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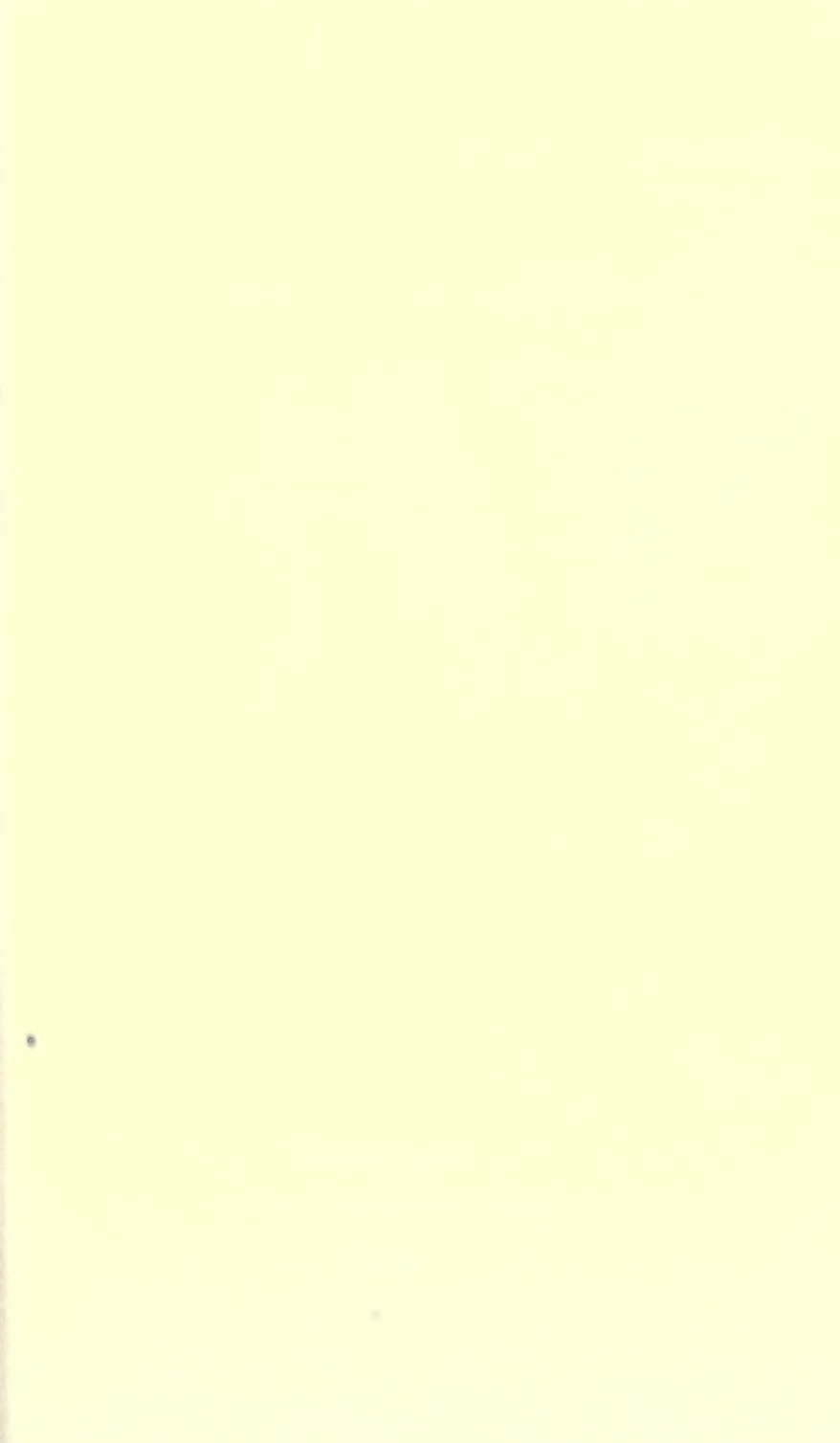
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SELECT

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

OF THE

NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE

**M**ORE than ten years ago Maitland called attention to the need of a satisfactory edition of Anglo-Saxon charters, "those numerous 'land-books' which must be re-edited if the first period of English history is ever to be well understood." Unfortunately, however, his appeal has not as yet met with any response.

Until facilities for a work of this magnitude are forthcoming something may be done by editions of selected texts. Hitherto very few of these documents have been published in a conveniently accessible form and with explanatory notes sufficient to make their contents intelligible; and it is no doubt largely due to this fact that their manifold interest is so little known. At the same time it has been shewn by *The Crawford Charters* (ed. Napier and Stevenson, Oxford, 1895) that a scholarly edition of even a small number of such texts is capable of rendering valuable assistance to the general study of the subject.

The twenty-three documents contained in this volume—most of which may be described as charters—cover a period of rather more than a century and a half, beginning from the early years of the ninth century. They are among the earliest English texts of their kind; for, owing to the fact that the written covenant was of foreign (ecclesiastical) origin, the earliest charters—unlike the laws—appear to have been regularly composed in Latin. Indeed we have very few, if any, genuine English charters of the seventh or eighth centuries—certainly none preserved in contemporary MSS.—and even in later times Latin charters are far more numerous. This remark however applies properly only to grants of land or privileges. Wills are usually in English, though we have no genuine specimens earlier than the ninth century.



Classified according to their character seven of these documents (I, III-VI, XVI, XXIII) are grants of estates or privileges (rents, etc.) made by kings or landowners. One (XVII) is a lease, another (VIII) a deed of exchange. Six (VII, XII-XV, XVIII) may perhaps best be described as records of negotiations, the last being in the form of a letter. Five (II, X, XI, XX, XXI) are wills, including those of two kings, Alfred and Eadred. One (XIX) is a deed of manumission. The two remaining (IX, XXII) are dedicatory inscriptions in MSS. of the Gospels, relating to their origin or history.

Apart from their historical importance these documents possess also considerable linguistic interest. Seven of them (I, II, IV, V, VII, IX, X) are written in the Kentish dialect, of which they are probably the earliest specimens; one (III) is in Mercian and one (XXII) in Northumbrian. The language of the rest is West Saxon, a dialect which seems eventually to have come into literary use in many parts of England. In certain cases however the texts which have come down to us are clearly derived from older ones with different linguistic characteristics. Thus VI and VIII shew evident traces of Kentish dialect, while Mercian features may be detected in XII-XV.

There can be little doubt that, with one possible exception (XVI), all these documents are genuine records. In twelve cases (I-V, VII, IX, X, XVIII, XIX, XXII, XXIII) either the original MSS. or contemporary copies have been preserved; the rest are known only from later, but fairly good, copies. It may be added that the Editor has spared no pains to obtain as accurate a text as possible. Except in two cases (IX and XXI) the MSS. have everywhere been submitted to careful and repeated examination, which has led to the correction of a number of erroneous readings found in previous editions.

H. MUNRO CHADWICK.

*October, 1914.*

## EDITOR'S NOTE

THE abbreviations found in the MSS have for the most part been reproduced in these texts. The symbol ꝥ is, however, expanded to *þæt* (except in x), and *ũ-* is written *-um*. The sign 7 has been retained wherever it occurs in the MSS. The punctuation has been modernised and capital letters have been introduced in accordance with modern usage. Letters which have been omitted in the MS, or which are no longer legible, are enclosed in [ ]; letters written above or below the line are enclosed in ` '. In passages where the text has been emended, the letters which have been supplied by the editor are printed in italics.

The editor desires to express her thanks to the staff of the University Library, Cambridge, to the staff of the British Museum, to the Librarian of Lambeth Palace, and to Mr C. W. Moule, late Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for the kindness and courtesy shewn to her during the progress of her work. She would like to take this opportunity of thanking the Council of Girton College for the Research Studentship which made this work possible. Her thanks are also due to the staff of Girton College for their kindly interest, and especially to Miss B. S. Phillpotts, Fellow of Somerville College, formerly Librarian of Girton College, for valuable suggestions and advice. She is also indebted to Mr M. D. Forbes, Fellow of Clare College, for collating the texts (III and XVIII) preserved



in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral; and to her father, Mr H. A. Harmer, for help in preparing the manuscript for press.

Above all, she wishes to express her indebtedness to Prof. Chadwick, to whose suggestion this work owes its inception and without whose help and guidance it could never have been completed. She has especially to thank Prof. Chadwick for help with translations, for much information embodied in the notes, and for extensive criticism and suggestions; also for reading the manuscript and the proofs, and for supplying the Preface.

Her thanks are also due to the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the publication of this book and to their staff for their great care and skill.

F. E. H.

*September, 1914.*

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### ABBREVIATIONS

O.E.T.=Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*.

D.B.=*Domesday Book*, ed. Sir H. Ellis. Published by the Record Commission, London, 1816.

Kemble=*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, London, 1839—1848.

Birch=*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. Walter de Gray Birch, 1885—93.

Earle=*Handbook to the Landcharters*, ed. Earle, 1888.

Thorpe=*Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1865.

Crawf. Ch.=*Crawford Charters*, ed. Napier & Stevenson: *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval & Modern Series*, Pt 7, 1895.

Dugdale=*Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Sir William Dugdale. The references are to the revised edition published in 1846 by J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel.

Wanley=*H. Wanlei Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium Catalogus Historico-Criticus*, 1705 (Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Sept. Thesaurus*, vol. II.).

Liebermann=*F. Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1898—1912.

Brit. Mus. Facs.=*Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E. A. Bond, 1873—1878.

Ordn. Sur. Facs.=*Ordnance Survey, Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, ed. W. B. Sanders, 1878—84.

Ducange=*Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. Ducange.

## I

GRANT OF LAND BY EARL OSWULF TO  
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

✠ Ic Osuulf aldormonn mid Godes gæfe ond Beornðryð min  
 gemecca sellað to Cantuarabyrg to Cristes cirican ðæt lond æt 5  
 Stanhamstede, xx swulunga, Gode allmehtgum 7 ðere halgon  
 gesomnungæ, fore hyhte 7 fore aedleane ðæs aecan 7 ðæs  
 towardon lifes 7 fore uncerra saula hela 7 uncerra bearna. Ond  
 mid micelre eadmodnisse biddað ðæt wit moten bion on ðem  
 gemanon ðe ðær Godes ðiowas siondan 7 ða menn ða ðær 10  
 hlafordas wæron 7 ðara monna ðe hiora lond to ðære cirican  
 saldon; ond ðættæ mon unce tide ymb tuelf monað mon  
 geueordia on godcundum godum 7 æc on aelmessan suæ mon  
 hiora doed.

Ic ðonne Uulfred mid Godes gæfe aŕc. eþis. ðas forecuae- 15  
 denan uuord fullia, 7 bebeode ðæt mon ymb tuelf monað hiora  
 tid boega ðus geueordia to anes daeges to Osuulfes tide ge  
 mid godcundum godum ge mid aelmessan ge aec mid higna  
 suesendum. Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle ymb  
 tuelf monað of Liminum, ðe ðis forecuaede'ne' lond to limped, 20  
 of ðæm ilcan londe æt Stanhamstede: CXX huaetenra hlafa  
 7 XXX clenra 7 án hrider dugunde 7 III scep 7 tua flicca  
 7 v goes 7 x hennfuglas 7 x pund caeses, gif hit fuguldaeg

I. The original MS. is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Aug. II. 79). A late transcript in MS. Lambeth, 1212, f. 406.

Facsimiles: *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E. A. Bond, 1873, I. pl. 15; W. Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie. Palaeografa*, XLIII. 1906, pl. 1.

Editions: Kemble (no. 226), Thorpe (p. 459), Earle (p. 79), Sweet (no. 37), Zupitza (*Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*, 1912, no. XII.), Birch (no. 330), Kluge (*Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, 1902, p. 16), MacLean (*Old and Middle English Reader*, 1908, no. VII.).

sie—gif hit ðonne festendæg sie, selle mon uuege cæsa, 7 fises  
 7 butran 7 aegera ðæt mon begeotan mæge—7 xxx ombra  
 godes uuelesces aloð, ðet limpeð to xv mittum, 7 mittan fulne  
 huniges odda tuegen uuines, suę hwaeder suae mon ðonne  
 5 begeotan mæge. Ond of higna gemenum godum ðær aet  
 ham, mon geselle cxx gesufra hlafa to aelmessan for hiora  
 saula suae mon aet hlaforda tidum doed. Ond ðas forecuedenan  
 suesenda all agefe mon ðem reogolwarde 7 he brytnię swæ  
 higum maest red sie 7 ðaem sawlum soelest. Aec mon ðæt  
 10 weax agæfe to cirican<sup>1</sup> 7 hiora sawlum nytt gedoe ðe hit man  
 fore doed. Aec ic bebeode minum aefterfylgendum ðe ðæt  
 lond hebben aet Burnan ðæt hiae simle ymb xii monað foran  
 to ðære tide gegeorwien ten hund hlafa 7 swae feola sufla; 7  
 ðæt mon gedele to aelmessan aet ðære tide fore mine sawle 7  
 15 Osuulfes 7 Beorndryðe 'aet Cristes cirican'; 7 him se reogol-  
 weord on byrg gebeode foran to hwonne sio tid sie.

Aec ic bidde higon ðette hie ðas godcundan god gedon aet  
 ðere tide fore hiora sawlum: ðæt eghwile messepriost gesinge  
 fore Osuulfes sawle twa messan, twa fore Beorndryðe sawle;  
 20 7 aeghwile diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle, twa for  
 hire; ond eghwile Godes diow gesinge twa fiftig fore his sawle,  
 twa fore hire; ðaette ge fore uueorolde sien geblitsade mid ðem  
 weoroldcundum godum 7 hiora saula mid ðem godcundum  
 godum. Aec ic biddo higon ðæt ge me gemynen aet ðere  
 25 tide mid suilce godcunde gode suilce iow cynlic dýnce—ic ðe  
 ðas gesettnesse sette gehueder for higna lufon ge ðeara saula  
 ðe haer beforan hiora namon auuritene siondon. Valete in  
 Domino.

*Endorsed in a nearly contemporary hand:*

30 þis is gesetnes [O]sulf[es 7] Biarndryðe

*In a hand of the 12th century, the date having been added  
 later:*

Anno DCCCVI Osulfus alderman dedit Stanhamstede ecclesie  
 Christi tempore Wlfredi archiepiscopi. Anglice.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ciricican*.



## II

## WILL OF THE REEVE ABBA

✠ Ic Abba geroefa cyðe 7 writan hate hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe æfter minum dæge.

Ærest ymb min lond þe ic hæbbe, 7 me God lah, 7 ic æt 5  
 minum hlafordum begæt, is min willa gif me God bearnes  
 unnan wille, ðæt hit foe to londe æfter me 7 his bruce mid  
 minum gemeccan; 7 sioððan swæ forð min cynn ða hwile þe  
 God wille ðæt ðeara ænig sie þe londes weorðe sie 7 land  
 gehaldan cunne. Gif me ðonne gifede sie, ðæt ic bearn begeot- 10  
 an ne mege, þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif ða  
 hwile ðe hia hit mid clennisse gehaldan wile. 7 min broðar  
 Alchhere hire fultume 7 þæt lond hire nytt gedoe; 7 him man  
 sælle an half swulung an Ciollandene to habbanne 7 to brucanne,  
 wið ðan ðe he ðy geornliocar hire ðearfa bega 7 bewiotige; 7 15  
 mon selle him to ðem londe III oxan 7 II cy 7 L scepa 7 ænne  
 horn. Gif min wiif ðonne hia nylle mid clennisse swæ gehal-  
 dan, 7 hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne, ðonne foen mine  
 megas to ðem londe 7 hire agefen hire agen. Gif hire ðonne  
 liofre sie (an)<sup>1</sup> mynster to gánganne oðða suð to faranne, ðonne 20  
 agefen hie twægen mine megas Alchhere 7 Aedelw(old)<sup>2</sup> hire  
 twa ðusenda 7 fon him to ðem londe; 7 ágefe mon to Liminge  
 L eawa 7 V cy fore hie. 7 mon selle to Folcanstane in mid  
 minum lice X oxan 7 X cy 7 C eawa 7 C swina 7 higum an-  
 sundran D pend', wið ðan ðe min wiif þær benuge innganges 25  
 swæ mid minum lice swæ sioððan yferran dogre swæ hwæder  
 swæ hire liofre sie. Gif higan ðonne oððe hlaford þæt nylle  
 hire mynsterlifes geunnan, oðða hia siolf nylle, 7 hire oðer ðing  
 liofre sie, þonne agefe mon ten hund pend' inn mid minum lice

II. Original MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Aug. II. 64).

Facsimile in Brit. Mus. *Facs.* II. 23.

Editions by Kemble (no. 235), Thorpe (p. 469), Earle (p. 108), Sweet (no. 41), Birch (no. 412), Kluge (p. 18).

<sup>1</sup> Sic transcript in B. M. *Facs.*; no longer visible in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Last three letters from B. M. transcript.

me wið legerstowe, 7 higum an sundran fif hund pend' fore mine sawle.

7 ic bidde 7 bebeode swælc monn se ðæt min lond hebbe ðæt he ælce gere agefe ðem higum æt Folcanstane L ambra  
 5 maltes 7 VI ambra gruta 7 III wega spices 7 ceses 7 CCCC hlafa  
 7 an hriðr 7 VI scep. 7 swælc monn se ðe to minum ærfe foe, ðonne gedele he ælcum messepreoste binnan Cent mancus goldes 7 ælcum Godes ðiowe pend' 7 to Sçe Petre min wærgeld twa ðusenda. 7 Freoðomund foe to minum sweorde 7 agefe  
 10 ðeræt feower ðusenda, 7 him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotene hund pending<sup>1</sup>.

7 gif mine broðar ærfeward gestrionen ðe londes weorðe sie, þonne ann ic ðem londes. Gif hie ne gestrionen oðða him sylfum ælles hwæt segle, æfter hiora dege ann ic his Freoðomunde gif  
 15 he ðonne lifes bið. Gif him elles hwæt sæleð, ðonne ann ic his minra swæstarsuna swælcum se hit geðian wile 7 him gifeðe bið. 7 gif þæt gesele þæt min cynn to ðan clane gewite ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie ðe londes weorðe sie, þonne foe se hlaford to 7 ða higan æt Kristes cirican 7 hit minum gaste nytt gedoen. An  
 20 ðas redenne ic hit ðider selle, ðe se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie, 'se' min 7 minra erfewarda forespreoca 7 mundbora, 7 an his hlaforddome 'we' bian moten.

