The Old English Bede: A New Source for the F-Version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

The F-version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or 'Domitian Bilingual', was compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury thirty-five or so years after the Norman Conquest, around 1100.[1] As its alternative name suggests, it is bilingual, with each annal given first in English, then in Latin. It is based on a text of the Chronicle similar to that which underlies the Peterborough (or 'E') version, but its compiler also used a range of other sources, including other versions of the Chronicle, other sets of annals, and charters from the Christ Church archives.[2] The purpose of this article is to show that he also used the Old English Bede and to outline the broader implications of this for our understanding of his chronicle.

The annal that uses the Old English Bede is for 995, which, with 870, is one of a pair of spurious annals the compiler of F added to his chronicle in an attempt to demonstrate that Christ Church's status as a cathedral staffed by monks, an arrangement common in England but unusual in an international context and thus potentially liable to reform by the new Norman elites, was dictated by Pope Gregory, implemented by St Augustine of Canterbury and, with the exception of a brief hiatus, current throughout Christ Church's history.[3] Annal 870 describes the circumstances under which this hiatus began; annal 995 how Archbishop Ælfric brought it to an end. Appointed by King Æthelred and his witan, Ælfric, a very wise man, travelled to Canterbury, only to be met by clerics, the class of person most odious to him. By implication aghast, Ælfric immediately sent for the wisest men he knew and asked them to testify how things had been in the days of their forefathers. The memory of those forefathers turned out to reach all the way back to the Augustinian mission in the sixth century, and, drawing on their recollection of this, the wise men explained how Augustine had established the chapter as monastic, and how it remained so through the reigns of fifteen subsequent archbishops and was interrupted in the time of Archbishop Ceolnoth only because a serious plague severely reduced the number of monks and left them unable to perform the necessary services, requiring them to take on clerics to assist them, as annal 870 separately narrates. Those clerics they now urged Ælfric to expel. King Æthelred suggested seeking papal approval before doing so, a mission the clerics attempted to forestall by sending their own embassy to bribe the pope. This was unsuccessful, and Ælfric, having been received with great honour, obtained the pope's blessing for his plan and, on his return, successfully implemented it.

Bede gave seven chapters of Book I of his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* to narrating how Augustine sent two of his followers to Rome to notify Pope Gregory of the conversion of the English and his own appointment as bishop, a mission they probably undertook in late 600 or early 601.[4] These chapters principally consist of transcripts of six letters, the majority dated July 601, written by Pope Gregory and given to the messengers to deliver as they returned from Rome. However, with the exception of the Gregory's famous responses to nine of Augustine's theological questions, the *Libellus Responsionum*, these were omitted from the Old English Bede, which preserves only the brief connecting passages which Bede added to place the letters in the context of Augustine's activities in Kent.[5] It is the Old English Bede's abridged version that provides the framework and wording for most of the testimony the wise men give about the arrangements Augustine made for the organisation of Christ Church in annal 995 of the Domitian Bilingual, though as we shall see, the substance of these arrangements is largely the invention of the compiler of the F-version. To my knowledge, the annal's use of the Old English Bede has not been noted before.[6]

Before presenting detailed correspondences between the Old English Bede and the annal, it is necessary to say something about the preservation of the text of the latter. The F-version of the Chronicle survives only in a single manuscript, almost certainly its compiler's autograph, replete with corrections, cancellations and belated insertions, which are not always easy to read.[7] Annal 995, which is almost entirely a late addition, is particularly challenging, with the English running into the side and lower margins of fol. 61r and onto an additional leaf (fol. 60), which is at present bound so that the text runs perpendicular to that of the rest of the manuscript, and the Latin occuping the verso of this inserted leaf, before running back onto the margin of the recto. A portion of the text at the bottom of fol. 61r, comprising part of the wise men's testimony, has been treated with a chemical and is now essentially illegible; Baker, the F-version's most recent editor, was therefore forced to rely here on the testimony of three-nineteenth-century editors, Price, Thorpe and Plummer.[8] It is possible, moreover, that there was once a second additional leaf containing text from the English portion of the annal, belonging between that on fol. 61r and that on fol. 60r. Given how uncertain the text of the passage under discussion is, I will therefore present the evidence for its reliance on the Old English Bede sentence by sentence.

