact that the charter then goes on to discuss the controversial problem of the election of abbots and abbesses in a passage that may stand as one of the worst examples of 9th century Latin. A translation is hazarded in full knowledge that it is open to criticism, but in the belief that some sense must have been intended and must therefore be made of it:

'But also the communities of free monasteries, formerly constituted under the rule and government of abbots and abbesses, which have chosen me and my father King Egbert because of their own very great needs for protection and lordship, (and) have, by their own will and mine, spiritual lords, that is the bishops, constituted with me², so that in all things liberty and the rule of monastic life may be regularly and correctly observed by them all, and that

1. Above, p. 172.

2. 'Seu etiam familiae liberorum monasteriorum....qui me meumque patrem Ecgberhtum regem pro suis propriis ac maximis necessitatibus sibi ad protectionem et ad dominium elegerunt, spiritualesque dominos id est episcopos mecum constituti propria voluntate mecum habuerunt....'

'after my days they may be considered worthy of their liberty of election without any interference from any person whatsoever¹. Moreover in accordance with this our undertaking about the election, in no way are they to be accused and wrongly blamed by any man of power, king or bishop, great or small; nor shall their liberty ever be infringed in any way in the future²'.

The solution described here is a compromise. The West Saxon kings have been chosen for lordship and for protection of the monasteries, at the time of their great peril; the bishops have been chosen as spiritual lords. Together they guarantee the preservation of the regular life and the liberty of election. In the exercise of their liberty of election, the communities are not to be hindered or falsely accused by king, bishop, or any of lesser rank. That this passage was the crucial one in the whole charter is graphically confirmed by the endorsement (in the same hand as the text) on the third copy of this charter (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 37) - a manuscript that is likely to have come to Christ Church with the charters of Lyminge or Reculver:

'Dis³ sint Ecgberhtes gēoðingeo ⁊ Ætheluulfes uuið
arcebiscep ⁊ uuið hiora leoda uuiotan ymb eouuer
gecor. gif eow hwa brocie for eouuere gecore ðonne
ieuuad ge ðis geuirit'.

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1. '...ut in omnibus libertas et regula monasterialis vitæ rite ac recte ab omnibus illis seruetur, sed et post dies meos sue libertatis electionis absque omni obstaculo cuicumque personis digni habeantur'.
 2. 'Insuper etiam pro hac nostra susceptione electioneque nequaquam a cuicumque potestatis homine, sive regi vel episcopo majoris minorisve personis, accusati calumniantur; neque libertas eorum semper in posterum in aliqua frangatur'.
 3. 'These are the agreements of Ecgberht and Æthelbert with the archbishop and with the counsellors of their people about your election; if anyone molests you in your election then show this document'.

We may notice that there is nothing in B.C.S.421 to suggest that only monasteries in Kent are covered by the agreement . On the contrary the charter refers to the 'free monasteries' and to the bishops in general, and the care with which the attestation of all the bishops of the southern province was obtained at a subsequent synod at Astran suggests that it may have been intended to be of wider application¹. It is, however clear that Archbishop Ceolnoth had conceded much that his predecessor Wulfred had stood for. The king has been chosen as protector and lord by the monasteries, though this had been expressly forbidden by Archbishop Ethelheard's decree of 803; the archbishop's claim to control or influence monastic elections is here abandoned. The cardinal point - the freedom of monastic elections from lay control - is established, but the agreement says nothing about the ultimate control of the revenues and property of the 'free monasteries'. The archbishop may have ceded ground here too, for the spiritual lord's rights are unlikely to have been as strong as the temporal lord's. In 1066 the church of Canterbury only possessed the estates of two of Kentish 'minsters' of the 9th century - Lyminge and Reculver. And the charters of these houses form the earliest authentic records from the Christ Church archives. But the lands that belonged to Reculver were acquired as the result, not it would seem of Archbishop Wulfred's efforts, but of the grant of King Eadred in 949². Minster-in-Thamet also passed into the hands of the crown, but

1. A comparable clause may have been included in the related charter to the see of Winchester (B.C.S.423), but if so it has been omitted by the cartularist.

2. B.C.S.880; for this problematic charter, see above pp.31 n.4.

had been given to the monks of St Augustine's before the Norman Conquest¹; and the early charters of Minster have been preserved in the St Augustine's cartularies. We also have some information about the 'monastery' of Hoo; its early charters were preserved at Peterborough², and it is therefore probable, as Sir Frank Stenton argued, that the minster and its estates were another of the early dependencies of the great Mercian abbey of Medeshamstede, presumably by grant of the Mercian kings. But the lands never passed to the reformed house of Peterborough, and therefore probably fell into lay (? royal) hands after the West Saxon conquest of Kent in 825. Of the lands of the other minsters we know nothing - a sign that they too passed into lay hands. In the long run, therefore, Archbishop Wulfred's determined efforts to prevent the loss of ecclesiastical property achieved at most a very limited success. We may leave open the question whether Archbishop Ceolnoth was wise to settle a dispute that could only lead to weakness in the face of the common danger - the pagan Danes - or whether he lacked the courage of his predecessor in the face of a powerful monarchy.

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1. In Domesday Book (DB.i.f.12) St Augustine's held the manor of Thanet (48 sulungs) in the hundred of St Mildred. They claimed to have been given Minster by Cnut who also, they claimed, conferred on them the body of St Mildred (Harmer, Writs, 37, and discussion on pp.191-197, 455-6.).
 2. B.C.S.89 appears to be a conflation of several early grants by the rulers of Kent of the late 7th century, and has been preserved in the Peterborough cartularies. See the discussion in F.M.Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies', Historical Essays in Honour of J. Tait, ed. J.G.Edwards etc., 1933, pp.323-4, and the note of Prof. Whitelock in S.A.L.B.233. In 1066 Hoo was assessed at 50 sulungs and belonged to Earl Godwin (DB.i,f.8b).

ARCHBISHOP, COMMUNITY AND THEIR ESTATES

Anglo-Saxon writers were fond of the traditional division of Society into three classes - bellatores, laboratores, and oratores¹ - and of explaining how the three classes were mutually dependent. Whether or not a modern economic historian would find this threefold division a useful description of early mediaeval society, it does serve to emphasise that the oratores, the clergy, both regular and secular, were materially unproductive and physically vulnerable; they depended upon the labour of the servile and semi-servile population on their estates to provide sufficient surplus produce for all their needs, and they depended upon the free and the noble to defend their persons and their possessions. The history of any mediaeval religious institution, monastic or secular, is therefore inextricably bound up with the fortunes of its endowment and the politics of its leaders.

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1. King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius, ed. W.J.Sedgefield, 1899, pp.40-1 (the passage is due to Alfred and is not in Boethius); Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, ed. S.J.Crawford, (Early Eng.Text Soc., clx), pp.71ff; Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. W.W.Skeat, 1881 (Early Eng.Text Soc., lxxvi), ii, pp.121-2; Wulfstan, Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical, ed. K.Jost, Bern, 1959, pp.55-57. Professor Whitelock notes that Carolingian writers make comparable divisions of society ('The Prose of Alfred's reign', in Continuations and Beginnings, ed. E.G.Stanley, 1966, p.86 n.2).

Christ Church, Canterbury, is no exception. To feed, clothe, equip, and house the archbishop and the members of the Canterbury familia in a style that fitted their status and the standards of the age required a steady income that in the Middle Ages could only come from land. Whilst it is true that an outstanding archbishop and a celebrated community might attract considerable benefactions, it is also true that unless the estates and revenues of the church were secure and immune from the vicissitudes of political fortune the life of the community could be jeopardised. The system of land tenure by charter or 'land-book' had been devised in order to provide the Church with permanent title to the lands that were given by pious benefactors. But in the last resort a church's hold on its estates depended upon its relations with the secular power - with kings and with powerful local lords. A political miscalculation by the archbishop could have lasting results on the fortunes of his see. In the five centuries after Augustine's arrival, ~~centuries~~ ~~which saw~~ the decline of Kent as an independent kingdom, the overlordship first of Mercia and then of Wessex, the Viking invasions, the rise of the house of Godwin, and the Norman Conquest, provided plenty of opportunities for political miscalculations. Written documents were of little avail if the church did not enjoy the support of the secular arm. Sometime between the years 1017 and 1020 Archbishop Lyfing had reason to declare to king Cnut,

'that he had charters of freedom (freolsas) in plenty if only they were good for anything'.¹

1. Harmer, Writs 26.

The history of the endowment of the archbishopric and community of Canterbury is not a tale of the steady accumulation of vast estates under peaceful conditions, but a story of rapid gains and losses, of complex political and legal machinations, and also of long periods of apparent stagnation.

The pre-Conquest charters that were preserved in the cathedral archives at Canterbury are above all evidence for the acquisition of lands, rents and privileges by the see and the community. Yet they are hazardous material for the historian who seeks a complete picture of the course of the endowment. Accidents of archival history have destroyed most of the records of grants to the see in the 7th and 8th centuries¹; spurious charters can provide a totally false impression of different phases in the church's endowment; estates mentioned in some charters cannot now be identified; and unrecorded changes in the organisation, assessment, and nomenclature of Canterbury estates make it difficult to relate the original donations to the manors of the archbishop and of the monks as they are recorded in Domesday Book. A notable recent attempt to surmount these difficulties has been made by Professor F.R.H. Du Boulay in a prefatory chapter to his detailed account of the temporalities of the see of Canterbury from 1066 to c.1540². His account of the endowment of the see and community is based partly on the main Christ Church

1. Above pp. 4-26.

2. F.R.H. Du Boulay, The Lordship of Canterbury, 1966, chapter 2. It has been reassuring to find that many of my conclusions reinforce Prof. Du Boulay's pioneering work; my debt to it on topographical details and on the later history of the estates of the archbishopric is greater than the subsequent pages can easily show.

cartulary of pre-conquest documents as it is found in Lambeth 1212 (i.e. L)¹ and partly on the extant charters. The analysis of the charters, the cartularies, and of the Canterbury archives that has been attempted in this study justify a new account, for it is possible to distinguish with greater certainty the authentic grants to Canterbury from the spurious, and thus to modify Professor Du Boulay's conclusions and also to offer conjectures - which he cautiously avoided² - about the earliest benefactions to the see and community. More particularly, however, this chapter seeks to describe the endowment of the archbishop and community against the wider background of the history of their political fortunes and institutional development. It is also hoped that more generous provision of maps than has been customary in English historical works may make the growth of the estates and the territorial policies of the archbishops and the familia apparent without requiring the reader to possess detailed and extensive topographical knowledge³.

A) The Foundation of the Church

The archbishopric of Canterbury was a historical mistake. Augustine had been sent to the kingdom of Ethelbert of Kent, who not

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1. The different mss. of this cartulary and the historical value of the texts it includes are discussed above, pp. 102-28
 2. See especially op.cit., p.17: 'The suspicion can never be allayed that the estates of the archbishop are really much older than the evidence surveyed in this chapter allows'.
 3. The same symbols are used in all the maps, and are explained in the key preceding map 1 (after p.344). For the purpose of comparing Kentish with non-Kentish estates, I have represented 1 Kentish sulung as the equivalent of 2 hides, as is stated in B.C.S. 321, 341. It is however possible that by the 10th century sulungs and hides were equated for assessment of rents and services.

only had a Christian wife but who also exercised an overlordship over all the English kingdoms south of the Humber. Already by September 597, if not before, Augustine had been consecrated as bishop to the English people by bishops of northern Gaul¹; and by June 598 Pope Gregory I was receiving enthusiastic reports of the miracles achieved by the missionaries and of the baptism of 10,000 converts on Christmas day 597². Some three years later (June 601) Gregory sent to Augustine a reinforcing group of monks and priests and also a pallium with the intention that the metropolitan see of Augustine and his successors should be established at London³.

There is no evidence that Gregory's scheme was ever implemented⁴, for it did not match the political realities of the early 7th century.

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1. Gregory refers to Augustine as coepiscopus noster in a letter of Sept. 597, Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum, ed. P. Ewald & L. M. Hartmann, (in M.G.H., Epistolae, vols. i, ii), 1887-90, (hereafter cited as Ep.) VIII.4. In July 598 Gregory wrote to Eulogius of Alexandria (Ep. VIII 29): 'Qui (Augustine) data a me licentia a Germaniarum episcopis episcopus factus cum eorum quoque solatiis ad praedictam gentem in fine mundi perductus est....'

The easiest interpretation of these two letters as Dom S. Brechter has argued (Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen: Beitr. zur Gesch. d. alten Mönchtums u. d. Benediktinerordens, Heft xxii, 1941, pp. 233-40) is that Augustine was consecrated on his journey to Britain. I am not entirely convinced by the arguments of R. A. Markus ('The chronology of the Gregorian Mission', Journ. Eccl. Hist., xiv, 1963, pp. 25-6) that these letters of Gregory can be reconciled with Bede's account of Augustine's journey to Arles for consecration after the conversion of Ethelbert.

2. Ep. VIII.29, addressed to Eulogius of Alexandria.
3. Ep. XI.39.
4. There are no extant letters of Gregory to the English mission later than those that were brought to England in 601 by the second group of missionaries. Since in 601 Gregory intended that Augustine's see should be at London, it is not surprising that he never addresses

Canterbury was the principle Roman town of Ethelbert's kindom, whereas London belonged to the subordinate kindom⁹ of Essex. Bede - who was writing some 130 years after the event, but whose information about Augustine and his companions was based on the records and traditions that abbot Albinus of St Augustine's was able to send him - records that Ethelbert provided Augustine soon after his arrival with a mansio in Canterbury; later, after the king's conversion, the missionaries were given a more suitable residence and a church which Augustine rebuilt and dedicated to the Holy Saviour and to Christ¹. It was not until 604 that it was possible to establish a see at London and to consecrate Mellitus as bishop. In the same year (possibly on the same occasion) Augustine consecrated Laurence ~~to the see of Canterbury~~, so that his own death, which occurred before the year was out, should not disrupt the mission's progress². Bede was in no doubt that Laurence, and not Mellitus of London, was Augustine's successor and we may therefore suppose that Canterbury was already regarded as the archiepiscopal see in Augustine's day.

Augustine as bishop (or archbishop) of Canterbury. Erzabt Brechter's theory that Augustine's archiepiscopal see was never at Canterbury but at London ('Zur Bekehrungsgeschichte der Angelsachsen', La Conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa; Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, XIV, Spoleto 1967, pp.205-6, 501-3) appears to rest on nothing but a supposed contrast of Gregory's usage with that of Bede. It is difficult to suppose that either Bede, Albinus, or the London priest Nothelm could have had any interest in suppressing the fact, if Augustine's see had been at London rather than at Christ Church Canterbury. Dom Brechter's distrust of Bede and his sources appears to involve him in unnecessary conjectures at this point.

1. Bede, Hist.Eccl. i.25, 26, 33 (ed.C.Plummer, i, pp.46-7, 70).
2. Ibid., ii 3, 4 (pp.85-6).

Bede is the only authority for the nature of the community attached to the church at Canterbury. The first missionaries had all been monks from Gregory's monastery on the Clivus Scauri and Augustine was made their abbot; but Gregory arranged for priests to be recruited from a number of Frankish sees, and Bede indicates their vital role as interpreters¹. Augustine was consecrated their bishop; and if we may believe a famous document recorded by Bede but absent from the Lateran Register of Gregory's letters, he wrote to Gregory for advice concerning a bishop's relations with his clergy (clerici): Gregory replied that Augustine since he was trained under the rules of the monastery should not be separated from his clergy; they (his clergy) should have no private property, but as in the early days of the Church have everything in common; only those clerks who were in minor orders could take wives and receive individual stipends, though they too should be under ecclesiastical rule². We do not know to what extent Gregory's recommendations

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1. Ep., vii.49; Bede, Hist.Eccl., i.25 (ed.C.Plummer, i, p.45).
 2. Ibid., i 27. In the 8th century and later the Responsiones of Gregory were widely used in penitential and canonistic collections, and received many interpolations and modifications. Boniface was unable to obtain a copy at Rome, and had doubts about the authenticity of the 5th reply (see his letter of 735 to Archbishop Nothelm, Mon.Germ.Hist., Epistolae Selectae, ed.M.Tangl, i, p.57). A number of modern scholars have shared these doubts and Dom.S.Brechter argued that the Responsiones were forged by Nothelm in 731 (Die Quellen, passim). M.Deanesly and P.Grosjean attempted to elaborate the rather rigid interpretation of Brechter, ('The Canterbury edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St Augustine', Journ.Eccl.Hist., x, 1959, pp.1-49), but their views as well as those of Brechter have been challenged in a magisterial preliminary analysis by P.Meyvaert ('Les Responsiones de S.Gregoire le Grand a S.Augustin', Rev.d'Hist.Eccl., liv, 1959, pp.379-94). Meyvaert shows that Bede's version of the Responsiones is already several removes from the original, that the theories of forgery by Nothelm are based on inadequate analysis of the ms. tradition, and that the answers are in Gregorian style. The definitive edition that Meyvaert envisages is keenly awaited.

were put into effect or how long they lasted¹. J.Armitage Robinson made the plausible suggestion that the building of a monastery outside the walls of the city, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul (i.e. the later St Augustine's), was an attempt to solve the problems that arose from having a community of monks and a community of pastoral clergy under the same roof by providing a separate establishment for the monks². If so, it is likely that the Christ Church familia was thereafter largely or entirely comprised of secular clergy, though they may have retained some communal discipline. But from this time we have no authentic evidence for the composition of the community until the early ninth century³; the

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1. The arrangements at Lindisfarne later in the century where the bishop and his priests lived under monastic discipline together with the abbot and the monks, were according to Bede in agreement with what Gregory had recommended to Augustine (Hist.Eccl., iv 25(27); Vita Cuthberti, ed.B.Colgrave, c.16, p.208). It would seem from Bede's need to justify the arrangement that by the time he was writing the Vita Cuthberti (c.720), it was regarded as outlandish, and can scarcely have been still in force at Canterbury.
 2. 'The early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury', Journ.Theol.Stud., xxvii 1926, pp.231-3. This study remains the fundamental work on the pre-Conquest community. See also M.Deanesly, 'The Familia at Christ Church, Canterbury', in Essays in Mediaeval History presented to T.F.Tout, 1925, pp.1-13.
 3. A.J.MacDonald ('Eadmer and the Canterbury Forgeries', Journ.Theol.Stud., xxxii 1931, pp.49-51) and D.Knowles ('The early Community at Christ Church', Journ.Theol.Stud., xxxix 1938, pp.128-31) have argued that the spurious letter of Boniface IV purporting to authorise the establishment of 'monachorum regulariter viventium habitationem' at Christ Church has an authentic core, (Boehmer, Fälschungen, no.1, = B.C.S.10), and that therefore Christ Church was a community of regular monks from c.610. But their arguments cannot survive the demonstration of W.Levison (England and the Continent, pp.202-4) and of C.N.L. Brooke ('The Canterbury Forgeries and their author', Downside Review, lxviii, 1949-50, pp.464-471) that the Christ Church privilege of Boniface is closely related to a spurious privilege attributed to the same pope in favour of St Augustine's (B.C.S.11) and to a (spurious ?) privilege of John XIII to Winchester (B.C.S.1275). See further above, pp. 98-99, and Appendix D, pp.333 n.1.

claims made after the Norman Conquest that Ethelbert had established a house of regular monks which lasted until the mid-9th century may be discounted as propaganda from a period when the status of the monastic chapter was under attack¹.

B) The Endowment

Bede tells us that Ethelbert endowed Augustine and his companions with 'necessarias in diversis speciebus possessiones', but gives us no details². Neither the Christ Church charters nor the later traditions of the house provide any further information. It is doubtful whether grants of land to a church at this time were recorded by written deeds³. But the loss or destruction of virtually all the Christ Church

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1. The Christ Church monk responsible for the Latin version of A.S.C.'F' (c.1100) inserted traditions about the community, of little or no historical value, into his translation (F.P.Magoun Jr., 'Annales Domitiani Latini: and edition', Mediaeval Studies, ix 1947, pp.235-295). These traditions are also found in Gervase (Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed.W.Stubbs, 1880 Rolls Series, 2 vols). The community was considered to have been monastic until a plague during the pontificate of Ceolnoth (833-70) drastically reduced the numbers of monks and necessitated a temporary introduction of secular clerks.
 2. Hist.Eccl., i.26 (ed.C.Plummer, i. p.47). Ethelbert's comparable endowment of the subordinate sees of London and Rochester comprised 'territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum qui erant cum episcopis' (ibid., ii.3).
 3. The absence of authentic diplomas in England dated earlier than the 670s may be misleading as P.Chaplais ('The authenticity of Anglo-Saxon diplomas', Journ.Soc.Archivists, iii, 1965, pp.48-52) has most recently suggested; but the purported record from the main Christ Church cartulary of the grant of Adisham by king Eadbald in 616 (B.C.S. 12) contains no early formulae and thus provides no evidence that an authentic charter of this king ever existed at Canterbury. The cartulary record may embody an early tradition, but in view of the possibility of confusion of the names Eadbald and Aethelbald it should not be assumed that this tradition was accurate.

records up to the years 796-798 has prevented the survival of any records - if any were made - of Ethelbert's donations, and also of those of his successors in the independent kingdom of Kent. As a result we are better informed about the early endowment of the see of Rochester, and of the monasteries of St Augustine's and Minster-in-Thanet, than of the archiepiscopal see where the two centuries from 597 to 796 are represented only by three charters of doubtful authenticity and by some scraps of information about early bequests found in documents of a later period¹.

For this reason it is not possible to describe the full extent of the lands of the archbishop and community at any moment during the Anglo-Saxon period; from the 9th century we can see individual estates being added to the endowment. But the only chance of determining what estates had been acquired earlier is to adopt a method made famous by Seebohm and Maitland and look first at the holdings of the archbishop and monks as they are recorded in Domesday Book. By eliminating lands known to have been granted in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries we will be left with a list of estates which will doubtless still include some late but inadequately recorded acquisitions, but should in the main comprise those estates which were granted to the archbishop and familia in the 7th and 8th centuries and which were still retained in 1066.

Map I shows the estates of the archbishop and monks in 1066 as they are recorded in Domesday Book². The series of graded squares and

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1. See Map 2, after p. 344. The early charters of Rochester, St Augustine's and Minster-in-Thanet are listed above, pp. 19 notes 2, 3.
 2. The estates recorded in Domesday Book are conveniently listed by Prof. Du Boulay (Lordship, pp. 43-6), but the figures there given for the assessment in hides and sulungs relate to 1086, whereas the Domesday statistics that I give here and in the ensuing pages all come from the T.R.E. figures.

diamonds indicates the relative size - or rather the relative assessment in hides and sulungs - of the estates of archbishop and monks respectively. The church's landed possessions were not confined to the diocese of Canterbury, but spread out over all the south-eastern counties, ranging as far west as Newington in Oxfordshire and as far north as Moulton in Suffolk. The greatest concentration of estates, as might be expected, lay within 15 miles of Canterbury itself. But they were thick on the ground throughout Kent, since many of the Canterbury manors had denns, (woodland pasture for pigs), in the Weald which were not recorded in Domesday Book. Outside Kent the estates were more thinly spread, but in Middlesex the archiepiscopal estates of Harrow and Hayes were assessed at 159 hides, almost one third of the whole shire (500 hides); and there were huge manors in Surrey at Mortlake (80 hides) and Croydon (80 hides), and in Sussex at South Malling (80 hides) and Pagham (50 hides). In Essex, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire the Canterbury possessions all belonged to the monks¹, but in Surrey, Suffolk, and Sussex there were both monastic and archiepiscopal lands, and in Middlesex only archiepiscopal estates.

The monks had as many estates as the archbishop, but as the map indicates, their manors were far inferior in size, and they were also inferior in value. The largest monastic manors were Monkton in Thanet (20 sulungs) and Monk's Risborough in Buckinghamshire (30 hides), but

1. DB.i.f.143b. records Halton and Monks' Risborough as manors of the archbishop, but this seems to be a mistake. (See Du Boulay, Lordship, p.46 n.1). Risborough had been bequeathed to Christ Church in 1003/4 by Archbishop Elfric (Whitelock, Wills, 18), and Halton by Wulfnoth before 1020/1038 (Robertson, Charters, 80).

the archbishop had eight manors with higher assessments than either of these¹. These huge archiepiscopal estates ensured that the archbishop's landed income in 1066 (£868) - in so far as this is represented by the values T.R.E. recorded in Domesday Book - far exceeded that of the monks (£492)². But by any standards the see and the monks were outstandingly well endowed. Canterbury was the richest English bishopric³, and the community was among the richest of English monasteries⁴. And so they

1. Wingham (40 sulungs), Aldington (21 sulungs), South Malling (80 hides), Pagham (50 hides), Croydon (80 hides), Mortlake (80 hides), Hayes (59 hides), and Harrow (100 hides). The most valuable monastic manor was Adisham (£40, 17 sulungs), but three archiepiscopal manors surpassed this sum (Wingham £77, Aldington £62, and Harrow £60) and three equalled it (South Malling, Pagham, and Hayes).
2. The significance and limitations of the DB. values are usefully discussed by R.Welldon Finn, Introduction to Domesday Book, 1964, pp. 225-240. Occasionally (e.g. Oxford, DB:i,f.3) no T.R.E. value is given in Domesday Book, and I have taken the 1086 figure instead.
3. Comparable figures for other sees in 1066 are not available, in part because Domesday Book does not record the T.R.E. figures consistently. Working on the values for 1086 W.J.Corbett (Cambridge Mediaeval History, v, p.509) reckoned the income of the see of Canterbury at £1,750, and that of the next richest bishop, Winchester, at £1,000. Among the secular Norman nobility only the king's half-brothers, William of Mortain and Odo of Bayeux, had higher incomes from the lands they held in chief than the archbishop. However, Corbett's figures for the archbishop seem to be too high, for he included some revenues that properly belonged to the monks (see below, note 4). I reckon the archbishop's income in 1086 at £1,602, and this figure includes both the lands of the archbishops knights (£122) and also the additional sums paid (reddit) by estates rented out to farmers in excess of the valuation (valet) (£156).
4. Domesday calculations are of course notoriously difficult. According to Corbett's calculations (C.M.H., loc.cit.) Christ Church's income in 1086 was £635, and was exceeded by the Old Minster (£640), Bury (£655), Ely (£790), and Glastonbury (£840). But Corbett's figure for Christ Church is too low: Professor Knowles made it £687 (Monastic Order in England, 1940, p.702), and Professor Southern £733 (St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, p.257 and n.1). The wide divergence in these figures (and in my own, see below) derive from differences over

were to remain throughout the Middle Ages. The lordship of Canterbury was virtually complete in 1066, and survived with relatively few changes until the Reformation. Though there were important estates that were recovered in the 20 years after the Norman Conquest and some new acquisitions thereafter, it remains true that a map of the possessions of the see and of the cathedral priory in the early 16th century would be substantially the same as that of the estates in 1066 as they are recorded in Domesday Book.¹

When we examine the creation of this great mediaeval ecclesiastical lordship, it is evident that the manorial structure recorded in Domesday Book was not all of equal antiquity. Thus the great manor of Harrow in Middlesex was evidently the same amalgam of estates, still organised as one unit and still assessed at 100 hides, that Archbishop Wulfred had finally acquired from king Beornwulf of Mercia after long litigation in the year 825². On the other hand another large archiepiscopal manor, Aldington in Kent (21 sulungs), was a grouping of

what revenues and what estates should be included. It is likely that Corbett omitted those estates listed in DB amongst the archbishop's demesnes but stated to belong to the monastery (e.g. Sandwich in Kent, and Wootton, Patching and Tarring in Sussex). Professor Knowles's figure seems to be based on the DB values alone, whereas Professor Southern includes the extra renders where the monks' estates were rented out to farmers. The estates of the monks as recorded in Domesday have recently been comprehensively listed by Professor Du Boulay (Lordship, pp.43-6), and I calculate the revenues from these lands at £764, or £810 if we include the additional payments rendered by farmed estates. For Kent my total is close to Professor Southern's (£571 to his £568), but outside Kent the difference can only be partly explained by estates which DB wrongly assigns to the archbishop (for instance in Buckinghamshire, above p.242 note 1).

1. Du Boulay, Lordship, pp.16, 46-51.
2. B.C.S.384. The dispute is discussed above, pp.200-5.

dispersed estates, some of which had long been in the church's possession, but some of which had been acquired since 1044¹. Such changes in estate organisation brought changes in nomenclature. The Canterbury possessions in Thanet were already in 1066 organised as the great monastic manor of Monkton, but thirty years earlier the same lands could only be loosely described as *territoria lata* in Tænēt². Thanks to the work of manorial historians³, and of place-name specialists⁴, there are comparatively few estates named in the pre-Conquest charters from the Christ Church archives which cannot be located and attributed to the manor to which they had come to belong by the time of Domesday Book. Nonetheless our knowledge of how the manors of archbishop and community were pieced together in the

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1. Canterbury claimed to have possessed Lydd since 774 (B.C.S.214), but the charter is of doubtful authenticity and survives in a ms. of the second half of the 10th century (BM.Stowe 4; O.S.Facs., iii 4). Aldington included most of the estates in Romney Marsh which had once belonged to the minster of Lyminge (B.C.S.96, 97, 140, 160) and which probably passed to Canterbury in the 9th century. The Domesday manor also included Stanstead which was granted to the community before 810 (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,1). Stowting and Milton, however, were bequeathed c.1044 to Archbishop Eadsige by Æthelric Bigga after his lifetime (Robertson, Charters, 101) in confirmation of an earlier arrangement made with Archbishop Æthelnoth. But it is possible that Stowting and Milton were ancient possessions of the see which had only temporarily been leased to Æthelric.
 2. K.C.D.715. The date at which this spurious pan-carta of Æthelred was entered into the Canterbury gospel-book, Cotton Tib.A.ii, is discussed above pp. 75-7.
 3. Above all E.Hasted, History of Kent, 4 vols. (1778-1799) is a mine of information about the constituent parts of Kentish manors.
 4. J.K.Wallenberg, Kentish Place-Names, (1931) and Place-Names of Kent (1934); all the other counties where there were Canterbury estates are covered by volumes of the English Place-Name Society.

centuries before 1066 is very incomplete; only rarely can we watch the accumulation of an important estate in a single lifetime, as with Archbishop Wulfred's piecemeal acquisition of several adjacent estates at Graveney (Kent)¹. And the acquisition of many of the 89 archiepiscopal and monastic manors recorded in Domesday Book² cannot be explained at all. For no less than 38 of the Domesday manors we have neither authentic pre-Conquest documents, nor later copies, nor even traditions in which any trust can be put, to indicate how the estate came into the hands of the archbishops or of the community. It is worth examining these 38 estates in some detail: they are those shown underlined in Map I, and are set out below (in Table I). It is from these lands that the earliest endowments of the cathedral church must be sought.