✠ Ic Ciolnoð mid Godes gefe ærcebiscop ðis write 7 ðeafie 7 mid Cristes rode tacne hit festniæ.

25 ✠ Ic Beagmund p̄r ðis ðeafie 7 write.

✠ Ic Wærhard p̄r aþ ðis ðeafie 7 write.

✠ Ic Abba geroefa ðis write 7 festnie mid Kristes rode tacne.

✠ Ic Aeðelhun p̄r ðis ðeafie 7 write.

✠ Ic Abba p̄r ðis ðeafie 7 write.

30 ✠ Ic Wigmund p̄r ðis write 7 ðeafie.

✠ Ic Iof p̄r ðis ðeafie 7 write.

✠ Ic Osmund p̄r ðis ðeafie 7 write.

✠ Ic Wealhhere diaç ðis write 7 ðeafie.

✠ Ic Badanoð diaç ðis write 7 ðeafie.

35 ✠ Ic Heaberht diaç ðis write 7 ðeafie.

✠ Ic Noðwulf subdiaç ðis write 7 ðeafie.

✠ Ic Wealhhere subdiaç ðis write 7 ðeafie.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.



✠ Ic Ciolwulf subdiaċ ðis write 7 ðeafie.

✠ Heregyð<sup>1</sup> hafað ðas wisan binemned ofer hire deg 7 ofer Abban ðæm higum et Cristes cirican of ðæm londe et Cealflocan : ðæt is ðonne ðritig ombra alað 7 ðreo hund hlafa, ðeara bið fiftig hwitehlafa, an weg spices 7 ceses, an ald hriðer, feower weðras, 5 an suin, oððe sex weðras, sex gosfuglas, ten hennfuglas, ðritig teopera, gif hit wintres deg sie, sester fulne huniges, sester fulne butran, sester fulne saltes. 7 Heregyð bibeadeð ðem mannum ðe efter hire to londe foen, on Godes noman, ðæt hie fulgere witen ðæt hie ðiss gelesten ðe on ðissem gewrite binem- 10 ned is ðem higum to Cristes cirican, '7 ðæt sie simle to higna blodlese ymb twelf monað agefen'. 7 se mann se to londe foe, agefe hire erfehonda XIII pund pendinga; 7 hio forgifeð fiftene pund for ðy ðe mon ðas feorme ðy soel gelæste.

*Endorsed in a contemporary hand :*

15

Abban geroefan (a)rf(e)ged(a)l: his geðinga to Kristes cirica(n).

*In a hand of the 12th century :*

Testamentum Abbe cuius uxor Henhith dedit Cheafloke conventui tempore Chelnothi. Anglice.

20

*In a hand of the 14th century :*

Anno DCCC<sup>o</sup>XXX<sup>o</sup>V<sup>o</sup>.

### III

#### GRANT OF LAND BY BERHTWULF, KING OF THE MERCIA NS, TO FORTHRED

25

✠<sup>2</sup> IN nomine Domini. Ego Berchtwulf cyning sile Forðrede minum ðegne nigen higida lond in Wudotune in ece erfe him to hiobbanne, 7 to siollanne ðæam ðe hit wille mið eaðmodre her- nisse him to geornigan ofer his daeg; Cisseðebeorg, Feower-

III. MS. preserved in Canterbury Cathedral Library (Chart. Antiq. Cantuar. C. 1280).

Facsimiles : (1) Ordnance Survey, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, ed. W. B. Sanders (1878-84), i. pl. 8. (2) Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of MSS. and Inscriptions*, ed. E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson (1873-83), vol. II. pl. 24 (omitting p. 6, ll. 24-30).

Editions by Kemble (no. 243), Earle (p. 122), Sweet (no. 48), Birch (no. 452).

<sup>1</sup> On the other side.

<sup>2</sup> Four times on left-hand margin of text.

treowehyl, 7 Eanburgemere, Tihhanhyl, 7 ut bi Geht<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>2</sup> higida lond in erfe ece. 7 he salde to londceape xxx mancessan 7 nigen hund scill' wið ðaem londe him in ece erfe.

Ic Berhtwulf rex ðas mine gesaldnisse trymme 7 faestna in  
 5 Cristes rode tacne 7 in his ðaere haligran ✓✓ a<sup>3</sup> 7 in his wotona gewitnisse.

	Aerist Saeðryð regina	Hunstan dux
	Cyneferð episċ	Eadwulf
	Alchhun epis	Beornoð
10	Berhtred epis	Wulfred
	Deorlaf epis	Mucel
	Ceored epis	Aldred
	Wichred aþ	Wicga
	Aldred aþ	Eadgar
15	Mucel dux	Baldred
	Hunbercht dux	Werenberht
	Burgred dux	Eadred
	Aestan <sup>4</sup>	Aeðelwulf pr̄
	Cyneberht dux	Heaberht pr̄
20	Sigred dux	Ecghun
	Alberht dux	Ecgheard
	Aldred dux	Beornhaeð
	Mucel dux	Aldred.

7<sup>5</sup> we aec alle bibeodað ðe aet ðisse gewitnisse werun, on  
 25 Cristes noman 7 on his ðaere haligran<sup>6</sup>, gif aenig monn ðas ure gewitnisse incerre on owihte, ðaet he aebbe ðaes aelmaehtgan<sup>7</sup> Gode(s unhlisse (?) 7)<sup>8</sup> his ðaere haligran up in (heo)fnum ðaes we him (ge)beod.n maege.

*Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century :*

30 Inutile.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ut bigeht*; Sweet, *utbigeht*.

<sup>2</sup> *tu* faint.

<sup>3</sup> Sic MS. and B.; Sweet, *haligran a*. The final *a* has a long shaft. There seems to be a dot between the second hieroglyphic and the *-a*.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. apparently has *Aestan*; B., E., and Sweet, *Aefstan*.

<sup>5</sup> Continued on the other side.

<sup>6</sup> Final *-n* covered by the gum which sticks the MS. on to the page, but can still be detected.

<sup>7</sup> In MS. the letters between *-e-* and *-g-* are run together; B. *aelmaehtigan*; transcript of both Facs. *aelmaehtgan*.

<sup>8</sup> The words and letters enclosed in brackets are taken from the transcript in the Pal. Soc. Facs. They are no longer legible in MS.

## IV

## GRANT BY LUFU TO CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

✠ Ic Lufa mid Godes gefe ancilla Dei wes soecende 7 smeagende ymb mine saulðearfe mid Ceolnoðes ærcebisopes geðeahhte 7 ðara hiona et Cristes cirican. Willa ic gesellan of 5 ðem ærfe ðe me God forgef 7 mine friond to gefultemedan glice gere LX ambra maltes 7 CL hlafa, L hwitehlafa, CXX elmeshlafes<sup>1</sup>, an hriðer, an suin, IIII weðras, II wegga spices 7 ceses, ðem higum to Cristes circcan for mine saule 7 minra frionda 7 mega ðe me to gode gefultumedan ; 7 ðæt sie simle to adsumsio Scæ<sup>2</sup> Marie 10 ymb XII monað. End sue eihwelc mon swe ðis lond hebbe minra ærbenumena ðis agefe 7 mittan fulne huniges, x goes, xx henfuglas.

✠ Ic Ceolnoð mid Godes gefe ercebis̄ mid Cristes rode tacne ðis festnie 7 write. 15

✠ Beagmund p̄r geðafie 7 mid write.

✠ Beornfrið p̄r geðafie 7 mid write.

✠ Wealhhere p̄r

✠ Swiðberht diaċ

✠ Osmund p̄r

✠ Beornheah diaċ

✠ Deimund p̄r

✠ Æðelmund diaċ 20

✠ Æðelwald diaċ

✠ Wighelm diaċ

✠ Werbald diaċ

✠ Lubo

✠ Sifreð diaċ

✠

✠ Ic Luba eaðmod Godes ðiwen ðas forecwedenan god 7 ðas elmessan gesette 7 gefestnie ob minem erfelande et Mundling- 25 ham ðem hiium to Cristes cirican. 7 ic bidde, 7 an Godes

IV. The original MS. is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Aug. II. 92).

Facsimiles : Brit. Mus. *Facs.* II. 22 ; Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, pl. 2.

Editions : Kemble (no. 231), Thorpe (p. 474), Earle (p. 105), Sweet (no. 40), Birch (no. 405), Kluge (p. 17).

<sup>1</sup> The words *cxx elmeshlafes* are written in the eleventh line of the charter after the second signature, with the reference mark *h.*, corresponding with *ð* in the margin at the place where they are to be inserted.

<sup>2</sup> No mark of contraction.

libgendes naman bebiade ðæm men ðe ðis land 7 ðis erbe hebbe  
 et Mundlingham, ðet he ðas god forðleste oð wiaralde ende.  
 Se man se ðis healdan wille 7 lesten ðet ic beboden hebbe an  
 ðisem gewrite, se him seal'd 7 gehealden sia hiabenlice b'led-  
 5 sung. Se his ferwerne oððe hit agele, se him seal'd 7 gehealden  
 helle wite, bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille Gode 7 mannum.  
 Uene ualete.

*Endorsed in a contemporary hand:*

✠ Lufo þincggewrit.

10 *In hands of the 12th century:*

(1) Luue mulier quedam dedit ecclesie Christi Munling-  
 ham tempore Celnoð archiepiscopi.

(2) IX anno DCCC<sup>o</sup>XXXII<sup>o</sup> Luue mulier dedit familie ecclesie  
 Christi Cantuariensi Munlingham tempore Chelnothi archi-  
 15 episcopi.

## V

### GRANTS (1) BY EALHBURG AND EADWEALD, (2) BY EALHHERE, TO CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

✠ Ðis sindan geðinga Ealhburge 7 Eadwealdes et ðem lande  
 20 et Burnan, hwet man elce gere ob ðem lande to Cristes cirican  
 ðem hiwum agiaban scel, for Ealhburge 7 for Ealdred 7 fore  
 Eadweald 7 Ealawynne: XL ambra mealtes, 7 XL 7 CC hlaba, I  
 wege cesa, I wege spesces, I eald hriðer, IIII weðras, X goes, XX  
 henflugla, IIII foðra weada. 7 ic Ealzburg bebiade Eadwealde  
 25 minem mege an Godes naman 7 an ealra his haligra ðet he ðis  
 wel healde his dei 7 siððan forð bebeode his erbum to healdenne  
 ða hwile ðe hit cristen se. ✠ 7 suelc mon se ðet lond hebbe  
 eghwylce sunnandege XX<sup>1</sup> gesuffra hlafa to ðare<sup>2</sup> cirican for  
 Ealdredes saule 7 for Ealhburge.

V. Original MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Aug. II. 52).

Facsimile in Brit. Mus. *Facs.* II. 21.

Editions: Kemble (no. 229), Thorpe (p. 468), Earle (p. 104), Birch  
 (no. 403), Sweet (no. 39), Kluge (p. 17).

<sup>1</sup> Nearly illegible through rubbing; S., x.

<sup>2</sup> Second letter indistinct, may be æ.



✠ Ðis is sia elmesse ðe Ealhhere bebead Ealawynne his dochter et Ðenglesham, et III sulungum: elce gere c peñ to Cristes cirican ðem higum. 7 suelc m'a'n se ðisses landes bruce, agebe ðis fiah an Godes gewitnesse 7 an ealra his haligra, 7 suilc man sue hit awege, ðonne se hit on his sawale, nas on ðes ðe 5 hit don het.

*Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century:*

Donum Ealhbregē quod instituit donari de Burne familie ecclesie Christi. Item donum Ealhberē ad opus familie ecclesie Christi de terra de Ðenglesham. Anglice. 10

## VI

## GRANT BY EALZBURG TO ST AUGUSTINE'S, CANTERBURY

IN nomine Domini. Ealzburch hafap<sup>1</sup> geset myd hyre freonda<sup>2</sup> þeah tunga þæt man ælce gere agyfe þam hywum to Sca Augustine<sup>3</sup> of þam lande æt Bradanburnan XL ambura mealtē 15 7 eald hryðer 7 IIII weþeras 7 XL 7 CC hlafes 7 ane wæge spices 7 cyses 7 IIII foþro wudes 7 XX henfugla; swylc man se þæt land hæbbe, þa ðingc agyfe for Ealdredes saule 7 for Ealzburge. 7 þa hiwan asingan ælce dæge æfter hyra ferse þæne<sup>4</sup> sealm for hia, "Exaudiat te Dominus." Swæ hwylc man swa þis 20 abrece, si he asceaden fram Gode 7 fram eallum hallgum 7 fram þan halgan were on þysum life 7 on ecnesse.

þonne synt her æfter þara manna naman to gewitnesse þisse gesetednesse, þæt is þonne,

Drihtnoþ aþþ p̄r	Beahmund	Cada	25
7 Osmund prb'	Cenheard	Bearnferþ	
Æþelred p̄r	Hyse	Bearnhelm	
Wynhere diacon	Adda	Ealdred	

VI. This is an entry in a tenth (?) century hand on f. 74 b of a MS. of the Gospels (sixth century) preserved in the Library of Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambridge (C.C.C.C. 286).

Editions by Thorpe (p. 479), Birch (no. 501).

<sup>1</sup> The second *a* has a form approximating to *æ*. T., and B., *hafæþ*.

<sup>2</sup> *a* with form approximating to *æ*. T., and B., *freonde*.

<sup>3</sup> Sic MS. B., *Augustine*.

<sup>4</sup> Sic MS. B., *þane*.

Ealhburh	Wealdhelm	Wighelm
Ealhwaru	Dudde	Wullaf
Hoshere	Ofa	Eadweald
Leofe	Ofe	

5 Gif hit þonne swa gegæþ, swa we<sup>1</sup> na ne wyscað, þæt hwylc broc  
 on becume þurh hæþen folc oþþe hwylce oðre earfoþnesse, þæt  
 hit man ne mæge þæs geres gelæstan, agife on oþrum geare be  
 tweofealdum. Gif þonne git ne mæge, sylle on ðriddum geare  
 be<sup>2</sup> ðryfealdum. Gyf he þonne git ne mæge ne nelle, agife  
 10 land 7 bec þam hiwum to Sǣ Agustine.

## VII

AGREEMENT BETWEEN EADWEALD AND CYNETHRYTH  
 WITH REFERENCE TO AN ESTATE AT CHART

✠ Ðis is geðinge Eadwaldes Osheringes 7 Cyneðryðe, Eðel-  
 15 modes lafe aldormonnes, ymbe ðet lond et Cert ðe hire Eðelmod  
 hire hlabard salde. Wes hit becueden Osbearte his broðar  
 suna, gif he Cyneðryðe oferlifde, 7 siððan neniggra meihanda  
 ma ðes cynnes; ac hia hit atuge yfter hira dege swe hit him  
 boem rehtlicast 7 elmostlicast were.

20 Ðonne hebfað Eadwald 7 Cyne<sup>3</sup> ðas wisan ðus fundene mid  
 hira friandum. Gib Eadweald leng lifige ðonne Cyneðryð,  
 geselle et ðem londe et Cert x ðusenda. Gif he gewite er  
 ðonne hia, his barna sue hwelc sue lifes sie agefe ðet feoh ond<sup>4</sup>  
 atee sue hit soelest sie for ða hit begetan. Nis Eðelmode enig  
 25 meghond neor ðes cynnes ðanne Eadwald, his modar his broðar  
 dohtar; mest cyn ðet he ðet lond hebbe 7 his beorn yfter him,  
 7 sue ateon sue him nytlicas[t] ðynce for ða ðe hit mid reohte  
 begetan.

VII. Original MS. in the British Museum (Cott. Aug. II. 19).

Facsimile in Brit. Mus. *Facs.* II. 19.

Editions by Kemble (no. 228), Thorpe (p. 465), Earle (p. 102), Birch  
 (no. 404), Sweet (no. 38), Kluge (p. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS. B., *þe*.

<sup>3</sup> No mark of contraction.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS. B., *he*.

<sup>4</sup> The *d* very small.

✠ Ego Ceolnoð mid Godes gefe ercebisċ þis mid X̄ps rode tacne festnie 7 write.

✠ Ego ðelwald episċ ōs

✠ Ego Whelm episċ ōs

✠ Ego Osmund p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Eðelwald p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Biarnhelm p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Biarnheah p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Eardulf p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Eðelmund p̄r abb̄ ōs

✠ Ego Sefreð p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Biarnhelm p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Eadgar p̄r abb̄ ōs

✠ Ego Elfstan p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Sigefreð p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Sigefreð ārdċ ōs

✠

✠ Ego Ealhstan ārdċ ōs

✠ Ego Biarnnoð<sup>1</sup> ārdċ ōs

✠

✠

✠

✠

✠ Ego Cialbarht s̄bdċ ōs

✠ Ego Wealdhelm s̄bdċ ōs 10

✠ Ego Tirwald s̄bdċ ōs

✠ Ego Oba mī ōs

✠ Ego Biarnhelm p̄r ab̄ ōs

✠ Ego Sigemund p̄r ōs

✠ Ego Herefreð p̄r ōs 15

✠ Ego Wynhelm arċdċ ōs

✠ Ego Wunbeald ōs

✠ Ego Wermund ōs.

## VIII

EXCHANGE OF LANDS BETWEEN EARL AELFRED AND  
AETHELRED, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY 20

✠ IN nomine Domini. Ic Ælfred dux 7 Æðered arċ. episc. 7 ða higan æt Cristes cīrican habbað ðas wisan areded ymb ðet land an Certham: ðet is ðonne ðet Elfred efter his daege hæfð becweden ðet land an Certham inn<sup>2</sup> ðam higum to agenre æhte. 25 7 gif ðet sio ðet higan ðæs landes ænigem mænn unnan willen buton hīm sevlfum<sup>3</sup>, ðonne sellen hīo hit Ælfredes bearne, oðða his mæga swelcum swa hīs willie<sup>4</sup>, an ða gerad ðe he wið higan aræde swæ an feoh swae an feorme swæðer he abiddan mæge. 7 se arcepiscop selð Ælfrede ðæt land æt Crogdene his dagas to 30 brucenne. 7 ðonne Ælfrede forðsið<sup>5</sup> gebyrge 7 his bearn ðæs

VIII. MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 407 (late copy).  
Edition by Birch (no. 529).

<sup>1</sup> Indistinct.