The wise men begin their testimony to Archbishop Ælfric by describing how Augustine began work on a church in Canterbury (passages in square brackets are now illegible in the manuscript and printed by Baker on the authority of nineteenth-century

editions; asterisks indicate lacunae where the text is now unrecoverable; parallels to the Old English Bede are underlined, with straight underlining indicating a verbatim correspondence and wavy underlining a close similarity):

> Ða þa Agustinus [þone biscopstol fe]nge hæfde on þare burh, þa was [heafodburh ealles þes cinge]s rice Ægelberhtes, swa hit ys [to rædon on Ystoria Anglorum, þa ongan he setl] wyrcan [be þes cinges fultume *** on ealdan Romaniscan wearde onginnon].

> When Augustine had taken the episcopal throne in that city, which was the capital of King Æthelberht's whole kingdom, just as it can be read in the *Historia Anglorum*, then he began to build a residence with the king's help *** in old Roman [work] [it] was begun.[9]

This seems to derive from the first sentence of Book I, chapter 17 of the Old English Bede (p. 90, lines 13-6; parallels to annal 995 are underlined):

> Ond ða Sanctus Agustinus se biscop sona, þæs þe he þæm biscopseðle onfeng in þære cynelecan byrg, ða edneowade 7 worhte mid cyninges fultome þa cirican, þe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde Romanisce weorce geworhte beon.

> And then St Augustine the bishop, as soon as he had taken the episcopal throne in the royal city, renovated and built with the king's help his church which he learned had been built many years earlier by ancient Roman labour.

The sentence from the Old English Bede continues by explaining that Augustine consecrated the church and established a residence there for himself and his successors; these clauses are used later in annal 995. The annal may also have used the Old English Bede for its explanation that Canterbury was 'was [heafodburh ealles þes cinge]s rice Ægelberhtes' since it describes King Æthelberht giving Augustine 'wunenesse and stowe in Cantwara byrig, seo wæs ealles his rices ealdorburg' in Book I, Chapter 14 (p. 60, lines 11-12). The lacuna between 'fultume' and 'on' in annal 995 can only have been small: Thorpe prints three dots; Plummer five.[10] The equivalent sentence in the Latin annal originally read 'inuenit ibi quoddam opus inceptum Romano opere, quod, auxiliante rege, statuit perficere' ('he found there a certain construction begun in Roman workmanship, which, with the help of the king, he decided to finish').[11] It is therefore tempting to take 'onginnon' as a past participle, assume the early editors misread 'weorce' as 'wearde', see 'on ealdan Romaniscan wearde onginnon' as an adjectival clause modifying 'setl', and conjecture that the word no longer legible between 'fultume' and 'on' was 'þær', paralleling the 'ibi' of the Latin, to read the final part of the sentence as 'þa ongan he setl wyrcan be þes cinges fultume þær on ealdan

Romaniscan weorce onginnon' ('then he began to construct a residence, begun on old Roman work, with the king's help there').[12]

How the annal continued after 'on ealdan Romaniscan wearde onginnon' is no longer legible. Price, Thorpe and Plummer both read the next word as beginning 'sa' but could decipher nothing else until the text resumed '7 forþ to sprytanne' at the top of the inserted fol. 60. Thorpe represented the lacuna with no less than seventeen dots, Price with three and Plummer just two. Baker suggests whatever text is missing 'has been lost at the bottom of the folio due to trimming by a binder'.[13] The amount lost may however be more extensive than this implies, encompassing a second inserted leaf, since the corresponding Latin annal has almost 130 words with no parallel in the English, describing how King Æthelberht sought counsel from Augustine and his advisors about whether he should staff the church with monks or clerics, how they suggested seeking Pope Gregory's guidance and how he rejoiced when Æthelberht's messengers and Augustine's monks arrived. There is no clause among these sentences that corresponds in any obvious way with '7 forþ to sprytanne'.

After '7 forþ to sprytanne', the English annal continues:

> On þan geferscipe wæran ða fyrmestan: Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufianus. Be þysan sende s[e eadi]g[a papa] þone pallium \[   ]y[   ]/ 7 ðarto gewrit 7 tacnunge, hu he biscopas halgian 7 on hwylcum stowe on Britane hi settan scolde, 7 þan cinge Æ[ðelberhte] he sende gewrita 7 manega woruldgiua on mistlicum ðingum.