TABLE I Canterbury manors in Domesday Book for which there is no evidence of their acquisition by the community or archbishop.

Archbishops manors:

In Kent: Sundridge, Crayford (Erhede), Wrotham, Maidstone³,

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1. B.C.S. 335, 340, 341, 348, 353. See below pp. 269-270, and Map 3.
 2. I have omitted those manors of the archbishop's knights recorded in DB, but which did not exist as separate manors before the Norman Conquest.
 3. It is possible as Wallenberg suggested (Kentish P-Ns, pp. 168-9, P-Ns Kent, pp. 141-2) that Megeldeurthe purportedly restored to Christ Church by Werhard in 833x870 (B.C.S. 402) is Madginford in Maidstone; but this would explain neither Canterbury's original acquisition of this parcel of the manor, nor of the rest of Maidstone.

Gillingham¹, Northwood, Petham², Westgate³,
 Boughton-under-Blean, Pluckley, Wingham⁴,
 Lyminge, Brasted, Langport.

In Sussex: South Malling⁵, Pagham⁶, Tangmere⁷,
 East Lavant, Stanmer.

1. As Professor Du Boulay suggests (Lordship, p.18 and n.1), the 2 sulungs at Appineglond in the region of Rainham (B.C.S.335) may have later belonged to the DB manor of Gillingham (6 sulungs). But I cannot find that any of the lands acquired in B.C.S.291 - Northfleet, Teynham, and Newell which was soon alienated (B.C.S.301) - were ever part of this manor.
2. The 2 sulungs at Hrithraleah near Buckholt in Petham acquired in 805 (B.C.S.322) may have formed part of the DB manor of 7 sulungs (Du Boulay, Lordship, p.17 and n.3); but B.C.S.341 cannot be evidence for the acquisition of Swarling in Petham, for in this charter Swarling is alienated to king Coenwulf. Spurious charters (B.C.S.766, 811) claim that Swarling was restored (to Christ Church) by kings Eadmund, Eadred and Eadwig. Even were the tradition of restoration in the mid-10th century based on fact, we still lack evidence for the original gift of Swarling and of the rest of Petham.
3. Du Boulay suggests that the tiny parcels of land by the Stour granted in 814 and 823 (B.C.S.344, 373) may have been incorporated in the DB manor of Estursete (Westgate) (Lordship, p.48 and n.2). We may add a similar parcel acquired in 811 (B.C.S.332). More important the record in the main Canterbury cartulary (B.C.S.382) of the grant of the vill of Eastur Waldingtun by Archbishop Wulfred to the community may possibly be a typically distorted notice of the archbishop's acquisition of the core the later manor of Westgate.
4. Among the estates said to have been restored by kings Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig (B.C.S.766, 811). These post-Conquest fabrications are discussed above, pp.34 n.4, 120 n.2. Even if a genuine tradition underlies these forged texts, we do not know how the estates were first obtained.
5. B.C.S.421 which mentions the grant of an estate æt mallingum by sub-king Baldred is more likely to refer to East Malling in Kent than South Malling in Sussex, since there is no evidence that Baldred ever had any authority in Sussex.
6. The purported grant of Pagham ^{and Tangmere} to Wilfred is a forgery of the 10th century (B.C.S.50) and does not indicate how the estates came into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In Surrey: Mortlake, Croydon¹.

In Middlesex: Hayes².

Manors of the Monks:

In Kent: East Peckham³, East Farleigh³, Monkton³, Lenham³,
Ulcombe, Seasalter, Preston⁴, Eastry⁵, Adisham⁶,
Brook.

In Sussex: Wootton⁷, Tarring⁸.

In Essex: Latchingdon, Milton, Stambridge, West Newland.

1. Croydon was already in the possession of the archbishop c.871 when it was leased to ealdorman Elfred for his life (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8).
2. Hayes is mentioned as an archiepiscopal estate in 831 (B.C.S. 400). The charter purporting to record the grant of Hayes and Yeadding by Offa in 790 to Archbishop Athilheard (B.C.S. 265) is a post-Conquest forgery (see above, pp. 17-18).
3. A spurious charter from the main Christ Church cartulary (B.C.S. 1065) claims that this was one of several estates given to Christ Church by Eadgifu, the widow of Edward the Elder. The original document upon which this forgery is based (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 23; BM Stowe ch. 28) does not mention this estate.
4. See p. 247 note 4.
5. A spurious charter (Appendix A, ^{no. 4} see above, pp. 96) purports to be a grant of Sandwich and Eastry in 979. 4 sulungs' in the region of Eastry' were given to Christ Church in 811 by Archbishop Wulfred (B.C.S. 332) but it is not certain whether this is the estate later called Eastry.
6. The cartulary record of the grant of Adisham in 616 by Eadbald (B.C.S. 12) has no claims to authenticity (see above, p. 13 and n. 1).
7. I take the Uudetun of Appendix 'A', no. 9 to be Wootton in Kent, rather than the Sussex Wootton.
8. Tarring was reputedly given by Athelstan in 941 or 946 according to the spurious B.C.S. 766, 811. For these forgeries see ^{above} ~~below~~, pp. 34, 120. Athelstan died in 939.

Though some of these estates, particularly those in Essex¹ and Sussex², were probably acquired in the 10th and 11th centuries, the list must include the bulk of the earliest donations to the see and the community, that is the grants by the kings who had control of Kent in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is reasonable to suppose that the early endowment of the archiepiscopal see was at least as generous as that of other Kentish churches³, and at the risk of pushing conjecture too far we may guess that many of the larger Kentish manors in Table I (Wrotham, Maidstone,

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1. Since the Essex estates (Latchingdon, Milton, Stambridge, and Newland) do not appear in the spurious pancartae of Christ Church estates that were forged c.1035-40 and c.1070-5 (A.C.D. 715; Robertson, Charters, 96), they were apparently not believed at these times to have been among the monks' lands in 1006 and c.1042. (These forgeries are discussed above, pp.74-7, 90-4). Probably the Essex estates were acquired during the pontificate of Stigand when our records are very poor.
 2. Pagham and Tangmere were supposedly granted to bishop Wilfred according to a famous charter (B.C.S. 50) that was probably forged at Selsey in the late 10th century; they presumably passed to Canterbury after this, in the late 10th or early 11th century. In the spurious K.C.D. 715 Patching is the only Sussex manor claimed to belong to the monks in 1006, and Canterbury tradition remembered that Patching had been the gift of Wulfric in the mid-10th century (B.C.S. 823. The date is erroneous; see above, pp.113 n.1). In the absence of any evidence it is perhaps safest to suppose that the archiepiscopal manors of South Malling, East Lavant, and Stanmer were (like the other Canterbury estates in Sussex) acquired in the 10th and 11th centuries, rather than the 7th, 8th or 9th.
 3. For instance the double monastery of Minster-in-Thanet received at least 80 hides (manentes) and 5½ sulungs (aratra) of land, as well as the tolls on at least 2½ ships in the period 675-780. I have assumed that several of the Minster charters (listed in Chapter 1, p.19, n.2) are in fact confirmations of earlier grants in the series; otherwise these figures would be almost doubled. In the restricted period from 734 to 791 the see of Rochester (which was always very poor by comparison with Canterbury) received at least 47 sulungs of land in Kent, several properties in Rochester, and many pig-pastures in the Weald (charters listed in Chapter 1, p.19, n.3).

Gillingham, Northwood, Petham, Boughton-under-Blean, Wingham, East Peckham, East Farleigh, Eastry, and Adisham)¹ may have formed the earliest bequests of Ethelbert and his successors to the Kentish kingdom in the period 597 to 725. Estates in Surrey and Middlesex on the other hand (Croydon, Mortlake, and Hayes) are perhaps more likely to have been acquired from Mercian kings at a time when their control of Kent was not sufficient to enable them to dispose of the Kentish royal estates². The fact that eleven out of these fifteen large manors belonged by the time of Domesday Book to the archbishop in some measure supports the conjecture that they may have formed the earliest endowment of the church of Canterbury. For what we know of the way in which separate endowments were established for the communities of clergy belonging to episcopal churches on the Continent suggests that the normal practice was first to devote a small part of the church's possessions for the use of the community alone, and then to allow most subsequent benefaction to increase

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1. These manors are those in DB of 5 sulungs or more. I have omitted Lyminge, Westgate, and Monkton on the grounds that there is some reason to think that they were acquired in, or after, the 9th century (see p.247, n.3). Lyminge was still a separate 'minster' in the 9th century with its own endowment. Monkton was an accumulation of estates, some of whose members were still in lay hands in the 10th century (B.C.S.780, 784, 791). The remaining estates were assessed in 1066 at 125 sulungs; there seems nothing improbable in suggesting that the archiepiscopal see may have received an endowment of this size from the independent kings of Kent.
 2. It is noticeable that when Ethelbald (715-757) wished to favour a Kentish house he either granted land outside Kent, or gave port-tolls on ships (B.C.S.149/50, 152, 177). During his reign the native kings of Kent continued to be able to dispose of Kentish property (B.C.S.148, 159, 160/1, 173), and it was only under Offa that this right was curtailed (see F.M.Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd ed. 1947, pp. 205-6).

the community's share¹. The archbishop's lands might therefore be expected to include more of the earliest bequests than the lands of the community.

C) Acquisitions 597-805

Map 2 shows what little direct evidence there is for the endowment of the see and community in the period from 597 to 805. The acquisition of estates at Wootton and Giddinge in c.694 (no.1 in Map 2)², and at Higham (no.3) and at Lydd (no.4) in 774³, is recorded in texts of such doubtful authenticity that the lands should probably not be entered on the map at all. More reliable evidence about early grants to the church of Canterbury can only be found in two documents of the last years of the 8th century which record the settlement of long disputes between the Mercian kings and the archbishops of Canterbury. B.C.S.291⁴ records the complex quarrel over the monastery of Cookham and its lands which were given to Canterbury by Ethelbald of Mercia between 740 and 756 (no.2 in Map 2). Cookham was in that area of the Thames Valley that was

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1. E.Lesne, L'Origine des Menses, Lille, 1910, especially pp.2-8, 38-56. I have been unable to obtain M.A.Föschl, Bischofsgut und Mensa Episcopalis, 1908, which Lesne used extensively.
 2. B.C.S.69/296; see above, pp.13-15, where this spurious document is discussed.
 3. B.C.S.213, 214. These charters are discussed above, pp.15-16.
 4. The charter has survived only in the Canterbury cartularies, Lambeth 1212 and Canterbury Reg. 'P'. It was one of the texts added to the main cartulary after 1106-7 (see above, pp.122-3) apparently when it was discovered to have been omitted from the original compilation. Unlike the texts in the original cartulary, the charter was transcribed in full (apart from the witness-list) and it contains far too much circumstantial detail to allow any doubt as to its authenticity.

disputed between the kings of Wessex and Mercia; as political fortunes in the region fluctuated, the monastery and its possessions were taken over first by Cynewulf of Wessex and then by Offa of Mercia. Successive archbishops failed to recover the monastery, until finally in 798 Canterbury was compensated with lands in Kent amounting to 110 hides (no.9 in Map 2) and thereafter gave up its claim to Cookham¹. B.C.S.293 records a comparable dispute involving lands in Kent² (nos.5, 6, 7 in Map 2). Egbert II of Kent gave 'for a recompence of great treasures' 30 sulungs of land at Charing and 10 sulungs at (Little ?) Chart to the church of Canterbury, and an estate of 4 sulungs at Barham to Ealdhun, the reeve of Canterbury³, who subsequently granted it to the familia. These grants were probably made during the period of Kentish independence from 776 to 785⁴; when Offa regained control of Kent he revoked Egbert's grants, on

1. It is probable that Cookham and its dependent lands were also assessed at 110 hides, and that the settlement was in theory a straightforward exchange of properties of equivalent value. But we may suspect that Canterbury had a poor bargain. By the end of the 8th century Kentish estates were normally assessed in sulungs, not in hides. Northfleet which is stated to be of 60 hides was assessed at only 5 sulungs in 1066 in DB. At Teynham (here rated 30 hides) an additional estate of 12 sulungs was acquired c.801 (if we may accept B.C.S.301, see p.253 note 1) Teynham was omitted from DB, but in D.mon. is assessed at 5 sulungs. Beneficial hidation may have occurred here, but it is also possible that the assessments of the Kentish estates were inflated in B.C.S.291 in order to make the terms of the agreement appear equitable. For other inflated hidage figures for Kentish estates, see ^{below}~~above~~, p.265 and n.1.
2. The charter survives in a contemporary text, BM Stowe ch.6.
3. In B.C.S.319 Ealdhun is described as 'in hac regali villa huius civitatis praefectus', and in the cartulary version of this charter (B.C.S.320) 'prefectus in Dorobernia civitate'.
4. As suggested by Sir Frank Stenton, A-S.Eng., p.208.

the grounds that they had been made without his permission. Canterbury only recovered the estates in 799 when Archbishop Athelheard paid 100 mancuses to king Coenwulf.

These two documents¹ provide a one-sided Canterbury version of the disputes. But it is clear that the kings felt themselves justified in revoking the recent grants of ousted political rivals; it is also clear that it was not easy for a church to recover estates lost in this way unless later political developments were more favourable, and even then the settlement might be in the nature of a compromise or be accompanied by a substantial payment. One would like to know how many Canterbury estates were confiscated, of which we know nothing because the archbishops were unable to recover them. There may have been many such losses. For it is only by chance that we know that until c.821 Canterbury possessed a huge estate of 300 hides at Eynsham (Oxfordshire) (no.11 in map 2). B.C.S.384 records a complex dispute between Archbishop Wulfred on the one hand, and king Coenwulf and his daughter Cwoenthryth on the other, over the monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thamet²; in the course of the struggle Wulfred was driven into exile,

1. A document which only survives as a brief summary from the main Canterbury cartulary (B.C.S.301) may be a muddled account of another restoration of property confiscated by Offa. The cartularist has provided an erroneous date and an immunity clause with reservation of the three burdens, as with other texts (see above, p.108). Coenwulf is made to say that he is restoring (reddo) the land (12 sulungs) at Teynham because Archbishop Athelheard has given him in return 12 sulungs at Newell. The land (? at Teynham) had been given by Offa to a gesith named Ufa. However since lands at Teynham and Newell also occur in B.C.S.291, the possibility exists that this is a bungled version of that charter.

2. The charter survives in two contemporary texts, Bm Cotton Aug.ii 78 and Bm Stowe ch 14.

and later at a council at London (c.821) forced to accept terms which included the confiscation of the 300 hides at Eynsham¹. Eynsham was never recovered, and it is only from this peculiarly full record of the dispute over Reculver and Minster that we know that it ever belonged to the archbishops. The example of Eynsham may serve to suggest that the early Canterbury estates were far larger and may have been much more widely spread than the extant evidence gives reason to suppose.

D) The Pontificate of Wulfred (805-832)

It is only from the end of the 8th century that the Christ Church archives begin to preserve authentic documents which enable us to trace the history of the endowment of the church and to describe the organisation of the cathedral clergy. In 797 Alcuin had written to the exiled Archbishop Æthelheard advising him to reform the Canterbury familia by inspiring in them zeal for reading the Scriptures and for service in the choir so that in future the community could produce one of their own number worthy to be archbishop². Alcuin may have been envisaging reform along the lines then being widely adopted in the cathedrals of the Frankish kingdom, and he certainly goes on to advise moderation in dress and food for the clergy in general. Eight years later we get some indication of the composition of the Christ Church familia from the charter by which Æthelheard granted Bishopsbourne to

1. The identification of æt Iognes homme with Eynsham is accepted by E.Ekwall, Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 4th ed. 1962, s.v.

2. M.G.H., Epist.Karol.Aevi, ii, ed.E.Dummler, 1895, no.128.

the community¹; for the document is attested by two provosts (praepositi), 8 priests, an archdeacon (Wulfred), 2 deacons, and two others who are given no title. It is evident that Æthelheard's familia is composed of secular clergy, organised like continental cathedral chapters under praepositi, and with an archdeacon to assist the archbishop in his administrative duties². The Bishopsbourne charter is also important because it shows the archbishop restoring an estate to his community as their own property (in propriam possessionem) for their table, or for whatever other use seemed most important to them³, as had been the intention of the original donor, reeve Ealdhun c.780⁴. There are three documents (B.C.S.293, 319, and 332) that refer to Ealdhun's gift of Bishopsbourne,

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1. B.C.S.319, BM Cotton Aug.II 55, (BM.Facs., i 13). The hand is rather clumsy and unlike that of later 9th century Christ Church scribes, but it may well be contemporary and the authenticity of the transaction is established by B.C.S.332 which is preserved in a contemporary ms (Cotton Aug.II 47: B.M.Facs., ii.11). Wulfred the archdeacon also attests in 803 (B.C.S.312).
 2. See M.Deanesly, 'The archdeacons of Canterbury under Archbishop Ceolnoth', Eng.Hist.Rev., xlii, 1927, pp.1-11. But the possibility that archdeacon Wulfred's post like that of Ceolnoth's archdeacons later may reflect only a need to delegate responsibility when the archbishop was ageing should not be forgotten (see below, p.278).
 3. '...ut omne bonum quod in illa terra lucrificetur fratres singulariter ad mensam suam habeant, et ad alteram necessitatem faciant qua illis bona et spontanea voluntate maxime utile videatur'.
 4. As Dr.W.Urry has recently pointed out (Canterbury under the Angevin Kings, 1967, p.82, n.3, 4), William Somner had information about Ealdhun's gift which has not survived; Somner (Antiquities of Canterbury, 1640, p.363) dates the grant 780 and states that Ealdhun had purchased Burne from Egbert for 2000 shillings. But Somner's statement that Ealdhun then gave the land to the monks suggests that his source was a cartulary rather than an original charter.

and their combined testimony leaves no doubt that Ealdhun's gift had been specifically directed for the use of the community, for their table or their common needs¹. Thus there is no reason to suppose that the creation of a separate endowment for the community was the work of Archbishop Æthelheard in 799 or 805, and of Archbishop Wulfred in the early years of his pontificate². Rather the familia at Christ Church are found with lands assigned for their own use as soon as we have authentic documents from the archives, and there is no indication that this was a new arrangement. It is indeed possible that the community's separate endowment went back, as Gervase of Canterbury later claimed, to the days of Theodore - though it is clear that Gervase could not back his assertion with evidence from authentic documents any more than we can today³. At all events the reservation of certain estates for the particular use of the cathedral clergy precedes the reform of the community under Archbishop Wulfred; it also precedes the first continental evidence for cathedral clergy having been assigned their own endowments⁴.

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1. B.C.S.293: 'Aldhun....dederat familiae quae morabatur ad ecclesiam salvatoris sibimet ipsis in jus proprium et in dominium communis necessitatibus ad habendum et fruendum feliciter in domino'. B.C.S.319: 'fratribus nostris ad mensam tradidit'. B.C.S.332: 'Aldhun... familie et propriae singulariter fratribus...jure perpetua liberaque ad possidendum illis donaverat'.
 2. Du Boulay, Lordship, pp.18-19, and p.30 where the 'final' separation of the community's endowment is placed in 811 (i.e. B.C.S.332).
 3. Gervase, Opera Historica (R.S.), ii, pp.63, 341. The earliest evidence that Gervase cites for the community having its own property and the right to dispose of it is the charter by which Archbishop Wulfred exchanged lands with the familia in 811 (B.C.S.332; Gervase, op.cit., p.348).
 4. The first see where the community can be shown with their own endowment is Vienna in 819; but there is evidence from a formulary of

The origins of the division of the mensa between bishop and community may therefore lie in England rather than on the Continent as has hitherto been supposed¹.

Though the Canterbury familia had their own endowments 'for their common needs' by the late 8th century, we should not suppose that Pope Gregory's recommendation that the Canterbury clergy should have no private property but have everything in common was still being observed. Not only did Ealdhun in c.780 and Archbishop Æthelheard in 805 allow the produce of Bishopsbourne to be enjoyed by the members of the community individually (singulariter)², but later in the year 805 we find king Coenwulf granting to a Canterbury priest, Wulfhard, the lyal famulus of Archbishop Æthelheard, an estate of one sulung which he was to possess jure hereditario in return for the payment of 100 sicli of pure gold and an equivalent amount of silver³. Clearly there were wealthy Canterbury priests who were considerable land-owners in their own right.

Among the richer members of the familia may have been the archdeacon Wulfred who in 805 succeeded Æthelheard as archbishop.

Louis the Pious that the clergy of an unspecified cathedral had already been so endowed in the last years of the reign of Charlemagne (E.Lesne, L'Origine des Menses, 1912 pp.54-6).

1. B.W.Kissan, 'Lanfranc's alleged division of lands between Archbishop and Community', Eng.Hist.Rev., liv, 1939, p.292; E.John, 'The division of the mensa in early English monasteries', Journ.Eccl.Hist., 1955, p.143ff.
2. B.C.S.319: 'fratres sibi singulariter ad mensam habeant'. B.C.S.332: 'Aldhun...familiae et propriae singulariter fratribus....ad possidendum illis donaverat'.
3. B.C.S.321 which survives in a contemporary ms (BM.Stowe ch.10: O.S.Facs., iii 11).

Certainly of all the archbishops of the Anglo-Saxon period Wulfred looms largest among the extant charters. The acquisitions of his pontificate require a separate map (Map 3), and charter after charter records large payments of money and of gold and silver ornaments that Wulfred made in order to acquire these estates¹. Either Wulfred brought considerable personal wealth to his office, or else he was more free with the resources and treasures of his church than his successors could afford to be.

It was not only in the purchase of estates that Wulfred proved an active archbishop. His struggle to reform the monasteries of the southern province and of the diocese of Canterbury has been discussed in Chapter 4. And he did not neglect his own church at Canterbury, though he may have met with some initial resistance². His reform of the cathedral clergy is recorded in a document drawn up as a solemn diploma and attested by members of the familia apparently in the year 813³. Wulfred's intention was to 'renew, restore, and rebuild the holy monastery of the church of Canterbury with the aid of the priests, deacons, and all the

1. See below p. 263 n.3.

2. In 811 two years before his reform of the community Wulfred exchanged some estates with the community (B.C.S. 332: Map 3 nos. 5, 6). But he added an additional estate on the understanding: 'ut quanto eorum humilitas atque oboedientia circa nos devotior fuerit, tanto igitur illis semper largiores in cunctis bonis domino miserante existere curamus'.

3. B.C.S. 342. The text has only survived in a copy of the Canterbury antiquarian William Somner; but its Latin is typical of the Wulfre-
dian era and there seems no reason to suspect its authenticity. The incarnation date (813) does not agree with the indiction (iii) nor with the year of Wulfred's pontificate (iiii). If we amend the latter two to vi and vii as Birch suggests, the indiction is correct but not the archiepiscopal year. 813 should be Wulfred's 8th or 9th year.

clergy of the church'. His reform follows closely and was doubtless derived from the continental reforming movement inspired by bishop Chrodegang of Metz, who in the mid-8th century had converted his cathedral clergy into a community of canons (canonici) observing a limited but definite rule¹. Chrodegang's Rule was widely adopted in the later years of Charlemagne's reign, and in 816 at the Synod of Aachen, Louis the Pious made a comparable Institutio Canoniorum generally obligatory². All the elements of Wulfred's reform can be found in the Rule of Chrodegang and the canons of the Synod of Aachen: on the one hand the insistence on keeping the Office at the canonical hours, and on the common use of both the dormitory and the refectory according to 'monastic' discipline³, on the other hand the priests are permitted to have private property, especially houses (domos, celluli) that they had built themselves⁴ - so long as they were not used for feasting or sleeping, and above all were not alienated from the Community.

How closely Archbishop Wulfred followed the ideas of the continental reformers is shown by a charter of the last years of Wulfred's life by which he granted a house (curtis) which he had acquired within

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1. Regula Chrodegangi, in Patrologiae Latinae, ed. J.P. Migne, lxxxix, 1863, cc.1097-1120.
 2. M.G.H., Concilia Aevi Karolini, i, ed. A. Werminghoff, pp.307-421.
 3. Regula Chrodegangi, passim, especially cc.3, 4-6; Institutio Canoniorum, cc.118, 123, 126-31.
 4. For the right to possess private property, see Reg.Chrod. c.3, Inst. Can. c.115; for the mansiones belonging to individual canons, see Reg.Chrod. c.3, Inst.Can. c.142.

the 'monastery' to the community for use when necessary as a sick house¹. In providing a building set apart for the sick and infirm members of the cathedral clergy, he was fulfilling one of the specific provisions of the Rule of Chrodegang and of the synod of Aachen². By the same charter Wulfred granted to the community 4 sulungs at Sceldesforda on the condition that it should never be alienated from the community; he took the opportunity to remind the familia of all the gifts he had made them since nostra communis congregatio was established, and he requested that they should aid his soul by almsgiving, psalm-singing, and the celebration of masses³; above all the grant was conditional upon their keeping the agreements that they had made together.

Wulfred's reform was concerned with the daily life of his clergy - with their regular attendance in church at the canonical hours, and with their eating and sleeping in common '*iuxta regulam monasterialis disciplinae vitae*'. But it does not seem to have affected the relationship of the community to their endowments. Both before and after 813

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1. B.C.S.380: undated but attested by Wulfred and also by Ceolnoth as archbishop. The charter survives in a contemporary text written by the Canterbury writer, scribe 4 (BM Cotton Aug.II 72; B.M.Facs., ii 17, for other charters by this scribe see above, p.141), but the witnesses are added by a different Canterbury scribe, also contemporary, on the dorse (see above, p.138) although space had been left on the face for the scribe of the text to write in the witnesses. Faint indications of writing on the face are not the original witnesses erased (as stated by A.Campbell, Journ.Eng.& Germ.Philology, xxxvii, 1938, p.144), but an offset from the text.
 2. Reg.Chrod., c.28, Inst.Can., c.142.
 3. Comparable but more detailed provisions for almsgiving, psalm-singing and masses may be found in Wulfred's confirmation of Oswulf's bequest of Stanstead (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1), in the canons of Wulfred's 816 synod of Chelsea (cc.10. Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.583), and in what is recited from Wulfred's will in B.C.S.402 (see, below, pp.263-5 esp. p.264 n.1).

we find the archbishop and community agreeing to an exchange of estates for their mutual advantage¹; clearly the community had some rights to dispose of the property that was particularly reserved for their use. But whilst they might exchange lands with the archbishop, and might even make their own arrangements for farming out their estates for rent², it is doubtful whether the community could alienate their property altogether. Grants to the community repeatedly state that the land is given 'in perpetual possession'³, but they do not include the formula usual in charters to laymen giving the recipient the power to give the land to whomever he might please. That indeed would defeat the purpose of the donor who normally hoped to secure an eternal benefit for his soul through the prayers, and singing of the community⁴. Moreover, when the community acquired new land from a king or lay noble, the archbishop acted as their lord arranging or approving the bequest⁵. The synod of

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1. B.C.S.332 (in 811); B.C.S.381 (in 824). Map 3 nos.5, 6; 22,23.
 2. Robertson, Charters 6 (Badanoth's will): 'ic biddo higon for Godes lufe ðæt se monn se higon londes unnan to brucenne ða ilcan wisan leste on swæsendum to minre tide...'; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8 (Ealdorman Ælfred's bequest of Chartham): 'gif ðet sio ðet higan ðæs landes ænigem mæn unnan willen buton him seulfum, ðonne sellen hio hit Ælfredes bearne,....an ða gerad ðe he wið higan aræde swæ an feoh swæ an feorme swæðer he abiddan mæge'.
 3. B.C.S.332: 'perpetuæ dono...', 'terra...quam illis dederam eis perpetuæ inviolabilem esse desiderio'.
B.C.S.381: 'in propriam potestatem et in perpetuam possessionem'.
 Robertson, Charters, 6: 'to heora beode him to brucanne on ece ærfe swæ him liofast sie'.
 4. E.g. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1; Robertson, Charters, 6. See also p.260 n.3, above.
 5. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2: '...þonne foe se hlaford to 7 ða higan æt Kristes cirican....An ðas redenne ic hit ðider selle, ðe se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie, se min....forespreoca....' Ibid., 4:

Chelsea in 816 forbade bishops whose task was to preserve the estates of 'monasteries' to allow any alienation of the property except leases for one lifetime¹.

Though the cathedral clergy's powers to dispose of their common endowments were thus limited, individual priests and more especially the archbishop himself might still have their private property which they could grant as they wished to their kinsmen or to strangers². In particular Archbishop Wulfred retained the power to dispose of the estates that he acquired during his pontificate. Nearly all the charters recording his acquisitions specify that he could give the land to whatever heir he might wish³; there can be no doubt that formulae like:

'Ic Lufa mid Godes gefe ancilla Dei wes soecende 7 smeagende ymb mine sauldæarfe mid Ceolnoðes ærcebiscopes geðeahte 7 ðara hiona et Cristes cirican. Willa ic gesellan of ðem ærfe....to Cristes cirican...' See also ibid., 8. B.C.S. 536 appears to be a permanent alienation of land belonging to the community, and it is noteworthy that it is drawn up in the name of the king and the archbishop, as well as the community (BM.Stowe Ch.18, O.S.Facs., iii.19). The errors of this remarkable document are the work of a near-blind Canterbury scribe who knew little Latin (see above, pp.198-9), and they testify to its authenticity rather than the opposite.

1. Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.582. Famine or the ravaging of an army or the need to obtain liberty might necessitate alienation, however.
2. Synod of Chelsea, c.vii (Ibid., loc.cit.): 'sed magis unusquisque sit sui proprie contentus, illud distribuat propinquis vel alienis secundum meritum qualitatis'. In B.C.S. 562 the bishop and community of Rochester grant an estate to priest Biorhtuulf with free powers of disposal. See also the discussion of the will of the Canterbury priest, Werhard, (B.C.S. 402), below, pp.263-6.
3. B.C.S. 322, 328, 332, 340, 348, 353, 370, 373, 378, 381, 400. The only exceptions are B.C.S. 335 and 341 where the complex drafting may have led to the omission of this clause, and B.C.S. 346 which is not authentic, and B.C.S. 344 which appears to be a grant to Christ Church and is of uncertain authenticity.

'in¹ propriam potestatem ad habendum...vel...
cuicumque ei placuerit derelinquendum...'

were not merely repeated from habit, but conveyed legal powers of importance. For in a vernacular document by which he granted certain houses to his successors in the see of Canterbury, Wulfred defended himself from the suggestion that the community had a claim to the property (wic) on the grounds that the land 'had never been Christ Church land, nor any man's bookland before mine'; nor was there any reason why Wulfred should not be just as free to 'give mine away or to occupy it during my life as other men were theirs'.²

Wulfred had acquired a great patrimony of such bookland (Map 3) in a series of transactions recorded in 17 charters spread over the 27 years of his pontificate. Many of the estates had been bought with gold and silver³; and since Wulfred regarded the estates as his own, we may suppose that he had acquired them by spending his own treasure rather than that of his see. Wulfred's will by which he bequeathed his wealth and his estates has not survived⁴. But we do have from the main Christ

1. B.C.S.373

2. Appendix A, no.1. Only a fragment of this document survives; it was quoted by W.Somner (Treatise on Gavelkind, p.88) in the course of an argument on the properties of bookland.

3. B.C.S.322, 2 sulungs for 30 mancuses; B.C.S.328, 7 sulungs for 30 pounds; B.C.S.335, 4 sulungs + land in Canterbury for 126 mancuses; B.C.S.348, 1 sulung for 7 pounds of gold and silver; B.C.S.353, 1 hide for 23 mancuses in a ring; B.C.S.370, property in Canterbury for a vessel of gold and silver of 5 pounds.

4. It is referred to in B.C.S.402: 'in scripto quod ipse (Wulfred) scribere fecit antequam infirmaretur de divisione rerum suarum'.

Church cartulary a Latin version of the will of Wulfred's kinsman, the priest Werhard¹. The document is of interest not only for the extent of the lands at the disposal of this Canterbury priest, but also for the basic distinction that it makes between a) lands which Werhard had received from Archbishop Wulfred on the understanding he would in turn grant them to the familia, and b) Werhard's own patrimony which he could grant to whomever he wished. Werhard's own possessions lay mostly in Middlesex², and amounted to at least 70 hides. More interesting are the estates which he had received from Archbishop Wulfred 'who had bought and them/with great trouble acquired them'³; it is instructive to set out

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1. B.C.S.402. As with other texts from the main cartulary, the will has been provided with a mistaken date (830) apparently derived from the year of Archbishop Ceolnoth's accession in A.S.C.'A' (for 833). Werhard's will belongs between Ceolnoth's accession (833) and Werhard's death (after 843, B.C.S.442). Also in common with other texts from the cartulary the document purports to record bequests to the monks of Christ Church at a time when the community was comprised of secular clerks. But when these typical interpolations of the cartularist are removed, there can be little doubt that a more or less faithful Latin version of Werhard's will remains. The complex arrangements for almsgiving recited from Wulfred's will agree well with such provisions in contemporary 'Wulfredian' documents (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1; Robertson, Charters, 3; Synod of Chelsea, c.10 in Haddan & Stubbs, Councils, iii, p.583-4); nor would a later Canterbury forger assess Kentish estates in hides rather than sulungs (whereas cf. B.C.S.353, 384, Harmer, S.E.H.D., 10, where the hide is still used in authentic 9th century documents for Kentish estates).
 2. Notice also B.C.S.448 which shows Werhard exchanging lands in Middlesex with a thegn, Werenbeorht. He is not stated to have been a kinsman of Werhard, but the W- alliteration suggests the possibility. Wernoth, presbyter abbas, who headed the Christ Church familia early in Wulfred's pontificate (B.C.S.332 of 811, B.C.S.342 of 813) may also have been related.
 3. I take the formula 'ad opus jam sepedicte familie' to be an interpolation of the cartularist here as it breaks the sense, and is untrue. The extant charters show that Wulfred retained freedom to dispose of his acquisitions as he wished.

these estates which Werhard had received from his kinsman alongside the extant charters by which Archbishop Wulfred had first acquired them:

Harrow, 104 hides, acquired by Wulfred in B.C.S.384
 Otford, 100 hides, B.C.S.367, 370¹
 Graveney 32 hides, B.C.S.335, 340, 348, 353
 Bishopsbourne 44 hides,
 & Lambaham 1 yoke B.C.S.332
 Easole, 10 hides, B.C.S.378
 Barham, 36 hides, B.C.S.328, 381
 (given by Wulfred in
 exchange for Cliffe)
 Northuuda 1 yoke, ?
 All marshes to north and south of R.Limen belonging to aforesaid
 estates.
 1 mansio in Canterbury B.C.S.373
 with enclosure.

It is clear that virtually all the estates that Wulfred had obtained during his pontificate are here listed². Archbishop Wulfred, having spent a considerable fortune acquiring a huge lordship in Kent, apparently wished it to benefit his kinsman, Werhard, before passing to

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1. It is not clear whether the grants of Greatness and Myllentun comprised the whole of the later manor of Otford. The main Christ Church cartulary attaches to the end of its version of B.C.S.265 a note: 'iste idem Offa dedit ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia villam nomine Otteford', though there is no reliable evidence to back this tradition. The hidage figure for Otford and for all the Kentish estates in B.C.S.402 is inflated. E.Hasted, (History of Kent, i, p.315) notes that in the 18th century 'the honour of Otford claims over the whole hundred of Codsheath'.
 2. Only 2 sulungs at Buckholt (B.C.S.322), 2 sulungs at Appingclond near Rainham (B.C.S.335), and 5 hides at Botwell (B.C.S.400) seem to be omitted. (See Map 3 nos. 1, 7, and 28).

the community that he had reformed. Nepotism was evidently a force to be reckoned with. Archbishop Wulfred may have been concerned to avoid handing over his patrimony until it was clear that the reforms that he had instituted for the community were still being observed after his death¹; but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that by making his kinsman so wealthy, Archbishop Wulfred may have helped Werhard's rapid promotion in the Christ Church familia. In 824 Werhard had been only a deacon², but he rose to be one of the two heads of the community with the title presbyter abbas, certainly by the early years of Archbishop Ceolnoth if not already in Wulfred's lifetime³. Whether he had further ambitions that his inheritance would carry with it succession to the archbishopric can only be surmised.

Archbishop Wulfred's land transactions reveal more than a keen sense of family interest. His two quarrels with king Coenwulf of Mercia⁴ are reflected by periods from 805-9 and 815-821 when there were no acquisitions of territory by archbishop or community. Even more significantly

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1. Cf. the conditions attached to Wulfred's grant of Sceldesforda to the community, B.C.S.380 (see above p.260).
 2. B.C.S.381. Werhard also attests B.C.S.384 (of 825) but he is given no title and his lowly position suggests that he was not then a very important member of the familia. He is not found in the very full list of the community in B.C.S.335 (of 811), nor does he attest the reform of 813 (B.C.S.342).
 3. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2 (Abba's will); B.C.S.380 (witness list on dorse). Both documents must be dated 833, 838. Abba's will is the earlier, since sub-deacon Nothwulf has become deacon in B.C.S.380. Both are likely to be soon after Ceolnoth's accession. We have no lists of the Christ Church familia for the period 826-832.
 4. Above, ch.4.

the series of gifts and purchases comes abruptly to an end with the West Saxon conquest of Kent in 825¹. In that year Baldred, sub-king of Kent under the Mercian king Beornwulf, granted an estate at Malling to Christ Church (Map 3, no.27); but the grant was revoked by Egbert of Wessex and his son Æthelwulf on the grounds that it had been made whilst Baldred was in flight after the battle of Wroughton². The fact that Wulfred was unable to recover this estate for the community may suggest that in the eyes of the West Saxon kings he was associated with Mercian rule in Kent. Certainly Wulfred's only acquisition after 825 was an estate of 5 hides at Botwell in Middlesex (Map 3 no.28), given by Wiglaf of Mercia in 830 after he had recovered his kingdom from Egbert's brief overlordship³. Wiglaf grants the land to Archbishop Wulfred 'pro eius intimo spiritali secularique affectu et amore', and for once there is no suggestion that Wulfred had paid for the estate. Of what value Wulfred's 'secular friendship' was to Wiglaf we cannot know; but however difficult Wulfred's relations with the Mercian kings may have been at times in the years 805-825, it would seem that his personal connections⁴ and his political preference lay with Mercia rather than Wessex.

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1. It may be noted that the charter evidence is supported by that of the coins. After the West Saxon conquest Wulfred's coinage rights seem to have been denied by Egbert, and it is not until c.830 that the archiepiscopal coinage is resumed (see, C.E.Blunt, C.S.Lyon and B.H. Stewart, 'The Coinage of Southern England, 796-840', Brit.Numis. Journ., xxxii, 1964, p.22).
 2. B.C.S.421
 3. B.C.S.400. The charter survives in a contemporary ms. by a Canterbury scribe (BM.Cotton Aug.II 94, B.M.Facs., ii 20; see above pp.138-142). It is dated anno primo secundi regni mei. Cf. A.S.Chron., sub annis 827 (for 829), 828 (for 830).
 4. The grant of Botwell (B.C.S.400) in Middlesex adjoined land at Hayes

The turns of the political kaleidoscope during Wulfred's pontificate lent direction to his territorial policies. His acquisitions on his own behalf and for the community lay entirely in Kent and in Middlesex. Indeed until the year 825 they were confined to Kent¹, which suggests not that his personal territorial interests lay in Kent, but that he followed a deliberate policy of retrenchment that had already been begun by his predecessor, Archbishop Ethelheard. Ethelheard had surrendered Canterbury's claims to the monastery of Cookham and its lands (Berks) in return for lands in Kent (B.C.S.291, Map 2 nos.2, 8, and 9). Wulfred had acquired 10 hides of land at Yarkhill in Herefordshire, but he soon arranged an exchange with King Coenwulf by which he obtained instead lands of equivalent value in East Kent². Similarly when the vast 300 hide estate at Eynsham in Oxfordshire was confiscated by Coenwulf, it was in Middlesex and Kent that Wulfred found eventual compensation³. Outlying estates, especially those in the upper Thames area that

already belonging to Wulfred ('in oriente terra eiusdem episcopi pertinens to hæse'). Since the chief estate in the patrimony of Wulfred's kinsman, Werhard, was also at Hayes (B.C.S.402), and his (patrimonial other) estates in so far as they can be identified also in Middlesex, it would seem that the family's connections were with Middlesex rather than with Kent.

1. However, B.C.S.384 by which Wulfred acquired the huge manor of Harrow (Middx. Map 3 no.5) in settlement of the dispute over Reculver and Minster-in-Thanet presumably belongs to the period before Beornwulf lost control of Kent, since all the southern bishops attest and an estate in Kent (Cumbe, 30 hides, Map 3 no.26) was also granted to Wulfred - though there is no history of this estate in the hands of archbishops or community after 825.
2. B.C.S.332 (Map 3 nos.4, 6)
3. B.C.S.384 (Map 3 nos.25, 26. See above n.1).

had long been in dispute between Wessex and Mercia, were inevitably vulnerable as the Mercian overlordship came to an end and as rival families contended for the Mercian throne. The archbishops showed good sense in building up their Kentish lordship, and getting rid of their furthest estates on the best terms that they could obtain.

The extant charters allow us to see that Wulfred was doing more than simply accumulate lands in the South-East. In a charter of 811 Wulfred explains how he had at great expense collected together and joined into one unit a number of estates at Eastry which would be more convenient for the community to administer and work since he (Wulfred) had had them enclosed with a single boundary-fence¹. A comparable process can be detected in five separate charters dating from the years 811-815, which show Wulfred acquiring by purchases and exchanges five small but adjoining estates at Graveney near Faversham varying in size from 20 acres to 2 sulungs (Map 3 nos. 8, 11, 12, 15, 16)². Thus Wulfred had created a single estate at Graveney, of some size and which could be administered from a central mansio, or manor-house³. Similarly the 20 sulungs at Stanstead bequeathed by Oswulf and Beornthryth (Map 3 no. 3)

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1. B.C.S. 332: 'Has itaque terrulas ideo collegere et simul ita in unum conjungere eximiae caritatis industria curavi, ut facilius elaborare ac desudare sua propria in illis potuissent quasi adunate unius termini intra septa conclusi'.
 2. B.C.S. 335, 340, 341, 348, and 353. All survive in contemporary mss., except B.C.S. 340 from the more reliable part of Lambeth 1212. The boundaries of these estates have been worked out and mapped by G. Ward (Archaeologia Cantiana, xlvii, 1934, pp. 123-136).
 3. See B.C.S. 348: 'et hoc aratrum cum omnibus utensilibus bonis ad mansionem on grafoneah aeternaliter concessum est'.

were incorporated into the church's estate at Lympne, and it was at Lympne on Wulfred's order that the food-rents were to be collected and sent thence to the community¹.

Nearly all the varied land-transactions of Wulfred's pontificate can be seen to have formed part of such a policy of creating sizeable manors by acquiring by purchase or exchange estates that adjoined lands already in the hands of the archbishop or community. Thus the 4 sulungs at Bishopsbourne that Wulfred obtained by exchange in 811 (B.C.S.381, Map 3 no.5) shared a boundary with the 7 sulungs at Barham that Wulfred had bought two years earlier (B.C.S.328, Map 3 no.2)², and in 824 Wulfred acquired a further 5 sulungs at Barham by exchange with the community (B.C.S.381, Map 3 no.22). Botwell (B.C.S.400, Map 3 no.28) adjoined an estate that Wulfred already possessed at Hayes (Middlesex)³. We can also see Wulfred concentrating estates at Otford⁴, and at Petham⁵. Seen in this light the grants of the Mercian kings Coenwulf, Geolwulf, Beornwulf and Wiglaf reflect not their occasional and arbitrary piety, but

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1. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1: 'Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle ymb tuælf monað of Liminum, ðe ðis forecuaedene lond to limpeð, of ðaem ilcan lond æt Stanhamstede'.
 2. The northern bound of the estate at Barham in B.C.S.328 is Ealdhun-inglond. Bishopsbourne had of course originally been given to Christ Church by Ealdhun.
 3. Above, p.267 n.4.
 4. B.C.S.367 (Greatness), and B.C.S.370 (Mylentun); Map 3 nos.18, 20. See G.Ward, 'The making of the great park at Otford, Arch.Cant., xli, 1929, p.3-4. See also Wallenberg, K.P-N, pp.140-145.
 5. B.C.S.322 (Buckholt in Petham) and B.C.S.341 (Swarling in Petham). See Du Boulay, Lordship, p.17 and n.3. But B.C.S.341 records the alienation of Swarling!

the initiative of an archbishop who had a clear-sighted territorial policy¹. The inheritance that Archbishop Wulfred bequeathed to his kinsman Werhard, and subsequently to Christ Church, was not only huge, it was also consolidated and well-administered.

E) The Period from 833 to 899

The last two thirds of the 9th century were less momentous for the endowment of the church of Canterbury than the pontificate of Wulfred (Map 4). Archbishop Wulfred's vast acquisitions and the patrimony of his kinsman, the priest-abbot Werhard, presumably passed to Christ Church on Werhard's death, c.850² (Map 4 nos.13, 14, 15). But otherwise the estates acquired were rather small. The most important task for Wulfred's successors was to establish friendly relations with the kings of Wessex³, and this was achieved in the years 838-839 by Archbishop Ceolnoth and Æthelwulf who ruled as sub-king in Kent under his father

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1. Later archbishops may sometimes have had similar policies, but not on so large a scale. The estate at Ileden (Gildincg) which had been acquired from king Æthelwulf (B.C.S.536; see above pp.188-9 for this difficult document) was adjacent to the community's estate at Barham (B.C.S.381: '...ab oriente Gildincg...')
 2. B.C.S.402. Werhard attests frequently up to 845 (B.C.S.448), but not in subsequent documents witnessed by the community (Robertson, Charters, 6, of 845x53; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 6, of 843x63). The estates are shown in Map 4 at their DB assessments because of the inflated hidage figures in B.C.S.402.
 3. In 836 Ceolnoth attended a synod under Wiglaf's auspices (B.C.S.416). But the bishops of Sherborne and Selsey also attended, so we should draw only ecclesiastical conclusions from this, and not suppose that Ceolnoth hoped to continue the Mercian connection with Canterbury. The absence of the bishop of Winchester may be explained by a vacancy.

Egbert. Malling (Map 4 no.3) which had originally been given by Baldred and had then been confiscated by the victorious West Saxons, was recovered at this time, and a compromise was reached in the vexed question of control of the Kentish 'monasteries'¹. Ethelwulf also gave to Ceolnoth himself a small estate at Lyminge (Map 4 no.2)², and to Christ Church a conglomeration of estates on the edge of the Weald and Romney Marsh (Map 4 nos.4, 5)³. These three charters (B.C.S.421, 419, 407/8) belonging to the last year of Egbert's life are the only grants by West Saxon kings to the archbishops and community until the end of the century when Alfred is purported to have given a small property at Queenhythe in London (Map 4 no.18)⁴.

The timing of Ethelwulf's grants may suggest a political motive, and the restoration of Malling was certainly accompanied by the condition:

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1. B.C.S.421. For the 3 contemporary mss. of this important document, see above, pp.141-3. For the dispute over the monasteries, see Chapter 4.
 2. B.C.S.419, from the more reliable part of Lambeth 1212 (see above, pp.
 3. B.C.S.407/8. Many of the estates cannot be identified and are therefore not shown in Map 4. B.C.S.407 survives only in copies in the 14th cent. Cant.Reg. 'A', and 'E' (see above, pp. 61). The date (841) is mistaken as in other documents from these cartularies, and should probably be corrected to 839, the outside limits being 833 (Ceolnoth's accession) and 839 (Egbert's death). The text seems to be an additional grant to the gift of Ebony, Deiferthesea, and Mistanham mentioned in the summary from the main Christ Church cartulary (B.C.S. 408). It is difficult to suppose that a spurious text would leave so much doubt about who was to be the recipient of the grant.
 4. B.C.S.577, attributed to the year 898 although Ethelflæd is described as 'sororem regis'.

'quod nos ipsi nostrique heredes semper in posterum firmam inconcussamque amicitiam ab illo archiepiscopo Ceolnotho eiusdem congregatione ecclesie Christi habeamus, et ab omnibus successoribus eius hoc idem patrociniū ac protectionem illius sedis nos et hereditas nostra nostrique heredes quicumque Dei voluntas fuerit quod illi sint, in omnibus necessitatibus nostris absque omni dubitatione spontaneum paratūque amicali amore semper inveniant'.¹

It is not clear why Egbert and Æthelwulf attached so much importance to the support of the archbishop and community of Canterbury in the last year of Egbert's life. They may have feared a revival of Mercian interest in Kent, or of Kentish independence². At all events in the years 838-9 Egbert and Æthelwulf were willing to settle disputes with the archbishop, and make grants to the archbishop and community with a generosity that is singularly lacking in their successors during the rest of the 9th century and for the whole of the 10th century³.

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1. B.C.S.421. For the contemporary mss. of this document, see above pp. 141-3. A grant by Egbert to bishop Eadhun of Winchester made at the same time and drafted in very similar terms survives in the Winchester cartulary (B.C.S.423): it has a comparable clause which specifies that friendship and protection are to be shown to Æthelwulf and his heirs. The cartularist or an earlier copyist has wrongly made Helmstan in the attestations of 838 a bishop, and has turned Ræðhun into Swithun in the confirmation of the following year. But these erroneous emendations do not invalidate the whole text, for it is not likely that a Winchester forger would trouble to go to Canterbury for a model for an Egbert charter. The differences between the Canterbury and Winchester texts fit the historical situation of 838. H.P.R. Finberg (Early Charters of Wessex, 1964, p.16) has suggested that the purpose of exacting conditions of support from the sees of Winchester and Canterbury was to secure the succession specifically of Æthelwulf. But this would scarcely explain the need for confirmation by a synod of all the bishops of the southern province at Æstran in 839, nor do we know of any rival heir.
 2. A comparable demand for loyalty to the West Saxon royal family is found in 861 in Æthelbert's grant of Meretum to abbot Diernoð of St Augustine's (B.C.S.861).
 3. For the scarcity of royal grants to Canterbury in the 10th century,

The contrast between the plentiful charters of the Mercian kings in the period from 798 to 825 and the dearth of such grants after the West Saxon conquest may, however, be misleading. Archbishop Wulfred had been prepared to pay with money, treasures, or with land for the estates he acquired. Later archbishops may not have been able to afford to do so. Viking armies were already a peril in Kent in the first decades of the 9th century¹, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records their presence in Kent in 835, 841, 851, 853, 855, and 865². In 865 it is recorded that tribute was paid by the people of Kent in an attempt to buy the Danes off, and there may have been several other such payments. Doubtless the church of Canterbury had to contribute its share; its estates cannot have escaped the ravaging of the Viking armies, and the annual rents of food and money from them may have been seriously impaired³. The city of Canterbury itself was sacked in 851⁴, and Christ Church must have

see below, pp. 279 - 285.

1. Already in 804 the monastery of Lyminge acquired property in Canterbury as a refuge (B.C.S.317). Clauses reserving the obligation to perform the 'common burdens' appear from 811 in authentic Kentish charters, and they specifically refer to pagans (B.C.S.332, 348) even to the obligation to destroy their fortresses (B.C.S.335 in 811, B.C.S.370 in 823).
2. A.S.Chron., sub annis 832, 838, 851, 853, 855, and 865.
3. In 865 'all eastern Kent' was ravaged (A.S.Chron., sub anno). Harmer, S.E.H.D.6, a grant of food-rents from Brabourne to St Augustine's (844-64) shows that Viking raids might prevent the payment of any food-rent for 3 years or more.
4. Earle & Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles, p.64: '7 bræcon Contwaraburg'; Chronicon Æthelweardi, ed. A.Campbell, 1962, p.31: 'et destruxerunt Cantuariorum urbem'.

been the obvious target. It was an age when kings had little spare cash or land for pious benefactions, and churches could not afford to enter the land-market.

Some benefactions were, however, made to Christ Church by laymen and are recorded in the vernacular rather than in Latin diplomas; land in and around Canterbury was given by a Kentish thegn Badanoth, and an estate at Chartham by Ælfred, the ealdorman of Surrey (Map 4 nos.9, 17)¹. But more common are the documents that arrange for rents to be paid to Christ Church either in food or in cash. Some of these documents merely settle the terms on which existing Christ Church estates were to be rented²; in other texts the donor arranges for his (or her) heirs to inherit the estate with full powers, but orders them to arrange an annual payment to Christ Church in such a way that the community did not obtain lordship over the estate³. Nonetheless there does appear to have been some standardisation of rents. Money rents of 100 pennies were to be paid annually from Finglesham by bequest of Ealhhere and from Nettlestead by the bequest of ealdorman Ælfred (Map 4 nos.8, 16)⁴. Food-rents

1. Robertson, Charters, 6; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8.

2. Thus Bishopsbourn, where the food-rent was agreed c.850 by Ealzburg and Eadweald (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 5) had been granted to the community by Ealdhun c.780, and after various transactions was finally returned to the community by Werhard's will (B.C.S.402. For the earlier history of this estate, see B.C.S.293, 319, 332). Cf Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, where ealdorman Ælfred bequeathed Chartham to the community, but if they wished to farm out the estate for food or money, it was to go to his son or to some other kinsman.

3. E.g. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 2 (Heregyth's bequest); 4 (Lufu's grant); 5 (Ealhhere's grant); 10 (ealdorman Ælfred's will).

4. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 5, 10.

inevitably varied since the numbers of livestock, and the proportion of arable, woodland, pasture, and of 'appurtenances' like fish-weirs and saltings varied from one estate to another. But where we have detailed descriptions of the food-rents due to Christ Church, namely from Stanstead, Challock, Mongeham and Bishopsbourn (Map 4 nos.6, 8, 11; Map no.3) the food-rents are found to be closely comparable¹; they would seem to have been calculated to a single standard, some three or four times the amount that was reckoned in the 10th century to be one day's farm for the community². The first of these food-rents is that specified by Archbishop Wulfred from Stanstead (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,1), and it is therefore clear that at least from his time the community's estates were organised to produce fixed food-rents at specific times of the year. By this means the mensa of the familia was assured a steady supply of provisions³, and their other needs, especially for clothing, were doubtless provided from the money rents⁴.

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1. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 1, 2, 4, 5. All these estates owe 1 bullock and 4 sheep. Some (Ibid., 2, 4) owe 1 pig, another (ib., 1) owes 2 fitches of bacon. All owe bread, in amounts varying from 150 loaves (1) to 300 (2). The hens owed are either 10 (1, 2), or 20 (4, 5); geese 5 (1) or 6 (2) or 10 (4, 5). Where available 1 mitta or 1 sester of honey was owed (1, 2, 4), and 30 ambers of ale (1, 2). Some estates owed 1 wey of cheese (2, 5), or 10 pounds (1), or 2 weys (4). Wine (1), malt (4), salt (2), and butter (2) were due from some estates and seem to make the total from each of these four estates up to a more or less equivalent standard.
 2. Robertson, Charters, 32. As first suggested by Harmer, S.E.H.D., p.73
 3. 'to heora beode' (Robertson, Charters, 6). Notice that Bishopsbourn was given 'fratribus ad mensam' (B.C.S.319) and that Harmer, S.E.H.D., 5 gives details of the food-rent from Bishopsbourn. Notice also in B.C.S.289 an estate is given to the 'minster' of Lyminge 'in refectiōne fratrum in cibo et potu'.
 4. We hear of scrudland, i.e. an estate assigned to provide clothing, already before the Conquest at the monk's estate at Orpington (Robert-

We do not know how well the community was provided for under this system. A number of charters from the period 833-898 are witnessed by members of the Christ Church community, and enable us to see something of the composition of the familia under Archbishop Ceolnoth and his successors. The community continued to be headed by one or two priest-abbots¹. Normally only 5 or 6 priests attest a charter and comparable number of clerks in lesser orders². But there is sufficient variation in the names that witness these documents to suggest that there may often have been 15 or more priests in the Canterbury familia at one time³.

son, Charters, 86) and in Domesday Book the monastic estates are normally stated to be de victu or de vestitu. R.Lennard (Rural England, 1086-1185, 1959, pp.117-21) has shown that far more of the archiepiscopal and monastic estates were farmed out for rent than appears in DB. Cant.Reg.'K' ff.69v-70r contains lists of the monastic estates that owed food-rents and of those owing money-rents as established by Lanfranc. Lanfranc established new levels for the rents and somewhat hastened the process by which money-rents replaced food-rents; but food-rents remained common, were still measured in days, weeks and months, and still comprised renders of grain, malt, pigs, sheep, cows, cheese, honey and salt (ibid., pp.135-6).

1. Werhard attests singly or jointly with Bægmund until 845 (B.C.S.448). Bægmund continues (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,4; Robertson, Charters,6) until replaced by Deimund (B.C.S.497 of 859), who is joined by Biarnulf (B.C.S.507 of 863); they in turn are replaced by Biarnhelm (B.C.S.516) who continues under Archbishop Æthelred (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,8; B.C.S.536) and is joined by Eardwulf (Harmer, S.E.H.D.,8, 10). Beornhelm continues under Archbishop Plegmund (B.C.S.638: erroneously dated 924, probably for 905). In all except B.C.S.516 Beornhelm is styled simply abbas.
2. Harmer, S.E.H.D.,4, B.C.S.421, 380, 426, 419, 442, Robertson, Charters, 6, S.E.H.D.,4; B.C.S.497, 507, 406, 538, 539; S.E.H.D.,10; B.C.S.638.
3. B.C.S.516 has 21 priests; there is no suggestion in the document that any may have belonged to St Augustine's or to other Kentish 'minsters'. Under Archbishop Wulfred we find 17 priests and 7 deacons attesting in 811 (B.C.S.332), but the presence of 3 priest-abbots suggests that the list may include priests from Lyminge, Dover or Folkestone.

Occasionally we hear of a monk, which suggests that as in the 10th century individual members of the community may sometimes have taken full monastic profession as an act of personal piety¹. The numbers of deacons attesting the charters varies in the same manner as the priests; but in one document of 843x63 the full complement of seven deacons is found². In the later years of Archbishops Æthelheard, Wulfred, and Ceolnoth an archdeacon is found at the head of the deacons³, and towards the end of Ceolnoth's long pontificate three and even four archdeacons attest the same charter. The evidence does not suggest that the archdeacon was a permanent office in the Canterbury diocese in the 9th century, but rather that a senior deacon was appointed to assist the archbishop in his administrative duties as old age made it increasingly difficult for him to carry them out in person⁴.