<sup>4</sup> Sic MS. B., *willie*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *jnn*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *forðrid*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *Jevlfum*.



landes beðirfe, ðonne begete hio land, gif hío mæge, æt swelcum hlafarde swæ ðær ðonne sio 7 æt higum. 7 gif æniman aht eft sacie<sup>1</sup> ymb ðæt land an Certham, ðonne hæfð Ælfred ge'h'aldene Herewinne an<sup>2</sup> æghwelcre wihte ðæs ðe hio an geworden wæs 5 ðæs ðe hio seulf geðafigan wolde. 7 ðæt wæs an byrg gereht beforan ðæm<sup>3</sup> weotum ðe hevro noman here benevðan awritene sindon.

	Ædred arċepisc	Earduulf ab
	Ædelwald dux	Ciolmund
10	Ælfred dux	Siguulf
	Bihornhelm ab	Eadmund 7 eall' higan.

## IX

RECORD OF THE PRESENTATION BY EARL AELFRED OF  
A COPY OF THE GOSPELS TO CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

15 ✠ ORATE pro Ceolheard p̄r, Niclas 7 Ealhhun 7 Wulfhelm aurifex<sup>4</sup>.

✠ In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Ic Aelfred aldor-  
mon 7 Wérburg<sup>5</sup> mín gefera begetan ðas<sup>6</sup> béc æt hæðnum  
herge mid uncre claene feo, ðæt ðonne wæs mid clæne golde.  
20 7 ðæt wit deodan for Godes lufan 7 for uncre saule ðearf[e]?,  
ond for ðon ðe wit nolðan ðæt ðas halgan beoc lencg in ðære  
hæðenesse wunaden. 7 nu willað heo gesellan inn to Cristes  
ciran Gode to lofe 7 to wuldre 7 to weorðunga, 7 his ðrowunga  
to ðoncunga, 7 ðæm godcundan geferscipe to brucen[ne]<sup>7</sup> ðe ín  
25 Cristes ciran dæghwæmlice Godes lof rærað, to ðæm gerade  
ðæt heo mon árede eghwelce monaðe for Aelfred 7 for Wer-  
burge 7 for Alhðryðe, heora saulum tó ecum lecedome, ða

IX. The original text is inscribed on f. 10 r. of a MS. of the Gospels (Codex Aureus) now preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

Facsimile: J. O. Westwood, *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 1868, pl. II. (W.).

Editions: Birch (no. 634), Sweet (p. 174), Ordn. Sur. *Facs.* III. p. viii. (text only).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *efsaċie*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS. B., *on*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *ſæ*.

<sup>4</sup> Invocation at the top of the page, in a different hand from what follows.

<sup>5</sup> Sic W. *Webburg* B.

<sup>6</sup> Sic W. *das* B.

<sup>7</sup> End of line.

hwile ðe God gesegen haebbe ðæt fulwiht æt ðeosse stowe beon mote. Ec swelce ic Aelfred dux 7 Werburg biddað 7 halsiað ón Godes almaehtiges noman 7 on allra his haligra, ðæt nænig mon seo to ðon gedyrstig ðætte ðas halgan beoc áselle oððe áðeode from Cristes circan, ða hwile ðe fulwiht stondan mote<sup>1</sup>. 5

Aelfre[d]                  Werbur[g]                  Alhðryð eorum [filia]<sup>2</sup>.

## X

## EARL AELFRED'S WILL

✠ Xs̄~ Ic E̅lfred dux hatu writan 7 cyðan an ðissum gewrite E̅lfrede regi 7 allum his weotum 7 geweotan, 7 ec swylce 10 minum me gum 7 minum gefeorum, þa men þe ic mines erfes 7 mines boclondes seolest onn, ðæt is þonne Werburg min wif 7 uncer gemene<sup>3</sup> bearn<sup>4</sup>. þ<sup>5</sup> is þonne et grestan an Sondenstede 7 on Selesdune xxxii hida 7 on Westarham xx hida 7 on Cloppaham xxx hida 7 on Leangafelda vi hida 7 on Horsalege 15 x hida 7 on Netelam'styde' vi hida. Ic E̅lfred dux sello Werburge 7 Alhðryðe uncum gemenum bearne, æfter minum dege, þas lond mid cwice erfes 7 mid earðe 7 mid allum ðingum ðe to londum belimpað; 7 twa þusendu swina ic heom sello mid þem londum, gif hio<sup>6</sup> hio gehaldeð mid þare clennisse þe 20 uncer wordgeweodu seondan. 7 hio gebrenge et Sancte Petre min twa wergeld, gif ðet Godes willa seo þæt heo þ̅ f̅ereld age. Ond eft̅er Werburge dege seo Alhðryðe þa lond unbefiten on Sondenstede 7 on Selesdune 7 on Leangafelda. Ond gif heo bearn hebbe, feo ðæt bearn to ðem londum eft̅er hire; gif heo 25 bearn nebbe, feo ðonne an hire rehtf̅ederen sio neste hond to

X. Original MS. in the British Museum (Stowe Charter 20).

Facsimile in Ordn. Sur. *Facs.* III. 20.

Editions by Kemble (no. 317), Thorpe (p. 480), Earle (p. 149), Sweet (no. 45), Birch (no. 558).

<sup>1</sup> Lower part of last four words cut off by edge of page.

<sup>2</sup> These names in right hand margin.

<sup>3</sup> *ge-* is sometimes represented by *Γ* in this text.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *ð*.

<sup>5</sup> I have kept *þ̅* in this text, since there is here a variation between *þæt* and *þet*, when the word is written in full.

<sup>6</sup> Last letter indistinct; may be *t*. S. *hio*, B. *hit*.

þem londe ond to ðem erfes. 7 swa hwylc minra fēdrenmega swa ðæt sio þ̅ hine to ðan gehagige þ̅ he þa oðoro lond begeotan mege 7 wille, þonne gebygge he þa lond et hire mid halfe weorðe. Ond swe hwylc mon swa ðæt sio þ̅æt ðes londes bruce  
 5 ofer minne dæg on Cloppaham, þanne geselle he cc peninga eghwylce gere to Ceortesege for Ælfredes sawle to feormfultume<sup>1</sup>.

Ond ic sellu Æðelwalde minum sunu III hida boclondes : II hida on Hwētedune, [ane]s hides an Gatatune, 7 him sellu  
 10 þerto c swina ; 7 gif se cyning him geunnan wille þes folclondes to ðem boclonde, þonne hebbe he 7 bruce ; gif hit þ̅æt ne sio, þonne selle hio him swa hwaðer swa hio wille, swa ðæt lond an Horsalege, swe ðæt an Leangafelda. On'd' ic sellu Berhtsige minum mege an hide boclondes on Lencanfelda 7 þerto c  
 15 swina. 7 geselle hio c swina to Cristes cirican for me 7 fer mine sawle, 7 c to Ceortesege ; 7 þone oferēcan mon gedēle gind mynsterhamas to Godes ciricum in Supregum 7 in Cēnt þa hwile þe hio lestan willen. Ond ic sellu Sigewulfe minum mege ofer Werburge dæg þ̅æt lond an Netelhæmstyde ; ond  
 20 Sigulf geselle of ðem londe c peninga to Cristes cirican ; ond eghwylc þara erfewearda þe efter him to ðem londe foe, þonne ageofen hio þa ilcan elmessan to Cristes cirican for Ælfredes sawle, þa hwile þe fulwiht sio, 7 hīt man on ðem londe begeotan mege. Ond ic sellu Eadrede minum mege þ̅æt lond on Fearn-  
 25 lege efter Eðelredes dege, gif he hit to him geearnian wile ; 7 he geselle of ðem londe xxx omb[ras]<sup>2</sup> cornes eghwelce gere to Hrofescestre ; ond sio ðis lond gewriten 7 unbefiten efter Eadredes dege in Aelfredes rēhtmeodrencynn ða hwile þe fulwihte<sup>3</sup> sio on Angelcynnes ealonde.

30 Deos foresprec 7 þas gewriotu þe herbeufan awreotene stondað, ic Ælfred willio 7 wille þ̅ hio sion soðfēstlice forðweard getrymed me 7 minum erfewardum. Gif ðæt ðonne God ællmehtig geteod habbe ond me þ̅æt on lene gelið þ̅æt me gesibbra erfeward forðcymeð wepnedhades 7 acenned weorðeð,  
 35 ðanne ann ic ðem ofer minne dæg alles mines erfes to brucenne swa him leofust sio. And swa hwylc mon swa ðas god 7 þas

<sup>1</sup> Accent over first *m*.

<sup>2</sup> The first three letters indistinct ; then hole in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Accent over *w*.

geofe 7 þas gewrioto 7 þas word mid rehte haldan wille ond  
gelestan, gehalde hine heofones cyning in þissum life ondwar-  
dum 7 eac swa in þem towardan life; ond swa hwylc mon  
swa hio wonie 7 breoce, gewonie him God almahtig his weorld-  
are<sup>1</sup> ond ea'c' swa his sawle are in eona eonum.

5

✠ Her sindon ðæra manna naman awritene ðe ðeosse wisan  
geweotan sindon.

✠ Ic Æðered aī. bisċ. mid ðære halgan Cristes rode tacne ðas  
word 7 ðas wisan fęstnie 7 write.

✠ Ælfréd dux

10

✠ Beorhtwulf dux

✠ Earduulf pr̄

✠ Beornhelm ab

✠ Beornōð diaċ

✠ Earduulf ab

✠ Wealdhelm diaċ

✠ Wærburg

✠ Wine sb diaċ

✠ Sigfrēð pr̄

✠ Sæfrēð

15

✠ Beonheah pr̄

✠ Ceolmund m̄

✠ Beagstan pr̄

✠ Eadmund m̄

✠ Wulfheah

✠ Eadwald m̄

✠ Æðelwulf pr̄

✠ Signulf m̄.

*Endorsed in a contemporary hand:*

20

þis is Ælfrédes erfegewrit.

*In a hand of the 12th century:*

Testamentum Elfredi ducis. Anglice.

## XI

### KING ALFRED'S WILL

25

IC Ælfréd cinge mid Godes gife 7 mid geþeahunge Æþe-  
redes ercebisceopes 7 ealra Westseaxena witena gewitnesse,  
smeade ymbe minre sawle þearfe 7 ymbe min yrfe þæt me God

XI. MSS. (a) Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 944) f. 29 b; in Birch's edition of this MS. (*Hyde Register*, Hants Record Society, 1892, pp. xvi., xviii.) the date is given as c. 1016-1020.

Facsimile in *Ordin. Sur. Facs.* III. 22.

Printed by O. Manning, *The Will of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1788; and by Kemble (no. 314), Thorpe (p. 484), and Earle (p. 144) from his text.

<sup>1</sup> 7 eac swa his weorldare, repeated, and a line drawn through for omission.



7 mine ylðran forgeafon 7 ymbe þæt yrfe þæt Aðulf cingc min  
 fæder us þrim gebroðrum becwæð, Aþelbolde 7 Æðerede 7 me;  
 7 swylc ure swylce lengest wære, þæt se fenge to eallum. Ac  
 hit gelamp þæt Æþelbold gefôr; 7 wyt Æþered, mid ealra<sup>1</sup>  
 5 Westseaxena witena gewitnesse, uncerne dæl oðfæstan Æþel-  
 byrhte cingce uncrum mæge on þa gerædene þe he hit eft  
 gedyde unc swa gewylde swa hit þa wæs þa wit hit him  
 oðfæstan; 7 he þa swa dyde, ge þæt yrfe, ge þæt he mid uncre  
 gemanan begeat, 7 þæt he sylf gestrynde.  
 10 Þa hit swa gelamp þæt Æþered to feng, þa bæd ic hine  
 beforan urum witum eallum þæt wyt þæt yrfe gedældon 7 he  
 me ageafe minne dæl. Þa sæde he me þæt he naht eaðe ne  
 mihte todælan forþon he hæfde ful oft ær ongefungen; 7 he  
 cwæð þæs þe he on uncrum gemanan gebruce 7 gestrynde æfter  
 15 his dæge he nanum menn sel ne uðe þonne me. 7 ic þæs þa  
 wæs wel gefafa. Ac hit gelamp þæt we ealle on hæðenum  
 folce gebrocude wæron; þa spræce wyt ymbe uncre bearn, þæt  
 hy sumre are beþorfтан, sælde unc on þam brocum swa unc  
 sælde. Þa wæron we on gemote æt Swinbeorgum, þa gecwædon  
 20 wit on Westseaxena witena gewitnesse þæt swaðer uncer leng  
 wære, þæt he geuðe oðres bearnum þara landa þe wyt sylfe  
 begeaton 7 þara land[a] þe unc Aðulf cingc forgeaf be Aðelbolde  
 lifendum butan þam þe he us þrim gebroðrum gecwæð. 7 þæs  
 uncer ægðer oþrum his wedd sealde, swaðer uncer leng lifede,  
 25 þæt se fenge ægþer ge to lande ge to madmum 7 to eallum his  
 æhtum butan þam dæle þe uncer gehwæðer his bearnum  
 becwæð.

Ac hit gelamp þæt Æðered cingc gefor. Þa ne cydde me  
 nan mann nan yrfege writ ne nane gewitnesse þæt hit ænig oðer  
 30 wære butan swa wit<sup>2</sup> on gewitnesse ær gecwædon. Þa gehyrde  
 we nu manegu yrfegeflitu, nu þa lædde ic Aþulfes cinges yrfe-  
 gewrit on ure gemôt æt Langandene 7 hit man arædde beforan  
 eallum Westseaxena witum. Þa hit aræd wæs, þa bæd ic hy

Also printed by Birch in *Cart. Sax.* (no. 553), and in the *Hyde Register*, p. 74.

(b) *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (R. S.), ed. E. Edwards, 1866, pp. 52, 62. See note on p. 91.

The text here is taken from (a).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ealre*; K., T., and E., *ealra*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic K., T., E.; *hit* MS.

ealle for minre lufan—7 him min wedd bead þæt ic hyra næfre nænne ne oncude forþon þe hy on riht spræcon—7 þæt hyra nan ne wandode ne for minan lufan ne for minum ege þæt hy þæt folcriht arehton, þy læs ænig man cweðe þæt ic mine mægcild oððe ylðran oððe gingran mid wô forðemde. 7 hy þa ealle to rihte 5 gerehton 7 cwædon þæt hy nan rihtre riht gepencan ne mihtan ne on þam yrfegewrite gehyran. “Nu hit eall agân is þæron<sup>1</sup> oð þine hand, þonne þu hit becweðe 7 sylle swa gesibre handa swa fremdre swaðer þe leofre sy.” 7 hi ealle me þæs hyra wedd sealdon 7 hyra handsetene þæt be hyra life hit nænig mann 10 næfre ne onwende on nane oðre wisan butan swa swa ic hit sylf gecweðe æt þam nyhstan dæge.

Ic Ælfred Westseaxena cinge mid Godes gyfe 7 mid þisse gewitnesse, gecweðe hu ic ymbe min yrfe wille æfter minum dæge. Ærest ic an Eadwearde minum ylðran suna þæs landes æt 15 Strætneat on Triconscire 7 Heortigtunes 7 þa bocland ealle þe Leofheah hylt 7 þæt land æt Carumtune 7 æt Cylfantune 7 æt Bur'n'hamme 7 æt Wedmor—7 ic eom fyrmdig to þam hiwum æt Ceodre þæt hy hine ceosan on þa gerad þe we ær gecweden hæfdon—mid þam lande æt Ciwtune 7 þam þe þærto hyrað. 20 7 ic him an þæs<sup>2</sup> landes æt Cantuctune 7 æt Bedewindan 7 æt Pefesigge 7 Hysseburnan 7 æt Suttune 7 æt Leodridan 7 æt Aweltune.

7 ealle þa bocland þe ic on Cent hæbbe 7 æt þam nyðeran Hysseburnan 7 æt Cyseldene, agyfe man in to Wintanceastre on 25 þa geråd þe hit min fæder ær gecwæð, 7 þæt min sundorfeoh þæt ic Ecgulfe oðfæste on þam neoðeran Hysseburnan.

7 þam gingran minan suna þæt land æt Eaderingtune 7 þæt æt Dene 7 þæt æt Meone 7 æt Ambresbyrig 7 æt Deone 7 æt Sturemynster<sup>3</sup> 7 æt Gifle 7 æt Crucern 7 æt Hwitancyrican 7 30 æt Axanmuðan 7 æt Branecescumbe 7 æt Columtune 7 æt Twyfyrd 7 æt Mylenburnan 7 æt Exanmynster 7 æt Suðeswyrðe 7 æt Liwtune 7 þa land þe þærto hyran, þæt synd ealle þe ic on Wealcynne hæbbe butan Triconscire.

7 minre yldstan dehter þæne ham æt Welewe; 7 þære 35 medemestan æt Clearan 7 æt Cendefer; 7 þære gingestan þone

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., is on þæron K., T., B.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS.; B. þæs.

<sup>3</sup> Sic MS., B. Stureminster.

ham æt Welig 7 æt Æsctune 7 æt Cippanhamme. 7 Æðelme  
 mines broðer suna þone hām æt Ealdingburnan 7 æt Cumtune  
 7 æt Crundellan 7 æt Beadingum 7 æt Beadingahamme 7 æt  
 Burnham 7 æt Funresfelda 7 æt Æscengum. 7 Aþelwolde  
 5 mines broðor suna þone hām æt Godelmingum 7 æt Gyldeforda  
 7 æt Stæningum. 7 Osferðe minum mæge þone ham æt  
 Beccanlea 7 æt Hryðeranfelda 7 æt Diccelingum 7 æt Suðtune  
 7 æt Lullingmynster<sup>1</sup> 7 æt Angemæringum 7 æt Felhhamme  
 7 þa land þe þærto hyran. 7 Ealhwiðe þone ham æt Lamb-  
 10 burnan 7 æt Waneting 7 æt Eðandune.