> Foremost among that fellowship were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufianus. Through them the blessed Pope sent the pallium (*unrecoverable interlineation*) and with it a letter and instructions how he should consecrate bishops and in which places in Britain he should establish them. And to Æthelberht the king he sent letters and many different kinds of worldly gifts.

This is taken from the end of Book 1, Chapter 16 of the Old English Bede (p. 88, line 28 – p. 90, line 12):

> Swelce Agustinus heht him eac onbeodan, þætte her wære micel rip onweard 7 fea worhton; ond he ða sende mid þæm foresprecenan ærendwrecan him maran fultom to godcundre lare. In þæm wæron þa ærestan 7 þa mæstan Mellitus 7 Iustus 7 Paulinus 7 Ruffianus; ond þurh heo sende gemænelice þa þing all, þa ðe to cirican bigonge 7 þegnunge nedþearflecu wæron, huslfatu 7 wigbedhrægl 7 circan frætwednes 7 biscopgegyrlan 7 diacongegyrlan, swylce eac þara apostola 7 haligra martira reliquias 7 monige bec. Sende eac swylce Agustine þæm biscope pallium 7 gewrit, in þam he getacnode, hu he sceolde oðre biscopas halgian 7 on hwylcum stowum settan in Breotone. Sende eac swilce se eadiga papa in þa ilcan tid Gregorius Æþelberhte cyninge ærendgewrit somed 7 woruldgife monige in missenlicum mægwlitum: wolde eac þone cyning

swilce mid þissum welwilendlicum aarum wuldrigan, þæm þe he ðæs heofonlican rices wuldor mid his gewinne 7 mid his lare geornnesse openede 7 cyðde.

Augustine also commanded them [*scil.* the messengers] to announce to him [*scil.* Pope Gregory], that here [in England] there was a large harvest and few workers; and he [*scil.* Pope Gregory] then sent with the aforementioned messengers to him [*scil.* Augustine] greater help for spiritual teaching. The first and greatest amongst these were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Ruffianus, and with them collectively he sent all the things which were necessary to the staffing and service of a church, sacramental vessels, altar coverings, church ornaments, episcopal and diaconal garments, as well as relics of the apostles and of holy martyrs and many books. He sent also to Augustine the bishop a pallium and a letter, in which he indicated how he should consecrate other bishops and in which places he should establish them in Britain. The blessed pope Gregory sent also at the same time to King Æthelberht a letter together with many secular gifts of various types: he wanted also to honour the king with these benevolent gifts, to whom with his effort and with his zeal for teaching he manifested and made known the glory of heavenly kingdom.

The Old English Bede's identification as the source of this passage may help resolve two difficulties: what sprouted forth and the reading of the word interlined after 'pallium'. *Spryttan* seems largely to have been used of trees and plants in Old and Middle English, suggesting its appearance in annal 995 may have been inspired by the natural imagery of the plenteous harvest from the first sentence of the corresponding passage in the Old English Bede and that it is Christianity which is is sprouting forth.[14] Baker reports the insertion after 'pallium' is about ten letters long, with only one letter, a 'y', still visible.[15] Plummer noted 'something interlined here. þ is erce (?)'; neither Price nor Thorpe seem to have noticed it.[16] In light of the passage's reliance on the Old English Bede, there is a strong chance the original reading was 'eac swylce'.

The annal then describes how Gregory commanded that Augustine should consecrate the church he had restored and establish a residence there for himself and his followers, staffing it with monks:

And þa cyrican þe hi gegearcod [hæ]f[dan] he het hal[gian on] Drihtnes naman hælendes Cristes 7 sancta Marian 7 him sylfum þar eardungstowe sette 7 his æfterfiligendum eallan, 7 þæt he s[cold]e ðarinnan settan þas ylcan hades menn þa he þyder to lande sende 7 þa he sylf wæs, 7 eac þæt ælc [oþer] biscop s[co]lde beo[n mu]nechades mann þe ðone arcebiscopstol gesæte on Cantwarebyri, 7 þæt scolde beon æfre gehealdan be Godes [leaf]e 7 bletsunge 7 be sanctus Petrus 7 be ealra þa æfter him coman.

And the church which they had prepared he ordered to be consecrated in the names of the Lord, Christ the saviour and St Mary and ordered that he establish a dwelling place there for himself and

> for all his successors and that he should therein set men of the same order as he [*scil.* Pope Gregory] had sent there to that land and which he himself was, and also that each other bishop who occupied the archiepiscopal throne in Canterbury should be a man of the monastic order, and that [principle] should always be maintained with God's permission and blessing, and with that of St Peter and of all those [popes] who should come after him.