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1. Dodda monachus is referred to in B.C.S. 380; and Sefredus monachus in the bounds of B.C.S. 536. Sefreð m' attests B.C.S. 538.
 2. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 4.
 3. Archdeacon Wulfred is found in the last years of Æthelheard (B.C.S. 312, 319 of 803 and 805); archdeacon Cynehard at the end of Wulfred's pontificate (B.C.S. 396 of c.830); archdeacon Dunincg in 859 (B.C.S. 497) when Ceolnoth had already been archbishop for 26 years.
 4. M. Deanesly, ('The archdeacons of Canterbury under Archbishop Ceolnoth', Eng. Hist. Rev., xlii, 1927, pp. 1-11) ascribes rather more importance and permanence to the Canterbury archdeacons. But it should be noted that no archdeacon attests the plentiful charters from Wulfred's accession (805) until 825, nor during the early years of Ceolnoth (833-859), when we have several documents attested by the familia. It is also noticeable that the number of archdeacons, deacons, and subdeacons witnessing a charter never exceeds the canonical 7: Thus in B.C.S. 332 we have 7 deacons; B.C.S. 381 4 deacons; in Harmer, S.E.H.D. 2 there are 2 deacons and 3 subdeacons; in S.E.H.D. 4 7 deacons; in B.C.S. 507 3 or 4 archdeacons and 2 subdeacons; in B.C.S. 516 3 archdeacons and 4 subdeacons; in B.C.S. 406 4 archdeacons and 3 deacons; and in S.E.H.D. 7, 4 archdeacons, 1 priest-deacon, and 2 subdeacons.

The last decades of the 9th century are obscure ones in the history of Christ Church, as of other churches. The disastrous decline of literacy which Alfred described is nowhere more apparent than at Canterbury in the later years of Ceolnoth and under Archbishop Æthelred¹. The bequests of ealdorman Ælfred, however, - land at Chartham, money-rents from Mettlestead, and the famous Golden Gospels² - show that the community could still attract benefactions. And the end of the century was not without hope. Archbishop Plegmund was one of the scholars who assisted Alfred in his schemes to revive learning, and Beornhelm as priest-abbot, or abbot³, of the community was sufficiently in Alfred's trust to be chosen to take alms to Rome⁴. There is a danger that the scarcity of authentic records from the Christ Church archives may give too gloomy a picture of the community at a critical moment in Old English history.

F) The 10th Century

The 10th century was not a notable period for the endowment of the church of Canterbury. Royal grants to the archbishop or community are even more scarce than in that part of the 9th century when Kent was

1. Above, pp. 146-9, 168-9.

2. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, 9, 10. King Alfred bequeathed 100 mancuses to the archbishop, as to other English bishops, in his will (ibid., 11).

3. Beornhelm attests as abbot in B.C.S. 538, 638; Harmer, S.E.H.D., 8, 10. It is possible that there was some attempt at this time to make the community more fully monastic, but it is more likely that the change is merely in the habits of the drafters of charters.

4. A.S.Chron., sub anno 890.

under West Saxon rule (from 825). The numerous charters to laymen that have survived both at Canterbury and in other ecclesiastical archives in this period prove that the kings were not unwilling to grant away book-land¹; but it would appear that the see and community of Canterbury were considered sufficiently well endowed already and were unable to attract the benevolence of English kings². 40 hides at Ely (Map 5 no.6) were indeed given by Eadwig to Archbishop Oda; but the land never became part of the possessions of the see, and was probably acquired by Oda with the intention that regular monastic life should be revived there³. Archbishop

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1. It is possible that there were differences in law regarding the booking of land and the manner of making bequests to the church between Wessex and Mercia, though the question cannot be resolved until the early charters from important West Saxon archives like Winchester, Malmesbury, and Sherborne have been critically analysed. At Christ Church it is noticeable that when land booked to a layman passed to a church before 825, a new document was drawn up which copied both the original book and a note of the subsequent bequest to the church (B.C.S.289: B.M.Cotton Aug.II 97; B.C.S.318: B.M. Stowe Ch.8). After 825 an endorsement might very rarely be added to the original charter to a layman (B.C.S.1101), but normally transfer of the book was sufficient to prove transfer of the land to the church. It should be noticed that the only authentic charters which can be ascribed to Æthelwulf's 'Donation' of 855 are drawn up in the form of grants to laymen (B.C.S.486, and ? 467. See W.H.Stevenson, Asser's Life of Alfred, pp.186-90).
 2. Eadred in his will bequeathed 200 mancuses of gold to the archbishop (Oda), and also arranged that £400 for the relief of the people of Kent, Surrey, ~~and~~ Sussex, and Berkshire, should be kept by the archbishop 'on þan mynstre' (Harmer, S.E.H.D., 21).
 3. B.C.S.1347. The identification of æt helig with Ely was doubted by W.H.Stevenson and A.S.Napier (Crawford Charters, p.81), but accepted by J.A.Robinson, (Times of St Dunstan, p.118-20) and E.Miller, (Abbey of Ely, 1951, p.15). The endorsement is comparable to that of B.C.S.1305 (Facsimile in Annual Report of the friends of Ely Cathedral, i, 1937, p.24 and plate).

Dunstan acquired 20 hides at Send and 10 at Sunbury (Map 5 no.11), but the land passed to Westminster rather than to Canterbury¹. Only one royal diploma granting land to the church of Canterbury is extant on a single sheet of parchment written in the 10th century; this is the famous purported grant of 26 sulungs of land at Reculver by king Eadred in 949 which claims to have been written by Dunstan himself 'with his own fingers', and was therefore much copied at Canterbury in later centuries². Whether the extant charter of the 10th century is strictly authentic, or as seems more likely a somewhat 'improved' copy of C.X(ii), it is likely enough that Eadred did grant Reculver; Canterbury had claimed lordship of the minster of Reculver since the time of Archbishop Wulfred³, and the manor of Reculver was a demesne manor of the archbishop in 1066⁴. But Reculver stands alone as the only possible example of royal benevolence to the see and community in the 10th century⁵.

Purchases by archbishops and bequests by lay nobles went some way to make up for the lack of royal patronage. The church's property

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1. Robertson, Charters, 44
 2. B.C.S. 880; the 10th century ms. of this charter is preserved in a glass frame at Canterbury (O.S.Facs., i 15; ~~for a discussion of the hand, see above pp. 31 & 4~~). P. Chaplais has recently defended its authenticity (J.Soc.Archivists, iii (4), 1966, pp. 164-5).
 3. B.C.S. 384
 4. DB.i, f.3b.
 5. A number of post-Conquest forgeries claimed that a large number of Christ Church estates confiscated by earlier kings were restored by kings Athelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig (B.C.S. 766, 811, 860; see above pp. 34, 120-1). There seems to be no reason to suppose that a genuine tradition underlay these forgeries.

in Canterbury was extended by the purchases of Archbishops Wulfhelm¹, and Dunstan². The bequests of laymen were more substantial, but are very inadequately recorded; it would seem that Christ Church did not necessarily keep copies of the wills by which laymen bequeathed estates to the community once the bequest had taken effect. Thus some time between 973 and 987 Brihtric and Ælfswith granted Meopham to Christ Church (Map 5 no. 14)³; the original charter by which Athelstan had once booked Meopham to his thegn Ealdwulf in 939 passed to the community and was preserved in their archives⁴. But no record of Brihtric and Ælfswith's will was kept at Canterbury, and when the compiler of the main Christ Church cartulary wished to explain how the community came to possess Meopham, he could only guess (wrongly) that it had been given by Ealdwulf in 940⁵. Only the fact that the Rochester archives did preserve a copy of the will of Brihtric and Ælfswith enables us to correct the record of how this estate came into the possession of the community at Christ Church.

Despite such difficulties the map (Map 5) does show that the acquisitions of the 10th century changed the pattern of the landed possessions of the community. Though some new estates were acquired in Kent

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1. B.C.S. 637 (from the main Christ Church cartulary); B.C.S. 733 (one of the dubious texts added to the main cartulary. See above pp. 120-121).
 2. B.C.S. 426 (BM.Cotton Aug. II 28; B.M.Facs., ii 28) endorsement.
 3. Whitelock, Wills, 11.
 4. B.C.S. 741 (BM.Cotton Aug. II 23; BM.Facs., iii 9).
 5. B.C.S. 746.

at Darent (Map 5 no.3)¹, Cooling (no.9)² and Meopham (no.14), the most important gifts were in areas where the church had not hitherto held land: in Sussex at Patching (no.13)³; in Essex at Vange (no.10)⁴, Lawling (no.15)⁵, and Bocking (no.18)⁶; in Suffolk at Monks' Eleigh (no.5)⁷, and Hadleigh (no.16)⁸; and in Buckinghamshire at Monks' Risborough (no.19)⁹. It would seem that the retrenchment of the 9th century when the church's lands were concentrated in Kent and Middlesex was no longer necessary by the second half of the 10th century. More stable political conditions led, consciously or unconsciously to a change in the territorial policy of the archbishops and community.

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1. B.C.S.747. But since Meopham is erroneously included in this record from the main cartulary (above p.291), there must be some suspicion that Daerintan here is the Derantune (Durrington, Sussex) of B.C.S. 702.
 2. Harmer, S.E.H.D., 23
 3. B.C.S.823. The date in this summary from the main cartulary (947) is mistaken, as Wulfric received Patching back from Edgar as late as 960 (B.C.S.1065).
 4. B.C.S.1101, endorsement.
 5. Appendix 'A', no.5
 6. Whitelock, Wills, 16 (i), (ii).
 7. Whitelock, Wills, 2.
 8. Appendix 'A', no.5.
 9. In 903 Risborough was confirmed in the possession of ealdorman Athel-frith (B.C.S.603; BM.Stowe ch.21, O.S.Facs., iii 23). The hand of this charter is probably of C.X/XI. Cf. B.C.S.606 from the Glastonbury archives which is drafted in identical terms. By 994/5 Risborough was in the possession of Archbishop Sigeric (K.C.D.689), tho' it is not clear whether it had been acquired by him or by an earlier archbishop.

But the last years of the 10th century brought the return of Viking armies, and a further period of danger and insecurity for the church of Canterbury. Thanet was ravaged in 980, and the area around Fokestone¹ in 991. Finally in 994 Olaf Trygvason and Swein Forkbeard devastated much of south-eastern England with the purpose of persuading Æthelred and his councillors to buy them off¹. At Canterbury a charter preserved only in a 14th century cartulary, but which would seem to be authentic², states that the pagans threatened to burn down the cathedral church unless Archbishop Sigeric paid them the money that they had forced him to promise. Unable to pay anything the archbishop turned to bishop Æscwig of Dorchester who provided no less than 90 pounds of silver and 200 mancuses of the purest gold; in return Sigeric gave Æscwig an estate of 30 hides at Risborough in Buckinghamshire. Risborough may well have been the only Canterbury estate in Æscwig's diocese, but it should be noted that in a crisis it is again an outlying estate that an archbishop chose to sacrifice. Moreover we know of the alienation of Risborough because the estate was recovered by Sigeric's successor, Archbishop Ælfric³. Other estates may have had to be sold to rich laymen; they

1. A.S.Chron., sub.anno.

2. K.C.D. 689, from Cant.Reg.'B' f.347-8. See the comments of D.Whitelock, Eng. Hist.Docs., i, p.527.

3. Archbishop Ælfric bequeathed Risborough to Christ Church in his will (Whitelock, Wills, 18). According to K.C.D. 690 (from the main Christ Church cartulary) bishop Æscwig of Dorchester restored the estate to Christ Church and Ælfric in 995; the witnesses and dating clause printed by Kemble are not found in the mss., and have been duplicated from K.C.D. 689. Even so the text is dependent on K.C.D. 689, and we cannot rely either on the date or on the fact that Christ Church is the recipient.

would leave no trace in the records if they were not recovered. The history of the alienation of Risborough illustrates the poverty of the see with its estates ravaged, and its treasures spent in a vain attempt to buy a respite from the Danish armies.

G) From 1000 to 1066

The late Old English period was a momentous era for the cathedral church of Canterbury. Remarkably the most important change of all, the conversion of the community of secular priests into a fully monastic chapter under a dean along the lines established by Æthelwold at Winchester and Oswald at Worcester¹, cannot be dated. Individual priests in the Canterbury familia had taken the monastic profession in the 9th century², and under Archbishops Oda and Dunstan, both themselves monks, there may have been more pressure on the clerks to take this step. The earliest Life of Dunstan, that of the anonymous author 'B' (c.1000), states that Dunstan had monks and clerks in his familia and shows that the archbishop himself was certainly living in accordance with the customs prescribed in the Regularis Concordia³. It is possible that Dunstan was carrying through a gradual reform of the community, and it should be noted that Dunstan's successors, Sigeric and Ælfric, had been abbots in reformed

1. At Worcester the monks were under a prior.

2. Above, p.278.

3. Memorials of St Dunstan, ed.W.Stubbs, (R.S.), pp.41, 52. Quoted by D.Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.696-7, and T.Symons, Regularis Concordia, p.xxi.

houses at St Augustine's and St Alban's respectively. But according to later Canterbury tradition there was still a predominantly secular community at Canterbury until the time of Archbishop Ælfric. Ælfric was supposed to have expelled the clerks in true Æthelwoldian fashion, and thus to have fulfilled what they supposed to have been the intention of Pope Gregory I, Augustine, and Ethelbert, namely that the cathedral clergy should be purely monastic. In its earliest form this tradition was already current at Christ Church about the time of the accession of Archbishop Eadsige (1038)¹; It is difficult to know how much trust we can place in a tradition preserved in a spurious charter whose main concern is to give the monks of Canterbury and their endowments the protection of the authority of the gospel², but it seems unlikely that Canterbury

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1. K.C.D.715, from the Christ Church gospel-book, B.M.Cotton Tib.A.ii (now Cott.Claudius A.iii ff.2-6). For the date when this spurious text was entered into the gospel-book, see above, pp. 75-6. After the Conquest when the monastic status of the cathedral had again been threatened, elaborate traditions of the resistance of the secular clerks to the election of Ælfric in 995 and of Ælfric's expulsion of the clerks with papal approval after his return from his journey to Rome to collect his pallium were entered into A.S.Chron. 'F' (ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, i, pp. 285-7) under the year 995. A different tradition recorded in the chronicle which goes under the name of Florence of Worcester attributes the ejection of the seculars to Ælfric's predecessor, Sigeric (Florentii Wig. Mon. Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, sub anno 994). According to J. A. Robinson (Journ. Theol. Stud., xxvii 1926, p. 240) this is an addition of a late insertor in 'Florence'. The same story is found in Gervase's Actus Pontificum (Historical Works of Gervase, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S., 1880, ii, p. 357), but 'Florence' was used by Gervase in his Gesta Regum and may be his source here rather than a Canterbury tradition.
 2. The threat to the monastic chapters created by royal appointment of secular priests to the leading sees seems to have provided the motive for this forgery. (Above, pp. 74-7).

tradition would seek to deny Dunstan the honour if he had effectively reformed the community, or would exalt the otherwise obscure Ælfric - particularly when there must have been men alive under Eadsige who could remember the community in the days of Archbishop Ælfric¹. Ælfric had been a monk at Abingdon before he became abbot of St Albans and he may therefore have been heir to St Æthelwold's views on the secular clergy².

We know nothing of the personnel of Ælfric's new community of monks. When Ælfric commissioned the first Life of Dunstan, and Archbishop Ælfheah the second, they did not turn to monks of Christ Church but to a Saxon clerk 'B', and to Adelard a monk of St Peter's Ghent³. Within a few years of its reform the new monastery was threatened by Viking armies. In 1009 the army of Thorkell the Tall besieged Canterbury, but was bought off by the citizens and the men of East Kent for £3000⁴. Only two years later, the Danish army besieged Canterbury again, entered 'by treachery', and captured Archbishop Ælfheah and all the ecclesiastics (gehadode), and plundered and burnt Christ Church⁵. Ælfheah's

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1. But not necessarily in the community itself, if the Canterbury tradition that almost all the monks were killed in 1011 has any validity (below, p.288 and n.2).
 2. It was thought that the earliest ms. of the Regularis Concordia (BM. Cotton Faustina B iii, ff159-198 + Tiberius A lll, f.177rv) was written during Ælfric's pontificate, and it is clearly a copy for Christ Church (see T.Symons, 'The introduction of monks at Christ Church', J.Theol.Stud., xxvii, 1926, pp.409ff and Reg.Conc.p.lii-lv). But N.R. Ker has dated both the main text and the O.E. gloss to C.XI med. (Catalogue, no.155), and it cannot be therefore used to corroborate the tradition that Ælfric established the monastic community.
 3. Memorials of St Dunstan, Introduction, passim.
 4. A.S.Chron., sub anno.
 5. A.S.Chron., sub anno 1011. The information that Christ Church was sacked and burnt is found only in Florence of Worcester, but is confirmed by the later Canterbury writers (e.g. Eadmer, Hist.Nov., p.4).

refusal to allow himself to be ransomed which led to his martyrdom may, as Thietmar of Merseburg's account suggests¹, have been prompted by knowledge that his church, already impoverished by the Danegeld payments of 1002, 1007, and 1009 and now gutted by fire, could not afford to pay for his release.

It is not surprising that the Christ Church records are very thin for the decades of turmoil around the turn of the century. Gervase of Canterbury records the tradition that only 4 monks survived the sack of 1011 and that it was necessary to readmit secular clerks to the community for a time². It would seem that the archives and the library were preserved from the raiders and from the flames³, but they may have been hid away or kept in some disorder. Archbishop Ælfric's will by which he granted to Christ Church the important manors of Westwell, Bishopsbourne and Monks' Risborough (Map 6 no.1) was not preserved at Canterbury⁴. Similarly about a generation later, probably under Archbishop Eadsige, it was supposed that Archbishop Ælfheah had given Warehorn, and that in his days Farningham and Wootton had also been given to the community (Map 6 no.2)⁵, but no contemporary record of these grants had been kept.

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1. Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon, ed.R.Holtzmann (Script.rer.Germ., new series, IX, 1935 Berlin, VII.42).
 2. Gervase, Historical Works (R.S.), ii, p.357. According to Gervase the clerks lasted until Æthelnoth returned from Rome with his pallium.
 3. Above, p.43.
 4. Whitelock, Wills, 18 (from St Alban's).
 5. Appendix 'A', no.9. There is a similar lack of any formal record of Archbishop Lyfing's gift of Merstham and Cheam (Appendix 'A' no.11).

More reliable information dates from the pontificate of Lyfing (Elfstan) (1013-1020). The will of the ætheling Æthelstan by which the community acquired Hollingbourne and Garrington in 1015 (Map 6 no.3), was preserved in a manuscript at Canterbury which may well be contemporary¹. And Cnut's gift of woodland at Hazelhurst in Sussex in 1018 to Archbishop Lyfing (Elfstan) (Map 6, no.4) also survives in a contemporary manuscript; it is the first authentic royal diploma to an archbishop or to the community at Canterbury for almost two centuries². The early years of Cnut's reign indeed, were happy ones for Christ Church. On the death of Lyfing in 1020 the community succeeded in securing the election of their dean Æthelnoth as archbishop³, thus achieving the aspiration of any Benedictine community to be able to elect one of their own number⁴. The care with which the writs concerned with Æthelnoth's accession (but not that of any other archbishop) were entered into one of the Canterbury gospel-books suggests that the monks were fully conscious that this was an important precedent⁵.

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1. BM.Stowe ch.37, (O.S.Facs., iii 37), Whitelock, Wills, 20. It does not appear to have been noticed that there is a change of hand in this ms. after line 7. Both hands may be contemporary. It may have been for this reason that a second copy was later made at Canterbury (Cant.Ch.Ant.H.68, O.S.Facs., i 18) of C.XI med.
 2. BM.Stowe ch.38, (O.S.Facs., iii 39). For the hand, see above pp. 74. There had been no previous royal diploma since B.C.S.421(838/9).
 3. A.S.Chron., sub anno.
 4. Regularis Concordia, ed.T.Symons, p.6; Benedicti Regula, ed.C.Butler, ch.64.
 5. Harmer, Writs, 27, 28; from Lambeth Palace MS.771 (MacDurnan Gospels). See above, pp.79-81.

Cnut was remembered as a great benefactor of Christ Church. In 1023 he permitted the body of the martyr, Archbishop Ælfheah, to be translated from St Paul's in London where miracles had already occurred to Christ Church, thus securing for the church of Canterbury the relics of the most recent, and doubtless therefore an extremely valuable, saint. But it is perhaps typical that the occasion was not used to commission a Life of Ælfheah - a deficiency that was not remedied until after the Norman Conquest¹. Later Canterbury tradition also remembered that in this same year Cnut and his wife Emma gave another powerful relic, the arm of St Bartholomew, to the monks². But most important of all was the purported gift of the prosperous and strategic port of Sandwich, together with the golden crown from his head which a much-copied charter places in the same year (1023)³. Unfortunately none of the extant manuscripts are in contemporary hands, and as the monks' rights in Sandwich were disputed for almost a century from c.1035 until 1127 we cannot be certain if any truth lies behind the claim that Sandwich had been granted by Cnut⁴.

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1. A.S.Chron. 'D', sub anno, 1023. The graphic account of the post-Conquest precentor Osbern, (Translatio S.Elphégi, in Anglia Sacra, H.Wharton, i, pp.134-7) of the translation of Ælfheah claims the authority of Godric, the later dean, who had been an eye witness. But the Vita S.Elphégi (ibid.ii,122) adds nothing to our knowledge of Ælfheah.
 2. Eadmer, Hist.Nov., (R.S.), pp.107-10. Eadmer claimed to have heard the story as a boy from the elders of the community, Eadwig, Blackman, and Farman - which shows how first hand information could stretch over 90 years at Christ Church. Eadmer claimed to have verified the story at the Council of Bari (1100).
 3. K.C.D.737. Better edited in Crawford Charters, 5, and the O.E. version in Robertson, Charters, 82.
 4. For the various law-suits over Sandwich, and the other Sandwich forgeries, see above pp. 34,45,95-6. Domesday Book asserts that Sandwich was given to the monks by Edward the Confessor (DB.i, f.3).

More satisfactory records are associated with the career of Eadsige. He had been one of Cnut's 'king's priests', and it would seem that he was being groomed by Cnut for the archbishopric. It is difficult to know how else to explain the fact that towards the end of Cnut's life Eadsige became a monk at Christ Church, and granted an estate at Appledore (with Cnut's permission) to the community; as part of the same arrangement Eadsige gave to the monks estates at Palster and Wittersham, and during his lifetime land at Berwick and Orpington which he could not grant away in perpetuity¹ (Map 6 nos.8, 9); these grants were made on condition that the community were always loyal to Eadsige, and that if they in any way broke the agreement then he was free to dispose of his property quite differently². In 1035 before Cnut died, the unusual step was taken of consecrating Eadsige bishop to act as a chorepiscopus to Archbishop Ethelnoth³. Indeed he would seem to have taken over some of

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1. Robertson, Charters, 86; the best ms. was copied by Somner (Treatise of Gavelkind, p.214) but has since been lost. There seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. The date (1032) in 15th century donation-lists (Dugdale, i, p.97) cannot be relied upon; the main Canterbury cartulary gives 1035. It must certainly be earlier than the charter by which Cnut booked Berwick to Eadsige in perpetuity (BM.Stowe ch.41 O.S.Facs., iii 42) (Map 6 no.10). It may be noticed that this charter (Robertson, Charters, 86) is the earliest authentic document to mention monk(s) at Christ Church. Earlier documents simply refer to the community (hired) or to Christ Church (Whitelock, Wills, 18, 20). Robertson, Charters, 80 states that the archbishops household (hired) was composed of ecclesiastics and laymen (ge gehadude ge læwede).
 2. '...to þan forwyrdan þæt hi æfre hine wel healdan, him holde beon on life æfter life, gif hi mid ænegan unrede wið hine ðas forwyrd tobrecaþ, þænne stande hit on his agenan gewælde hu he sippan his agen ateon wille'. (Robertson, Charters, 86).
 3. Neither Eadsige, nor Siward who acted in a similar capacity when Archbishop Eadsige became ill in 1044 until 1048 (A.S.Chron. 'C' sub-annis) are called bishop at St Martin's in any pre-Conquest source. Cf. Gervase, Opera Historica ii p.361. But Siward appears to have

the administrative duties of the archbishop at the same time¹, and it is probably to these years that writs and notes of bequests began to be entered into Christ Church gospel-books in an attempt to make good earlier deficiencies in the keeping of records. Thored's bequest of 14 hides of land at East Horsley (Surrey; Map 6 no.11), and Archbishop Æthelnoth's purchase of Godmersham for the community (no.12) were important acquisitions that probably belong to these years².

As Archbishop Eadsige seems to have been less successful in securing endowments for his church. His pontificate coincided with the rise of Earl Godwin to the height of his power in southern England. Eadmer, writing almost a century later, records that Godwin stole the manor of Folkestone by bribing Archbishop Eadsige³. The efforts of the community to recover Folkestone by litigation after the Norman Conquest led to the production at Canterbury of forged texts in an attempt to justify Canterbury's claim to the land⁴. But Christ Church, had no authentic title deeds to Folkestone, and it may well be that Eadsige had had to reconcile his church to the loss of this valuable territory and

been succeeded by Godwine who attests as 'bisceop at sie martine' (Robertson, Charters, 108; BM.Stowe ch.42; O.S.Facs., iii 43) in 1048-50 and who died in 1061 (A.S.Chron., 'D', 'E'). There is no evidence that he acted as suffragan under Stigand.

1. Harmer, Writs, 29 and 30 are addressed to bishop Eadsige, the abbot of St Augustine's, and Æthelric (? sheriff) although in the text the archbishop appears as the beneficiary.
2. Robertson, Charters, 88, 89.
3. Historia Novorum, ed. M.Rule (R.S.), p.5.
4. B.C.S. 927; Robertson, Charters, 85.

obtain what compensation from Godwin that he could. The post-Conquest litigation undertaken by Lanfranc on behalf of the monks revealed other Christ Church estates that Godwin had managed to obtain. A document of c.1078/9 states that Richborough, Langport, Newenden, and Saltwood had been given by Archbishop Eadsige to Earl Godwin; it goes on to say that Archbishop Ethelnoth had received the third penny of the shire of Kent, but that King Edward had given it to Godwin in Eadsige's time¹. To what extent Eadsige's 'gifts' to Godwin were really voluntary alienations the record does not state, but the fact that Richborough, Langport, Newenden, and Saltwood were all recovered in 1078/9 suggests that it was then supposed that Godwin's possession had been unlawful².

This post-Conquest litigation serves as a reminder of the difficulty of describing the early history of a church's endowment from the extant documents. We only know of estates that were lost if there were attempts to recover them at a time when fuller records of such litigation were kept than is normal before the Norman Conquest. Godwin may not have been alone in his depredations of Christ Church property³, but the extant pre-Conquest records reveal the lay nobility in their role as benefactors rather than despoilers. Eadsige's pontificate saw important bequests of land in Essex and in Kent which went some way to balance the losses to

1. BM.Cotton Aug.II 36; printed by D.C.Douglas, 'Odo, Lanfranc, and the Domesday Survey' (Essays...in honour of James Tait, 1933), pp.47-57. There is a translation and useful commentary in DuBoulay, Lordship, pp.38-41).

2. Litigation over Saltwood, however, continued until the early 12th century, and produced a number of forged texts at Canterbury (K.C.D.742; Appendix A)no. 13).

3. The record of 1078/9 shows Ethelnoth Cild holding several Christ Church estates, but these may have been at farm.

Godwin: in Essex Thurstan gave 8 hides at Wimbish (Map 6 no.13)¹, and Wulfgyth gave Stisted to the monks (no.16)²; in Kent the rich land-owner Æthelric Bigga bequeathed Great Chart to the community, and Stowting and Milton to Archbishop Eadsige (Map 6 nos.14, 15)³.

In the last twenty years before the Norman Conquest, the records of the archbishop and monks prove deficient. In 1051 after the death of Archbishop Eadsige, the community attempted to follow the precedent of 1020 and elect one of their number, Ælfric, a kinsman of Earl Godwin; but they were forced to accept the royal nominee, Robert of Jumieges⁴. The disputed election has left no trace in the Christ Church archives. Records of two grants have survived. Brihtmar's grant of Gracechurch has been preserved only in a cartulary copy⁵ (Map 6 no.18), and the bequest of the valuable manor of Mersham (no.24) by Sigweard and his wife was recorded in a Christ Church gospel-book in the form of a writ of king Edward notifying the shire court of the bequest⁶, both these documents appear to be authentic. But the notes of grants of land by laymen at

1. Whitelock, Wills, 30

2. Ibid., 32

3. Robertson, Charters, 101. It is not entirely clear from the text whether some of this property had already been Canterbury property.

4. The Life of Edward the Confessor, ed.F.Barlow, 1962, pp.18-19.

5. Robertson, Charters, 116; from Cant.Reg. 'A' and 'E'. There is reason to think that all the charters copied into these cartularies at the beginning of the 14th century existed at that time on single sheets of parchment (see above, pp.61-2).

6. Harmer, Writs, 35; from BM.Cotton Claud.A.iii.f.5v, a stray leaf from Cotton Tiberius A.ii (= Appendix B, I art.8).

this time, found in the Christ Church obituaries and in the main cartulary - in Essex at Southchurch¹, Thurrock², Coggeshall³, and St Osyth⁴; and in Surrey at Walworth⁵, - seem to be based on the memory of the monks after the Conquest rather than on authentic written documents. It is typical of the poverty of the records under the pluralist Stigand that no copy was kept of Ketel's bequest of East Harling in Norfolk to the archbishop⁶. With such spasmodic and careless record-keeping it is not surprising that the church of Canterbury was ill-equipped to defend its estates when the Norman Conquest introduced a new lay aristocracy greedy for land and wealth.