7 minum twam sunum an þusend punda, ægðrum fif hund  
 punda. 7 minre yldstan dehter 7 þære medemestan 7 þære  
 gingstan<sup>2</sup> 7 Ealhwiðe, him feowrum feower hund punda, ælcum  
 ân hund punda. 7 minra ealdormanna ælcum an hund mang-  
 15 cusa; 7 Æþelme 7 Aðelwolde<sup>3</sup> 7 Osferðe eac swa; 7 Æþerede  
 ealdormenn an sweord on hundteontigum mancsum. 7 þam  
 mannum þe me folgiað, þe ic nu on Eastertidum feoh sealde,  
 twa hund punda agyfe man him 7 dæle man him betweoh,  
 ælcum swa him to gebyrian wille æfter þære wisan þe ic him  
 20 nu dælde. 7 þam ercebiscope c̅ mancusa 7 Esne biscope 7  
 Wærferðe biscope 7 þam æt Scireburnan. Eac swa gedæle for  
 me 7 for minne fæder 7 for þa frynd þe he foreþingode 7 ic  
 foreþingie, twa hund punda, fiftig mæssepreostum ofer eall min  
 rice, fiftig earmum Godes þeowum, fiftig earmum þearfum,  
 25 fiftig to þære cyrican þe ic æt reste. 7 ic nat naht gewislice  
 hwæðer þæs feos swa micel is, ne ic nat þeah his mare sy, butan  
 swa ic wene. Gyf<sup>4</sup> hit mare sy, beo hit him eallum gemæne  
 þe ic feoh becweden hæbbe; 7 ic wille þæt mine ealdormenn 7  
 mine þenigmenn þær ealle mid syndan 7 þis þus gedælan.

30 ƿonne hæfde ic ær on oðre wisan awriten ymbe min yrfe þa  
 ic hæfde mare feoh 7 ma maga 7 hæfde monegum mannum þa  
 gewritu oðfæst 7 on þas ylcan gewitnesse hy wæron awritene.  
 ƿonne hæbbe ic nu forbær'n'ed þa ealdan þe ic geahsian mihte.  
 Gif hyra hwylc funden bið, ne forstent þæt naht, forþam ic wille  
 35 þæt hit nu þus sy mid Godes fultume.

7 ic wille þa menn þe þa land habbað, þa word gelæstan þe

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., B. *Lullyngmynster*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS., K., E., B. *Æðelwolde*.

<sup>3</sup> Sic MS., *gingstran* K., T., E., B.

<sup>4</sup> Sic MS., B. *gif*.



on mines fæder yrfegewrite standað swa swa hy fyrmest magon.  
 7 ic wylle gif ic ænigum menn ænig feoh unleanod hæbbe, þæt  
 mine magas þæt huru geleanian. 7 ic wylle<sup>1</sup> þa menn þe ic  
 mine hocland becweden hæbbe, þæt hy hit ne asyllan of minum  
 cynne ofer heora dæg, ac ic wille [ofer] hyra dæg þæt hit gange 5  
 on þa nyhstan hand me butan hyra hwylc bearn hæbbe; þonne  
 is me leofast þæt hit gange on þæt strynged on þa wæpnedhealfe  
 þa hwile þe ænig þæs wyrðe sy. Min yldra fæder hæfde  
 gecweden his land on þa sperehealfe næs on þa spinhealfe.  
 Þonne gif ic gesealde ænigre wifhanda þæt he gestrynde, þonne 10  
 forgyldan mine magas, 7 gif hy hit be þan libbendan habban  
 wyllan. Gif hit elles sy, gange hit ofer hyra dæg swa swa we  
 ær gecweden hæfdon. Forþon ic cweðe þæt hi hit gyldan,  
 forþon hy foð to minum, þe ic syllan mot swa wifhanda swa  
 wæpnedhanda swaðer ic wylle. 15

7 ic bidde on Godes naman 7 on his haligra þæt minra  
 maga nan ne yrfewarda ne geswence nan nænig cyrelif þara  
 þe ic foregeald. 7 me Westseaxena witan to rihte gerehton  
 þæt ic hi môt lætan swa freo swa þeowe, swaðer ic wille. Ac ic  
 for Godes lufan 7 for minre sawle þearfe wylle þæt hy syn 20  
 heora freolses wyrðe 7 hyra cyres. 7 ic on Godes lifendes  
 naman beode þæt hy nan man ne brocie ne mid feos manunge  
 ne mid nænigum þingum þæt hy ne motan ceosan swylcne  
 mann swylce hy wyllan. 7 ic wylle þæt man agyfe þam hiwum  
 æt Domrahamme hyra landbec<sup>2</sup> 7 hyra freols swylce hand to 25  
 ceosenne swylce him leofast sy, for me 7 for Ælflæde 7 for þa  
 frynd þe heo foreþingode 7 ic foreþingie. 7 sec man eac on  
 cwicum ceape ymbe minre sawle þearfe swa hit beon mæge 7  
 swa hit eac gerysne sy 7 swa ge me forgyfan wyllan.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., B. *wille*.

<sup>2</sup> *hyra landbec* repeated in MS.

## XII

RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN AETHELRED, EARL  
OF THE MERCIANS, AND BERKELEY ABBEY

✠<sup>1</sup> SAECULI namque labentis tempora, sicut umbrae fugientes,  
 5 sic velociter tranant, variegue eventuum status in cogitationes  
 hominum conscendunt. Ideo omnes firmas stationes nostras  
 litterarum ser'ie confirmamus, ne posteris cadant ex memoria  
 præcedentium decreta patrum. Grecorum talibus exemplis  
 10 statuta sunt, qui quod scire volunt litteris tradunt, ne ex  
 memoria labetur; estque nobis necesse præmeditandum in  
 fugabundis temporibus saeculi quomodo ad aeternam felicitatem  
 pervenire valeamus; quia cuncta quæ videntur fugitiva sunt  
 et caduca, quæ autem non videntur perhenniter sunt manentia.

For þære wisan, ic Æðelræd ealdorman, inbryrden'd're  
 15 Godes gefe gewelegod 7 gewlenced mid sume dæle Mercna  
 rices, for Godes lufan 7 for alesnessa minra gylta 7 synna 7 for  
 benum abbodes 7 þære heorædene æt Berclea, 7 eac for ealre  
 Merce—ic heo gefr'e'oge ecelice þæs gafoles þe hio nu get to  
 cyninges handa ageofan sceolan of ðam dæle þe þær ungefreod  
 20 to lafe wæs þære cyningfeorme, ge on hlutrum alað, ge on beore,  
 ge on hunige, ge hryðrum, ge on swynum, ge on sceapum. And  
 þæt ic dyde for hiora godcundre gebedredenne 7 forþan eac þe  
 hio me hiora landes sumne dæl in ece ærfewerdnesse to forle-  
 ortan, þæt is æt Stoce<sup>1</sup> twelf hida; 7 ðritig mancusa goldes hio  
 25 sealdan eac me. 7 þæt ic þæt mynster fram æghwelcum gafol-  
 um gefreoge þe to þiode hlafarde belimpeð, litles oððe micles,  
 cuðes ge uncuðes, butan angilde wið oðrum 7 fæstengewerce 7

XII. MSS. (a) Heming's Chartulary f. 50 (late 11th century copy) preserved in the British Museum (Cott. Tib. A. XIII.).

Editions by Hearne (*Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesie Wigornensis*, I. p. 103), Kemble (no. 313, boundaries III. p. 401), Thorpe (p. 129), Birch (no. 551).

(b) Also in Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Vespas. A. v. f. 174 (16th century copy). Latin preamble and some of the signatures omitted.

The present text is taken from (a).

<sup>1</sup> In margin, *Stoc*.

fyrdsocne 7 brycggeweorce. 7 þæt ic do mid Ælfredes cyninges leafe 7 gewitnesse 7 mid ealra Myrcna witenra, godcundra hada 7 woroldcundra.

And nu æft þæt ilce land æt Stoce þæt is twelf hida, ic sylle<sup>1</sup> Cynulfe, Ceoluhthes suna, in ðreora manna dæg, for 5 syxtigum mancesra clænes goldes, æghwelces þinges to freon, ge wið cyning, ge wið ealdorman, ge wið gerefan, æghwelces þeodomes, lytles 7 micles, butan fyrdsocne 7 fæstengeworce 7 brycggeweorce 7 angylde wið oðrum, 7 noht út to wite. Ond we beodað þæt nænig mon on Ceoluhthe<sup>2</sup> gesib oððe fremde hit 10 gereafige in ænigum ðingum, þa hwyle þe he lyfie, forþon þe he hit gearnode æt Mercna hlafordum mid rihtre eadmodnysse.

Ond nu we beodað in Godes almihtiges naman, þæt ðes bufancwedena freedom þæs mynstres æt Berclea 7 eac sio geofu þæs landes þe we Cynulfe syllað in ðreora manna [dæg], un- 15 bereafod þorhwunige on écnesse, on þas gerad, þæt æfter Cynewulfes 7 his erfewerda twega, þæt twelf hida land æt Stoce butan ælcum wiðercwide sio agefen to Wigornacestre þam biseopstole for Æðelred ealdormon 7 for ealle Merce him to ecre ælmessan. Eác we biddað 7 alsiað in naman þære halgan 20 þrinnesse þæt gif hwelc mon sio, þæt he mid yfle wyllan oht þæs abreacan wylle þe ón þisse cartan awriten is, wite he þonne þæt hé hit dé ofer Godes est, 7 ofer ealra his haligra, 7 eác ofer monna godcundra hada 7 woroldcundra elces þæra þe ænig riht geþencean cunne oððe wylle; 7 he hit gebete beforan þam 25 heahsetle þæs ecean deman butan he hit ær mid rihtre bote gebetan wille Gode 7 monnum.

Acta est autem hujus donationis munificentia anno dominice incarnationis DCCCLXXXIII, Indictione autem I, his testibus consentientibus et subscribentibus quorum hic infra nomina 30 notescunt.

✠ Ego Ælfred rex hujus traditionis munificentiam signo sancte crucis adfirmo.

✠ Ego Æðelred dux hanc meam donationem signo sancte crucis inpono.

✠ Ego Wulfred ep̄s consensi.

✠ Ego Werferð ep̄s consensi.

<sup>1</sup> Altered from *selle*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS.

- ✕ Ego Deorlaf eþs consensi.  
 ✕ Ego Æðelferð dux consensi.  
 ✕ Ego Eardwulf consensi et subscripsi.  
 ✕ Ego Æðelwold dux consensi.  
 5 ✕ Ego Eadnoð consensi et subscripsi.  
 ✕ Ego Ælfred consensi et subscripsi.  
 ✕ Ego Æðelhun abb consensi et subscripsi.  
 ✕ Wigheard p̄r ✕ Wilferð  
 ✕ Wighelm ✕ Ecghun  
 10 ✕ Luda ✕ Acha.

Terra autem ista hiis circumcingitur terminibus. Ærest of Hæslwellan in Hæsldene, þonne of Hæsldene on Waldeswellan, of Waldeswellan on Sweordesstán, of Sweordesstane in Eowcumb, of Eowcumbe in Afene stream, of Afene stream eft úp þæt in 15 Hr'ícgleage, þonne of Hrycggleage þæt on Penpau, of Penpau þæt in Sæferne stream. Of Hæslwellan eft þæt in leadgedelf, of leadgedelfe on mylepul, of mylenpulle in Afene stream.

## XIII

RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EARL AETHELRED  
 20 AND AETHELFLED, AND WERFERTH, BISHOP OF  
 WORCESTER

ÐÆM ælmihtigan Gode, þære soðan annesse 7 ðære halgan  
 ðrynesse on heofonum, sie lóf 7 wuldor 7 dæda þoncung ealra  
 þæra goda þe he us forgifen hafað. For ðæs lufan æt ærestan  
 25 Æðeldred ealdorman 7 Æðelflæd, 7 for Sçe Petres 7 ðære cyricean  
 æt Weogernaceastre 7 eac for Wærferðes þpes bene heora  
 freondas, hehtan bewyrcean þa burh æt Weogernaceastre eallum  
 þæm folce<sup>1</sup> to gebeorge 7 eac þæron Godes lóf to arærenne. 7

XIII. MSS. (a) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 1 b (H.). Cf. p. 20, note. MS. now illegible in parts and the edges of the pages worn away.

Printed by Hearne (i. p. 3), Thorpe (p. 136).

(b) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Vesp. A. v. f. 148 b.

Editions: Kemble (no. 1075), Birch (no. 579).

The present text is taken from (b).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *folc*, H. *folce*.



heo nu cyðað on Godes gewitnesse, on þisse béc, þæt heo willað on ælcum þæra gerihta þe to heora hlaforddome gebyrað, oððe on ceapstowe oððe on stræte, ge binnan byrg ge butan, geunnan healfes Gode 7 *Ś. Petre* 7 þære cyrcean hlaforde, þæt þy arlicor on þære stowe beon mæge, 7 eac þy eaðr be summum dæle þæs 5 heoredes helpon, 7 þæt heora gemynde on ecnesse ðy fæstlicor on ðære stowe seo ða hwile ðe Godes hearsumnes on ðam mynstre beo.

On[d] Wærferð b. 7 se heored habbað gesetted þæs godcundnesse beforan ðære þe him mon dæghwamlice deð, ge be heora life 10 ge æfter heora life: þæt ðonne æt eolcum uhtsonge 7 æt ælcum<sup>1</sup> æfensonge 7 æt<sup>2</sup> eolcum undernsonge<sup>3</sup> “De profundis” ðone sealme, ða hwile þe heo lifgeon, 7 æfter heora life “Laudate Dominum”; 7 ælce Sæternesdæge on *Ś. Petres* cyrcean ðrittig sealma 7 heora mæssan, ægðer ge for heo lifgende ge eac 15 forðgeleorde.

Onð þonne<sup>4</sup> cyðeð *Æþelræd*<sup>5</sup> 7 *Æþelflæd* þæt he willað mid estfullan mode ðisses unnan Gode 7 *Sce Petre* on *Ælfredes* cyninges gewitnesse 7 ealra ðæra witena ðe on Myrcna land syndon; butan þæt se wægnscilling 7 se seampending gonge to 20 ðæs<sup>6</sup> cyninges handa swa he ealning dyde æt Saltwíc. Ah elles, ge landfeoh, ge fihthewite, ge stale, ge wohceapung, ge burhwealles sceatinge, ge ælc þæra wonessa ðe to ænigre bote gebyrie, þæt hit age healf ðære cyrcean hlaford, Godes þances 7 *Sce Petres*, swa swa hit mon to ceapstowe gesette 7 on strætum. 25 Onð wiðutan ða ceapstowe, seo se b. his landes 7 ealra his gerihta wyrðe, swa hit éur ure forengengan gesetton 7 gefreodan.

7 *Æþelræd* 7 *Æþelflæd* ðis dydon on *Ælfredes* cyninges gewitnesse 7 on Myrcna witena ðæra naman her be æftan awritene standað. 7 on Godes ealmihtiges naman halsiað ealle 30 heora æfterfylgendan þæt nænig mon ðæs ælmæssan ne wanige þe heo for Godes lufan 7 *Sce Petres* to ðære cyrcean geseald habbað.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., H. *eolcum*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *-song*, H. *-songe*.

<sup>3</sup> Sic MS., B. *Æþelræd*.

<sup>4</sup> Sic MS., B. *æc*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *þone*, B. *þone*.

<sup>6</sup> Sic MS., B. *dæs*.

## XIV

RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN WERFERTH, BISHOP  
 OF WORCESTER, AND THE PRIEST AETHELWALD ;  
 WITH CONFIRMATION BY EARL AETHELRED AND  
 5 THE MERCIAN COUNCIL

✠ RIXIENDUM ussum Dryhtene þem Helendan Criste, efter ðon þe agan was ehta hund wintra 7 syx 7 hundnigontig efter his acennednesse, 7 þy feowerteoþan gebonngere, þa ðy gere gebeon  
 10 Æþelred alderman alle Mercna weotan tosomne to Gleaweceastre, biscopas 7 aldermen 7 alle his duguðe ; 7 ðæt dyde be Ælfredes cyninges gewitnesse 7 leafe. 7 heo þa þær smeadan hu heo ryhtlicast heora þeodscipe ægþer ge for Gode ge for weorlde gehealdan mehton, 7 ec monige men ryhtan ge godcundra hada ge weorldcundra, ge on londum ge on má þara þinga þe heo on  
 15 forhaldne weran.

Ða cydde Werferð biscop þam weotum, þæt him wære forneh eall þæt wudulond ongereafad þe to Wuduceastre belomp, þæt Æþelbald cyning gesalde to Weogernaceastre, him to ecre  
 20 þæt sæde þæt hit wære sum genumen to Bislege, sum to Æfeningum, sum to Scorranstane, sum to þornbyrig, þes þe he wende. Þa cwædan alle þa weotan þæt mon uðe þære circan ryhtes swa wel swa oþerre.

7 ða sona was Eðelwald þæs wordes þæt he no þes rihtes  
 25 wiðsacan wolde, 7 sæde þæt Aldberht 7 Alhhun biscop wæron ær ymb þæt ilce ; 7 cweð þæt he ælcra circan áá his dæla ryhtes uðe, 7 hit swa swiþe mildelice ageaf þam biscope. 7 heht his geneat, Ecglaþ hatte, ridan mid Ceastersetna pre'o'ste Wulfhun hatte ; 7 he hine þa gelædde all ða gemæru swa he  
 30 him of þam aldan bocum rædde, hu hit ær Æþelbald cyning gemæruðe 7 gesalde.

Ða wilnede Æþelwald swa þeh to þam biscope 7 to þam higen, þæt heo him mildemode alefdan þæt he his moste brucan

XIV. MSS. (a) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Tib. A. XIII. f. 43. Cf. p. 20, note. Editions: Hearne (i. p. 93), Thorpe (p. 139).

(b) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Vesp. A. v. f. 170 (N.).

Editions: Kemble (no. 1073), Earle (p. 154), Birch (no. 574).

The present text is taken from (a).

ða hw[ile] ðe he wære, 7 heo Alhmund his sunu; 7 heo hit woldon habban on his læne 7 hina; 7 he næfre ne heora nowðer hine bereafian wolde þære mæstreddene þe he him alefed hæfde on Longanhrycge þam tidum þe hine God him salde. Ond he þa Æþelwald þæt word gecwæð þæt hit áa hæfde ofer 5 Godes est, þe hit hæfde butan þære circan hlaforde þe he hit to ageaf butan Alhmunde; 7 þæt þonne on ðam geran<sup>1</sup> þe he heolde þa ilcan freondreddene þe he heold wið ðone biscop. Gif hit þonne geberie þæt Alhmund swa ða freondreddene haldan nolde, oððe hine mon oferricte þæt he ne moste londes wyrðe beon, oþðe 10 ðridda wend, gif him ær his ende geselde, þæt þonne þære circan hlaford fenge to his londe, swa hit Mercna weotan on þam gemote gerahtan, 7 him ða bec wisedon þæs londes.