The first two clauses are taken from the concluding words of the sentence in Book 1, Chapter 17 of the Old English Bede that was the source for the beginning of the wise men's testimony. There they describe what Augustine did, not what Gregory ordered him to do (p. 90, lines 16-18):

> Ond þa in usses Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes noman gehalgode; ond he þær him seolfum eardungstowe gesette 7 eallum his æfterfylgendum.

> And [he] consecrated it then in the name of the Lord, Christ our Saviour; and he there established a residence for himself and all his successors.

Gregory's command that Augustine should arrange for monks to staff the church and that this arrangement should persist in perpetuity is the invention of the compiler of the F-version of the Chronicle and is not found in the Old English Bede or its Latin source.

The wise men's testimony concludes:

> Ða þe[o]s sand angean com to Ægelberhte cinge 7 to Ag[ustine], hi wurðan \ða/ swyðe bliþe ðurh swilce wissunge. And se arcebiscop þa halgode þæt mynster on Cristes naman 7 sancte [Marian on þan] dæge þe ys gecweden twegra martira mæssadæi, Primi et Feliciani, 7 þar binnan munecas gelogode e[al] swa [sancte] Gregorius bebead, 7 hi Godes ðeowdom clænlice beeodan, 7 man nam of þan ylcan munecan biscopas to gehwylcre stowe swa þu ræddan miht on Ystoria Anglorum.

> When this embassy came back again to King Æthelberht and Augustine, they were then very happy for such advice. And the archbishop then consecrated the monastery in the name of Christ and St Mary on the day which is known as the feast day of the two martyrs, Primus and Felicianus, and there within he lodged monks just as St Gregory comanded, and they chastely went about God's business, and bishops of that place were taken from among the same monks, just as you can read in the *Historia Anglorum*.

The appointment of the monks as bishops of other churches may owe a distant debt to Book 2, Chapter 3 of the Old English Bede (p. 104, lines 12-13), which records Augustine's conecration of Mellitus to London and Justus to Rochester, but its phrasing does not correspond to that of the annal. The evidence for the compiler of the F-version's use of the

end of chapter 16 and the beginning of chapter 17 of Book 1 of the Old English Bede is however very clear.

The idea that Augustine had at Gregory's orders staffed Christ Church with monks had been current at Christ Church from at least the middle of the first half of the eleventh century, when a bilingual diploma, probably spurious, was copied into one of the house's most prestigious manuscripts, 'The Coronation Gospels'.[17] This purported to record how King Æthelred, with Archbishop Ælfric's help, had expelled the clerics and reinstalled monks. The document is dated 1006, but this is apparently an error for 1002.[18] In it, King Æthelred is made to present his actions as reenacting provisions Gregory and Augustine had made:[19]

> ic ða swa dyde on Cristes cyrcean munecas gesette of ðære bysne ðe sanctus Augustinus hider tobrohte . þæt wæs þæt he on Cristes cyrcean be sanctus GREGORIUS hæse . 7 ðæs mæran cinges geðeahte 7 fultume ÆÞELBYRHTES . ða haligan munecas ðærinne gesette ðe he hider on eard mid him brohte . 7 ða munecas syððan ðurh hira haligan drohtnunga to biscopan gewurdan.

> I then thus caused monks to be established in Christ Church following the model which St Augustine brought here, when he, by St Gregory's command and by the counsel and help of the famous king, Æthelberht, established in Christ Church the holy monks which he brought with him here to this land and these monks afterwards through their holy way of life became bishops.

An alternative story was current soon after the Conquest when the monks forged a Bull of Pope Boniface IV (608-615), in which he authorised King Æthelberht's request for the establishment of a permanent habitation of monks living in the 'monastery' Augustine had established in Canterbury, by that stage ruled by his successor Laurence.[20] Both stories were known to William of Malmesbury when he completed his *Gesta pontificum* around 1125, but he preferred to believe that Pope Boniface had legislated for a monastic chapter and that it had remained monastic ever since.[21]