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1. Given by Lifstan according to the obituary printed by J.Dart, Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, 1726, app. p.xxii-vi.
 2. Appendix 'A', no.14
 3. Ibid., no.15
 4. Ibid., no.16
 5. Ibid., no.17
 6. Whitelock, Wills, 34; from the Bury St Edmund's cartularies. Ketel was still in possession in 1066, and the estate passed to Ranulf Peverel (ibid., p.202). There is no evidence that Canterbury ever claimed East Harling.

UNPRINTED AND UNAVAILABLE CHRIST CHURCH CHARTERS

1

Fragment of O.E. bequest of Archbishop Wulfred, 805-32.

....Gif ðonne huelc mon ðæt uord cwæðe ðæt ne me siae min wic ðon alefe-
dran ðon¹ oprum higum to brucenne ne minum aerfreweardum. ðonne wite he
ðæt hi² næs nefre cristes cirican land ne nenges monnes bocland ær min.
⁊ ðonne se monne ieond ðence ⁊ asmeaie be oðerra monna boclandum ie in
fripstolum ie butan. huader hio megen hiora agen sellan oððe on hiora
lif gan sue him leof siae. oððe for huðu min scyle beon un ie...¹²ðenre
ðon oðrum monnum hiora.

If therefore any man shall say that it is no more allowed to me or to my
heirs to enjoy my property (wic) than to the rest of the community, then
let him know that it was never Christ Church land nor any man's bookland
before mine. And then let him think and consider about other men's book-
lands, both in privileged places and without, how they may give away
their own or go during their lifetime as they please, or why mine should
be immeasurably more slight than theirs (is) for other men.

Source W.Somner, A Treatise on Gavelkind, p.88. No manuscript of this
text survives. The extract was printed by Somner in the course
of a discussion of the properties of bookland, and has been
missed by subsequent editors. Somner states that the document
was from the Christ Church archives and was 'a charter of Arch-
bishop Wilfred (sic) of the gift of certain houses to his
successors in the see of Canterbury'.

1. Somner's note: 'Quære; for the writing is not clear'.

2. Ungetel, adj., 'innumerable'.

Profession of faith of unnamed bishop of Winchester (? Eadhun) to Archbishop Ceolnoth, (?833-8).

Licet indignus ad episcopalem sedem electus Uuintane civitatis æcclesiae, in primis confiteor tibi reverentissime pater Ceolnodi archiepiscopis¹ continentiam meam et dilectionem meam ad te; quod ambiguitate at absque ulla falsitate commentiones² 'credo in Deum patrem, filium, et spiritum sanctum, filium natum ac passum pro humani generis redemptione et salute, cujus potestas et imperium erat ante seculum et regni ejus non erit finis'. Et illam rectam et orthodoxam fidem quam priores patres devote servaverunt cum omni humilitate et sincera devotione sicut predecessores [mei ipsi]³ sanctae sedi Dorobernensis ecclesie subjuncti sunt, semper servare me velle humiliter per omnia fateor. Tibi pater Ceolnodi⁴ archiepiscopis tuisque successoribus veridico⁵ professione confiteor stabile obedientiae prebere praeceptum votorum meorum sine ullo scrupulo falsae cogitationis usque ad terminum vitae meae. Beatitudinem vestram divina gratia custodiat.

Source Cant.Reg.A, f.253v. (saec.xiii ex.)

Remarks The copyist has omitted the invocation and the opening phrases with the name of the bishop (cf. the professions of other bishops of Winchester, B.C.S. 334, 388, 463, 517). Eadhun is the only bishop of Winchester who was elected during Ceolnoth's tenure of office (833-70) for whom we do not already have a profession (Helmstan, B.C.S. 424; Swithhun, B.C.S. 463; Ealhfrith, B.C.S. 517).

1. Sic MS, for Ceolnodo archiepiscopo.

2. Sic MS., for commentione

3. Erasure in MS.

4. Sic MS., for Ceolnodo archiepiscopo

5. Sic MS., for veridica.

Fragment of Latin charter of King Eadmund granting to his thegn Ælfhere lands at Mulanton, 941.

.....Prout pater ipsius Ælfheri priorum temporibus nostrorum sub contestamine totius popularis senatus, sua pecunia ab illo et ab alio prout tunc temporis mos erat, adquisivit.

Source W.Somner, A Treatise on Gavelkind, p.86. No manuscript of this charter has survived, and Somner's extract from it has been missed by subsequent editors.

Remarks The Canterbury cartularies have record of a grant to Christ Church of an estate Mulatun by 'Ageluuordus' a thegn of King Eadgar ascribed to the year 959 (B.C.S.1049), who is perhaps the same as the Æthelwyrd who made terms with Christ Church over an estate at Ickham (Robertson, Charters, 32).

Summary (Latin and English) of charter of King Æthelred granting Christ Church Sandwich and Eastry (Kent), 979.

Anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCLXXIX. Ego Ægelredus rex et¹ totius Britannie monarcha pro salute anime mee concedo ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia terras iuris mei, scilicet Sandwich et Estree², ad opus monachorum in eadem ecclesia Deo servientium, liberas ab omni seculari servitio et fiscali tributo exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis³ constructione. Quisquis hanc meam largifluam munificentiam violare presumpserit, cum reprobis in die iudicii a sinistris Christi collocatus, accipiet sententiam dampnationis cum diabolo et angelis eius.

Ic Ægelred ðurh 'goðes' geve gealra Einglalandes ane king ealra ðera ylande þe þerto beliggat, for mira saule alisendnisse gean christes chirichen inne Chantwareberi landas on mine gerihte, þ is to wittene Sandwich 7 Æstree to þere monekene bigleve in ðe silve minstre Gode serviende, fram all wordliche þeudome 7 kinges give wiðute brigge 7 castelwurke. 7 gif ænig is þ gewillnat oððe to brekenne oððe to gelittliende mid to ðundene modignesse þas ure gefestnunga, wite he hine silfne smansumod fram Gode 7 fram eallen his halgan mid þa forworppenen inne domusdeie a Christes winstre hand geloged, underfange þone dom of forðemdnisse mid þam deofle 7 his ænglen butan he toforan þam deaðe mid wurðe bereusunge gebete þ he unrihtwisliehe forgilte. Ðeos landboc wes gewriten on þan neogan undred geare 7 neogan 7 seofentig fram ure lavordes helendes Christes akennessesse.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.23 (C.XII.) (Latin only)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.326 (C.XIII[ii]) (Latin only)
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.200v (C.XII-XIII) (Latin only abbreviated
 version omitting anathema)
 (J) St John's Coll., Oxf., 194, f.2. (C.XIII)

Remarks The royal title, part of the anathema, and the dating clause in the English version seem to be based upon the same parts of Cnut's purported bequest of Sandwich (Robertson, Charters, 85).

1. et omitted (J); gratia Dei rex et... (L).

2. Sanduuic et Eastreia (L).

3. castrorum (J).

Latin summary of grant by Ealdormann Brihtnoth to Christ Church of lands at Lawling (Essex) and Eleigh (Suffolk), and after his wife (Ælflæd)'s death of Hadleigh (Suffolk), 991.

Anno dominice DCCCCXCI. Ego dux Brihtnothus iturus contra paganos ad bellum, consentiente rege Athelredo divisi omnes terras meas per ecclesias per Angliam. Audiente Sirico archiepiscopo et optimatibus regis omnibus¹ id laudantibus et consentientibus ecclesie Salvatoris in civitate Dorobernie has terras contuli, Lallinges, Illelege, et Hathlege², liberas ab omni servitute seculari excepto communi labore, expeditione pontis et arcis constructione. Haetlege tamen concessi Alflede uxori mee tantum in diebus suis, postea redeat ad ecclesiam Christi in eadem villa³. Siquis easdem villas aut aliquam partem ex hiis villis a predicta ecclesia abstulerit, sit ei pars et societas cum Iuda qui Christum vendidit in inferno inferiori, nisi....⁴ hoc quod male gessit congruam faciat emendati⁷(onem).

<u>Source</u>	(P)	Cant.Reg.P, f.25v	(C.XII)	
	(L)	Lamb.1212, p.326	(C.XIII[<u>ii</u>])	
	(C)	C.C.C.189, f.201	(C.XII-XIII)	(abbrev. text)

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1. omnibusque (P), (L); omnibus idque laudantibus ecclesie.... (C)
 2. Hethlege (P), (C)
 3. (L), (C) end here.
 4. Gap of c.5 letters where ms. is burnt (? antea).

Latin summary of grant by Ætheric and Leofwynn to Christ Church of land at Bocking and Mersea (Essex), c.995.

Ego denique Æthericus¹ et Leofuina annuente Deo et rege Æthelredo, donamus terram iuris nostri nomine Boccinges 7 Meresege ad ecclesiam Christi² in Doroberniae ad victum monachorum ibidem Deo servientium, pro salute animarum nostrarum³. Hoc igitur donum datum est coram rege Æthelredo⁴, ipso rege concedente 7 consentiente et statim precipiente hoc scriptum componere et coram eo⁵ legere. Quod et factum est. Nam illico scriptum hoc compositum est et lectum coram rege 7 confirmatum ab hiis quorum nomina hic subter annotata sunt.

Ego Æthelredus rex 7 monarcha totius Britannie hoc donum signo crucis confirmo

Ego Ælfricus archiepiscopus Dorobernie signo agie crucis hanc concessionem confirmo

Ego Ælfegus episcopus Wintoniensis subs'.

Ego Wlfsinus Wiltonensis episcopus subs'.

Ego Goduinus Rofensis episcopus sub'.

Ego Alfuius abbas subs'.

Ego Wlgarus abbas subs'.

Ego Livingus abbas subs'.

Ego Leofsinus dux subs'.

Ego Leofuinus dux subs'.

Ego Frena dux subs'.

Ego Ægelmerus dux subs.

Ego Brihtnothus dux subs'.

Ego Wlfget dux subs'.

<u>Source</u>	(P)	Cant.Reg.P, f.25v	(C.XII)
	(L)	Lamb.1212, p.329	(C.XIII[<u>ii</u>])
	(C)	C.C.C.189, f.201	(C.XII-XIII)
	(B)	Cant.Reg.B, f.116	(C.XV[<u>i</u>])

Remarks This is simply an abbreviated Latin form of Whitelock, Wills, 16(ii), but Mersea is not there mentioned, and there are differences in the witnesses.

1. Ego Ætheric (L)

2. ecclesiam sancti salvatoris (L), (B), (T)

3. anime mee (L)

4. datum....Æthelredo obscured by burning of ms. (P)

5. precipiente....eo obscured by burning of ms. (P).

Summary of grant of Hadleigh (Suffolk) to Christ Church by Ælfflæd
(widow of ealdormann Brihtnoth), c.1000 ?

Ego Ælfleda pro salute anime mee¹ concedo ecclesie Christi in
Dorobernia villam iuris mei, nomine Hethlege², in regione quae nominatur
Suthfolce 7 concedente rege Athelredo liberam ab omni seculari servitio
exceptis expeditione, pontis 7 arcis constructione.

<u>Source</u>	(P) Cant.Reg.P, f.23v	(C.XII)
	(L) Lamb.1212, p.	(C.XIII[<u>ii</u>])
	(C) C.C.C.189, f.200v	(C.XII-XIII)

<u>Remarks</u>	There is no mention of Ælfflæd's bequest of Hadleigh in her extant will (Whitelock, <u>Wills</u> , 15) which survives in a nearly contemporary ms. from Bury St Edmunds. (<u>B.M.</u> Harley Ch.43, C.4). The will can be dated c.998-1002.
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1. Ego Ælfleda uxor Brithnothi ducis concedo.... (C)

2. Hetlege (C), Hallege over erasure (L), Hatlee (T).

Summary of Confirmation by King Æthelred II of privileges of his predecessors (to Canterbury), 990-1005.

Ego Ægelredus¹, Dei opitulante misericordia totius Anglice gentis regimen² tenendo, privilegiis auditis veterum sapientum cordis tactus compunctione archipresulisque exortatione Ælfrici³, ad anime commodum deputamus nostre, quin praedecessorum nostrorum decreto firmamus⁴, hoc eternaliter statuantes ut impii quique a privilegiis predictis Christo tonanti aliquid⁵ auferentes, sub anathemate in eternum cum diabolo puniantur. Qui vero⁶ hanc libertatem augendo firmaverit illesam, piissimo liberetur a domino, cum novissima insonuerit tuba reddens cuique secundum opera sua.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.23 (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.325 (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.200v (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

Remarks The only indication of date is the limits of Archbishop Ælfric's tenure of office.

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1. Ægelredus (P), (L)
 2. regimen omitted (C)
 3. archipresulis exortatione Alfrici (L)
 4. firmemus (L)
 5. quid (L)
 6. Qui vero....opera sua omitted (C).

Record of grant by Archbishop Ælfheah to Christ Church of Warehorn (Kent), and of acquisition of Farningham (Kent) and Udetun.

Ego Ælfhegus archiepiscopus ecclesiæ substantiæ Christi Uerhornas Deo favente adauxi, nostrisque in diebus Friningaham et Udetun predictæ ecclesiæ donatæ sunt.

Source B.M.Cotton Claudius A iii, f.3v (see below pp.311-6)

Remarks The record was entered on a blank space in a Canterbury gospel book (Cott.Tib.A.ii) in a hand of saec.xi. The version in the Canterbury cartularies (below) has been extended into the set charter-summary form there used, and ascribed the date 1010 which is possible for Ælfheah's pontificate (1005-1012).

Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo x. Ego Ælfegus archiepiscopus adauxi quandam terram nomine Werhorn¹, nostrisque diebus Friningaham et Wdetun donata sunt eidem ecclesie Christi liberae ab omni seculari¹ exactione et tributo. Si quis² aliquam harum villarum ab ecclesia iamdicta vi aut aliquo ingenio auferre conatus fuerit, a Christo separatus diabolo coniungatur.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.24 (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.329 (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201 (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

1. seculari omitted (C)

2. Si quis....coniungatur omitted (C).

Record of King Æthelred's confirmation of his son Æthelstan's gift of Hollingbourne (Kent) to Christ Church, 1015-16.

Adhuc ego rex Æðelredus, filium meum supervivens Æðelstanum,
ut ultimus dies statuiteius æcclesie predice Christi Holingaburnan
cum suis appendiciis animo libenti æternaliter contradidi.

Source B.M.Cotton Claudius A iii, f.3v (see ~~below~~ pp.311-6)

Remarks The record was entered on a blank space in the Canterbury gospel book, Cott.Tib.A ii, in a hand of saec.xi. Æthelstan's will (Wills, xx) which belongs to the year 1015, and survives in 2 contemporary Canterbury mss., (Stowe 37, Cant.Ch.Ant.H. 68) has no mention of Æthelred's confirmation after his son's death.

Record of Archbishop Lyfing's grant of Cheam and Merstham (Surrey) to Christ Church, ? 1018.

- (i) Ego ~~El~~stanus archiepiscopus qui et Lyfing in provincia Suðrige, Ceigham et Mersetham, familie ecclesie Christi subministravi.

Source B.M.Cotton Claudius A iii, f.3v. (For this MS see p.311-6 ~~below~~)

Remarks Entry on blank space in gospel book (Cott.Tib.A ii). Hand of saec xi. The grant is dated 1018 in the Canterbury cartularies, where it has been transformed into the set charter-summary form there used:

- (ii) Anno Dominice Incarnationis millesimo xviii. Ego Athelstanus qui et Livingus¹ dedi ecclesiae Christi in Dorobernia 7 monachis in eadem ecclesia Deo servientibus² duas villas in regione que nominatur Suthreia, nomine Mersteham 7 Ceieham, liberas ab omni molestia seculari exceptis expeditione, pontis 7 arcis constructione. Siquis³ aliquam iamdictarum villarum alias a predicta ecclesia auferendo locare studuerit 7 excommunicatus cum diabolo societur.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.p, f.24v (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p. (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201 (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

-
1. qui et Livingus expuncted and rex interlined by a later hand (P)
 2. monachis....servientibus omitted (C)
 3. Siquis....societur omitted (C).

Fragment of proem of Latin Charter.

.....triviatim instruimur ut illi c.....
microcosmum Adam videlicet.....
naverat uno probandi causa excepto.....
avit larvarica pro dolor seductus cavill.....
it vetitum et sibi ac posteris in ho.....

Source Cant.Ch.Ant.⑥ 1311 (a fragment recently discovered by Dr.W.Urry, in a hand of saec xi med.).

Remarks The extant text is identical with the proem found in a charter of King Cnut to thegn Hunuwine dated 1031 which survives in a contemporary text from the Exeter archives (Exeter Cath.Lib. MS.2525) (O.S.Facs., ii, Exeter xi). The same proem occurs in a dubious grant of privileges by King Eadgar to Abingdon (B.C.S.1047). Since there were a number of Exeter 'strays' at Canterbury (B.C.S.721, 722, K.C.D.787) it is likely that this fragment is either a copy of Exeter 2525, or else another Exeter charter drawn up in the same formulae. Mr. P. Chaplais ('The Authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas of Exeter' B.I.H.R., xxxix, 1966, p.23) believes the Canterbury fragment to be in an Exeter hand of the third quarter of 11th century.

The same proem, but with creberrime for triviatim occurs in a series of dubious and spurious charters to Abingdon, Romsey, Glastonbury, Pershore, and Worcester (B.C.S.1046, 1187, 1214, 1282, 1284, K.C.D.684). Only the last of these occurs in a text which may be pre-Conquest (B.M.Cotton Aug.II 38, B.M.Facs., iii.36). All except B.C.S.1214 are general confirmations of privileges to the houses concerned. Canterbury also possessed such confirmations of privileges purportedly from Eadgar and Ethelred (B.C.S.1038/9; Appendix A no.8; K.C.D.715), but in no case does the ~~Canterbury~~ wording agree with that of the privileges from other houses. It therefore seems unlikely that this fragment is from a similar grant of privileges to Canterbury.

Narrative introduction and grant of Hythe and Saltwood (Kent) by Halden Scearpa to Christ Church, 1036.

Eodem anno¹, Rex Cnut venit in civitate Dorobernia. Tunc venit ad eum quidam de principibus suis, nomine Haldene, 7 cepit ei dicere²: Notum est excellentie tue domine quid a te diu petivi de ecclesia ista, ut, pro salute anime tue 7 mee, huic familie Christi aliquantulam partem de terris meis impartire potuissem. Cui rex respondit: Quod diu petisti, iam invenisti. Fac ut tibi bonum videtur. Statim absque dilatione precepit hoc scriptum facere, 7 factum coram rege 7 omnibus qui cum eo erant legere, 7 regem rogavit id ipsum signo crucis confirmare. Ego Haldene Scearpa, per consensum et concessionem domini mei regis Cnutonis 7 optimatum suorum, concessi ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia, presente eodem rege in eadem civitate consistente, has terras, Hitham 7 Sealtuuoda, cum omnibus ad eam rite pertinentibus, campis pratis, pascuis, silvis servis, ancillis, pecoribus, sicut ea melius et plenius preparare potui pro salute anime mee 7 mulieris que ad easdem terras olim eidem ecclesie contulit. Siquis easdem villas a predicta ecclesia elongaverit, ab omnipotente Deo excommunicatus, in die magna iudicii a sinistra iudicis constitutus diabolo coniungatur.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.24v (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p. (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201 (C.XII-XIII) omits narrative, and greatly abbreviates text.

Remarks What purports to be Halden Scearpa's grant of Saltwood (K.C.D. 742) survives in a 12th century copy (Cotton ch.X.11). The witnesses are impossible for the date (1026), or for any other. Hythe and Saltwood were in dispute after the Norman Conquest, and Christ Church claimed to have had them restored by William I (Gervase, Historical Works, ii, 64).

1. The previous text is Thored's grant of Horsley (Surrey) which the cartularies date 1036.

2. dicens (L).

Summary of grant of Thurrock (Essex) to Christ Church by Wulfstan 'Wild-priest', 1040-2.

Ego Wlfstanus cognomento Uuilde Preost annuente domino meo rege Hardacnudo concedo ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia terram patrimonii mei, nomine Thurroce¹, ad victum monachorum ibidem in eadem ecclesia Deo servientium. Huius mee donationis testes sunt: Domina mea regina Alfgiva Imma, Eadsinus archiepiscopus, Goduvinus dux, Dux Leofricus, Dux Ealfgarus, dux Siuuardus, Osgodus clapa, Stigandus pater², Eaduuoldus pater³. Siquis hanc meam donationem a iure predictae ecclesie amoverit, amoveat eum Deus a regno suo ⁊ det ei locum in profundum inferni.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.27 (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.330 (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201v (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

Printed C.Hart, The Early Charters of Essex (Leicester Univ., Dept. of Eng. Local History, Occasional Papers no.11), (The Norman Period) pp.21-2 from (L) and (C).

Remarks The witnesses fit the dates of Harthacnut's reign (1040-2) with the exception of Ælfgar who first became an earl in 1051 (East Anglia). Two thegns named Ælfgar attest Cnut's charters up to 1033 (K.C.D.1318), thereafter only one who is presumably the later earl.

1. (C) ends here

2. Sic MSS, mistaking pr (for presbyter) as pater

3. Sic (L); pr (P).

Christ Church

Summary of grant of Stisted and Coggeshall (Essex) to ~~Wulf~~ by Godwin and Wulfgyth, (? c.1046).

Ego Godwinus et Wlfgith concedente et consentiente domino meo rege Eaduardo donamus ecclesie Christi in Dorobernia aliquam partem terre iuris nostri, nomine Stigestede et Coggashale, in Eastseaxa, liberas ab omni seculari servitute sicut ego a prefato domino meo rege et a patre eius hactenus tenui¹. Si quis² eas a iure eiusdem ecclesie abstulerit, auferat ei Deus gloriam suam.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.26 (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.326 (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201 (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

Remarks Wulfgyth's will of c.1046 (Wills, xxxii) mentions neither Godwin, nor Coggeshall. The relapse into the 1st person singular in line 4 suggests that this is a conflation of two distinct bequests. (C) corrects this to the plural, but the combined testimony of (P) and (L) suggests that the original reading was singular.

1. liberas ab omni s(eculari) s(ervitute) sicut nos hactenus tenuimus (C).

2. Si quis.....gloriam suam. omitted (C).

Summary of grant by Godwin to Christ Church of land at Cice (St Osyth, Essex), 1042-66.

Ego Godwinus concedente ⁊ consentiente domino meo rege Eaduardo concessi ecclesie Christi villam patrimonii mei nomine Cice, ad victum m(onachorum) in eadem ecclesia Christi in Dorobernia, pro salute anime mee¹, liberam ab omni seculari servitute sicut dominus meus rex Cnut illam michi dedit.

Source (P) Cant.Reg.P, f.26v (C.XII)
 (L) Lamb.1212, p.331 (C.XIII[ii])
 (C) C.C.C.189, f.201v (C.XII-XIII) (abbrev. text)

Date No indication beyond the limits of the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-66).

1. ad victum.....anime mee omitted (L).

Record of grant by Nithard, ioculator of King Eadmund, to Christ Church of vill of Walworth (Surrey), 975-8 or 1042-66.

Villam supranominatam¹, scilicet Waleuurthe, Eadmundus rex dedit cuidam ioculatori suo, nomine Nithardo, tempore autem regis Eadwardi idem Nithardus volens lumina Rome visere, venit ad ecclesiam Christi in Dorobernia et per concessionem et consentionem prefati regis Eadwardi dedit eandem villam eidem ecclesie. Cartam quoque eiusdem terre posuit super altare; que carta adhuc habetur in eadem ecclesia.

Source (L) Lamb.1212, p.331 (C.XIII [ii]).

Remarks This text, not in Cant.Reg.P and C.C.C.189, has been added by a different hand (of late 13th century) at the foot of p.331 in (L). The statement that the church still had the charter (? of the original donation to Nithard) may therefore be taken to refer to the late 13th century, or to the date of 'L's exemplar '*Z'.

The scribe inserted this record among the documents of Edward the Confessor, so that he probably understood the bequest to belong to his reign rather than that of Eadward the Martyr (975-8). If he was right, then Nithard would have been jester to Eadmund 'Ironside' (1016) rather than Eadmund I (939-46). On the other hand Walworth is among the estates confirmed to Christ Church in the spurious charter of Æthelred II (K.C.D.715). If there is any authentic basis to the list of estates there, the kings referred to in this record must rather have been Eadmund I and Edward the Martyr.

1. Referring to the summary (Latin) of Robertson, Charters, 95 on the same page, in which Walworth is coupled with Chartham as having been confirmed by Edward the Confessor.

A P P E N D I X 'B'

DOCUMENTS ENTERED INTO CHRIST CHURCH GOSPEL-BOOKS IN ORDER OF ENTRY¹

I. BM.Cotton Tiberius A ii²

a) Tib.A ii, f.15v Latin bequest of gospel-book by king
Athelstan. Pr. B.C.S. 711

hand of C.X (i)³

b) Tib.A ii, f.15 Latin metrical version of Athelstan's
bequest of gospel-book. Pr. B.C.S. 710.

hand of C.X (i)⁴

c) Claudius A iii,
ff.2-3v, 4-6 Latin and O.E. 'refoundation' charter of
king Æthelred, 1006. Pr. K.C.D. 715.

hand of C.XI (i)⁵

d) Claud.A iii f.3v Latin Archbishop Elfheah's bequest of
Warehorne, Farningham and Wootton. Pr.
Appendix A, 9.

hand as c).

1. The lines between entries denote a change of hand in the manuscript.
2. For the reconstruction of this gospel-book, and the correct placing of the leaves now BM.Cotton Claudius A iii ff.2-6, 7, 9*, and BM. Cotton Faustina B vi ff.95(94), 98-100(97-99), see N.R.Ker, 'Membra Disiecta', B.M.Quarterly, xii, 1937-8, p.130-1.
3. For the hand, see above pp.145 and n.1. It is the same as that of B.C.S. 791, 813, 820, 867, 869 (BM.Facs., iii 12, 13, 16; O.S.Facs., iii 26, 27).
4. Caroline minuscule of a continental type, see P.Chaplais, J.Soc. Archivists, iii (4), 1966, p.163 and n.22.
5. For the hand see above, pp.74, 77. BM.Cotton Claud.A iii ff.2-6v. originally came between the gospels of Luke and John in Tib.A ii.

- e) Claud.A iii f.3v Latin. King Æthelred's confirmation of Æthelstan's bequest of Hollingbourne. Pr. Appendix A, 10.
hand as c)
-
- f) Claud.A iii f.3v Latin. Archbishop Ælfstan (Lyfing)'s bequest of Cheam and Merstham. Pr. Appendix A, 11.
hand of C.XI med.¹
- g) Claud.A iii f.6 O.E. Ælfifu's bequest of Newington. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 96.
hand as f)
- h) Claud.A iii f.6 O.E. Archbishop Æthelnoth's purchase of Godmersham. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 89.
hand as f)
- i) Claud.A iii f.6 O.E. Thored's bequest of Horsley. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 88.
hand as f)
- j) Claud.A iii f.6v O.E. King Edward's bequest of Chatham. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 95 (as far as '....into þan halgan mynstre gebyrige').
hand as f), but in a different ink
-
- k) Claud.A iii f.5v O.E. Writ of King Edward confirming bequest of Merstham. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 35.
hand of C.XI med.
-
- l) Claud.A iii f.7-7v Latin privilege of Boniface IV establishing a permanent house of monks at Christ

1. This hand is closely comparable to that of arts. c), d), and e), but the feet of minims are stressed more in letters 'm' and 'n', and in O.E. 'a' is flat-topped, and the bar of 'ð' is turned up at the right rather than down.

Church. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1.

hand of C.XI (ii)¹

m) Claud.A iii f.6v

O.E. continuation of j) to '....a on ecnesse, amen.' confirming all grants to Christ Church. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 95.

hand as l)

n) Claud.A iii f.6v

O.E. continuation of j) and m) to end. List of Christ Church estates. Pr. Robertson, Charters, 95.

hand of C.XI (ii)

o) Tib.A ii f.13v-14

Latin. King Athelstan's grant of monastery of Folkestone. Pr. B.C.S.660.

hand of C.XI/XII

p) Claud.A iii f.7v, 9*

Letter of Pope Sergius I to English bishops. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 6.

hand of C.XI/XII

q) Claud.A iii f.9*

Letter of Pope Sergius I to kings Æthelred, Alchfrið, and Aldwulf. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 5.

hand as p)

r) Claud.A iii f.9*v

Privilege of Pope Paschal II to Anselm, 1103. Pr. Jaffe-Loewenfeld, 5955.

hand of C.XI/XII

1. The same scribe wrote a series of O.E. annals in BM.Cotton Caligula A xv in or soon after the year 1073 (see N.R.Ker, Catalogue, 139, art.'r'), the first line of a writ of William I to Christ Church of c.1070 (T.A.M.Bishop & P.Chaplais, Facsimiles of English Royal Writs, pl.iv), and a doubtful record of a pre-Conquest dispute over Sandwich (BM.Cotton Aug.II 90, B.M.Facs., iv 20, Robertson, Charters, 91). Cotton Claud.A iii ff.7, 9* originally came between the gospels of Mark and Luke in Tib.A.ii.

- s) Tib.A ii f.73v, and Privilege of Pope Boniface V to Archbishop
Faustina B vi f.95(94)¹ Justus. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 2.

hand as r)

- t) Faust. B vi f.95(94)v Privilege of Pope Honorius to Archbishop
Honorius. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 3.

hand as r)

- u) Faust. B vi f.98(97)² Privilege of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop
Theodore. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 4.

hand of C.XII (i)

- v) Faust. B vi f.98(97) Privilege of Pope Gregory II to Archbishop
Tatwine. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 7.

hand as u)

- w) Faust. B vi 98 (97)v Privilege of Pope Leo III to Archbishop
Æthelheard. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 8.

hand as u)

- x) Faust. B vi f.99(98) Edward the Elder, Pope Formosus I and the
division of the West Saxon see. Pr. B.C.S.
614.

hand as u)

- y) Faust. B vi f.99(98)v Letter of Pope Formosus I to the English
-100(99). bishops. Pr. Boehmer, Fälschungen, 9.

hand as u).