þis wæs gedon on Æþelredes gewitnesse aldermonnes 7 on Æþelflæde 7 Æþulfes aldermonnes 7 Æþelferðes aldermonnes 7 15 Alhhelmes aldermonnes 7 Eadnoðes 7 Ælfredes 7 Werferðes 7 Æþelwaldes mæssepreostes 7 his agenra maga Æþelstanes 7 Æþelhunes 7 ec Alhmundes his agenes suna.

7 þus se Ceastersetna preost hit gerad 7 se Æþelwaldes geneat mid hine. Ærost on Gemyðlege<sup>2</sup> 7 þanon on Roddan- 20 beorg silfne, þanon on Smececumb, þanon on Sengetlege, þanon on Heardanlege, þære is oðer noma Dryganleg, þæt swa on þa læssan Nægleslege, 7 swa to Æþelferðes londe. þus him gewisede se Æþelwaldes mo[n] þa gemæru swa him þa aldan bec ryhtan 7 wisedon. 25

## XV

## RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BISHOP WERFERTH AND EADNOTH, WITH REGARD TO LAND AT SODBURY

✠<sup>3</sup> IN usses Dryhtnes naman Hælendes Cristes. Ic Werferð bisceop cyðe—swa me Alchun bisceop sægde 7 eac mine ge- 30

XV. MSS. (a) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Tib. A. XIII. f. 56. Cf. p. 20, note.

Editions by Hearne (i. 119), Kemble (no. 327), Thorpe (p. 166), Birch (no. 582); and in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 335 ff.

(b) Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Vesp. A. v. f. 176 b (N.); p. 27, ll. 5–12, and some of the signatures omitted.

The present text is taken from (a).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *onðageran*. N. *on þagearan*.

<sup>2</sup> N. *Ginneðlege*.

<sup>3</sup> In margin, *Soppanbyrig*.



wrytu wisodon—þæt Mired biseop gesealde Eanbalde þæt land æt Soppanbyrg mid þis bebode—7 seoððan Eanbald hit sealde Eastmunde—7 him bebed Mired biseop bebod on Godes ealmihtiges noman 7 on þære halgan þrinesse, þæt ða hwile þe  
 5 ænig man wære on hira mægðe þe godcundes hades beon walde 7 þæs wyrðe wære, þæt he þonne fenge to þam lande æt Soppanbyrg; gif hit ðonne hwæt elles geselde, þæt hit næfre on lædu hand ne wende, ac hit seoððan eode to þam biseopstole to Weogornaceastre for heora ealra saule.

10 Ond he þa Eastmund ær his ende bebed on þæs lifgendan Godes noman þam mén þe to þam lande fenge, þæt he þonne on þa ilcan wisan to fenge þe Mired biseop bebed; gif he þonne to þan gedyrstig wære þæt he þæt abráce, þæt he wiste hine s'c'ylidigne beforan Godes heahsetle æt þam miclan dome. þa  
 15 æfter Eastmundes forðsiðe bereafode seo mægð þæs ilcan londes ge þa gastas þara forðgewitenra manna ge þone biseop 7 þa cirecean æt Weogornaceastre. 7 Heaberht biseop oft þæs myngode oððe þæs landes bæd, 7 seoððan Alchun biseop foroft þa hwile þe he wæs, 7 eac ic Werferð biseop oft his bæd; 7 we  
 20 ne mihton to nanum rihte becuman ær Æðelred wæs Myrcna hlaford.

þa gesamnode he Mercna weotan to Saltwíc ymbe mænigfealde þearfe ge Godes dæles ge worolde dæles, þa spræc ic on þa magas mid þy erfegewrite 7 wilnade me rihtes. þa beweddode  
 25 me Eadnoð me 7 Ælfred 7 Ælfstan þæt hio oðer þara dydon, oððe hit me ageafon oððe on hira mægðe þone man funden þe to þam hade fenge 7 to lande, 7 me wære gehearsum for Gode 7 for worolde. þa Eadnoð, þe þæt land hæfde, gebed hit ealre<sup>1</sup> þære mægðe, hwæðer hit ænig swa gegan wolde, þa wæs ælc  
 30 þæs wordes þæt him leofre wære þæt he þæt land foreode, þonne he þæne had underfenge. þa gesohte he Æðelred 7 Æðelflæde 7 eac Æðelnoð urne ealra freond; 7 heo ealle to me wilnodon þæt ic hine læte æt me þæt land begeotan him to agenre æhte, swelcum erfewardum to sylenne swelce he wolde. 7 ic þa swa dyde,  
 35 ealles swyðost for hiora bene; 7 he eac me gesealde feowertig mancesa. 7 ic þa mid mira<sup>2</sup> higna leafe æt Weogornaceastre him sealde þæt lond on ece erfe 7 þa bec 7 þæt Eastmundes

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., B. *ealra*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS., B. *minra*.



erfegewrit 7 eac ure agen rædengewrit þæt wære him to þam gerade þæt land to læten þe mon ælce gere gesylle fiftene scillingas clænes feos to Tettanbyrg þam biscope 7 him eac þone scrift healde<sup>1</sup>.

Ond ic Eadnoð eac beode minum erfewardum on Godes 5 ælmihtiges naman þæt heo næfre þis feoh gelitliæn, ah sien á þam biscope mid rihte holde 7 þære heorædene æt Weogorna-ceastre.

God ælmihtig þa gehealde for bæm lifum þe unne þæt þeos gerædnis stondon mote in écnesse. 7 þis syndon þara manna 10 naman þe æt þære rednisse<sup>2</sup> wæron 7 æt gewitnyse þe her beneoðan awritene syndon.

✠ Ic Wærferð bisceop mid minre agenre handa þas sylene getrimme 7 gefæstnie.

✠ Beornferð p̄r

✠ Werfrið p̄r

✠ Berhthun p̄r

✠ Tidbald p̄r

✠ Oslac p̄r

✠ Berhthelm

✠ Wigheard

✠ Wulfred

✠ Cynehelm

✠ Wulfhun

✠ Eardwulf

✠ Beornferð.

15

20

## XVI

## FOUNDATION OF NEW MINSTER AT WINCHESTER

BY EDWARD THE ELDER

✠ IN nomine<sup>3</sup> Domini. Ic Eadwerd cynig<sup>4</sup> begeat æt Denulfe biscepe 7 æt ðæn hiwun on Winteceastre þa Windcirican 7 ðæt 25

XVI. MSS. (a) Codex Wintoniensis (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 15,350), f. 8. According to Birch (*Hyde Register*, p. 155) this charter was added later than the original writing of the body of the MS., which is assigned by Earle (p. 348) to the latter part of the twelfth century.

Editions by Kemble (no. 1087), Thorpe (p. 156), Birch (no. 605). Also in the *Hyde Register*, ed. Birch, p. 155 ff.

(b) A fragment of another copy beginning at p. 28, l. 16, in the *Hyde Register* (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 944), f. 103. See note on p. 111 f.

Printed by Birch in his edition of this text (p. 155 f.) and in the *Cart. Sax.* (no. 1338).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *þone ne scrift*; *þone* at end of line. N. *þone scrift*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *þwærednisse*.

<sup>3</sup> An acute accent over every *i* in this text.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *crinig*, K. *cinig*, T. *kinig*.

stænne<sup>1</sup> slapern 7 ðæerto ðæs landes be suðan ðære cirican 7 ðæn slepern XXIII gerda on lange, 7 on bræde ðar hit bradest is fif geurda, 7 ðær hit unbradost is anne geurde, to ðæn ðæt ic ðær mynster on gestaðolode, for mine saule hælo 7 mines ðæs arwyr-  
 5 ðan<sup>2</sup> fader Ælfredes cyninges<sup>3</sup>. 7 ic let be ealra Westsexna witena geðeahte 7 leafa to biscepe 7 to þan hiwun Sçe Andreas cirican 7 ðone worðig ðe ðæerto geunnen<sup>4</sup> wes, in to ðære stowe on ece erfe, ðæt hit nage nan man fram ðære stowe to dælanne<sup>5</sup>.

Ðonne is ðis se eaca ðe eallra Westseaxna witan ðærtoeacan  
 10 me gebocodon on ece erfe :

Ærest suðrichte from ðan beoðærn<sup>6</sup> to Sçe Gregories cirican, ðonne from ðære suðwesthyrnan<sup>7</sup> Sçe Gregories cirican XII geurda westrichte to ðære strete, ðonne richte norð XIII geurde to ðære norðstræte, ðonne eastrichte XLIII geurde 7 VI fet to ðære east-  
 15 strete, ðonne suðrichte XX geurde 7 VI fet to ðære suðstrete, ðonne westrichte be ðære suðstrete to ðæn lictune<sup>8</sup> VII geurde 7 VI fet, ðonne richt norð V geurde. Ðonne is ðæs ymbganges<sup>9</sup> ealles ðrio<sup>10</sup> furlanges 7 ðreo metgeurda.

	✕	Eaðwearð rex		✕	Witbrorð	miñ
20	✕	Ealdereð fr̄ regis		✕	Deormoð	miñ
	✕	Plemunð archiep̄c		✕	Beorths[i]ge	miñ
	✕	Denewulf ep̄c		✕	Ocea	miñ
	✕	Wilfærd ep̄c		✕	Adelstan	miñ
	✕	Wulfrige ep̄c		✕	Wulfhelm	miñ
25	✕	Asser ep̄c		✕	Alla	miñ
	✕	Wighen ep̄c		✕	Heorstan	miñ
	✕	Eodmund ep̄c		✕	Wulfhelm	miñ
	✕	Eadgar ep̄c		✕	Beorstan	pr̄b
	✕	Wimund ep̄c		✕	Tata	pr̄b
30	✕	Brinhelm abbod		✕	Brichtulf	pr̄b.

<sup>1</sup> Accent between the fourth and fifth letter; K. *stænnene*, T. *stæwinene*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *arwyrðan*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *cizninges*.

<sup>4</sup> The word looks like *gmnnan* in MS.; *gaunnan* K., T., B.

<sup>5</sup> Sic K.; MS. *twodælanne*.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *beoðærn*.

<sup>7</sup> *hyrnan* underlined.

<sup>8</sup> Underlined.

<sup>9</sup> Underlined; MS. *simbganges*; K., T. *imbganges*.

<sup>10</sup> MS. *driu*, the last letter in slightly darker ink.

## XVII

LEASE OF LAND BY DENEWULF, BISHOP OF  
WINCHESTER

IN nomine Domini. Denewulf bisceop 7 þa hiwan in Wintanceastre leton tó Beornulfa hiora landes xv hida æt Eblesburnan 5 wið þam gafole ðe he wið bisceop 7 wið hiwan ared<sup>1</sup>: ðæt is XLV sciðf. to hærfestes emnihte síe simle agyfen<sup>2</sup> on ða grad ðæt hine nage nan man óf to aceapienne ne his beárn æfter hís dege þa [h]wile þe hi ða gerihta forðbringan a magen; 7 eac ælce geare fultumien to þære cyrican bóte þe ðet land to hyrð<sup>3</sup> be ðem dæle 10 þe ðet oðer fol[c] do, ælc be his landes meðe; 7 þa cyricsceattes mid rihte agyfe, 7 fyrde<sup>4</sup> 7 brycge 7 festengeweorc<sup>5</sup> hewe swa món ofer eall folc do. 7 ðis wes gedón on ðara witena gewitnesse 7 ðafunge<sup>6</sup> ðe hiora naman her benioðan standað<sup>7</sup> áwritene, ðe geare ðe wes agán fram Cristes acennesse twa winter 7 nigan 15 hund. 7 ðet wés gedón on þære mæran stowe on Wintanceastre.

Bisceop lyfde Beornulfe his mege þæt hé moste þa inberðan menn hamettan to Eblesburnan. Nú hebbe ic hi hamet—Lufe 7 hire ðreo bearn 7 Luhan 7 his seax bearn. Ðonne geærendodón me ða híwan on Wintanceastre ðet þa men mostan on þan londe 20 wunien, hæfde swa íc swa minra freonda swelce hit hæfde. Þonne werón þær ðreo wíteðeowe mén burbærde 7 ðreo ðeowberde; ða me salde bisceop 7 þa hiwan to ryhtre æhta 7 hire team. Ðis wes gedon ða man þa cyricean halgode æt Hysseburnan, on ðara manna gewitnessa þe hira naman her beneoðan standað<sup>8</sup>: 25

Ærest Denewulf bisceop <sup>9</sup>	And Wigea diaċ
And Tata p̄b	And Æþelstan p̄b
And Beornstan p̄b	And Eadwulf p̄r

XVII. Codex Wintoniensis (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15,350), f. 61 b (12th century copy).

Editions by Kemble (no. 1079), Thorpe (p. 151), Birch (no. 599).

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., K. *aned.*

<sup>3</sup> *hyrð* K., T., *hynð* MS.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *festereweorc.*

<sup>7</sup> MS. *-ad.*

<sup>9</sup> The first thirteen names in this list occupy three lines.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *simne agyfeð.*

<sup>4</sup> MS. *fyrðe.*

<sup>6</sup> MS. *ða furðe*, K. *quære friiðe.*

<sup>8</sup> MS. *-at.*

And Dyrewine p̄r	And Ædelstan p̄b
And Wulfhere Cidding	And Ælfstan p̄b
And Wulfstan p̄r	And Wulfstan p̄b
And Eadulf cempa	And Wigea p̄b
5 And Beorhtsige p̄r	And Wulfric p̄b
And Windsige p̄r	And Eahtan p̄b
And Ælfsige p̄r	And Winsige miñ
And Denewulf Bisceop <sup>1</sup>	And Wulfred miñ
And Tata p̄r	And Beorsige miñ
10 And Byrstan p̄b	And Ælfsige miñ
And Eadstan Diaċ	And Eadulf miñ
And Æþelstan p̄b	And Wulfhelm miñ
And Eadulf p̄b	And Wulsige miñ.

## XVIII

15 LETTER RECORDING NEGOTIATIONS WITH REFERENCE  
TO THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AT FONTHILL

✠ LEOF, ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond æt Funtial ða fif hida ðe Æðelm Higa ymb spycð. Ða Helmstan ða undæde gedyde ðæt he Æðeredes belt for'stæl', ða ongon Higa him  
20 specan sona on mid oðran onspecendan 7 wolde him oðflitan ðæt lond. Ða sohte he me 7 bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca, forðon ic his hæfde ær onfongen æt bisceopes honda ær he ða undæde 'gedyde'. Ða spæc ic him fore 7 ðingade him to Ælfrede cinge. Ða, God forgelde his saule, ða lyfde he ðæt he moste  
25 beon ryhtes wyrðe for mire forspæce 7 ryhtrace wið Æðelm ymb ðæt lond. Ða het he hie seman, ða wæs ic ðara monna sum ðe ðærto genemned wæran, 7 Wihtbord 7 Ælfric<sup>2</sup>—wæs ða hrælden— 7 Byrthelm 7 Wulfhun ðes blaca æt Sumortune 7 Strica 7 Ubba 7 ma monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. Ða reahte

XVIII. The original MS. is preserved in Canterbury Cathedral Library (Chart. Antiq. Cantuar. C. 1282).

Facsimile in *Ordn. Sur. Facs.* i. pl. XIII.

Editions by Kemble (no. 328), Thorpe (p. 169), Birch (no. 591), Earle (p. 162); and in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 338 ff.

<sup>1</sup> A second set of signatures, arranged in two columns, begins here.

<sup>2</sup> Written over another word, parts of the letters of which are faintly visible.



heora ægðer his spell, ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð mid ðon bocon 7 geagnigean him ðæt lond, ðæt he hit hæfde swa Æðeldryð hit Osulfe on æht gesealde wið gemedan feo, 7 heo cwæð to Osulfe ðæt heo hit ahte him wel to syllanne forðon hit wæs hire morgengifu ða heo æ[re]st to Aðulfe com. 5 7 Helmstan ðis eal on ðon aðe befeng. 7 Ælfred cing ða Osulfe his hondsetene sealde, ða he ðæt lond æt Æðeldryðe bohte, ðæt hit swa stondan moste, 7 Eadweard his 7 Æðelnað his 7 Deormod his 7 ælces ðara monna ðe mon ða habban wolde. Ða we hie æt Weardoran nu semdan, ða bær mon ða boc forð 7 rædde hie; 10 ða stod seo hondseten eal ðæron. Ða ðuhte us eallan ðe æt ðære some wæran, ðæt Helmstan<sup>1</sup> wære aðe ðæs ðe near.

Ða næs Æðelm na fullice geðafa ær we eodan in to cinge 7 sædan eall hu we hit reahtan 7 be hwy we hit reahtan; 7 Æðelm stod self ðærinne mid. 7 cing stod—ðwoh 'his' honda—æt 15 Weardoran innan ðon bure. Ða he ðæt gedon hæfde, ða ascade he Æðelm hwy hit him ryht ne ðuhte ðæt we him gereiht hæfdan, cwæð ðæt he nan ryhtre geðencan ne meahte ðonne he ðone að agifan moste gif he meahte. Ða cwæð ic ðæt he wolde cunnigan 7 bæd ðone cing ðæt he hit andagade; 7 he ða swa dyde. 7 he 20 gelædde ða to ðon andagan ðone að be fulla[n. 7]<sup>2</sup> bæd me ðæt ic him fultemade 7 cwæð ðæt him wære leofre ðæt he [ðæt land me se]<sup>2</sup>alde ðonne se að forburste oððe hit æfr.....æde<sup>3</sup>. Ða cwæð ic ðæt ic him wolde fylstan to ryhte, 7 næfre to nanan wo, on þa gerada ðe he his me uðe; 7 he me ðæt on wedde gesealde. 25

7 we ridan ða to ðon andagan; ic 7 Wihtbord rad mid me 7 Byrthelm rad ðider mid Æðelme. 7 we gehyrdan ealle ðæt he ðone að be fulan ageaf. Ða we cwædan<sup>4</sup> ealle ðæt hit wære geendodu spæc ða se dom wæs gefylled. 7 leof, hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid 30 aða geendigan? Oððe gif mon ælcne dom wile onwendan ðe Ælfred cing gesette, hwonne hadde we ðonne gemotad? 7 he me ða boc ða ageaf swa he me on ðon wedde ær geseald hæfde, sona swa se að agifen was. 7 ic him gehet ðæt he moste ðes londes brucan ða hwile ðe he lifde, gif he hine wolde butan bysmore gehealdan. 35

<sup>1</sup> Over erasure.