The F-scribe dramatically expanded the backstory for Æthelred's decision to remonasticise Christ Church, adding details of Ælfric's immediate revulsion at being greeted by clerics, his deliberation with the wise men who could testify to historical precedent and his consultation of Æthelred and then the Pope for approval, as well as the attempts of the clerics to forestall him. As he did when embedding other new material in his chronicle, the F-scribe placed the story in an annal that mentioned one of its protagonists, even if the event it described was not generally thought to have happened in that same year.[22] Here, as on those other occasions, he took the opportunity to augment the claims involved, most notably by

asserting that Gregory had mandated that future archbishops of Canterbury should be monks and inserting a slanderous tale about the clerics attempting to bribe the pope.[23] Most strikingly, he made the wise men attest that their evidence for Augustine's arrangement of the chapter at Christ Church was corroborated by the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[24] This seems to presuppose a reader who knew, at the very least, what the *Historia ecclesiastica* was, indeed one who knew the *Historia* well enough to recall that its first book contained a set of chapters detailing Gregory's instructions to Augustine about how he should arrange matters in Kent, but, at the same time, not one who knew it well enough to realise the claims made in the annal were false, or who would be both motivated and able to check.

The addition of annal 995 to the F-version of the Chronicle should be seen as part of the burgeoning use of the (Latin) *Historia ecclesiastica* during the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, particularly by local historians keen to demonstrate the antiquity of their houses.[25] Book I's account of the Gregorian mission and Augustine's time in Canterbury was a key touchstone for both Canterbury and York in the primacy controversy, with the letter of Gregory to Augustine regarding the respective status of the two archbishops that Bede quotes in Book I, Chapter 29, but which is omitted from the Old English Bede, a particularly totemic text.[26] The forger of a series of papal bulls in favour of St Augustine's Canterbury also made extensive use of Bede's text, including the immediately subsequent portion of Book I, Chapter 33 to that used by the F-scribe, which, having described Augustine's dedication of Christ Church went on to narrate his foundation of a monastery dedicated to Peter and Paul that would later become St Augustine's.[27] A particularly close historiographical if not historical parallel to the F-scribe's use of Bede comes in Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*, written between 1104 and 1115, when Symeon narrates the arrival of Durham's new bishop, William of St Carilef, at his see in 1081:[28]

> When William had by grace of God received the see of St Cuthbert … he found neither monks of his own order nor regular canons … So he asked the older and wiser men of the whole bishopric how matters had been arranged in the time of St Cuthbert, when the church was founded, and they replied that his episcopal see had been on the island of Lindisfarne, and that monks had reverently served him there both while he was alive and when he was in his grave. What they asserted tallied with the little book about his life [*scil.* Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*] and with the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

Whether this is what William actually did, or whether it was what Symeon thought he had done, it is clear evidence that the F-scribe's idea of how an ecclesiastic should approach reform was of a piece with other late-eleventh and early-twelfth-century writers.

What distinguishes the F-scribe's employment of the *Historia ecclesiastica* from its use by other historians of the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I is his primary reliance on its pre-Conquest English translation. He does not appear to have used the original Latin *Historia ecclesiastica* even for the Latin portion of annal 995, which appears instead to be a (sometimes adapted) translation of the narrative he had pieced together from the Old English Bede. Compare, for example, his description of the men, gifts and instructions Pope Gregory sent to Augustine and Æthelberht in the Latin half of the annal, with the corresponding description in the Latin Bede (*Historia ecclesiastica* I, xxix):

> Auditis itaque omnibus que a rege et Augustino mandata fuerant, statim remisit nuntios, cum quibus [ho]s uiros <u>misit</u> Augustino ut essent ei in adiutorium ad fidem Christi confirmandum: Mellitum, Iustum, Paulinum, Rufianum. Per istos etiam <u>misit</u> Augustino <u>pallium</u> [atque] in quo loco <u>deb</u>eret <u>episcopos</u> ordinare et ponere mandauit.

> Having heard therefore all the things which had been requested by the king and Augustine, he at once sent back the messengers, with whom he sent these men – Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufianus – to Augustine, so that they should be a help to him in converting people to faith in Christ. Through them he sent to Augustine a pallium and ordered in which place he should consecrate and place bishops.

> Praeterea idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo, quia suggesserat ei multam quidem sibi esse messem sed operarios paucos, <u>misit</u> cum praefatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac Verbi ministros, in quibus primi et praecipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus […] <u>Misit</u> etiam litteras, in quibus significat se ei <u>pallium</u> direxisse, simul et insinuant, qualiter <u>episcopos</u> in Britannia constituere <u>deb</u>uisset.