1. These two leaves originally came between the gospels of Matthew and Mark.
2. The pattern of worm-holes establishes that the 3 leaves, Faustina B vi ff.98-100 (97-99) originally came at the end of the gospel-book, after John.

II MacDurnan Gospels (Lambeth Palace MS.771)¹

a) f.3

Latin. Inscription² recording former possession of Maelbright MacDurnan and king Athelstan's gift (of gospels) to Christ Church. Pr. J.A.Robinson, Times of St Dunstan, p.55.³

hand of C.X.(i)⁴

b) f.69v³

O.E. Writ of Archbishop Wulfstan recording consecration of Archbishop Ethelnoth. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 27.

hand of C.XI (i)

c) f.114v⁴

O.E. Writ of king Cnut granting judicial and financial rights to Archbishop Ethelnoth. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 28.

hand of C.XI (i)

d) Tib. B.iv f.87⁵

O.E. Writ of king Cnut concerning property of Ælfmær. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 30.

hand as c)

e) Tib. B.iv f.87v

O.E. Writ of king Cnut concerning obligations of Christ Church. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 29.

hand as c)

1. See N.R.Ker, Catalogue, 284, for the original position of the stray leaf, BM.Cotton Tiberius B iv f.87.

2. ^{The inscription is interpreted} ~~Reconstructions and discussion~~ in J.A.Robinson, Times of St Dunstan, pp.55-9

3. Before Mark's gospel

4. An inserted leaf, before Luke's gospel

5. An inserted leaf, originally as the single worm-hole proves after the gospel of John.

f) f.114

O.E. Note of boundaries of dioceses of
Canterbury and Rochester. Pr. K.C.D.
1363.

hand of C.XI mid.

g) f.115

O.E. Agreement of Toki and Archbishop
Æthelnoth about Halton (Bucks.). Pr.
Robertson, Charters, 80.

hand of C.XI mid.

h) f.114 foot

O.E. Agreement of Toki and Archbishop
Eadsige about Halton. Pr. Robertson,
Charters, 90.

hand as g)

i) f.70

Latin. Grant by King Cnut of a) arm of
St Bartholomew, b) golden crown, and c)
port of Sandwich. Pr. K.C.D.1328.

hand of C.XII (i)¹

III BM. Royal I.D.ix

a) f.43v

O.E. Note of confraternity of King Cnut,
his brother Harold, and also of Ðorð,
Kartoca, and Thuri. Pr. Ker, Catalogue,
p.317.

hand of C.XI (i)

1. Facsimile in J. Westwood, Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria, pl.12.

b) f.44v

O.E. Writ of King Cnut confirming privileges of Christ Church. Pr. Harmer, Writs, 26.

hand of C.XI (i)¹

IV St John's College, Oxford, MS.194

a) f.2rv

Latin and O.E. Grant of King Ethelred of Sandwich and Eastry (Kent), 979. Pr. Appendix A, 4.

hand of C.XII.

1. The hand is the same as Appendix B, I art.c., (K.C.D.715), B.C.S.91 (B.M.Stowe Ch.2: O.S.Facs., iii 2), and as B.M.Stowe Ch.38 (O.S.Facs., iii 39).

A P P E N D I X 'C'

THE VERSIONS OF THE MAIN CHRIST CHURCH CARTULARY

Abbreviations

B = B.C.S.
 K = K.C.D.
 H = Harmer, Writs.
 R = Robertson, Charters.
 W = Whitelock, Wills.
 Re = Reculver.
 L = Lyminge.
 U = Appendix 'A'.

C.C.C. 189 ('C')	Cant. Reg. p ('P')	Lambeth 1212 ('L')
—	1) 615 Pope Boniface IV monastic privilege. (B.10.)	1) Pope Boniface IV monastic privilege (B.10) 615.
1) 616 Eadwald Adisham (B.12)	2) 616 Eadwald Adisham (B.12)	2) 616 Eadwald Adisham (B.12).
2) 679 Hlothere Westanac (B.45) Re	3) 679 Hlothere Westanac (B.45) Re	3) 679 Hlothere Westanac (B.45) Re.
3) 680 Caedwalla Pagham (B.50)	4) 680 Caedwalla Pagham (B.50)	4) 680 Caedwalla Pagham (B.50)
4) 687 Caedwalla Geddunge (B.67)	5) 687 Caedwalla Geddunge (B.67)	5) 687 Caedwalla Geddunge (B.67)
5) 694 Wihtried Wilmington L. (B.97)	6) 694 Wihtried, Wilmington L. (B.97)	6) 694 Wihtried, Wilmington L. (B.97).
—	—	7) Pope Sergius I to English bishops (B.84)
—	—	8) Pope Sergius I to Ethelred, Alhfrid + Aldwulf (B.83)
6) 694 Wihtried. Bapchild Synod (B.92)	7) 694 Wihtried Bapchild Synod (B.92)	9) 694 Wihtried. Bapchild Synod. (B.92)
7) 741 Eadbert. fishery (B.161)	8) 741 Eadbert. fishery (B.161)	10) 741 Eadbert. fishery (B.161)
8) 742 Athelbald. Clotesho Synod (B.162A)	9) 742 Athelbald. Clotesho Synod (B.162A)	11) 742 Athelbald. Synod of Clotesho (B.162A)
9) 743 Memorandum on burial of Archbishops	10) 743 Memo on burial rights	12) 743 Memo on burial of archbishops.
10) 747 Eadbert. dues on ships at Fordwich (B.173) Re	11) 747 Eadbert. dues on ship at Fordwich (B.173). Re.	13) 747 Eadbert. dues on ship at Fordwich (B.173)
Below (17)	Below (18).	14) 774 Offa. Lydd (B.215).

'C'	'P'	'L'
11) 784 Ealhmund. Sheldwich (B.243) Re.	12) 784 Ealhmund. Sheldwich (B.243) Re.	15) 784 Ealhmund. Sheldwich (B.243) Re.
12) 791 Coenwulf Teynham (B.301)	13) 791 Coenwulf Teynham (B.301)	16) 791 Coenwulf Teynham (B.301)
Below (40)	Below (41)	17) 791 Offa Ickham (B.263)
Below (39)	Below (40)	18) 790 Offa Hayes (B.265)
13) 798 Archbp Aethelheard Synod of Bapchild (B.290)	14) 798 Archbp Aethelheard Synod of Bapchild (B.290)	19) 798 Archbp Aethelheard Synod of Bapchild (B.290)
—	Below (83)	20) 798 Synod of Clofesho Cookham dispute (B.291)
14) 799 Coenwulf. Charing (B.294)	15) Coenwulf. Charing (B.294)	21) 799 Coenwulf. Charing (B.294)
15) 800 Aethelheard. Bourne (B.320)	16) 800 Aethelheard Bourne (B.320)	22) 800 Aethelheard. Bourne (B.320)
—	Below (82)	23) 803 Synod of Clofesho re-establishing see of Canterbury (B.311)
16) 804 Coenwulf 'Eadburgewell' (B.317) L.	17) 804 Coenwulf 'Eadburgewell' (B.317) L.	24) 804 Coenwulf 'Eadburgewell' (B.317) L.
17) 774 Offa Lydd (B.215)	18) 774 Offa. Lydd (B.215)	Above (14).
18) 822 Synod of Clofesho. Dispute over Minster etc (B.385)	19) 822 Synod of Clofesho. Dispute over Minster etc (B.385)	Below (33)
19) 805 Cuthred. Buckholt (B.323)	20) 805 Cuthred. Buckholt (B.323)	25) 805 Cuthred Buckholt (B.323)
20) 809 Coenwulf. Barham (B.329)	21) 809 Coenwulf. Barham (B.329)	26) 809 Coenwulf. Barham (B.329)
21) 811 Wulfred Graveney etc (Coenwulf)	22) 811 Wulfred Graveney etc (Coenwulf)	27) 811 Wulfred Graveney etc (Coenwulf)
22) 814 Coenwulf Binney (B.345)	23) 814 Coenwulf. Binney (B.345)	28) 814 Coenwulf. Binney (B.345)
23) 815 Coenwulf Bexley (B.347)	24) 815 Coenwulf Bexley (B.347)	29) 815 Coenwulf. Bexley (B.347)
24) 821 Coenwulf Copton etc (B.367)	25) 821 Coenwulf Copton etc (B.367)	30) 821 Coenwulf Copton etc (B.367)
25) 822 Coenwulf & Melton (B.371/2) Beornwulf & Godmersham	26) Coenwulf Melton (B.371/2) Beornwulf Godmersham	31) 822 Coenwulf Melton (B.371)
above (25).	above (26).	32) 822 Beornwulf Godmersham (B.372)
above (18).	above (19).	33) 822 Synod of Clofesho. Dispute over Minster etc (B.385)
26) 823 Coenwulf land in Canterbury (B.374)	27) 823 Coenwulf land in Canterbury (B.374)	34) 823 Coenwulf land in Canterbury (B.374)
27) 824 Wulfred Eythorne etc (B.382)	28) 824 Wulfred. Eythorne (B.382)	35) 824 Wulfred. Eythorne (B.382)
28) 829 Wiglaf Botwell (B.401)	29) 829 Wiglaf Botwell (B.401)	36) 829 Wiglaf Botwell (B.401)
29) 830 Werhard's will (B.402)	30) 830 Werhard's will (B.402)	37) 830 Werhard's will (B.402)
30) 832 Aethelwulf Ebony (B.408)	31) 832 Aethelwulf Ebony (B.408)	38) 832 Aethelwulf Ebony (B.408)

'C'

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below (56)	below (57)	39) 835 Cynewara. rent of Lead (B.414)
31) 838 Synod of Kingston Malling (B.422)	32) 838 Synod of Kingston Malling (B.422)	40) 838 Synod of Kingston Malling (B.422)
32) 839 Ceolnoth Chart (B.427)	33) 839 Ceolnoth Chart (B.427)	41) 839 Ceolnoth Chart (B.427)
33) 839 Æthelwulf <u>'Eastrasta Delham'</u> (B.420)	34) 839 Æthelwulf <u>'Eastrasta Delham'</u> (B.420)	42) 839 Æthelwulf <u>'Eastrasta Delham'</u> (B.420)
34) 844 Oswulf E. Stansted (B.446)	35) 844 Oswulf E. Stansted (B.446)	43) 844 Oswulf E. Stansted (B.446)
35) 845 Plegmund <u>Wefingmersc</u> (B.572)	36) 845 Plegmund <u>Wefingmersc</u> (B.572)	44) 845 Plegmund <u>Wefingmersc</u> (B.572)
36) 849 Alfred. Queenhythe (B.578)	37) 849 Alfred Queenhythe (B.578)	45) 849 Alfred. Queenhythe (B.578)
37) 923 Wulfhelm. land near Canterbury. (B.637)	38) 923 Wulfhelm. land near Canterbury (B.637)	46) 923 Wulfhelm. land near Canterbury (B.637)
38) 939 Winhelm. land near Canterbury (B.733)	39) 939 Winhelm. land near Canterbury (B.733)	below (50)
39) 790 Offa. Hayes (B.265)	40) 790 Offa. Hayes (B.265)	above (18)
40) 791 Offa. Ickham (B.263)	41) 791 Offa. Ickham (B.263)	above (17)
41) 927 Athelstan Folkestone (B.660)	42) 927 Athelstan Folkestone (B.660)	47) 927 Athelstan Folkestone (B.660)
below (57)	below (58)	48) no date Ælfræd. Hadleigh (U.7)
below (58)	below (59)	49) 934 Agylflæda <u>Hamme</u> (B.698)
above (38)	above (39)	50) 939 Winhelm. land near Canterbury (B.733)
42) 940 Eadulf Darentu + Meopham (B.747)	43) 940 Eadulf. Darentu + Meopham (B.747)	51) 940 Eadulf. Darentu + Meopham (B.747)
below (46)	below (47)	52) 941 { Eadred. Twickenham etc Edmund. Tarring (B.766) Athelstan.
below (76)	below (79)	53) 947 Wulfic. Patching (B.823)
43) 948 Eadred. Twickenham (B.861)	44) 948 Eadred. Twickenham (B.861)	54) 948 Eadred. Twickenham (B.861)
44) 949 Eadred. Reculver (B.881)	45) 949 Eadred. Reculver (B.881)	55) 949 Eadred Reculver (B.881)
45) no date Eardwulf. Pastead (B.176). Re.	46) no date Eardwulf. Pastead (B.176). Re.	56) no date Eardwulf. Pastead (B.176) Re.
46) 941 { Eadred Twickenham etc Edmund Athelstan Tarring (B.766)	47) 941 { Eadred Twickenham etc. Edmund Athelstan Tarring (B.766)	above (52)
47) 958 Eadger Monastic privileges (B.1038)	48) 958 Eadger. Monastic privileges (B.1038)	57) 958 Eadger. Monastic privileges (B.1038)
48) 959 Æthelweard <u>Mulatun</u> (B.1049)	49) 959 Æthelweard <u>Mulatun</u> (B.1049)	58) 959 Æthelweard. <u>Mulatun</u> (B.1049)
49) 961 Eadgifu. Cooling etc (B.1065)	50) 961 Eadgifu Cooling etc (B.1065)	59) 961 Eadgifu Cooling etc (B.1065).

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50) no date, Aethelred confirms privileges -ileges (U.8)	51) no date Aethelred confirms privileges (U.8)	60) no date. Aethelred confirms privileges (U.8)
below (59)	below (60)	61) 963 Dunstan Vange (B.1102)
below (60)	below (61)	62) 964 Aethelstan. Ulaham (B.1126) . L.
51) 979 Aethelred. Sandwich and Eastry. (U.4)	52) 979 Aethelred. Sandwich + Eastry (U.4.)	63) 979 Aethelred. Sandwich + Eastry. (U.4.)
52) 980 Aethelstan son of Aethelred Hollingbourne (W.20)	53) 980 Aethelstan. Hollingbourne (W.20)	64) 980 Aethelstan. Holl- ingbourne (W.20)
below (68)	below (71)	65) 991 Brihtnoth. Lawling Eleigh + Hadleigh (U.5)
below (69)	below (72)	66) no date. Godwin + {Seisted + Wulfgyth} Coggeshall (U.15)
53) 995 Aescwyn. Risborough (K.690)	54) 995 Bishop Aescwynn. Risborough. (K.690)	67) 995 Aescwyn. Risborough (K.690)
54) 997 Aelfgyva Emma. New- ington + Brightwell (K.697)	55) 997 Aelfgyva Emma Newington + Brightwell (K.697)	68) 997 Aelfgyva Emma. New- ington + Brightwell. (K.697)
55) 1003 Aethelred dux. land in Canterbury. (Stowe Ch.35)	56) 1003 Aethelred dux. land in Canterbury. (Stowe Ch.35)	69) 1003 Aethelred dux. land in Canterbury (Stowe 35)
56) 835 Cynewara. lead rents at Wicksworth (B.414)	57) 835 Cynewara lead rents from Wicksworth (B.414)	above (39)
57) no date. Aelfred. Hadleigh (U.7)	58) no date. Aelfred. Hadleigh (U.7)	above (48)
58) 934 Agylfleda. Hamme (B.698)	59) 934 Agylfleda. Hamme (B.698)	above (49)
59) 963 Dunstan. Vange (B.1102)	60) 963 Dunstan Vange (B.1102)	above (61)
60) 964 Aethelstan. Ulaham (B.1126) . L.	61) 964 Aethelstan. Ulaham (B.1126) . L.	above (62)
below (67)	below (69)	70) no date Aethelred restoration of monastery (K.715)
below (67)	below (70)	71) no date Aethelric + Leofwynn. Bocking. (U.6)
61) 1010 Archbp. Aelfheah Warehorne etc (U.9)	62) 1010 Archbp Aelfheah Warehorne etc. (U.9)	72) 1010 Archbp. Aelfheah Warehorne etc (U.9)
below (67)	63) no date Cnut. Munster privileges confirmed (K.727)	below (75)
62) 1018 Archbp. Aelfstan. Merstham + Cheam (U.11)	64) 1018 Archbp Aelfstan. Merst- ham + Cheam (U.11)	73) 1018 Archbishop Aelfstan Merstham + Cheam (U.11)
63) 1018 Cnut Hæselelsc (Stowe Ch. 38)	65) 1018 Cnut. Hæselelsc (Stowe Ch.38)	74) 1018 Cnut. Hæselelsc (Stowe Ch.38)
below (67)	above (63)	75) no date Cnut. Munster privi- leges confirmed (K.727)
64) 1035 Cnut. Palster and Wittersham (R.86)	66) 1035 Cnut. Palster and Wittersham (R.86)	76) 1035 Cnut. Palster and Wittersham (R.86)
65) 1036 Thored. Horsley (R.88)	67) 1036 Thored. Horsley (R.88)	77) 1036 Thored. Horsley (R.88)
66) 1036 Haldene Scearpa. Hythe and Saltwood (K.742, U.13)	68) 1036 Haldene Scearpa. Hythe and Saltwood (K.742, U.13)	78) 1036 Haldene Scearpa. Hythe + Saltwood. (K.742)

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'L'

	below (82)	79) no Cnut Sandwich (K.1328)
64):	69) no Æthelred restoration of monastery (K.715)	above (70)
67) no Æthelric Bocking date Leofwynn (U.6)	70) no Æthelric Bocking date Leofwynn (U.6)	above (71)
68) 991 Brihtnoth Lawling, Eleigh + Hadleigh (U.5)	71) 991 Brihtnoth Lawling, Eleigh + Hadleigh (U.5)	above (65)
69) no Godwin + Wulfgyth. date Strided + Coggeshall (U.15)	72) no Godwin + Wulfgyth. Strided date. + Coggeshall (U.15)	above (66)
below (77)	below (80)	80) 1037 Archbp Æthelnoth Godmersham (R.89)
70) 1038 Eadsige becomes monk Cnut. Folkestone (K.1327)	73) 1038 Eadsin becomes monk. Cnut. Folkestone (K.1327)	81) 1038 Eadsin becomes a monk Cnut. Folkestone (K.1327)
below (78)	below (81)	82) no Wulfstan Wildepreost date Thurrock (U.14)
71) no Edward. writ to Archbp date. Stigand (H.34)	74) no Edward. writ to Archbp date Stigand. (H.34)	83) no Edward. writ to Archbp date Stigand (H.34).
72) no Edward. Chatham etc. date (R.95)	75) no Edward Chatham etc. date (R.95)	84) no Edward Chatham etc. date (R.95)
below (74)	below (77)	85) no Godwin St Osyth date (U.16)
below (75)	below (78)	86) no Thurstan Wimbish date (W.30)
		[86b) Nithard. Walworth (U.17)
73) no Edward writ. Siward + date Matilda. Mersham (H.35)	76) no Edward. Writ. Siward + date Matilda. Mersham (H.35)	87) no Edward Siward. Mersham date writ Matilda (H.35)
		88) no Edward Writ. Rights date of warren (H.32)
74) no Godwin St Osyth date (U.16)	77) no Godwin St Osyth (U.16)	above (85)
75) no Thurstan Wimbish (W.30)	78) no Thurstan Wimbish (W.30)	above (86)
76) 947 Wulfric. Patching (B.823)	79) 947 Wulfric. Patching (B.823)	above (53)
77) 1038 Archbp Æthelnoth Godmersham (R.89)	80) 1037 Archbp Æthelnoth Godmersham (R.89)	above (80)
78) no Wulfstan Wildepreost date Thurrock (U.14)	81) no Wulfstan Wildepreost date Thurrock (U.14)	above (82)
	82) 803 Synod of Clofesho. Restores see at Canterbury (B.311)	above (23)
	83) 798 Synod of Clofesho. Cookham dispute (B.291)	above (20)
79) no Cnut Sandwich date (K.1328)	84) no Cnut. Sandwich date (K.1328)	above (79)

'C'	'P'	'L'
---	---	89) no William I writ. Odo of date Bayeux. 4 Dennis.
---	---	90) no Odo. houses in date Sandwich
---	---	91) no William I, Saltwood date
---	---	92) no William I restoration date of confiscated estates
---	---	93) no William. Churches of date Newington, St Martin and Sheppey
---	---	94) no William Warren date rights
---	85) no Memo on rents of church date of Newington	below (100)
80) no Henry I Slindon date	86) no Henry I Slindon date	95) no Henry I Slindon date
81) no Anselm Stisted date	87) no Anselm Stisted date	96) no Anselm Stisted date
-	-	97) no Canon on monks' date priestly functions
-	-	98) no Pope Alexander II date confirms monastic status of chapter
-	-	99) form of monastic ordination
-	-	100) no Memo on rents of date church of Newington
-	-	101) no Inquest T.R.W.I. of date Canterbury estates in dispute.
		102) no Constitutions of date Clarendon. 103) no Rules for monks date during Becket's exile.

added in a different
hand.

MEMORANDUM ON THE BURIAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

MSS.

- 'C' Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, MS. 189 f.196-196v.
- 'P' Canterbury, D. & C. Library, Register P f.13v-14v.
- 'L' Lambeth Palace, MS. 1212 p.309-10.

Anno dominice incarnationis DCCXLIII^o apice regni in Cantia tenente glorioso rege Eadberto, venerabilis ac deo dilectus Cuthbertus vir in omni sapientia et religione fundatus, undecimus a beato Augustino in metropolitana sede Dorobernie summi sacerdotii dignitate fungebatur. Hic prudens animadvertens destitutionem ecclesie Christi eo quod nullo honorabilis sepulture decore fulgeret, dum defunctis archiepiscopis eorum corpora sibi auferrentur et ad cenobium quod in orientali parte Cantuarie civitatis extra urbem situm est transferrentur, condoluit et qualiter illa consuetudo mutaretur studiose tractavit. Presidebat autem ea tempore sedi apostolice Gregorius iunior¹ vir sanctitatis merito venerabilis et magno sapientie splendore perfulgens. Huic itaque cum reverentissimus Cuthbertus hanc eandem causam patefaceret et se nimis pro tali archipresulum transpositione contestari assereret, petiit ab eo ut hanc consuetudinem suo edicto mutaret et mutatam apostolica² auctoritate³ firmaret. Qui quam piam et rationabilem causam pretendebat, pro voto mox quod petivit optinuit. Confestim ergo cum a Roma reversus Angliam veniret, et a suis honorifice susceptus fuisset, hoc idem negotium etiam prefati regis auctoritate fecit firmari. Post hec in archiepiscopatu plurimos feliciter vivens annos, plurima ob robur ecclesie concilia fecit in Anglia celebrari. Construxit etiam basilicam iuxta ecclesiam Christi quam in honore sancti Iohannis baptistae consecravit, ubi ipse et successores sui honorifice sepelirentur. Appropinquante autem vite sue termino, precepit ne aliqua divulgatio infirmitatis vel mortis eius fieret, nec signum pro eo pulsaretur donec corpus eius sepulture traditum esset. Quod et factum est. Sepulto vero eo, signa pro eo pulsantur,

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1. Gregory III (731-741)
 2. sua C.
 3. auctorite C and L.

notitia mortis eius palam divulgatur. Quo audito abbas sancti Augustini nomine Lambertus eo cum sociis accessit, corpus iuxta ritum pristinum secum laturus. Sed cum iam sepultum repperiret et antiquam consuetudinem apostolica simul et regia auctoritate mutatam esse cognosceret, nimis turbatus et anxius suo privatus desiderio, ad propria remeavit.

Successit autem venerando Cuthberto totius Britannie primate in archiepiscopatum vir magne religionis Brehuinus¹ qui de prefata mutatione sepulture archipresulum predecessoris sui statuta multum laudavit, et eadem devotione qua ipse fecerat, eandem causam apostolica et regia auctoritate addita et sua confirmari fecit. Et hoc quoque ex hac vita sublato, filii ecclesie Christi in memorata basilica sancti Iohannis baptiste ubi predecessor suus honorabilis Cuthbertus locatus fuerat sepelierunt. Huic successit in pontificatum predictus abbas Lambertus qui presulatus dignitate annis plurimis vigore sacerdotalis auctoritatis pleno administravit. Hic cum finem suum sibi instare conspiceret, volens antecessorum suorum statuta mutare, precepit ut post obitum suum ad edem sancti Augustini corpus illius sepeliendum deferrentur. Eo igitur defuncto, preceptum illius impletum est. Nam cum tertius esset qui apud ecclesiam Christi ubi duo predecessores sui quiescebant sepeliri deberet, preparatum sibi honorem abiect, et in loco ubi abbas fuerat sepulturam sibi ad hoc ut mutatio quam de archiepiscoporum corporibus facta erat annihilaretur elegit. Sed quia Christus ecclesie sue honorem eversum iri noluit, virum predicande sanctitatis Athelardum in pontificatum succedere fecit qui predecessoris sui Lamberti statuta de sepe memorata causa irrita fecit, et decus quod venerandi patres Cuthbertus et Bregowinus in hac re contulerant approbavit, et apostolica simul et regia auctoritate firmari quesivit et optinuit, et eidem negotio sua auctoritate adhibuit. Res itaque in posterum ita remansit, et apud metropolitaneam sedem ipse Adthelardus et omnes successores sui videlicet archipresules ecclesie Christi sepulture honorem sortiti sunt.

The facts that formed the basis of this dispute with St Augustine's over the burial of the archbishops were clear. The bodies of the early archbishops up to and including Nothhelm (d. 740) had been buried at St Augustine's, and, as the excavations of Sir Charles Peers and Sir Alfred Clapham have shown, they helped to determine the architectural form of the monastic church², and doubtless also the monastic

1. Brehuinus, C

2. Archaeologia, lxxvii (1927), pp. 201 ff.

liturgy. But from Cuthbert (d.760) onwards all the archbishops with the single exception of Jænberht (d.792) - who as the memorandum states had been abbot of St Augustine's - were buried at Christ Church in the baptistery built by Cuthbert to the east of the main church¹. There is no evidence in any authentic pre-Conquest records that the transferring of the archiepiscopal burial-place from St Augustine's to Christ Church⁸ was the occasion of any dispute. We have therefore no means of knowing how much of the story, as it is recorded in the memorandum from the Christ Church cartulary and in subsequent writers at Christ Church and at St Augustine's², was the product of the imagination of the post-Conquest community seeking to explain why the earliest archbishops were not among the relics preserved in their church.

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1. For the pre-Conquest church at Canterbury, see Sir W. St J. Hope, 'The Plan and Arrangement of the first cathedral church of Canterbury', Proc. Soc. Antiq., xxx, 1917-18, p.136-58, and R. Willis, The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, 1845. The evidence has been recently summarized with particular emphasis on the location of the relics by R.W. Southern, St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, p.262-7. Professor Southern reproduces Willis's plan which is misleading with regard to the position and form of the baptistery. This building is described by Canterbury writers as a church (ecclesia, basilica), and was almost certainly a separate, though comparatively small, church to the east and on the same axis as the cathedral church. A similar arrangement of axial churches was found before the Conquest at Winchester, Elmham, Glastonbury and St Augustine's. Eadmer tells us that this church, dedicated to John the Baptist, was used for baptisms, and judicial ordeals, as the burial place of the archbishops, and as both library and archive of the see and monastery (Vita Bregowini, ed. B.W. Scholz, Traditio, xxii, 1966, pp.139-40, 144-5).
 2. Gervase's account in his Actus Pontificum is taken verbatim from the cartulary memorandum (Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. W. Stubbs, (Rolls Series), 1880, ii pp.344-6). What is remarkable however, is that the memorandum is also the source of the account of the dispute by the Augustinian chronicler William Thorne (De Rebus

Despite the claims in the memorandum, no trace of any papal or royal privileges authorising or confirming the new archiepiscopal burial-place in the baptistery built by Archbishop Cuthbert was preserved in the Christ Church archives. Indeed the St Augustine's chronicler, William Thorne, took great delight in pointing out that 'Gregorius iunior' (i.e. Gregory III) could not have authorised the proposed abandonment of the St Augustine's burial-ground in 743, since he had then already been dead for two years¹. If a privilege of Gregory III dated 743 ever existed, it was certainly spurious; and the fact that the cartularist was unable to quote from this or any of the papal and royal confirmations he mentions, suggests that no such documents ever existed. Indeed the assertion in the memorandum that the community had papal and

Gestis Abbatum S. Augustini, ed. Sir R. Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X, 1652, col. 1772-4), though of course he slants the story in favour of St Augustine's. It may be significant in this context that the extant ms of Thorne's work (Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. 189, fos. 46-194v) is bound up with a manuscript of the Christ Church cartulary ('C') which includes the memorandum. But we have no evidence that the association of the two works in this ms. is early, and it is known that much of Thorne's account of the early history of his house was drawn directly from the lost work of the earlier St Augustine's writer, Thomas Sprott (c. 1232. See Thorne's preface, ibid., col. 1757 and also col. 1881). Thorne's account of the dispute was in turn used by Thomas of Elmham, who had nothing of significance to add (Historia Monasterii S. Augustini, ed. C. Hardwick (R.S.) 1858, pp. 317-8, 328). It is possible that the memorandum may have passed from Christ Church to St Augustine's in 1089 when the rebellious St Augustine's monks were sent to distant houses and replaced with 24 monks from Christ Church. (Acta Lanfranci, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, p. 292). William of Malmesbury's brief report of the burial dispute (Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S., 1870, p. 15) is strongly favourable to Christ Church and contains no information that could not have been obtained from the memorandum, but as is his wont the wording is his own.