<sup>2</sup> Hole in MS.

<sup>3</sup> Hole in MS. There is room for about twelve letters between *r* and *æ*.

<sup>4</sup> Sic MS., B. *cwæðon*.

Ða onufan ðæt ymban oðer healf gear nat ic hweðer ðe ymb  
 tua, ða forstæl he ða unlædan oxan æt Funtial, ðe he mid ealle  
 fore forwearð, 7 draf to Cytlid; 7 hine mon ðæræt aparade. 7  
 his speremon ahredde ða sporwreclas. Ða he fleah, ða torypte  
 5 hine an breber ofer ðæt nebb; ða he ætsacan wolde, ða sæde him  
 mon ðæt to tacne. Ða swaf Eanulf Penearding on—wæs gerefa—  
 ða genom eal ðæt yrfe him on ðæt he ahte to Tyssebyrig. 'Ða'  
 ascade ic hine hwy he swa dyde, ða cwæð he ðæt he wære ðeof.  
 7 mon gerehte ðæt yrfe cinge forðon he wæs cinges mon. 7  
 10 Ordlaf feng to his londe; forðon hit wæs his læn ðæt he on sæt,  
 he ne meachte na his forwyrcan. 7 tu hine hete ða flyman.

Ða gesohte<sup>1</sup> 'he' ðines fæder lic 7 brohte insigle to me, 7 ic  
 wæs æt Cippanhomme mit te. Ða ageaf ic ðæt insigle ðe. 7 ðu  
 him forgeafe his eard 7 ða are ðe he get on gebogen hæfð. 7 ic  
 15 feng to minan londe 7 sealde hit ðon biscope ða on ðine gewit-  
 nesse 7 ði'n'ra weotena ða fif hida wið ðon londe æt Lidgeard  
 wið fif hidan. 7 biscop 7 eal hiwan forgeafan me ða feower; 7 an  
 was teoðinglond. Ðonne, leof, is me micel neodðearf ðæt hit  
 mote stondan swa hit nu gedon is 7 gefyrn wæs. Gif hit elles-  
 20 hwæt bið, ðonne sceal ic 7 wylle beon gebealden on ðon ðe ðe  
 to ælmessan ryht ðincð.

*Endorsed :*

✠ 7 Æðelm Higa eode of ðam geflite ða cing wæs æt Worge-  
 mynster on Ordlafes gewitnesse 7 on Osferðes 7 on Oddan 7 on  
 25 Wihtbordes 7 on Ælfstanes ðys blierian 7 on Æðelnoðes.

## XIX

### MANUMISSION OF A SLAVE BY KING AETHELSTAN

ÆÐELSTAN cyng gefreode Eadelm forraðe þæs ðe he æræst<sup>2</sup> cyng  
 wæs; ðæs wæs on gewitnesse Ælfheah mæssepreost 7 se hired

XIX. The original text is inscribed on p. 15 *b* of a MS. of the Gospels  
 (Reg. i. B. vii.) in the British Museum.

Facsimile in the *Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum*, II.  
 pl. 16.

Editions by Wanley (p. 181), followed by Thorpe (p. 622); Birch  
 (no. 639).

<sup>1</sup> MS. *gesahte*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS., *ærest* W., T., B.

7 Ælfric se gerefa 7 Wufnoð Hwita 7 Eanstan prafost 7 Byrnstan mæssepreost. Se þe ðæt onwende, hæbbe he Godes<sup>1</sup> únमितse 7 galles ðæs haligdomes ðe ic on Angelcyn begeat mid Godes miltse. 7 ic an ðan bearnan þæs ilcan ðæs ic þan fæder an.

## XX

5

## EARL AETHELWOLD'S WILL

HER geswutelad þæt Eadred cing geuþe þæt land æt Wilig þa twelf hida to scrudfultume þam hirede into Ealdan Mynstre<sup>2</sup>.

Leof, Æþelwold ealdarman cyþ his leófan cynehlaforde Eadred cyng hu ic wille ymbe þa landare þe ic æt mine<sup>10</sup> hlaforde geearnode. Ærest Gode 7 þære halgan stowe æt þam bisceopstole æt Wintanceastre, þam bisceope 7 þam hiwum, þæt land æt Wilig þa twelf hida to scrudfultume, þæt hi me on heora gebeddredenre hæbben, swa swa ic him to gelyfe. 7 þam cinge minne hæregeatwa: feower sweord 7 feower spæra<sup>15</sup> 7 feower scyldas 7 feower beagas, twegen on hundtwelftigum mancosun 7 twegen on hundeahtatigum, 7 feower<sup>3</sup> hors 7 twa sylfrene fata. 7 minum bræðer Eadrice þæt land æt Ocebunnan 7 æt Æscesdune 7 æt Cegham 7 æt Wessingatune. 7 Æþelstane minæ bræðer þæt land æt Bradanwætere 7 þæt æt Niwantúne.<sup>20</sup> 7 Ælfsige mine brøðorsuna<sup>4</sup> þæt land æt Carcel. 7 Ælfstanes suna mines broþor þæt land æt Cleran. 7 eall þæt yrfe þæ ic hæbbe on lænelandum<sup>5</sup>, þonne wylle<sup>6</sup> ic þæt þæt sie gedeled for mine sawle swa swa ic nu þam freondum sæde þæ ic to spræc.

XX. Codex Wintoniensis (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15,350), f. 87 (12<sup>th</sup> century copy).

Editions: Kemble (no. 1173), Thorpe (p. 499), Earle (p. 360), Birch (no. 819).

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., B. *godcs.*

<sup>2</sup> This sentence in red ink.

<sup>3</sup> Sic K., T., E.; *feorwer* MS.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *bræðer suna.*

<sup>5</sup> MS. *lænelendum.*

<sup>6</sup> Sic MS., B. *wille.*

## XXI

## KING EADRED'S WILL

IN nomine Domini. Ðis is Eadredes cinges cwide: þæt is þænne ærest þæt he [an] in to þære stowe þær he wile þæt his lic reste, 5 twegra gyldenra roda, and twegra gyldenhiltra sweorda, and feower hund punda. þænne an he in to Winteceastre to Ealden Mynstre þreora hama<sup>1</sup>, þæt is þænne Duntune and Domerham<sup>2</sup> and Calne. þænne an he in to Niwan Mynstre þreora hama, þæt is þænne Hwerwyl and Andeferas and Clearas; and to 10 Nunnanmynstre<sup>3</sup>, Scealdeburnan and þæcham<sup>4</sup> and Bradanford. þænne an he to Nunnanmynstre to Ceastre þritiga punda, and þritiga to Wiltune, and þritiga to Sceafesbirig<sup>5</sup>.

þænne an he his sawla to anliesnesse and his ðeodscipe<sup>6</sup> to þearfe, sixtyne hund punda, to þan ðæt hi mege magan hungor<sup>7</sup> 15 and hæþenne here him fram aceapian gif hie beþurfen<sup>8</sup>. þænne fo se ercebiscop æt Cristes cirican to feower hund pundun, Cantwarum and Suþrigum and Suthseaxum and Bearruscire to fultume<sup>9</sup>; and gif þan biscop hwæt tide, þænne beo þæt feoh on þan mynstre, on þara witena gewitenesse ðe on þære scire beon. 20 And fo Ælfsige, biscop to þam biscopstole to Winteceastre, to feower hund pundun, twa hund to Hamtunscire, and to Wiltunscire an hund, and ofer to Dorsæton; and gif him hwæt tide, beo hit—swa hit hær bufan cwið—on þara witena gewitenesse ðe on þære scire beon. þænne fo Dunstan abbod to twam hund 25 pundun, and healde æt Glæstingabirig Sumorsæton and Defenun; and gif him hwæt tide, beo hit swa hit her bufan cwið. þænne fo Ælfsige biscop to twam hund pundum þe þær ofer is, and

XXI. This text is preserved in the Liber Monasterii de Hyda, a MS. in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire.

Edition by Edwards (*Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, p. 153 ff.); followed by Birch (no. 912).

<sup>1</sup> Sic E. for MS. *þama*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the scribe had first written *7 Andeferas*, but this name is crossed with a red line, and *Dromerham* substituted, E.

<sup>3</sup> E. *Nunanmynstre*.

<sup>4</sup> E. *þæt ham*.

<sup>5</sup> E. *Sceafnesbirig*.

<sup>6</sup> E. *deodscipe*.

<sup>7</sup> Sic E. for MS. *hugor*.

<sup>8</sup> Sic E. for MS. *beþunfen*.

<sup>9</sup> Sic E. for MS. *fultune*.



healde æt þæm biscopstole on Winteceastre, swilcre scire swilcre þearf sie. Þænne fo Oscytel biscop to feower hund pundun, and healde hit [æt] ðæm biscopstole æt Dorceastre Myrcum<sup>1</sup>, swa hit her bufan cwið<sup>2</sup>. Þænne hæfþ<sup>3</sup> Wulfhelm biscop ðæt feower hund punda. Þanne nime<sup>4</sup> man twentig hund mancusa goldes<sup>5</sup> and gemynetige to mancusan; and fo se ercebiscop to anum dæle, to oprum Ælfsigé biscop, to þridan Oscytel biscop, and gedælen geond þa biscopricea, Gode to willan and minre sawle to anliesnesse.

Þænne an ic minre meder þæs landes æt Ambresbyrig and<sup>10</sup> æt Waneting and æt Basingum, and ealra minra boclanda þe ic [on] Suðeseaxum hæbbe and on Suðrigum and on Cent, and ealra þæra þe hio ær hæfde. Þænne an ic ðam ercebiscop twa hund mancusa goldes, beo hundtwelftigum. And ælcan minra leodbiscopa hundtwelftiga mancusa goldes. And ælcan minra<sup>15</sup> ealdormanna hundtwentig mancusa goldes. And ælcan gesettan discöegne and gesettan hræglöene and gesettan biriele, hundeahtatig mancusa goldis. And ælcan minra mæssepreosta þe ic gesette hæbbe in to minum reliquium, fiftyg mancusa goldes, and fif pund penega. And ælcan þæra oþerra preosta fif pund.<sup>20</sup> And ælcan gesettan<sup>5</sup> stigweard þritig mancusa goldes and ealcan men preosthades<sup>6</sup> þe geþeodad wæs siþþan ic to anwalde feng, and ælcan þæra þe<sup>7</sup> is on minnum hirede, si swilcre note nyt swilc he sy, buton he sy lit in bynde<sup>8</sup> to þam cynestolum.

Þonne wille ic ðæt man nime to ælcan þissa hama twelf<sup>25</sup> ælmesmen, and gif hwæt hera ænigan getide, sette man þær oþerne to; and stande þis eal þa hwile þe Cristendom beo, Gode to lofe, and minra sawle æleisnesse; and gif þis hwa don<sup>9</sup> nelle, þonne gange þæt land in þær min lic rest.

<sup>1</sup> E. *Myrcumme*.

<sup>4</sup> Sic E. for MS. *minre*.

<sup>6</sup> Sic E. for MS. *preostas*.

<sup>8</sup> Sic E.

<sup>2</sup> E. *cwiðe*. <sup>3</sup> MS. inserts *w* before Wulfhelm.

<sup>5</sup> MS. repeats *settan*, E.

<sup>7</sup> MS. *þa*.

<sup>9</sup> E. *done*.

## XXII

## ENTRIES IN THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS

(I) *Prayer for the authors of the work.*

ÐE<sup>1</sup> lifigende God gemyne ðu Eadfrið 7 Eðilwald 7 Billfrið 7  
5 Aldred peccaƿ: ðas feowero mið Gode ymbweson<sup>2</sup> ðas bóc.

(II) *Dedication of the work.*

✠<sup>3</sup> Eadfrið biscop<sup>4</sup> Lindisfearnensis æcclesie, he ðis boc avrát  
æt frvma Gode 7 S̄ce Cvðberhte 7 allvm ðæm halgvm 'gimænelicē'  
ða ðe in eolonde sint. 7 Eðilwald Lindisfearneolondinga 'biſc'  
10 hit vta giðryde 7 gibélde, sva he vel cuðge. 7 Billfrið se oncre,  
he gismioðade ða gihrino ða ðe vtan ón sint, 7 hit gihrínade mið  
golde 7 mið gimmvm, éc mið svlfre<sup>5</sup> of'gylded faconleas feh. 7<sup>6</sup>  
Aldred p's'br indignus 7 misserrimus<sup>7</sup> m'í'ð Godes fvltvñge 7 S̄ci  
Cvðberhtes hit of'glóesade ón englisc 7 hine gihamadi mið ðæm  
15 ðriím dælǵ, Mathevs dæl Gode 7 S̄ce Cvðberhti, Marc dæl ðæm  
biſc, 7 Lvcas dæl ðæm hiorode, 7 æht<sup>8</sup> ora seolfres<sup>9</sup> mið tó inlåde.  
7 Sci<sup>10</sup> Joh. dæl f. hine seolfne, 'i. fe his savle', 7 feover óra  
seolfres<sup>9</sup> mið, Gode 7 S̄ci Cvðberti; þætte he hæbbe ondfong  
ðerh Godes milsæ on heofnǵ, séel 7 sibb on eorðo, forðgeong 7  
20 giðyngo, visdóm 7 snyttro ðerh S̄ci Cvðberhtes earnvnga.

✠ Eadfrið, Oeðilwald, Billfrið, Aldred hoc evange Dō 7  
Cvðberhto constrvxeřt † ornavervnt.

XXII. These entries are inscribed on f. 88 and f. 208 respectively of the Lindisfarne Gospels (MS. Cott. Nero D. iv.) preserved in the British Museum. For date see note on p. 123.

Facsimile (II. only) in *Catal. of Ancient MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* II. pl. 9.

Editions by Bouterwek (*Die vier Evangelien in Alt-Nordhumbrischer Sprache*, 1857, pp. 260, 265), Waring (*Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, Surtees Society, 1865, vol. iv. p. 174), Skeat (*The Gospel according to St John, in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian versions*, 1878, p. 188), Birch (no. 631).

<sup>1</sup> This invocation is written in black ink. *u* is written over the line above *e*.

<sup>2</sup> *o* written above the line, between *w* and *e*.

<sup>3</sup> This entry in red ink.

<sup>4</sup> *b* above *p*.

<sup>5</sup> *u* above *v*.

<sup>6</sup> Followed by *ic*, partially erased and still legible.

<sup>7</sup> In margin, *Alfredi natvs Aldredvs uocor bonæ mulieris filivs eximivs loquor. Above mulieris; .i. Tilw.*

<sup>8</sup> *v* above line after *t*.

<sup>9</sup> *v* above *o*.

<sup>10</sup> No sign of contraction.

## XXIII

## GRANT OF AN ESTATE BY QUEEN EADGIFU TO CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, WITH ACCOUNT OF ITS PREVIOUS HISTORY

✠ EADGIFU cyþ þam arċ. bisċ. 7 Cristes cyrcean hyrede hu hire 5  
land com æt Culingon. þæt is þæt hire læfde hire fæder land  
7 bōc, swa he mid rihte beget 7 him his yldran læfdon. Hit  
gelamp þæt hire fæder aborgude xxx punda æt Godan 7 betæhte  
him þæt land þæs feos to anwedde; 7 he hit hæfde VII winter.  
þa gelamp, emb þa tid, þæt man beonn ealle Cantware to wigge 10  
to Holme. þa nolde Sigelm hire fæder to wigge faron mid nanes  
mannes scette unagifnum; 7 agef þa Godan xxx punda 7 becwæþ  
Eadgife his dehter land, 7 bōc sealde.

þa he on wigge afeallen wæs, þa ætsoc Goda þæs feos ægifestes  
7 þæs landes wyrnde oð þæs on syxtan geare. þa spræc hit 15  
fæstlice Byrhsige Dyrincg swa lange oð þa witan þe þa wæron  
gerehton Eadgife þæt heo sceolde hire fæder hand geclænsian  
be swa myclan feo; 7 heo þæs aþ lædde on ealre þeode gewitnesse  
to Æglesforda, 7 þær geclænsude hire fæder þæs ægifestes be xxx  
punda aþe. þa gyt heo ne moste landes brucan ær hire frynd 20  
fundon æt Eadwearde cyncege þæt he him þæt land forbead, swa  
he æniges brucan wolde; 7 he hit swa alet.

þa gelamp on fyrste þæt se cynincg Godan oncuþe swa swyþe  
swa him man ætrehte bec 7 land, ealle þa þe he ahte; 7 se  
cynincg hine þa 7 ealle his are, mid bocum 7 landum, forgeaf 25  
Eadgife to ateonne swa swa heo wolde. þa cwæð heo þæt heo  
ne dorste for Gode him swa leanian swa he hire to geearnud  
hæfde, 7 agef him ealle his land, buton twam sulungum æt  
Osterlande; 7 nolde þa bec agifan ær heo wyste hu getriwlice  
he hi æt landum healdan wolde. 30

XXIII. Original MS. in British Museum (Stowe Charter 28).

Facsimile in *Ordn. Sur. Facs.* III. pl. xxix.

Editions by Kemble (no. 499), Thorpe (p. 201), Birch (no. 1064), Sweet  
(*Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1908, p. 54); and in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*,  
p. 342 ff.

þa gewat Eadweard cyneg 7 fencg Æþelstan to rice. þa Godan sæl þuhte, þa gesohte he þone kynincg Æþelstan<sup>1</sup>, 7 bæd þæt he him geþingude wiþ Eadgife his boca edgift. 7 se cyneg þa swa dyde. 7 heo him ealle agef buton Osterlandes bec; 7 he  
 5 þa boc unnendre handa hire to let 7 þara oþerra mid eaðmettum geþancude; 7 ufenan þæt, twelfa sum, hire aþ sealde, for gebornne 7 ungebornne, þæt þis æfre gesett spæc wære. 7 þis wæs gedon on Æþelstanes kynincges gewitnesse 7 his wytena æt Hamme wiþ Læwe. 7 Eadgifu hæfde land mid bocum þara twegea  
 10 cyninga dagas hire suna.