> Since Bishop Augustine had advised him that the harvest was great and the workers were few, Pope Gregory sent more colleagues and ministers of the word together with his messengers. First and foremost among these were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus […] He also sent a letter in which he announced that he had despatched the pallium to him and at the same time directed how he should organize the bishops in Britain.

The few verbatim correspondences encompass only the commonest words, and the other parts of the wise men's testimony in the Latin half of annal 995 show no substantial debts to Bede's original Latin. This privileging of the English version of the source over its Latin runs contrary to the F-scribe's practice elsewhere in his Chronicle, where he translated some of the

English annals he found in his exemplar into Latin with reference to the Latin text of the chronological summary at the end of Bede's work (*Historia ecclesiastica* V, xxiv, omitted from the Old English Bede).[29] Why he used the English and not the Latin in annal 995 is not absolutely clear. The rest of the annal, as well as annals like 694 with its translation of a long Latin document, show no shyness or reluctance to undertake new composition in English, so it is unlikely he needed the Old English Bede as a crutch. Perhaps it was the Old English Bede's significant streamlining of the original Latin which made its narrative so appealing, in particular its omission of the text of Gregory's actual letter to Augustine, which in reality contained not instructions that Christ Church should be staffed by monks but guidelines for the relationship between the southern archbishopric and the new archbishopric Gregory hoped would be established in York, including statements not obviously compatible with the Canterbury monks' insistence that their archbishop had permanent primacy over York.[30]

The F-scribe's use of the Old English Bede in annal 995 suggests it is likely a copy was available at Christ Church Canterbury around 1100. Surviving manuscripts of the Old English Bede are associated with Exeter, Worcester and Thorney, with the now fragmentary Otho manuscript produced at Winchester, but elsewhere in Hampshire in the library of the Augustinian Priory of Southwick by the thirteenth century and presumably acquired by its canons not long after the house's foundation at Portchester in 1133 or move to Southwick a decade or two later.[31] A copy was also at Burton around 1175, but this does not survive.[32] Evidence has recently been offered for another lost copy, available at Bury in the second half of the twelfth century.[33] Prior Eastry's fourteenth-century catalogue of the Christ Church library lists among the 'libri anglici' a 'cronica secundum Bedam' which James thought was a copy of the Old English Bede, but the identification must be considered unlikely given that no other library catalogue describes the *Historia ecclesiastica*, which is almost invariably 'historia Anglorum' or 'de gestis Anglorum', in this way.[34] The compiler of the F-version's use of the Old English Bede corroborates the Old English Bede was available at Christ Church around 1100, even if it is not the book catalogued by Eastry. The F-scribe's text, moreover, does not seem to have been a copy of any of the surviving manuscripts, showing affiliations with Tanner 10 against the tradition and with other manuscripts against Tanner 10.[35]

The F-scribe's handling of the Old English Bede offers a valuable insight into how post-Conquest readers coped with early, Anglian texts like the Old English Bede. There is no sign he had any difficulty understanding it, and he successfully modernises several words that

were likely obsolescent around 1100, for instance *biscopseðl*, 'episcopal seat' and (if he did indeed use Book I, Chapter 13 for the detail that Canterbury was Æthelberht's capital) *ealdorburg*, 'capital city'.[36] He often does this by curtailing compounds, for instance abridging 'ærendgewrit' (p. 90, line 8) to 'gewrita'. How much he relied on the Latin *Historia ecclesiastica*, to which we know he had access, to help him understand the Old English is unclear. The only word that seems to have given him any real difficulty is the Anglianism *mægwlit*, 'appearance, form, species', used in the Old English Bede to describe the many secular gifts of various forms Gregory sent to King Æthelberht. In annal 995 these are, blandly, 'manega woruldgiua on mistlicum ðingum', and it may be that he struggled to give a more precise equivalent because the Old English Bede's phrase partly conflates two separate clauses in the Latin, making it difficult for him to align them.[37] But, overall, his competent handling of a potentially difficult text is notable.