1. Op. cit. in n. 3, col. 1774. Gregory III died 29th November, 741.

royal authority for burying their archbishop in their church may have only been a belated attempt to answer the aggressive propaganda of the Augustinians.

For the monks of St Augustine's could produce a series of privileges from popes and kings, ranging in date from Boniface IV (608-615) to Edward the Confessor, and granting inter alia that St Augustine himself and all his successors should be buried in their monastic church¹. These texts are all spurious; as W. Levison showed in his seminal study of the diplomatic of early Anglo-Saxon charters, they are the work of a renowned forger, Guerno, who was responsible for forging privileges of monastic liberties and exemption for a number of English and continental monasteries in the late 11th and early 12th centuries².

It is not certain exactly when the dispute over the burial of the archbishops came to a head, or indeed why it should have done so. According to Gervase the diminution of the 'generalis sepultura' of the St Augustine's cemetery was the first of a series of conflicts that arose between St Augustine's and Christ Church and occurred in the time of William the Conqueror and Lanfranc (1070-1087)³ - that is almost three hundred years since the Augustinians had last buried an archbishop within

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1. They include 3 papal privileges: Boniface IV (B.C.S.11), and John XII (B.C.S.915, 916), 3 royal grants: Ethelbert (B.C.S.6) Eadbert (B.C.S.13), and Edward the Confessor (K.C.D.900), and one archiepiscopal privilege: Augustine (B.C.S.7).
 2. 'The Charters of King Ethelbert I of Kent and the Descent of the Anglo-Saxon Charters', Appendix I in England and the Continent in the 8th Century, 1946, pp.174-233.
 3. Gervase, Historical Works, i, pp.81-2.

their precincts (Jænberht, 792). Probably the quarrel was connected with the extensive building programmes undertaken at St Augustine's under abbot Scotland (1070-1087) and at Christ Church under Lanfranc. At St Augustine's the great new monastic church planned by Scotland to form a worthy setting for the treasured relics of saints, archbishops, abbots and kings was not finished until after his death, and it was his successor, Wido, who presided over the translation of the relics in 1091¹. The construction of the new church was accompanied by a revival of interest within the community in their relics; they began a bitter and protracted quarrel with the canons of St Gregory at Canterbury, newly established by Lanfranc, over the possession of the true remains of St Mildred, and they commissioned one of their number, Goscelin to write a tract in their defence and also further works on St Augustine and the other relics translated in 1091².

At Christ Church Lanfranc's new church had been consecrated in 1077, but it was some time before there was any revival of interest in the native saints and archbishops whose relics had been preserved in the cathedral. Indeed Lanfranc and the Norman monks who accompanied him from Bec were critical of the many English saints whose cult at Christ

1. Thorne, De Rebus Gestis, ed. Twysden, col.1793-4.

2. There is still no modern edition of Goscelin's works. The Lives and tracts that he wrote for St Augustine's are found in B.M.Cotton Vespasian B.xx (C.XII[i]), including the unprinted Libellus Goscelini contra inanes usurpatores S. Mildrethae. The most recent discussion of his career is F.Barlow (ed.), Life of Edward the Confessor, 1962, pp. xlv-li, and appendix C.

Church was not backed by adequate Vitae or even by well testified traditions¹; the new church could not house all the relics which had been in the pre-Conquest baptistery, and most of the relics of the archbishops were given by Lanfranc to the canons of his new priory of St Gregory at Canterbury about the year 1085². It was at this time that at Christ Church the process of rehabilitating the English saints was begun by the English precentor, Osbern, with his Lives of Ælfheah and Dunstan³; subsequently the growth of the status of the pre-Conquest saints and archbishops can be traced in the Christ Church calendars, the writings of Eadmer, and in the far more extensive provision of space for their relics in the new choir begun under Archbishop Anselm (1093-1109)⁴.

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1. Only two of the Christ Church saints had pre-Conquest Vitae: Frithegod's Life of Wilfrid (ed. A.Campbell in Bibliotheca Scriptorum latinorum mediae et recentioris aetatis, 1950), and the two early Lives of Dunstan (by the unidentified 'B', and Adelard of Ghent, edited by W. Stubbs, Memorials of St Dunstan, (Rolls Series) 1874). The development of local hagiography at Christ Church after the Conquest is fully discussed by R.W.Southern (St Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, pp.248-52, 279-87) on whose account I have drawn heavily.
 2. See Lanfranc's foundation charter for St Gregory's: '....Et plurimam partem de reliquiis sanctorum pontificum qui ante nos ecclesie Christi prefuere ipsi ecclesie beati Gregorii ad eius honorem et munimen contulimus'. (Cartulary of the Priory of St Gregory, ed. A.M.Woodcock, Camden Soc., 3rd ser. lxxxviii, 1956, p.1). The charter is dated 1087, though the priory was actually founded a year or two earlier (ibid, p.ix).
 3. The Life of Ælfheah (Elphege) is printed by H.Wharton, Anglia Sacra, 1691, ii.122f; the Life of Dunstan by Stubbs (Memorials of St Dunstan pp.69-161).
 4. Southern, St Anselm and his Biographer, pp.265-7. For the ways in which the Christ Church calendars reflect the changing status of the saints of the church, see E.Bishop and A.Gasquet, The Bosworth Psalter, 1908, pp.32-3, 63-4.

The dispute over the burial of the archbishops must be seen against this background of renewed veneration for the local saints at both Christ Church and St Augustine's. In the absence of direct evidence we shall probably not be far out if we date the dispute to the years c.1085-c.1100¹. This was the period which saw at St Augustine's the consecration of the new church, the translation there of the relics of the early archbishops, and the works of Goscelin; and at Christ Church the writings of Osbern and the beginning of a new approach to the Anglo-Saxon past. It also saw the foundation of Lanfranc's priory of St Gregory. The canons' claim to possess the body of St Mildred brought

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1. These dates are proposed with some misgiving since W. Levison argued that the privileges claiming inter alia, the right to bury the archbishops in the church at St Augustine's were forged c.1070 (England and the Continent, pp.201-6). Levison allowed that none of the rights claimed in the forged charters ('liberty' from royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and tribute, free election of the abbot, burial of the archbishops etc.) can be shown to have been at issue as early as 1070 (ibid., p.206). They fit more naturally into the period of disputes following the nomination of Wido as abbot in 1087 (See Acta Lanfranci, in J. Earle and C. Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel, pp.290-2). But Levison argued that the spurious Christ Church privilege of Boniface IV (Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1) which was forged in the period 1070-2, is based on the privilege attributed to the same pope in the St Augustine's series of forged privileges (B.C.S. 11); he therefore dated the St Augustine's series, or at least a proportion of them, before 1072. But the relationship between these two texts, as C.N.L. Brooke showed ('The Canterbury Privileges and their Author', Downside Review, lxviii, 1949-50, pp.464-471), is more complex; they use the same sources, but independently of each other. They may well be the work of the same forger (Guerno?). Levison's terminus ante quem for the St Augustine's forgeries (1072) cannot therefore be maintained, and it seems natural to place them in the period when the rights they claim are known to have been in dispute, i.e. from c.1087 to c.1100.

them into sharp conflict with St Augustine's; it is quite possible that the fact that they also possessed relics of most of the archbishops provoked the angry Augustinians into ignoring three hundred years of past practice and claiming that the archbishops should rightfully be buried in their church.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A) Manuscript Sources

- (i) Individual Charters that survive on single sheets of parchment are listed in Chapter 1, pp. 4 n.1, 21 n.1, 30 n.2, 39 n.5,

(ii) Gospel-Books with inserted Charters

London, Lambeth Palace, MS.771 (MacDurnan Gospels) with a displaced leaf now B.M.Cotton Tib. B.iv.f.87.

London, B.M.Cotton Tib.A.ii, with displaced leaves now B.M.Cotton Claud.A.iii, fos.2-7, 9*, and B.M.Cotton Faust.B.vi, part i, fos. 95, 98-100.

London, B.M.Royal I.D.ix.

Oxford, St John's Coll., MS.194.

(iii) Cartularies

Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS.189, fos.195-201v.

Canterbury, D. and C., Register A.

Reg. B

Reg. C

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Reg. E, fos.40-45

Reg. I, fos.57-9

Reg. P, fos.11-28v.

London, Lambeth Palace, MS.1212, pp.304-339
MS.1212, pp.384-408

(iv) Lists of Donations

Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS.298 (ii), pp.61-85

Canterbury, D. and C., Roll C.156
Roll C.157
Roll C.158

London, Lambeth Palace, MS.303, fos.112-117v

Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., MS.256, fos.82-87v

(v) Inventories

Canterbury, D. and C., MS.C.232

London, Lambeth Palace, MS.1212, pp.4, 68

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Rents, and
 estates of
 unspecified size.

less than
 2 sulungs

2-4
 sulungs

5-9
 sulungs

10-19
 sulungs

20 sulungs
 and above.

Estates restored after loss or alienation:

County boundaries:

Principal Roman road:

KEY TO MAPS

ARCHBISHOP'S ESTATES:

o Rents, and estates of unspecified size.

+

less than 2 sulungs

□

2-4 sulungs

□

5-9 sulungs

□

10-19 sulungs

□

20 sulungs and above.

COMMUNITY'S ESTATES:

●

x

◇

◇

◇

◇

Estates restored after loss or alienation:

◊

⊠

County boundaries:

~~~~~

Principal Roman road:

—————

MAP 1:     THE ESTATES OF ARCHBISHOP AND COMMUNITY IN 1066

THE ESTATES OF ARCHBISHOP AND  
COMMUNITY IN 1066.

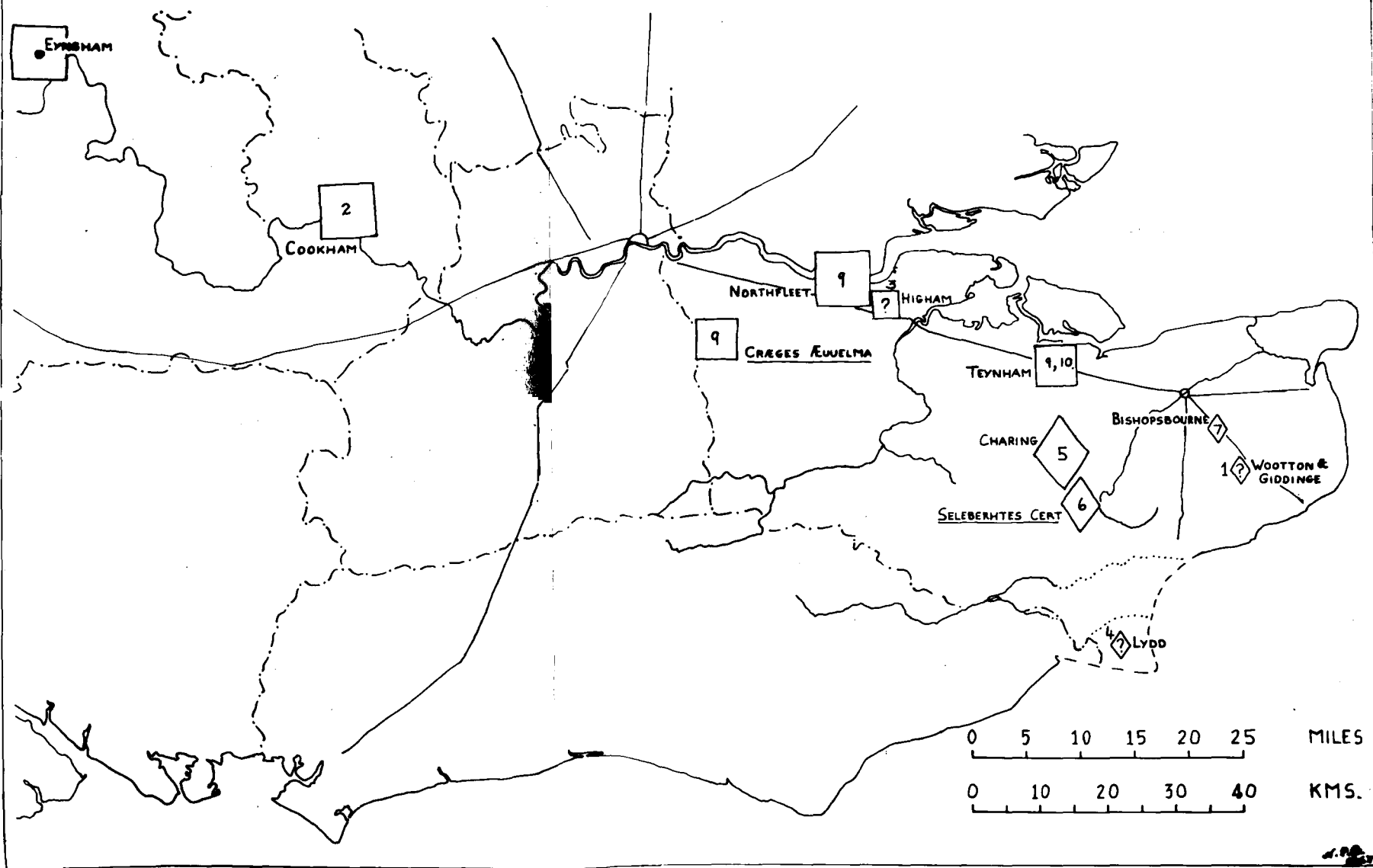


MAP 2: ESTATES ACQUIRED BETWEEN 597 AND 805

1. ? 694 B.C.S.69/296 4 sulungs at Wootton and Giddinge purportedly to Christ Church.
2. 740-56 B.C.S.291 Monastery of Cookham (Berks.) and all its lands to Christ Church.
3. 774 B.C.S.213 5 sulungs at Higham purportedly to Archbishop Jaenberht.
4. 774 B.C.S.214 3 sulungs at Lydd purportedly to Christ Church.
5. c.780 B.C.S.293 30 sulungs at Charing to Christ Church, subsequently confiscated by Offa, and restored in 798 by Coenwulf to Christ Church.
6. c.780 B.C.S.293 10 sulungs at Seleberhtes cert to Christ Church, subsequently confiscated by Offa, restored in 798 to Christ Church.  
(? = Little Chart).
7. c.780 B.C.S.293 4 sulungs at Bishopsbourne to Christ Church subsequently confiscated and restored in 798, confirmed to Christ Church in 805 (B.C.S.319).
8. 796-8 B.C.S.291 Monastery of Pectanege to Archbishop Aethelheard, but alienated 798.
9. 798 B.C.S.291 60 hides at Northfleet, 30 hides at Teynham, and 20 hides at Craeges aeuelma to Archbishop Aethelheard.
10. 798-805 B.C.S.301 12 sulungs at Teynham purportedly to Christ Church.
11. 597-821 B.C.S.384 300 hides at Eynsham (Oxfordshire) alienated by Archbishop Wulfred c.821.

MAP 2.

LAND ACQUIRED BETWEEN 597 AND 805.



MAP 3: ESTATES ACQUIRED DURING THE PONTIFICATE OF WULFRED (805-832)

- |     |        |                  |                                                                                                                               |
|-----|--------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.  | 805    | <u>B.C.S.322</u> | 2 sulungs in Buckholt given to Archbishop Wulfred.                                                                            |
| 2.  | 809    | <u>B.C.S.328</u> | 7 sulungs at Barham to Archbishop Wulfred                                                                                     |
| 3.  | 805-10 | <u>B.C.S.330</u> | 20 sulungs at Stanstede to Christ Church.                                                                                     |
| 4.  | 805-11 | <u>B.C.S.332</u> | 10 hides at Yarkhill (Herefordshire) given to Wulfred, and alienated in 811.                                                  |
| 5.  | 811    | <u>B.C.S.332</u> | 4 sulungs at Bishopsbourne to Wulfred.                                                                                        |
| 6.  | 811    | <u>B.C.S.332</u> | 5 sulungs at ( <u>Folcwining lond</u> in Eastry<br>( <u>Wynnhearding lond</u><br>( <u>Dunwaling lond</u><br>to Christ Church. |
| 7.  | 811    | <u>B.C.S.335</u> | 2 sulungs at <u>Appincg lond</u> near Rainham to Wulfred.                                                                     |
| 8.  | 811    | <u>B.C.S.335</u> | 2 sulungs at <u>Suithhunincg lond</u> in Graveney to Wulfred.                                                                 |
| 9.  | 811    | <u>B.C.S.335</u> | 2½ haws in Canterbury to Wulfred.                                                                                             |
| 10. | 805-12 | <u>B.C.S.341</u> | 1 sulung at Swarling and 1 yoke at <u>Ecgheanng lond</u> to Wulfred 805-12, alienated 812 (cf. <u>B.C.S.321</u> ).            |
| 11. | 812    | <u>B.C.S.340</u> | 20 acres at <u>Ibentea</u> near Faversham to Wulfred.                                                                         |
| 12. | 812    | <u>B.C.S.341</u> | 1 sulung at Graveney to Wulfred.                                                                                              |
| 13. | 814    | <u>B.C.S.344</u> | 30 acres at <u>Binnanea</u> in Canterbury to Wulfred.                                                                         |
| 14. | 814    | <u>B.C.S.346</u> | (dubious) 10 sulungs at Bexley to Wulfred.                                                                                    |
| 15. | 814    | <u>B.C.S.348</u> | 1 sulung at <u>Cynincges cua lond</u> near Graveney to Wulfred.                                                               |



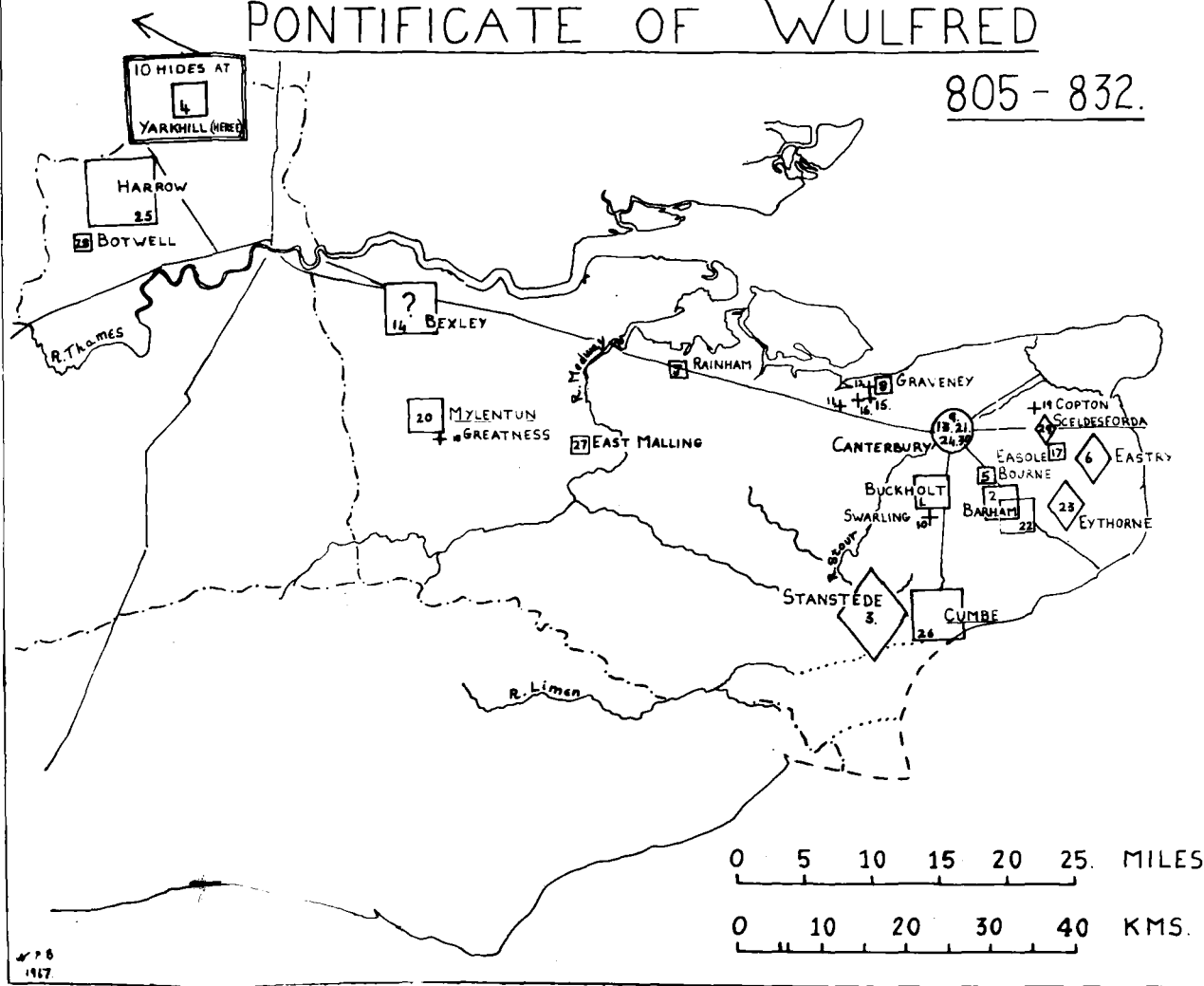
MAP 3: continued

- |     |        |                   |                                                                                                                 |
|-----|--------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. | 815    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 353 | 1 sulung at <u>Seleberhting lond</u> near Faverham to Wulfred.                                                  |
| 17. | 805-17 | <u>B.C.S.</u> 378 | 4 sulungs at Easole to Wulfred, disputed, and finally assigned to Wulfred in 824.                               |
| 18. | 821    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 367 | Greatness to Wulfred.                                                                                           |
| 19. | 821    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 367 | Copton to Wulfred.                                                                                              |
| 20. | 822    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 370 | 5 sulungs at <u>Myllentun</u> near Kemsing to Wulfred.                                                          |
| 21. | 823    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 373 | 2 pieces of land in Canterbury to Wulfred.                                                                      |
| 22. | 824    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 381 | 5 sulungs at Barham and <u>Suithberhting lond</u> to Wulfred.                                                   |
| 23. | 824    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 381 | 5 sulungs at Eythone and South Langdon to Christ Church.                                                        |
| 24. | 824    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 382 | Vill called <u>Eastur Waldington</u> in Canterbury to Christ Church.                                            |
| 25. | 825    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 384 | 104 hides at Harrow, Wembley, and Yeadding (Middx.) to Wulfred.                                                 |
| 26. | 825    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 384 | 30 hides at <u>Cumbe</u> in Kent to Wulfred.                                                                    |
| 27. | 825    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 421 | East Malling (Kent) ( <u>DB.</u> ) to Christ Church, but confiscated by Egbert and Aethelwulf in the same year. |
| 28. | 831    | <u>B.C.S.</u> 400 | 5 hides at Botwell (Middx.) to Wulfred.                                                                         |
| 29. | 832?   | <u>B.C.S.</u> 380 | 4 sulungs at <u>Sceldes forda</u> to Christ Church.                                                             |
| 30. | 832?   | <u>B.C.S.</u> 380 | land in Canterbury formerly belonging to deacon Cynehard and monk Dodda to Christ Church.                       |

MAP 3

LAND ACQUIRED DURING THE  
PONTIFICATE OF WULFRED

805 - 832.



MAP 4: ESTATES ACQUIRED BETWEEN 832 AND 899

1. 835 B.C.S.414 300 shillings of lead p.a. from Wirksworth (Derbys.) to Christ Church.
2. 838 B.C.S.419 1 mansio at se eastre stadelham and 7 acres at Lyminge to Archbishop Ceolnoth.
3. 838-9 B.C.S.421 (<sup>East</sup>~~South~~) Malling (<sup>Kent</sup>~~Essex~~) (<sup>2 sulungs</sup>~~80 hides~~ DB) restored to Christ Church.
4. 833-9 B.C.S.407 Langham, Blakeburneham, Plegwingham, Ofneham, pasture at Hliossole, and Aegelbertinherst, common rights in woods at Estercogheringdenne and Heronden, and 1 vill (? Barton) in Canterbury with 5 acres and 2 meadows at Shettinge(Scitinga) and Thanington, given by Aethelwulf (to himself? and subsequently?) to Christ Church.
5. 833-9 B.C.S.408 Ebony, Deiferthesea, Mistanham, purportedly to Christ Church.
6. 833-9 S.E.H.D.2 Food-rents from Challock to Christ Church.
7. 839 B.C.S.427 (Great ?) Chart (DB 3 sul) purportedly to Archbishop Ceolnoth.
8. c.850 S.E.H.D.5 Food-rents from Bourne, and 100d. per annum from Finglesham to Christ Church.
9. 845-53 R.6 1 vill by east wall, Canterbury, and 16 acres to Christ Church.
10. 825-58 B.C.S.536 Ileden to Christ Church?
11. 843-63 S.E.H.D.4 Food-rents from Mongeham to Christ Church.
12. 863-7 B.C.S.406 2 sulungs at S.Langdon to Christ Church.
13. 833-70 B.C.S.402 lands acquired by Archbishop Wulfred and bequeathed to priest Werhard, bequeathed

by Werhard purportedly to Christ Church:  
Harrow (Middx. 104 hides), Otford (100  
hides), Graveney (32 hides), Bishops-  
bourne (44 hides), Easole (10 hides),  
Lambaham, (1 yoke), Northuuda (1 yoke),  
all marshes south of R.Limen, vill in  
Canterbury.

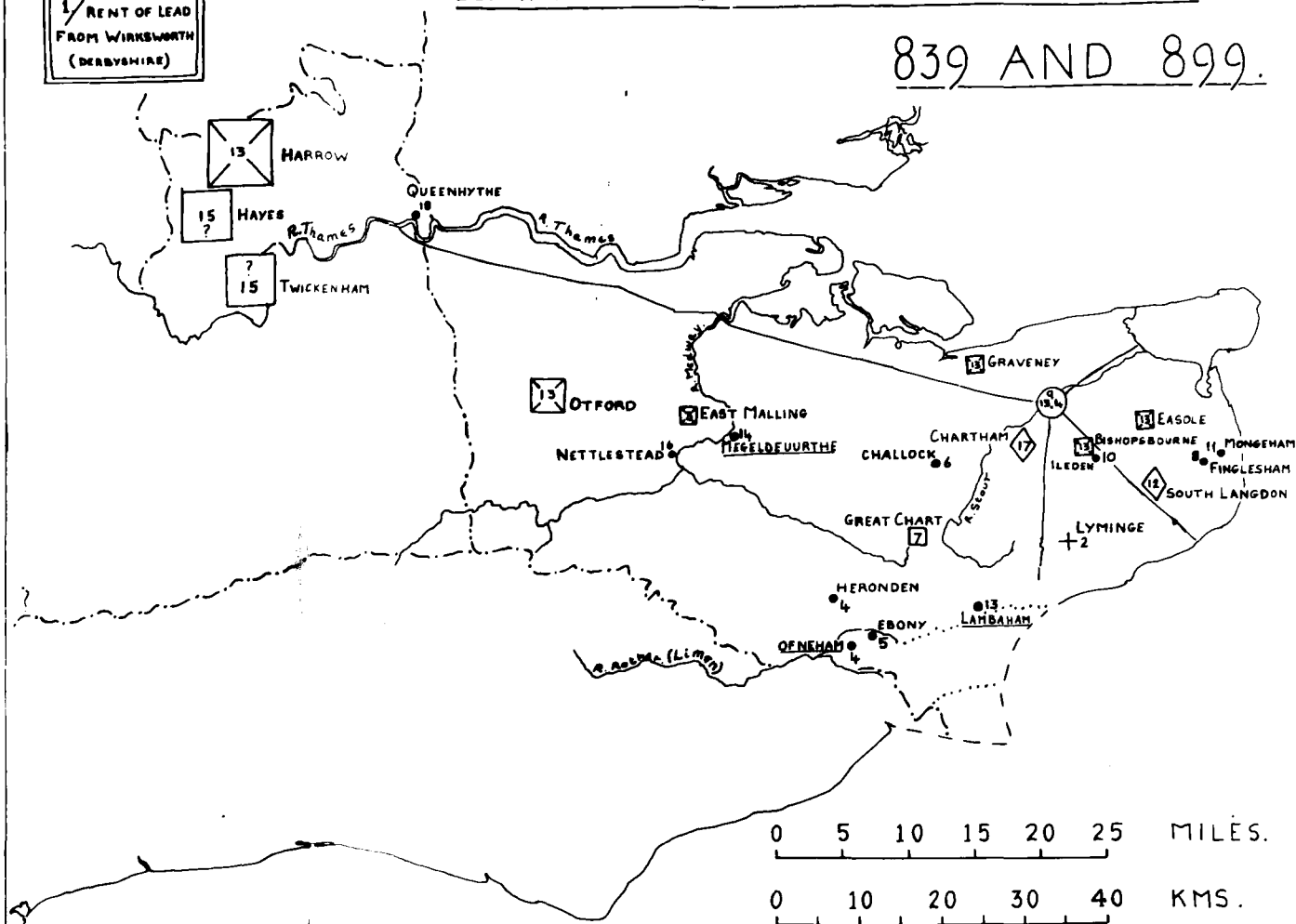
- |     |        |                   |                                                                                                          |
|-----|--------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14. | 833-70 | <u>B.C.S.402</u>  | <u>Megeldeuurthe</u> (? Madginford, Kent)<br>restored to Christ Church.                                  |
| 15. | 833-70 | <u>B.C.S.402</u>  | 32 hides at Hayes (Middx.), 8 hides at<br><u>Cuniland</u> , 30 hides at Twickenham, to<br>Christ Church. |
| 16. | 871-9  | <u>S.E.H.D.10</u> | Rent of 100d. p.a. from Nettlestead, 100<br>pigs from Lingfield, to Christ Church.                       |
| 17. | 871-89 | <u>S.E.H.D.8</u>  | Chartham bequeathed to Christ Church<br>(4 sulungs <u>DB</u> ).                                          |
| 18. | 898    | <u>B.C.S.577</u>  | 1 acre at Queenshythe in London to<br>Christ Church.                                                     |

MAP 4:

LAND ACQUIRED BETWEEN

839 AND 899.

1/ RENT OF LEAD  
FROM WIRKSWORTH  
(DERBYSHIRE)



MAP 5: ESTATES ACQUIRED DURING THE 10TH CENTURY

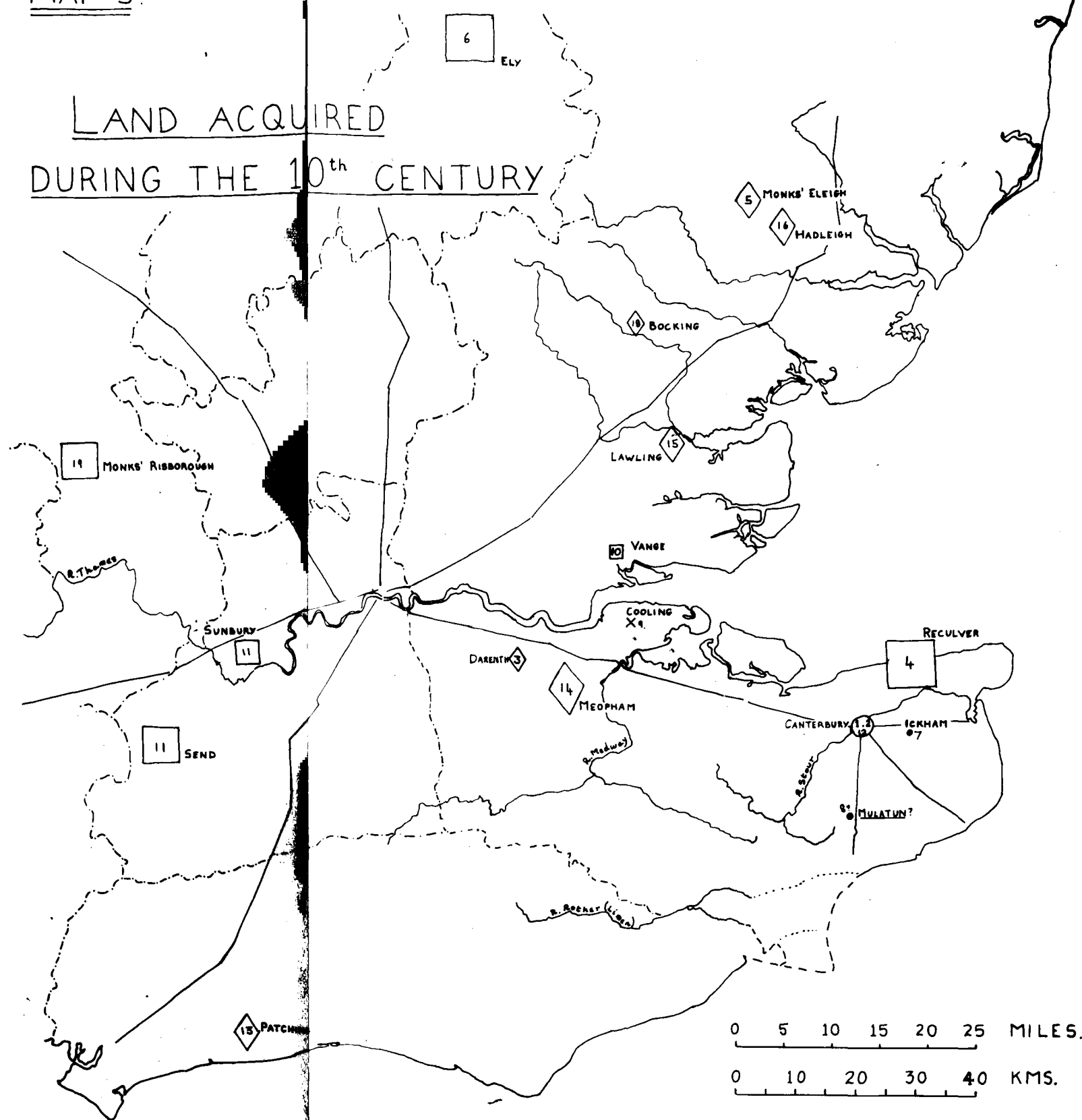
1. 923 B.C.S.637 11 acres in Canterbury, and Wadland and Wlfrethingland also in C. bought by Archbishop Wulfhelm.
2. 939 B.C.S.733 11 acres in Canterbury purportedly to Wulfhelm.
3. 940 B.C.S.747 Daerintan (? Darenth, Kent) purportedly given to Christ Church.
4. 949 B.C.S.880 26 sulungs at Reculver to Christ Church.
5. 946-51 W.2 (Monks') Eleigh (Suffolk) (DB. 5 carucates) bequeathed with reversion to Christ Church, subsequently confirmed 998-1002 (W.15).
6. 957 B.C.S.1347 40 hides at Ely (?) to Archbishop Oda.
7. 958 R.32 Rents from Ickham to Christ Church.
8. 959 B.C.S.1049 Vill called Mulatun to Christ Church.
9. 960? S.E.H.D.23 Cooling (1½ sulungs DB) and Osterland to Christ Church.
10. 963? B.C.S.1101 7 hides at Vange (Essex) to Archbishop Dunstan.
11. 968 R.44 20 hides at Send (Surrey) and 10 hides at Sunbury (Middx.) to Dunstan.
12. 960-68 B.C.S.426 13 acres in Canterbury and meadowland to Dunstan.
13. after 960 B.C.S.823 Patching (Sussex, DB. 3 hides and 3½ virgates) to Christ Church.
14. 973-87 W.11 Meopham (10 sulungs DB) bequeathed to Christ Church.
15. 991? U.5 Lawling (Essex) (14 hides DB) purportedly to Christ Church.
16. 991? U.5 Hadleigh (Suffolk) (5 carucates DB) to Christ Church purportedly.

MAP 5: continued

- |     |         |                   |                                                                                   |
|-----|---------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 17. | 975-91  | <u>W.14</u>       | 5 hides at <u>Hamme</u> to Christ Church.                                         |
| 18. | c.995   | <u>W.16(i,ii)</u> | Bocking (Essex) (4½ hides <u>DB</u> ) bequeathed with reversion to Christ Church. |
| 19. | 903-995 | <u>K.C.D.689</u>  | 30 hides at (Monks') Risborough (Bucks.) to archbishop (cf. <u>B.C.S.603</u> ).   |

# MAP 5:

## LAND ACQUIRED DURING THE 10<sup>th</sup> CENTURY





MAP 6: ESTATES ACQUIRED BETWEEN 1000 AND 1066

1. 1003-4 W.18 (Monks') Risborough (30 hides DB), Westwell (7 sulungs DB), and (Bishop's) Bourne (6 sulungs DB) to Christ Church.
2. 1010 U.9 Warehorne (1 sulung DB), Farningham (1 sulung DB), and Uudetun to Christ Church.
3. 1015 W.20 Hollingbourne (6 sulungs DB) and Garrington to Christ Church.
4. 1018 O.S.Facs., iii 39. Wood at (Lower) Hazelhurst (Sussex) to Archbishop Aelfstan.
5. 1018 U.11 Vill at Merstham (20 hides DB), (Surrey) and vill at Cheam (20 hides DB) (Surrey) to Christ Church.
6. ? before 1020 R.80 Halton (Bucks) (5 hides DB) bequeathed by Wulfnoth with reversion to Christ Church.
7. ? before 1026 K.C.D. 742 Saltwood (7 sulungs DB) purportedly bequeathed by Leoflæd (with reversion ?) to Christ Church.
8. ? 1032 R.86 Appledore (2 sulungs DB), Wittersham and Palster (3 yokes DB) bequeathed with reversion to Christ Church.
9. ? 1032 R.86 Berwick ( $\frac{1}{2}$  sulung DB), and Orpington (3 sulungs DB) to Christ Church during the life of Eadsige (king's priest).
10. 1035 O.S.Facs., iii 41  $\frac{1}{2}$  sulung at Berwick to Archbishop Eadsige.
11. ? 1036 R.88 East Horsley (Surrey) (14 hides DB) to Christ Church.
12. c.1036 R.89 Godmersham (8 sulungs DB) to Christ Church.

MAP 6: continued

- |     |         |               |                                                                                       |
|-----|---------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 13. | 1042-3  | <u>W.</u> 30  | Wimbish (8 hides DB) (Essex) bequeathed with reversion to Christ Church.              |
| 14. | ? 1044  | <u>R.</u> 101 | (Great) Chart (3 sulungs DB) to Christ Church.                                        |
| 15. | ? 1044  | <u>R.</u> 101 | Stowting (1½ sulung's DB) and Milton bequeathed with reversion to Archbishop Eadsige. |
| 16  | ? 1046  | <u>W.</u> 32  | Stisted (Essex) (½ hide DB) bequeathed with reversion to Christ Church.               |
| 17. | 1042-52 | <u>R.</u> 96  | Newington (Oxon.) (15 hides DB) to Christ Church.                                     |
| 18. | 1054?   | <u>R.</u> 116 | Gracechurch (London) to Christ Church.                                                |
| 19. | 1006-66 | <u>R.</u> 95  | Southchurch (Essex) (4 hides DB) to Christ Church.                                    |
| 20. | 1042-66 | <u>U.</u> 16  | St Osyth (Essex) (7 hides DB) to Christ Church.                                       |
| 21. | 1042-66 | DB.i f.       | Sandwich to Christ Church.                                                            |
| 22. | 1042-66 | <u>U.</u> 14  | Thurrock (Essex) ( hides DB) to Christ Church.                                        |
| 23. | 1042-66 | <u>R.</u> 95  | Chartham purportedly to Christ Church (4 sulungs DB).                                 |
| 24. | 1053-61 | <u>H.</u> 35  | Mersham (6 sulungs DB) to Christ Church.                                              |
| 25. | 1052-66 | <u>W.</u> 34  | East Harling (2 carucates DB) (Norfolk) to Archbishop Stigand.                        |

# MAP 6.

## LAND ACQUIRED BETWEEN 1000 AND 1066.

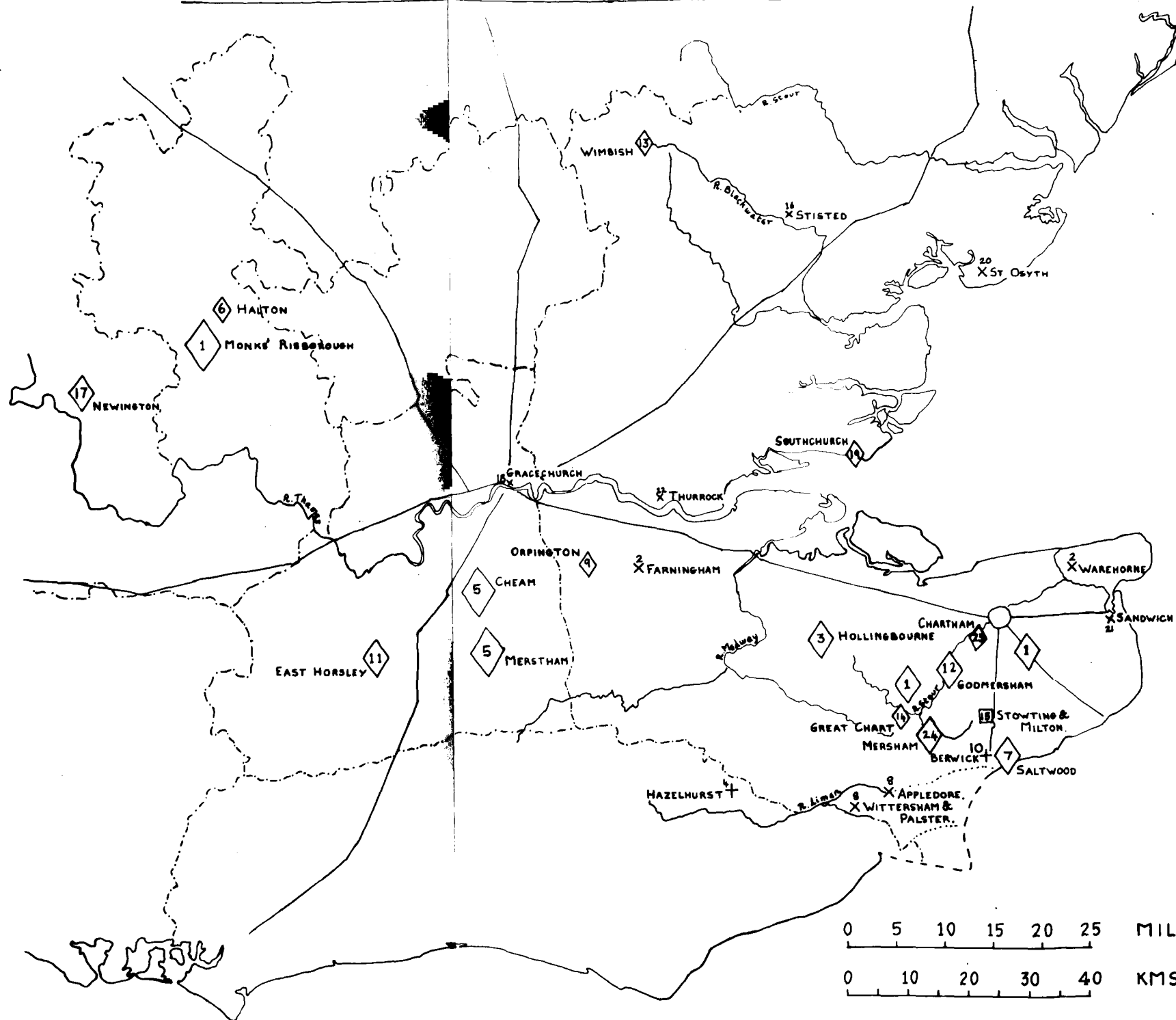


PLATE I.

B.M.Cotton Claudius A.iii. f.6.

- a) Witnesses to K.C.D.715.
- b) Alfyfu's grant of Newington, Robertson, Charters,  
96.
- c) Archbishop Athelnoth's grant of Godmersham;  
Robertson, Charters, 89.
- d) Thored's grant of Hersley; Robertson, Charters,  
88.

- † Ic Siġe neo siƿanols biƿodop ƿype geƿitnys.  
 † Ic ƿulƿftan toloa geƿitnys.  
 † Ic ƿulƿftan geonga geƿ.  
 † Ic lƿyng soð geƿitnys.  
 † Ic leofftan geƿitnys. -

- † Ic ælfgƿu seo hlæfde eadƿarides cƿninges modop  
 geƿurdeð æt anre cƿninge minn hlæfde þæt  
 land æt nƿan tunc 7 þæt þær to hyrd in to xƿes  
 cƿncean þa ælƿuc se þegen hit hæfde for ƿorht þan  
 cƿninge to hartoan. 7 se cƿning hit geaf þa in to xƿes  
 cƿncean þan hiƿede to foftere lande for uncre  
 beigna faple.  
 † Ic æþelnod xƿes cƿncean aƿce b gebohte flano æt  
 godmæres ham æt furede tofle into tƿan 7 land fopon  
 agun marcan hƿtes fœlƿes beƿerhoe. 7 geaf hit  
 on minon halan lƿce into xƿes cƿncean þan hƿce  
 to bigleofan into heofu beoðeƿe for minre faple.  
 7 se þe þis ƿille aƿeðan. aƿeðe hƿce cƿse fƿam  
 hoopenan fucel myrðe into halre ƿce: -  
 † Ic þoreo ge ann fano æt heofle þan hiƿede æt  
 xƿes cƿncean for minre faple þa full 7 fƿa ƿorð fƿa ic  
 fylf hit alre.

PLATE II.

B.M.Cotton Claudius A.iii. f.6v.

King Edward's grant of Chartham, and general  
confirmation of the estates of Christ Church;  
Robertson, Charters, 95.

a) = Appendix B, I art.j.

b) = Appendix B, I art.m.

c) = Appendix B, I art.n.

**H**e caepend cýng 7eíngla landes weuldend under-  
 criste þan heopenlican cýninge ge ann þæs landes  
 æt ceptcham into xþes cýpceam papi mine suple þan  
 hýweðe to forþer lande þe þær uime gode þeowud.  
 7ic eom þæs mýnstres mund 7upheald. 7welle ge þu  
 þan þæt ænig mann ge uage ænig þara landa þe  
 into 7uhte into þan halgan mýnstre ge býuge.  
 7ic wille þæt ælc þara landa þe on mines fæder  
 dæge læg into xþes cýpceam. pære hit kýnges 7ife  
 pære hit biseopes. pære hit wifes. pære hit  
 þegenas. eall ic wille þæt ælc mænnes 7ife farie.  
 7ic welle ge þasian þæt ænig mann his aþende. 7if  
 ænig mann si swa dýrftig. obbe þær to ge þærlice  
 þæt ænig þara lande þe léd into xþes cýpceam  
 þanon ge uage. si he iudas ge ferd þe criste  
 be læpade. 7 þe þisne cýpde æfre aþende. þe  
 ic mid minre agenne hand on þisse xþes bec  
 xþe betrahte on uppan xþes pæpode. dpuhten  
 papi do hane aon eceste. amen. i.

Dis sýnd þara landa nama. Sarnwic. Eastwýge. Tænet. Easthā  
 leocchā. . Ceptchā. Godmæstehū.

pýlt. East cept. 7ober cept. Berpica. Penhýmud.  
 Apulopia. Mersethā. Oþpedingam.

pæofaam. . Maapahā. Culingus. Framninguhā

Halngaburnan. fepulege. . Peceham;

Onsædsean. Pæccingus. pudatum. Onsædman. Peula purd.

Mersethā. Ceighā. Horslege. Onesefexan. Sudecýpceam.

Middelton. Leellinge. . Boering.

On eustenglū. Hæðleth. Illaleth; Innon buccinghā scipe be  
 ealtesnesse. Hýstbýrgan.

Innon oxena pond scipe. Nipantun. Brucupýlle

PLATE III.

B.M.Cotton Claudius A.iii. f.7v.

- a) End of privilege of Boniface IV; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 1.
- b) Beginning of letter of Sergius I to the English bishops; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 6.



uenerum habitationē statuat. Aplica ductori  
tate ~~hominum~~ ut ipsi ur̄e saluū p̄dicatores  
monachi. monachorum gregem sibi ad socium  
eorum uitam scitatum morib; exornent.  
que n̄a dextera. si quis successorum ur̄oz regū  
huc ep̄orum. clericorum. siue laicorum irrita  
facere temptauerit. a principe aplōz petro. &  
a cunctis successorib; suis anathematis inuicula  
subiacet. quoad usq; qd̄ temerario ausu pegi  
dō placita factis factione peniteat. & huius  
iniquitatis uerum emendationem faciat. At  
In xpo ualeat dñe fili; Actum sane anno incar  
nationis sescentesimo quarto decimo. imp̄am  
foca augusti p̄ssimo. Anno imperii eiusdē  
principis octauo. indictione. xiii. cetera di  
kalendarum <sup>martiarum</sup> adelberti regis regni anno  
quinqua gesimo tertio;

**O**leccissimis fr̄b; uniuersis ep̄is p̄ britannia cōstitutis. Sicut  
nob; fr̄s incogniti qd̄ cū officii pastoralis  
beati aplōz p̄ncipis petri sup̄ne dignationis m̄seri  
genuūq; cōcessit. reuerendā aduerit p̄sentia. ita qd̄: ur̄i religia  
p̄sular collegii sospitatis agnita salus. gemmū attulit tripu  
la. auctori bonoz dño dō n̄ro immensas pegmū gr̄  
fidelū in sinu repta scē matris ecclē unanimiter deuoti  
onē. moris feruore erga se dilectionisq; cōsortio. Sic enī  
lecta dñm cōplacare noscunt offerentes ei p̄uū libamina  
peccatorū splendore ueri luminis resouentes nullis illecebris  
illudent. nullis fr̄atū stimulis corda p̄cellant. nullis no  
p̄missis m̄tib; ammuant sed ut di speculū se subiectos uite n̄  
p̄bitatis exhibeant. hinc sibi dñm p̄spicere inueniunt madu  
na de qua poterit hostis infidia eis nocendo surripi. Et enī  
p̄sto dñi aduocorū. cuncta fugat spiritū malignorū ad

PLATE IV.

B.M.Cotton Claudius A.iii. f.9°.

- a) End of letter of Sergius I to English kings;  
Boehner, Fälschungen, 5.
- b) Privilege of Pope Paschal II.

doctorum meruerit ascribi. Porro uos gens sc̃a. geñ decañ popl̃ adq̃f̃a  
 onis. filii lucis. stirps regia. fidi p̃pago. ac incrementa uirtutū. gaudece  
 in dño & exultate qđ uiri n̄ immemor studii egregi ac p̃m̃ aploꝝ pe  
 trus fidei firmissima petra. dū m̃os ac c̃scientie censu letat̃. nominū  
 qđq; <sup>aroy</sup> r̃m̃iserit & agnoscat. Confidim̃ nempe qđ & aditū regni celestis  
 iplac. qđ tantū m̃ ceteras gentes dō auspice p̃ polleat fauorē t̃alre  
 dignitatis. Et uos q̃ dilectissimi ac xp̃ianissimi filii ei. uob̃ aucto  
 ritate iplia collatū antistatē s̃eruoalouu cant̃ sedis p̃sule.  
 totq; britannie regionis p̃mū pontifice alacri pectore m̃teq; de  
 uota suscipite. scientes qđ mercede p̃ph̃e recipiet si q̃s hunc ut p̃ph̃e  
 t̃a. aspiciat. Et si fortan qđ absit. fastu q̃sqm̃ p̃siliat. n̄ eū sed aq̃  
 missus est iuxta uocē dñicā spernens. absq; ullo adminiculo c̃de  
 nabit̃. Procul q̃. auob̃ longe q; talis absistat infanda temeritas  
 ne dñam hostis antiq̃ mobediencie facie <sup>in uob̃</sup> inuenia. x. q̃s sc̃a dioc̃c̃a  
 in gremio filioꝝ adoptionis sociare dignata est. Optam̃ autē ut  
 solita miseric̃dia dñs nr̃ ihs. xps̃ faciat uos inoffensibile ministeri  
 ac regni culminis honore inexamine futuri iudicii reformari

**P**ascal p̃s̃ seruus seruoz di. uenerabili fr̃i. dyseflow cantuariensi ep̃o. sal̃.  
 & iplie i bened̃. Fr̃mitas tuę p̃tulationib; nos annuere. tuę sapientie  
 & religionis psuadet auctoritas. Quondā enī in l̃t̃is ab iplia ē sede  
 directis cantuariensis eccl̃e p̃matū ita ē plenū c̃cessim̃. sic a tuis  
ēstat p̃decessorib; fuisse possessū. H̃c autē petitionib; tuis annuen  
 tes. uā ē quā tuis legitimis successorib; eundē p̃matū. & q̃cqd di  
 gnitatis seu potestatis eidē sc̃e cantuariensi seu dorobernensi eccl̃e  
p̃m̃te cognoscat l̃t̃is p̃sentib; c̃firmam̃. sic atēporib; <sup>7a</sup>  
 beati augustini p̃decessores tuos habuisse iplie sedis au  
 ctoritatem c̃statere. Dat̃ lat̃am. xvi. kl̃ dec̃. iudictione. xii.

PLATE V.

B.M.Cotton Faustina B.vi. f.95 (94).

Privilege of Pope Boniface V to Archbishop  
Justus; Boehmer, Fälschungen, 2.

omni ad uere agnitionis uiam esse correctū: dñi onnipotentē uia lau  
 rum. q̄ si non in his sacramētis uirg: laboris fructū n̄ deseruit. sicut  
 de p̄dicatorib' euangelii ueracit̄ repromisit. Ecce ego uobiscū sū omnib' 4  
 reb' usq: ad cōsumationē seculi. Multa est de m̄tia ap̄d dñm. multa est  
 nob' demonstrata. cū ap̄iantē corda barbararū gentiū ad suscipi  
 endū p̄dicationis uirē sigillare misterii. Vt cū p̄ficerent: uirīs me  
 ritū eorū ē saluatio p̄p̄mata. dñō dicente. q̄ p̄seuerauerit usq: in finē  
 saluus erit. Vt alibi. cōsummati op̄is uob' merces a retributore om̄iū  
 moy dñō tribuet̄. Cognoui siquidē in uirīs sillab. ut scē recordato  
 rē p̄decessor n̄r gregori' cōstituit augustino & omib' successorib' suis  
 posterū. metropolitanā & p̄m̄tiam sedē inuicem dorouerna.  
 n̄ capit totū gentis angloꝝ adieb' paganorū habet̄. Ac n̄ ū p̄ ueda  
 tione ihu xpi quē origo & caput. xp̄ianitatis eadē ciuitas exaltatur.  
 orthodoxa fides quē ē radix nobilissima ibidē collocat̄. ut ex illa  
 gēte uberrimū fructū boni op̄is ad pabulū cēlestis patrie om̄is unū  
 in metiri queant. Quā felix illa ciuitas. quē meruit in se. xp̄m habito  
 habere. expulsis antiq' hostib' insidib'. Felix illa ciuitas. felix & tota gēti  
 illorū sup̄na misēdia uisitare n̄ dedignata sit. q̄ ante mundi creati  
 ōē p̄destinauerat sibi sociare. Quā er̄re absit ab om̄i xp̄iano ut xilla  
 uitate dorouerna aliqd̄ minuat. aut malud mutetur nē ut f̄it  
 porib' que a p̄decessore n̄ro dōno papa gregorio statuta sūt. q̄m res hu  
 ane q̄ssent. Sed magis ex auctoritate beati petri ap̄loꝝ p̄ncipis id  
 sū p̄cipientes firman̄. ut in dorouerna ciuitate sēp in posterum  
 metropolitan' totū britannię loc' habeat̄. om̄isq: p̄uincie regni angloꝝ  
 p̄fati loci metropolitanę ecclē subiciant̄. immutata p̄petua sta  
 bilitate decernim'. Hanc autē ecclā ut pote specialit̄ cōstituentē sub po  
 state & ciuitatione scē romane ecclēsi q̄ conat' fuerit imminuere.  
 p̄ de ecclē potestatis iure q̄cquā abstulerit: auferat eū d̄s de libro  
 r̄. sciaturq: se sub anathematis uinctis eē nodatū. N̄te in columē cu  
 iat reuerentissime fr̄.

PLATE VI.

B.M.Cotton Faustina B.vi. f.98 (97).

Privilege of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop Theodore;  
Boehmer, Fälschungen, 4.

italianus papa. Theodoro in epō doxoberanij. Dilectissimo frī theodoro. italian' ep̄s  
 seruus seruorū dī. Int' plurima que nob' p' uas' illib' intimari uulisti. cognouim' etiam  
 desiderū ur̄m p' confirmatione diocesis que tūc subiacet dicam. q̄a in omnib' ex  
 nr̄o apliq' auctoritatis p' uilegio splendescere desideras. Nos u' nr̄e petitioni annuente'  
 q' ēgrue pastoralis sollicitudine. circa eccl'as dī que a p̄cis tēporib' ab hac aplica sede  
 statuta intelligim': inrefragabili ratione uolum' ut sicut a nob'. ita & a nr̄is succes  
 sorib' p'petua stabilitate muniant'. Unde nob' uisū ē te exortari. ac imp̄senti cōm  
 dare tūc sagacissime scitaci om̄s eccl'as in insula britannie positas. Omnia g' que a s̄co  
 gregorio p'decessore nr̄o augustino sinello suo statuta s̄ atq; firmata. u' etiā p'  
 sacri uisū palli cēssa: nos ē in eū cōcedim'. & dorouernā ciuitatē ubi p̄mitas p're  
 uelationē ihu xpi dñi nr̄i fides catholica scdm institutionē sacrorū canonū suscepta  
 est: habeto. Ex auctoritatē autē beati petri ap̄loy p̄ncipis. cui a dño dō potestas data  
 est ligandi atq; soluendi in celo & in tēra. nos licet immeriti eiusdē beati petri cla  
 uigē regni celoy uicē tenentes. ē theodore tuisq; successorib' si cūi abolicanis  
 tēporib' fuerit ēdonata. ita in p'petuū in ipsa tua metropolitana sede que fida est  
 mentate dorouernā. immutata cēcedim' detrimenda. Si q'sū qd' n' optam' ē hanc  
 nr̄e apli diffinitionis p' uilegi auctoritatē uenire tēpauerit: si q'dē ep̄s u' p̄br  
 aut diacon' fuerit: ex hac aplica auctoritate statim' atq; decernim' ut ep̄s ordine  
 p̄sularis careat. & p̄br u' diacon' se nouerint a suis ordinib' deiectos. Ex numero autē  
 laicorū cā ex regib' quā p̄ncipib'. siue magna u' parua p̄sona fuerit: sciat se alienū a  
 participatione corporis dñi nr̄i ihu xpi. Hanc autē p' uilegi paginā suffulta aucto  
 ritate beati petri. ap̄loy p̄ncipis cui in ministerio fungim'. ē theodore tuisq; successo  
 rib' in p'petuū obtinenda delegam'. Vt te in uoluntē custodiat dilectissime fr̄.

Gregorius. n. om̄ib' ep̄is anglie. DE TAT WYMO AN EP̄O DOXOBERANIE. Gregorius  
 ep̄s seruus seruorū dī. ep̄s anglie salutē & aplicā benedictionē. Vt om̄iporū uisū unūse  
 pietatis magnitudinē collaudam'. q' hūc inuictatū glām sic dilatare dignat' ē: ut in  
 om̄iē tēra exuerit iāson' p̄dicatoy suoy. & in finib' tēre uerba eoy. Cui in effabili  
 pietatis grā sic noscim' p̄creari ita q'q; sum' adoptati. sc̄s regenerationis portantes mi  
 steriū in sp̄e gl'e filioy dei. p' ihm xpin dñm nr̄m. Reuerenti itaq; uir' fr̄s km̄