þa Eadred geendude 7 man Eadgife berypte ælcere are, þa namon Godan twegen suna, Leofstan 7 Leofric, on Eadgife þas twa forespecenen land æt Culingon 7 æt Osterlande, 7 sædon þam cilde Eadwige, þe þa gecoren wæs, þæt hy rihtur hiora  
 15 wæren þonne hire. þæt þa swa wæs oþ Eadgar astiþude. 7 he '7' his wytan gerehton þæt hy manfull reaflac gedon hæfden, 7 hi hire hire are gerehton 7 agefon. þa nam Eadgifu, be þæs cynincges leafe 7 gewitnesse 7 ealra his bisceopa, þa bec, 7 land betæhte in to Cristes cyrcean, mid hire agenum handum  
 20 upon þone altare lede, þan hyrede on ecnesse to are 7 hire sawle to reste; 7 cwæþ þæt Crist sylf mid eallum heofonlicum mægne þane awyrgde on ecnesse þe þas gife æfre awende oþþe gewanude. þus com þeos ar in to Cristes cyrcean hyrede.

*Endorsed :*

- 25 (1) Quomodo Ediuia Regina recuperavit Culinge quam postea dedit conventui ecclesie Christi Cantuarie.  
 (2) Eadgyua Regina. (3) Anno ML. (4) Anglice.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS., B. Æþelstan.



I OSWULF, earl by God's grace, and Beornthryth my wife, give to Almighty God and to the holy congregation at Christ Church, Canterbury, the estate at Stanstead, amounting to twenty ploughlands, in the hope, and for the reward, of the eternal and future life, and for the salvation of our own souls and those of our children. And with great humility we pray that we may be in the fellowship of those who are God's servants there, and of those who have been lords there, and of those who have given their lands to the church; and that our anniversary may be celebrated every year with religious offices, and also with the distribution of alms, as theirs are.

Now I Wulfred, by God's grace archbishop, confirm these aforesaid words, and enjoin that the anniversary of them both be thus celebrated every year on one day, on Oswulf's anniversary, both with religious offices and with almsgiving and also with a banquet of the community. Moreover I command that the following things be paid annually from Lympne, to which the aforesaid estate belongs, [on behalf] of that same land at Stanstead: one hundred and twenty wheaten loaves, and thirty fine (?) loaves, one fullgrown bullock, four sheep, two fitches, five geese, ten hens, and ten pounds of cheese, if it be a "flesh-day"—if, however, it be a fast-day, they are to give a wey of cheese, and of fish, butter and eggs, as much as they can procure—and thirty "ambers" of good Welsh ale, which amounts to fifteen *mittan*, and a *mitta* full of honey, or two of wine, whichever they can get at the time. And from the common provisions of the community at the monastery itself, one hundred and twenty *gesufl* loaves are to be given as charity for the good of their souls, as is done at the anniversaries of lords. And all the above-mentioned provisions are to be given to the provost, and he is to distribute them as may be most

advantageous to the brethren and most efficacious for the souls of Oswulf and Beornthryth. Furthermore, the wax is to be given for use in the church, in order that the souls of those for whose sake this is done may be benefited. Moreover, I enjoin on my successors who have the estate at Bourn, that they annually prepare beforehand, for the anniversary, one thousand loaves and as many *suffa*; and let these be distributed as doles at Christ Church on the anniversary, on behalf of my soul, and those of Oswulf and Beornthryth; and for the benefit of those [for whom this charity is intended], the provost is to proclaim in the city when the anniversary is to take place.

Also, I pray the community that they perform the following religious offices at that time on behalf of their souls: that every priest sing two masses for Oswulf's soul and two for Beornthryth's; and every deacon read two "passions" for his soul and two for hers; and every servant of God sing two "fifties" for his soul and two for hers; that ye may be blessed with worldly benefits in the sight of the world, just as their souls are blessed with the religious benefits. Also I pray the community that ye remember me on this anniversary with such divine service as may seem to you becoming—I who have confirmed this agreement, both for love of the community and of the souls of those whose names are written above. Valete in Domino.

*Endorsed:*

This is the arrangement made by Oswulf and Beornthryth.

235II

I, REEVE ABBA, declare and command to be written what are my wishes as to the disposal of my property after my time.

In the first place, with regard to the land which I have, and God gave me, and I received from my lords, it is my desire that if God will give me a child, he shall have the land after me, and enjoy it with my wife; and similarly, that after him my descendants [shall continue to hold it], as long as it is God's

will that there be any of them able and qualified to hold land. If, however, it is my lot ~~not to have~~ a child, then I desire that my wife shall have it as long as she is willing to keep it without marrying again. And my brother Alchhere is to give her his support and to see that she has the profits from the land; and he is to be given half a ploughland at Chillenden for his possession and use, in order that he may the more zealously attend to and look after her needs; and with the land are to be given him four oxen, two cows, fifty sheep, and a horn. If, however, my wife is not willing to remain unwedded, and prefers to contract another marriage, then my kinsmen are to take the land and to give her own property to her. Again, if she prefers to enter a convent or to journey south, then my two kinsmen Alchhere and Aethelwold are to give her two thousand, and to take possession of the land; and fifty ewes and five cows are to be given to Lyminge on her behalf. And at my funeral, ten oxen, ten cows, one hundred ewes, and one hundred swine are to be given to Folkestone, and to the community severally, five hundred pence, in order that my wife may have the privilege of entering there, either at my funeral, or at a later day, whichever she may prefer. If, however, the community or their head will not grant her admittance into the convent, or if she herself does not desire it, but prefers some other course, then one thousand pence are to be given at my funeral for my resting-place, and to the community severally, five hundred pence on behalf of my soul.

And whosoever may have this land of mine, I pray and command him to give annually to the community at Folkestone fifty "ambers" of malt, six "ambers" of meal, three weys of lard and cheese, four hundred loaves, one bullock and six sheep. And whosoever may succeed to my property is to distribute to every priest in Kent a mancus of gold, and to every servant of God a penny, and to St Peter my wergeld of two thousand. And Freothomund is to have my sword, and he is to give four thousand for it, and of this sum, thirteen hundred pence are to be given back to him.

And if my brothers have an heir capable of holding land, then I give the land to him. If they have no heir, or if any-

thing happens to him (or them), after their death I give it to Freothomund, if he be alive at the time. If anything happens to him, then I give it to whichever of my sisters' sons is willing to receive it and succeeds in getting it. And if it come to pass that my family dies out so utterly that there be none of them able to hold land, then let the community at Christ Church and their lord take it, and procure by means of it benefits for my soul. On this condition I give it to them, that whoever is head of Christ Church shall be the advocate and patron of myself and my heirs, and that we may be under his protection.

I Ceolnoth, archbishop by God's grace, consent to this in writing and confirm it with Christ's cross.....

Heregyth has specified the following terms for the community at Christ Church [with regard to payments] from the estate at Challock, after her death and Abba's: namely, thirty "ambers" of ale, three hundred loaves, fifty of which shall be white loaves, a wey of lard and cheese, a fullgrown bullock, four sheep and a pig, or six sheep, six geese, ten hens, thirty tapers if it is in winter, a "sester" full of honey, a "sester" full of butter and a "sester" full of salt. And Heregyth enjoins, in the name of God, upon those persons who succeed to the estate after her, that they be very careful to carry out what is stipulated in this document for the community at Christ Church, and that payment always be made annually, when the community are bled. And whosoever succeeds to the estate is to give to her administrator (?) thirteen pounds in silver; and she remits fifteen pounds in order that this food-rent may be the better provided.

*Endorsed:*

The distribution of the Reeve Abba's property and his covenant [with the community] at Christ Church.

### III

IN nomine Domini. I King Berhtwulf give to my thegn Forthred an estate of nine hides at Wootton for him to have as a perpetual heritage, and to give after his time to whoever is willing to earn it from him by humble obedience: *Cissede-*



*beorg, Feowertreowehyl, Eanburgemere, Tihhanhyl*, and out along the *Geht* (?) an estate of.....hides as a perpetual heritage. And he gave as the price of the land, thirty mancuses and nine hundred shillings, in consideration of the fact that he was to hold the land as a perpetual heritage.

I King Berhtwulf confirm and ratify this my gift with the sign of Christ's cross and in the...of His saints (?) and in the presence of his council.....

And likewise all we who have been witnesses of this, enjoin in the name of Christ and of His saints (?), that if any man change in any point this our witness, that he have the...of Almighty God and of His saints (?) in heaven.....

## IV

I LUFU, by God's grace *ancilla Dei*, have been enquiring and deliberating about the good of my soul, with the advice of Archbishop Ceolnoth and the community at Christ Church. I desire to give annually to the community at Christ Church, from the inheritance which God has given me, and my friends have helped me [to secure], sixty "ambers" of malt, one hundred and fifty loaves, fifty white loaves, one hundred and twenty "alms-loaves," a bullock, a pig, four sheep, and two weys of lard and cheese, on behalf of my soul and of the souls of my friends and relatives who generously helped me [to secure my property]; and let this always be given annually on the Feast of the Assumption. And in like manner, whosoever of my heirs shall hold this estate is to give these things, together with a *mitta* full of honey, ten geese and twenty hens.

I Ceolnoth, archbishop by God's grace, confirm this in writing with the sign of Christ's cross.....

I Lufu, the humble handmaid of God, appoint and confirm the above-mentioned benefactions and offerings from my inheritance at Mongeham in favour of the community at Christ Church. And I pray, and in the name of the living God enjoin upon the man who has this land and property at Mongeham, to continue these benefactions until the end of the

world. He who is willing to observe and perform what I have commanded in this document, to him be given and continued the blessing of heaven. He who refuses or neglects this, to him be given and continued the torment of hell, unless he be willing to have recourse to full compensation to God and to men. Uene ualete.

*Endorsed:*

Lufu's deed.

## V

THIS is the agreement between Ealhburg and Eadweald with regard to the land at Bourn, as to what is to be given annually from the estate to the community at Christ Church, on behalf of Ealhburg and Ealdred and Eadweald and Ealawyn: [namely] forty "ambers" of malt, two hundred and forty loaves, a wey of cheese, a wey of lard, a fullgrown bullock, four sheep, ten geese, twenty hens and four "fothers" of wood. And I Ealhburg enjoin upon my kinsman Eadweald in the name of God and of all His saints, that he observe this duly during his lifetime, and command his heirs to observe it afterwards, so long as Christianity endures. And whoever has the land [is to give] twenty *gesufl* loaves to the church, every Sunday, for the souls of Ealdred and Ealhburg.

This is the pious charge which Ealhhere has enjoined upon his daughter Ealawyn, with regard to three ploughlands at Finglesham: one hundred pence [are to be given] annually to the community at Christ Church. And whosoever has possession of this land is to give this money in the sight of God and of all His saints, and whosoever fails to perform this, be it on his soul, and not on the soul of him who has commanded it to be done.

## VI

IN nomine Domini. Ealhburg has arranged, with the advice of her friends, that there shall be given annually to the community at St Augustine's from the estate at Brabourne forty "ambers" of malt, a fullgrown bullock, four sheep, two hundred

and forty loaves, a wey of lard and cheese, four "fathers" of wood and twenty hens; whosoever has the estate is to give these things for the souls of Ealdred and Ealhburg. And the community are to sing daily after their "verse" the psalm "Exaudiat te Dominus" on her behalf. Whosoever shall violate this, may he be cut off from God and from all the saints and from the company of the holy (?) in this life and in eternity.

Here follow the names of the persons who witnessed this agreement, namely Drihtnoth.....

If, however, it should come to pass, as we hope it will not, that any panic should arise through a heathen invasion or any other calamity, so that this cannot be provided that year, then twice the amount must be given in the following year. Then if it still cannot be paid, three times the amount must be given in the third year. Then if he still cannot or will not [pay it], land and title-deeds are to be given to the community at St Augustine's.

## VII

THIS is the agreement between Eadweald Oshering and Cynethryth, widow of Earl Aethelmod, with regard to the land at Chart which Aethelmod her lord gave her. It was bequeathed to Osberht, his brother's son, if he survived Cynethryth, but afterwards to no other member of the family; but she should arrange for its disposal after their time, as might be for them both most just and most charitable.

Now Eadweald and Cynethryth have devised the following arrangements with the help of their friends. If Eadweald live longer than Cynethryth, he is to give for the estate at Chart ten thousand. If he die before her, whichever of his children is alive is to pay the money and dispose of the estate in whatever way is best for those who have acquired it. There is no one nearer of kin to Aethelmod than Eadweald, whose mother [was] his brother's daughter; it is most natural that he should have the land, and his children after him, and [that they] should dispose of it in whatever way may seem to them most beneficial to those who lawfully acquired it.

## VIII

IN nomine Domini. I, Earl Aelfred, and Archbishop Aethelred, and the community at Christ Church, have decided upon the following arrangements as to the estate at Chartham: that is, Aelfred has bequeathed the estate at Chartham after his time to the community, as their own property. And if it come to pass that the community desire to grant the estate to any other person than themselves, they are to give it to Aelfred's child, or to whichever of his kinsmen may desire it, on condition that he makes terms with the community either for a rent in money or a food-rent, whichever he may succeed in gaining their consent to. And the archbishop gives to Aelfred the estate at Croydon, for his use during his lifetime. And when Aelfred dies and his child needs the land, then she is to acquire the land, if she can, from the community and whoever may at that time be their lord. And if anyone in the future raise any dispute about the estate at Chartham, [it is to be made clear that] Aelfred has upheld Herewyn in every particular of their agreement in so far as she herself would consent thereto. And this declaration was made in the city, before the councillors whose names are written below.

## IX

IN nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. I, Earl Aelfred, and Werburg my wife, have acquired these books from a heathen army with our true money, that is, with pure gold. And this we have done for the love of God and for the good of our souls, and because we were not willing that these holy books should remain any longer in heathen hands. And we now desire to give them to Christ Church, for the praise and glory and worship of God, and as a thankoffering for His Passion, and for the use of the religious community who daily celebrate God's praise in Christ Church, on condition that they are read every month for Aelfred and for Werburg and for



Alhthryth, to the eternal salvation of their souls, as long as God shall provide for the continuance of Christianity in this place. Likewise I, Earl Aelfred, and Werburg, pray and entreat in the name of God Almighty and of all His saints, that no one be so presumptuous as to give away these holy books, or to remove them from Christ Church, so long as Christianity shall endure.

## X

IN this document I, Earl Aelfred, give instructions that [the names of] those persons to whom I am most anxious to grant my property and bookland, namely my wife Werburg and the child of us both, be made known in writing to King Aelfred and to all his councillors and advisers, and likewise to my kinsmen and intimate friends. Now this comprises, in the first place, thirty-two hides at Sanderstead and Selsdon, twenty hides at Westerham, thirty hides at Clapham, six hides at Longfield (?), ten hides at Horsley, and six hides at Nettlestead. I, Earl Aelfred, give these estates, after my time, to Werburg and to Alhthryth, the child of us both, with live stock and with produce and with everything pertaining thereto; and I give them two thousand swine with the estates, if she remains unmarried in accordance with our verbal agreements. And she is to take to St Peter's my two wergelds, if it be God's will that she be able to make the journey. And after Werburg's time, the estates at Sanderstead and Selsdon and Longfield (?) are to go, without dispute, to Alhthryth. And if she have a child, the child is to succeed to these estates after her; if she have no child, then the next of kin descended from her direct paternal ancestry is to have the land and the stock. And whosoever among my kinsmen on my father's side shall chance (?) to have the power and the inclination to acquire the other estates, he is to buy these estates from her at half their value. And whosoever shall have the use of the land at Clapham after my time, is to give annually two hundred pence as rent to Chertsey on behalf of Aelfred's soul.

And I give to my son Aethelwald three hides of bookland :

two hides at Waddon and one hide at Gatton, and with it one hundred swine; and if the king will grant him the folkland as well as the bookland, then let him have it and enjoy it; if that may not be, then she is to give him whichever she pleases, either the estate at Horsley or that at Longfield (?). And I give to my kinsman Berhtsige a hide of bookland at Lingfield, and with it one hundred swine. And she is to give one hundred swine to Christ Church for me and for my soul, and one hundred to Chertsey; and the rest are to be distributed among religious houses attached to God's churches in Surrey and in Kent as long as they shall last (?). And I give to my kinsman Sigewulf the estate at Nettlestead after Werburg's time; and Sigewulf is to give one hundred pence to Christ Church from the estate; and each of his successors who has the land after him is to make the same pious gift to Christ Church on behalf of Aelfred's soul, so long as Christianity exists, and the money can be got out of the estate. And I give to my kinsman Eadred the land at Farley after Aethelred's time, if he is willing to earn it from him; and he is to give annually from the estate thirty "ambers" of corn to Rochester; and after Eadred's lifetime, this land is to be assigned without dispute to Aelfred's direct maternal relatives, so long as Christianity exists in England.

I, Aelfred, desire and wish that this declaration with the various articles specified above in writing be forthwith faithfully confirmed on behalf of (?) me and my heirs. If, however, Almighty God has ordained, and shall grant me as a gift, that a nearer heir shall be born to me on the male side, then to him I give all my property after my lifetime, to use as may be most agreeable to him. And whosoever will duly observe and perform the benefactions and gifts that I have spoken and written about, may the King of Heaven preserve him in this present life and also in the life to come; and whosoever shall impair or violate them, may Almighty God impair his worldly welfare and also the welfare of his soul for ever and ever.

Here follow the names of the persons who have witnessed these arrangements.

I, Archbishop Aethelred, confirm these words and these

arrangements in writing with the sign of Christ's holy cross.....

*Endorsed:*

This is Aelfred's will.

## XI

I KING ALFRED by the grace of God, and with the advice of Archbishop Aethelred, and the cognisance of all the West Saxon council, have been deliberating about the good of my soul, and about the inheritance which God and my ancestors granted to me, and about the inheritance which my father, King Aethelwulf, bequeathed to us three brothers, to Aethelbald, Aethelred and myself; [with the proviso that] whichever of us lived longest was to succeed to everything. But it came to pass that Aethelbald died; and Aethelred and I, with the cognisance of all the West Saxon council, gave our share in trust to our kinsman, King Aethelberht, on condition that he restored it to us in the state in which it was when we entrusted it to him; and he did so, [leaving to us] the inheritance [belonging to us jointly], and what he had acquired by the use of our share, and what he had himself acquired.