This article has shown that the Old English Bede should be added to the list of sources used by the compiler of the F-version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. He was working at Canterbury thirty-five years after the Norman Conquest. Though he was assembling a chronicle of the pre-Conquest past on the basis of a pre-Conquest source, and in annal 995 using another pre-Conquest source, the Old English Bede, he was at the same time employing other sources not used in pre-Conquest historical writing, like the Norman Annals and Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*, but which became increasingly important in the twelfth century.[38] I have suggested his use of Bede in annal 995 should be seen as part of a trend among writers in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I to draw on Bede to demonstrate the antiquity and ancient privileges of their houses. What distinguishes the compiler of the F-version from the other participants in this movement is that he used the *Historia ecclesiastica* through its pre-Conquest English translation and attempted to defend the rights of his house not only through Latin, but also through English. His work is therefore yet further evidence of the vitality of English language writing after the Norman Conquest.

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[1] London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian viii, fols. 30-70; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 8, *MS F* ed. Peter S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), with discussion of the date pp. lxxvi-ix. All translations from this text are mine.

[2] Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxix-xxx (use of an exemplar similar to that underlying 'E'), xxxix-lxii (other sources).

[3] In his *Historia novorum* (ed. Martin Rule, RS 81 (London, 1884), pp. 18-9, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London, 1964), p. 19), on which he began work in the 1090s, the Christ Church monk Eadmer notes that Wakelin, bishop of Winchester from 1070 to 1098, planned to replace the monks staffing his cathedral with secular canons, one of several such initiatives 'in Lanfranc's days and about that same time'.

[4] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), I, xxvii-xxxiii.

[5] *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* ed. Thomas Miller, EETS, os, 95-6 (London, 1890-1), I, 62-92. Subsequent citations are by page and line number and incorporated in the main text; all translations are mine.

[6] Francis P. Magoun, Jr., '*Annales Domitiani latini*: an edition', *Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (1947), 235-95 (pp. 242-3) seems to imply the source of the annal is Æthelred's bilingual foundation charter for Christ Church, discussed in more detail below. Baker (*MS F*, p. lxii) describes annal 995 as a 'distorted treatment of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 27 [*scil.* the *Libellus responsionum*]'. Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), p. 261 apparently sees the annal similarly, as an 'interpretation of the Gregorian *responsio* on how Augustine should live with his clergy', that is the first question answered in the *Libellus responsionum*.

[7] For the manuscript, see Baker, *MS F*, pp. xv-xvi. The print facsimile (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 1, *Facsimile of MS F: The Domitian Bilingual* ed. David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge, 1995)) has largely been superseded by the British Library's new online facsimile (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Domitian_A_VIII).

[8] Richard Price, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Monumenta historica Britannica*, ed. Henry Petrie (London, 1848), pp. 291-466 (pp. 403-406); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* ed. Benjamin Thorpe, RS 77, 2 vols. (London, 1861), I, 244-7; *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892), I, 128-31.

[9] The translation of this fragment is difficult; contrast *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. Michael Swanton (London, 1996), p. 128: 'they initiated in an old Roman defence'. A possible emendation is discussed below.

[10] Price, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 404 by contrast represents the lacuna as occuring between 'on' and 'ealdan', marking it with fourteen dots.

[11] Baker, *MS F*, p. 93 n. 27, reports that 'invenit ibi' was subsequently altered to 'ubi inuenit'.

[12] Baker, *ASC F*, p. xciii notes that the text features 'much interchangeability among the older verb endings *-on*, *-an*, *-en*, and (occasionally) *-e*'.

[13] Baker, *ASC F*, p. 90 n. 14.

[14] Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), *s.v.* 'spryttan'; *MED s.v.* 'spritten', v.(1). The ultimate source of Bede's image is Christ's words to his disciples in Mt 9: 37 and Lk 10:2.

[15] Baker, *MS. F*, p. 90 n. 15.

[16] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* ed. Plummer, I, 128 n. 2.

[17] London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols 2r-6r. The diploma is no. 914 in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) and edited by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, 2 vols. (London, 2013), II, 1019-34, with discussion of the reasons for doubting its authenticity on p. 1027.

[18] Brooks and Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church*, II, 1030.

[19] Translation mine. In the Latin version of the diploma, the proem has King Æthelred enriching the endowment of the church and monks newly located there, in part as a consequence of being reminded by his subordinates (*satrapis*) that Augustine, by order of Pope Gregory and with the help of King Æthelberht, had established monks there.

[20] Phillip Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1885-8), no. 1998. For its forgery, see Heinrich Boehmer, *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury* (Leipzig, 1902), no. 1 and for further discussion, Brooks and Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church*, I, 61-2, 93.

[21] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), I, xx, i-ii.

[22] Compare, for instance, annal 694, where the F-scribe augmented the record of the accession of Wihtred to the Kentish throne he inherited from his exemplar with details of a synod Wihtred held at Bapchild, putatively between 699 and 716.

[23] Thus in annal 694, it is asserted that King Wihtred had commanded that the the archbishop should be responsible for choosing new abbots, abbesses and bishops for all churches in Britain, a claim not found in the underlying document (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 22).

[24] The wise men begin their testimony by saying it is 'swa hit ys to rædon on Ystoria Anglorum', ending that it is 'swa þu ræddan miht on Ystoria Anglorum'.

[25] Antonia Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 397-426 (esp. pp. 404-12).

[26] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* ed. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979), no. 4, p. 55 (describing Archbishop Thomas's failed attempt to use the letter to support his case against the primacy at the Council of Westminster in 1072); Ralph d'Escures, *Epistola de iniuria sibi et ecclesiae Cantuariensis illata* in *The Historians of the Church of York* ed. James Raine, RS 71, 3 vols. (London, 1879-94), II, 228-251

(pp. 231-2) (letter addressed to Calixtus II in 1119, citing Gregory's letter as 'that most famous epistle'); *Chronica pontificum ecclesiae Eboracensis* (ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II, 312-87 (pp. 313-4) (mid-twelfth-century anonymous chronicle paraphrasing Gregory's letter as a 'privilegium').

[27] Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 183, 191, 202-4.

[28] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie* ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), IV, ii, and, for Symeon's use of Bede's *Historia*, p. lxviii.

[29] Baker, *MS F*, pp. lv-vi.

[30] For some evidence that the Old English Bede may have been felt to have independent textual authority to Bede's Latin in the middle of the twelfth century, see Mark Faulkner, 'Dublin, Trinity College, MS 492: a new witness to the Old English Bede and its twelfth-century context', *Anglia* 135 (2017), 274-90 (pp. 284-5).

[31] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 (provenance Exeter by the third quarter of the eleventh century); Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 3. 18 (produced at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 10 (at Thorney in the fourteenth century, if not before); London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. xi + Otho B. x, fols. 55, 58 and 62 + MS Additional 34652, fol. 2 (at Southwick in the thirteenth century, if not before). For these, see most recently Sharon Rowley, *The Old English Version of Bede's* Historia Ecclesiastica (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 15-35.

[32] *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* ed. Richard Sharpe et al. (London, 1996), B11.66b.

[33] Faulkner, 'Dublin, Trinity College, MS 492'.

[34] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 51, no. 313, and, for the identification, p. xxvii.

[35] The F-scribe's copy of the Old English Bede seems likely to have had Rufinus's name, like Tanner 10, as 'Ruffianus' (p. 88, line 32), where the other manuscripts, as well as Colgrave and Mynors' edition of the Latin *Historia*, have 'Rufinianus', but to have had 'on' for Anglian 'in' on several occasions (e. g. in 'in Breotone' (p. 90, line 6), 'in þære cynelecan byrg' (p. 90, line 14) and 'in usses Drihtnes … noman' (p. 90, lines 16-17)), with CCCC MS 41 and MS Kk 3. 18 against MS Tanner 10. It also seems likely his text had 'eallum his æfterfylgendum' (p. 90, line 18), with CCCC MS 41 and MS Tanner 10 against the other manuscripts, which omit 'eallum'.

[36] *DOE, s.v.* 'bisceop-setl, bisceopseld' (fifty occurences, but many in the Old English Bede) and *s.v.* 'ealdor-burh' (eight occurences). He preserves the rare, but semantically transparent, *woruldgifu*.

[37] The Latin has Gregory send 'dona in diuersis speciebus perplura' (I, xxxiii); the Old English Bede's 'woruldgife' (p. 90, line 8) seems to anticipate the Latin's subsequent allusion to the 'temporalibus … honoribus' with which Gregory seeks to glorify Æthelberht. These are present in the Old English Bede as 'welwilendlicum aarum' (p. 90, line 10), 'benevolent honours', but its injection of the sense of 'temporal' or 'secular' into the earlier phrase perhaps made it difficult for the F-scribe to construe. For *mægwlite* as an Anglianism, see Franz Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukasevangeliums* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 182-3.

[38] Baker, *MS F*, pp. l-liv, lvii.