When it came to pass that Aethelred became king, I prayed him, in the presence of the whole of our council, that the property should be divided between us, and that he would give me my share. Then he told me that he could not easily divide it, for he had many times already attempted to do so (?); and he added that there was no one to whom he would rather give it after his time than to me—both the property of which he was in possession, but which by right belonged to both of us, and also the property which he had himself acquired. And with this I was at that time well content. But it came to pass that we were all harassed with the heathen invasion; then we discussed our children's future—how they would need some maintenance, whatever might happen to us through these disasters. When we were assembled at Swanborough (?), we agreed, with the cognisance of the West Saxon council, that whichever of us survived the other, was to give to the other's children the



lands which we had ourselves acquired, and the lands which King Aethelwulf gave us in the lifetime of Aethelbald, excepting those which he had settled on us three brothers jointly. And we both gave each other security, that whichever of us lived the longer, should succeed both to lands and to valuables and to all his estate, with the exception of that portion which either had bequeathed to his children.

But it came to pass that King Aethelred died. Then no one informed me that any testament had been made or witnessed, beside the one to which we had formerly, before witnesses, agreed. When now we heard of many suits about the inheritance, I produced King Aethelwulf's will in our assembly at *Langandene*, and it was read before all the West Saxon council. When it was read, I prayed them all for love of me—offering them surety that I would never bear a grudge against any of them on account of any conscientious expression of opinion—that none of them for love or fear of me should hesitate to declare what was the national law in such a case, lest any man should say that I had wronged my kinsfolk, whether of the older or younger generation. Then they all duly declared and stated that they could not devise a more just title, nor find one in the will. “Now everything therein has passed into thy possession, do thou bequeath and give it to kinsman or to stranger, whichever is most agreeable to thee.” And they all gave me their surety and their sign-manual, that no man, so long as they lived, should ever make any change in the arrangements which I should decide upon at my last day.

I Alfred, King of the West Saxons, by the grace of God, and with the cognisance of the persons mentioned above, declare what are my wishes concerning the disposal of my property after my lifetime. In the first place, I give to Edward my elder son, the estate at *Strætneat* in *Triconscir*, and Hartland (?), and all the booklands held by Leofheah, and the estates at Carhampton, Kilton (?), Burnham and Wedmore—and I request of the community at Cheddar that they choose him, on the terms which we have already agreed upon—with the estate at Chewton and those belonging thereto. And I give him the estates at *Cantuctun*, Bedwin, Pewsey, Hurstbourne, Sutton, Leatherhead, and Alton.



And all the booklands which I have in Kent, and at the lower Hurstbourne, and at Chiseldon, are to be given to Winchester on the conditions laid down by my father, together with my private property at the lower Hurstbourne which I have entrusted to Ecgulf.

And to my younger son the estates at Arreton(?), Dean, Meon, Amesbury, Dean(?), Sturminster, Yeovil, Crewkerne, Whitchurch, Axmouth, Branscombe, Cullompton, Twyford, Milborne, Exminster, *Sutheswyrth* and Luton, and the lands belonging thereto, namely all that I have among the Welsh except *Triconscir*.

And to my eldest daughter the residence at Wellow; and to the second, those at Clere and Candover; and to the youngest the residences at Wellow(?), Ashton and Chippenham. And to Aethelm, my brother's son, the residences at Aldingbourne, Compton, Crondall, Beeding, Beddingham, *Burnham*, Thunderfield and Eashing. And to Aethelwold, my brother's son, the residences at Godalming, Guildford and Steyning. And to my kinsman Osferth those at Beckley, Rotherfield, Ditchling, Sutton, Lyminster(?), Augmering and Felpham, and the lands belonging thereto. And to Ealhswith the residences at Lambourn, Wantage and Edington.

And to my two sons one thousand pounds, five hundred pounds to each. And to my eldest daughter and to the second and to the youngest and to Ealhswith, four hundred pounds to the four of them, one hundred pounds to each. And to each of my earls one hundred mancuses; and the same also to Aethelhelm, Aethelwold and Osferth; and to Earl Aethelred a sword worth one hundred mancuses. And to the men who serve me, to whom I have made gifts this Easter, two hundred pounds are to be given and divided between them, to each as much as will fall to him according to the proportion in which I have just made my distribution. And one hundred mancuses to the archbishop and to Bishop Esne and to Bishop Werferth and to the Bishop of Sherborne. Likewise, two hundred pounds are to be distributed for me and for my father and for the friends for whom he interceded and I intercede—fifty to priests throughout my realm, fifty to poor servants of God, fifty to the

distressed poor, fifty to the church in which I shall rest. I do not know for certain whether there is as much money as this, nor do I know whether there is more, but I think that there is. If there is more, it is to be shared between all those to whom I have bequeathed money; and I desire that my earls and officials should all be present at the time (?), and divide it between them in the manner aforesaid.

Now I had made other arrangements in writing concerning my inheritance, when I had more money and more kinsmen, and had committed the documents to many men, with whose cognisance they had been drawn up. I have now burnt the old ones which I could hear of. If any of these is found, it shall be of no value, since these are the arrangements which I now desire should stand, with God's help.

And I desire that those persons who have the estates, should follow the directions contained in my father's will, to the best of their ability. And if I have money owing to any man, I wish my kinsmen to pay it in any case. And I desire that those persons to whom I have bequeathed my bookland, should not alienate it from my family after their death, but that after their time it should pass to my nearest of kin, unless any of them have children; then I should prefer that it should pass to the child born on the male side so long as there be any capable of holding it. My grandfather bequeathed his land in the male line and not in the female line. If, then, I have given to any woman what he acquired, and my kinsmen wish to have it in the lifetime [of the holders], they are to buy it back. If not, let it be dealt with after their time as we have already arranged. It is for this reason that I say that they must pay for it, because they are succeeding to property of mine which I may give to male or female, whichever I please.

And I pray in the name of God and of His saints that none of my kinsmen or legatees oppress any of the dependents for whom I have paid. Now the West Saxon council have duly declared to me that I may leave them bond or free, whichever I will. But I desire, for the love of God and for the good of my soul, that they be entitled to their freedom and their choice. And I enjoin in the name of the living God, that no man

put pressure upon them either by pecuniary exactions, or by any other means, so as to prevent them from choosing whatsoever man they will. And I desire that the community at Damerham be given their charters, and liberty to choose whatever lord they think best, for my sake and for Aelflaed, and for the friends for whom she interceded and I intercede. And for the good of my soul let such provision be made in live stock, as is feasible, and also becoming, and as ye are willing to grant me.

## XII

...FOR this cause, I Earl Aethelred, by the inspiration of God's grace endowed and enriched with a portion of the realm of the Mercians, for the love of God and for the remission of my sins and offences, and because of the entreaties of the abbot and community at Berkeley, and also on behalf of the whole of Mercia—I grant them remission for ever of the tribute which they are still obliged to pay to the king, namely from that portion of the king's *feorm* which was still left unexempted, in clear ale, and in beer, in honey, bullocks, swine and sheep. And I have done this in return for their religious intercession and also because they have relinquished to me, as a perpetual inheritance, a portion of their land, namely twelve hides at Stoke; and they have also given me thirty mancuses of gold. And I free (?) the monastery from every due pertaining to the lord of the nation, small or great, known or unknown, except simple compensation to others, and the construction of fortresses, and military service, and the construction of bridges. And I do this with the leave and cognisance of King Alfred, and of the whole of the Mercian council, both ecclesiastical and lay.

And further, I now give this estate of twelve hides at Stoke, to Cynulf, son of Ceoluhth, for three lives, in return for sixty mancuses of pure gold—to be free from every due both to king and earl and reeve, from every service small or great, except military service and the construction of fortresses and bridges and simple compensation to others, and nothing is to go out by way of *wite*. And we enjoin that no man, whether kinsman or stranger, in any way rob Ceoluhth of it, as long as he lives,



because he has earned it from the lords of the Mercians by due humility.

And we now command in the name of Almighty God, that the above-mentioned immunities of the monastery at Berkeley and also the gift of the land which we give to Cynulf for three lives, remain inviolate for ever, on this condition, that after the death of Cynulf and the two successors to his property, the estate of twelve hides at Stoke be given without dispute to the bishopric at Worcester, as a perpetual gift on behalf of Earl Aethelred and of all the Mercians. Moreover, we pray and entreat in the name of the Holy Trinity that if there be any man who, with evil purpose, desires to violate anything which is written in this charter, he is to know that he is acting contrary to the will of God and of all His saints and also of every man, whether of ecclesiastical or lay rank, who is able or willing to recognise any just claim (?); and that he shall make amends for it before the throne of the eternal Judge, unless he is willing to make due reparation beforehand to God and to men....

Terra autem ista hiis circumcingitur terminibus. First from *Hæslwelle* to *Hæsldene*, then from *Hæsldene* to *Waldeswelle*, from *Waldeswelle* to *Sweordesstan*, from *Sweordesstan* to *Eowcumb*, from *Eowcumb* to the river Avon, again from the river Avon up to *Hricgleag*, then from *Hricgleag* to Penpole, then from Penpole to the river Severn. Again from *Hæslwelle* to the lead-mine, from the lead-mine to the mill-pool, from the mill-pool to the river Avon.

### XIII

To Almighty God, the True Unity and Holy Trinity in Heaven, be praise and glory and thanksgiving for all the benefits that He has bestowed upon us. For Whose love in the first place, and for love of St Peter and of the church at Worcester, and also through the entreaty of Bishop Werferth their friend, Earl Aethelred and Aethelfled have ordered the fortifications at Worcester to be constructed for the protection of all the inhabitants, and also that the worship of God may be



celebrated therein [with security]. And they now declare in the sight of God, in this charter, that of all the rights pertaining to their sovereignty, both in market and in street, within the fortifications and without, they desire to give half to God and to St Peter and to the lord of the church, that the foundation may be more honourably maintained, and that the community may, in some measure, the more easily be helped, and that their memory may be, for ever, more steadfastly [preserved] in that place, for as long as obedience to God shall be found in the monastery.

And Bishop Werferth and the community have appointed the following divine offices before the one which is performed daily, both during their lifetime and after their death: that at nocturns and at vespers and at tierce, the psalm "De profundis" [is always to be sung] as long as they shall live, and after their death "Laudate Dominum"; and every Saturday in St Peter's church, thirty psalms and a mass on their behalf [are to be sung] both during their lifetime and also after their death.

And now Aethelred and Aethelfled declare that they desire with willing heart to give these dues to God and St Peter, with the cognisance of King Alfred and of all the councillors in the realm of the Mercians; but the *wægnscilling* and the *seampending* are to go to the king as they always have done at Droitwich. But the rest, both the *landfeoh*, and fines for fighting and for theft, and *wohceapung*, and *burhweallesceating*, and all those crimes which involve the payment of compensation,—the lord of the church is to have half, for the sake of God and of St Peter, in the same way as we have laid down in the case of the market-place and the streets. And outside the market, the bishop is to be entitled to his land and to all his dues, as was established in times past by the exemptions of our predecessors.

And Aethelred and Aethelfled have done this with the cognisance of King Alfred and of the Mercian councillors whose names are written hereafter. And they entreat of all their successors, in the name of Almighty God, that no man impair this pious gift, which they, for the love of God and St Peter, have given to the church.

## XIV

IN the reign of our Lord Christ the Saviour, when eight hundred and ninety-six years had passed since His birth, and in the fourteenth Indiction,—in that year Earl Aethelred summoned together at Gloucester all the Mercian council, the bishops and the earls and all his nobility; and this he did with the cognisance and leave of King Alfred. And then they deliberated there how they could most justly govern their people, both in spiritual and temporal matters, and also do justice to many men, both clerical and lay, with regard to lands and other things in which they had been wronged.

Then Bishop Werferth informed the council that he had been robbed of nearly all the woodland belonging to Woodchester, which King Aethelbald had given to Worcester, [handing it over] to Bishop Wilferth for mastland and woodland, and as a perpetual gift for the good of his own soul. And Werferth said that part of it had been abstracted at Bisley, part at Avening, part at *Scorranstan* and part at Thornbury, as far as he knew. Then all the council declared that justice should be done to that church as well as to [any] other.

Thereupon, Aethelwald said that he would not dispute the claim, and stated that Aldberht and Bishop Alhhun had formerly been occupied with this very matter; and he added that he was always ready to accede to the claims of every church to the best of his ability (?), and so very generously restored it to the bishop. And he ordered his *geneat*, whose name was Ecglafr, to ride with a priest from Worcester, Wulfhun by name; and Ecglafr led Wulfhun along all the boundaries, as Wulfhun read out from the old charters, how they had been determined of old by the grant of King Aethelbald.

Then, however, Aethelwald requested of the bishop and the community, that they would graciously allow him to have the use of the land as long as he lived, and also Alhmund his son; and they would hold it on lease of the bishop and the community; and neither he nor his son would ever deprive the bishop of the swine-pasture at Longridge, which he had granted him for as long as God should give it to him.

And Aethelwald then declared that whosoever held this land would hold it under God's displeasure, except it be the lord of the church, to whom he had given it, with a reservation in favour of Alhmund; and this reservation, moreover, was to stand only for as long as Alhmund maintained the friendship which his father had had with the bishop. If, however, it should come to pass that Alhmund would not maintain this friendship, or if there should be proved against him a charge which disqualified him from holding land, or thirdly, if he died before [his father], then the lord of the church should take possession of his estate, as the Mercian council declared in this assembly, and as the charters of the estate directed him (or them).

This was done with the cognisance of Earl Aethelred and of Aethelfled, and of Earl Aethelwulf, Earl Aethelferth, Earl Alhelm, Eadnoth, Alfred and Werferth, and of the priest Aethelwald, and his own kinsmen Aethelstan and Aethelhun, and also of Alhmund his own son.

And the following are the boundaries that the priest from Worcester rode over, and Aethelwald's *geneat* with him. First to *Gemythleg*, and then to Rodborough itself, then to *Smececumb*, then to *Sengetleg*, then to *Heardanleg*, otherwise called *Dryganleg*, and so to the lesser *Næglesleg* and then to Aethelferth's land. In this manner, Aethelwald's man shewed him the boundaries, as the old charters directed and indicated to him.

## XV

IN the name of our Lord the Saviour Christ. I Bishop Werferth declare—as I learnt from Bishop Alhun and also as my charters informed me,—that Bishop Milred gave the estate at Sodbury to Eanbald with this injunction,—and Eanbald subsequently gave the estate to Eastmund—that is to say, Bishop Milred laid this injunction upon him, in the name of Almighty God and of the Holy Trinity, that so long as there was any man in their family who was willing to take holy orders, and qualified to do so, he should succeed to the estate at Sodbury; but that if it turned out otherwise, the estate should never pass to a layman, but should subsequently revert



to the bishop's see at Worcester, on behalf of the souls of all of them.

Now Eastmund before he died gave command in the name of the living God, that the man who succeeded to the estate should succeed thereto on the condition laid down by Bishop Milred; but if he were so presumptuous as to violate it, he should know that he would be found guilty before God's throne at the Great Judgment. Then after Eastmund's death, his family robbed of this very estate both the spirits of the departed, and also the bishop and the church of Worcester. And Bishop Heaberht often brought this to remembrance and even asked for the estate, and so afterwards did Bishop Albhun, very often, as long as he lived, and I too, Bishop Werferth, have often demanded its restoration; but we could not obtain any justice until Aethelred became lord of the Mercians.

When he summoned the Mercian council to Droitwich to deal with many necessary matters, both spiritual and temporal, I made a claim against that family, adducing the testament and demanding justice. Then Eadnoth and Aelfred and Aelfstan gave me security that they would either give me back the estate or find within their family a man who would take orders with the estate, and be obedient to me in both ecclesiastical and secular concerns. When Eadnoth, who had the estate, said he would give it to any member of the family who might be willing to acquire it on this condition, each replied that he would rather forego the property than take orders. Then Eadnoth went to Aethelred and Aethelfled and also to Aethelnoth, the friend of us all; and they all entreated me to allow him to acquire the estate from me for his own property, to give to whatsoever heir he pleased. And I did so, chiefly because of their entreaty; and he also gave me forty mancuses. Then, with the leave of my community at Worcester, I gave him the estate as a perpetual heritage, together with the charters, and Eastmund's testament, and also our own written agreement that the estate should be made over to him on condition that fifteen shillings of good money should be given every year to the bishop at Tetbury, and also that the penance should be carried out (?).



And I Eadnoth, for my part, enjoin upon my successors, in the name of God Almighty, that they never curtail this money, but be always duly faithful to the bishop and to the community at Worcester.

May God Almighty preserve both in this life and in the life to come, those who consent that this agreement shall endure to all eternity. And the names which are written below, are those of the men who were present and witnessed this agreement.

## XVI

IN nomine Domini. I King Edward have acquired from Bishop Denewulf and from the community at Winchester the "Wind"-church and the stone dormitory, and, in addition, a certain portion of the land lying south of the church and the dormitory, measuring twenty-four rods in length, and in breadth five rods at its broadest part, and one rod at its narrowest part, to the end that I might found a monastery thereon, for the salvation of my own soul and [of the soul] of my venerable father King Alfred. And with the advice and leave of all the West Saxon council, I have handed over to the bishop and the community St Andrew's Church and the glebe which had been granted thereto, as a perpetual heritage for that foundation, so that no man be ever permitted to alienate it from that place.

Moreover, the council of all Wessex have, in addition, conveyed to me by charter the following estate, as a perpetual heritage :

First southward from the refectory to St Gregory's Church, then from the south-west corner of St Gregory's Church twelve rods westward to the street, then thirteen rods due north to the north street, then forty-three rods, six feet eastward to the east street, then twenty rods, six feet southward to the south street, then seven rods, six feet westward along the south street to the cemetery, then five rods due north. The circumference of the whole amounts, therefore, to three furlongs, three yards.

## XVII

IN nomine Domini. Bishop Denewulf and the community at Winchester have let to Beornwulf fifteen hides of their land at Ebbesbourne at the rent which he has settled with the bishop and the community: that is, forty-five shillings are always to be paid at the autumnal equinox, on condition that no one be permitted by offering a higher rent to turn him out, or his children after his time, so long as ever they can produce the dues; and they are also to contribute every year to the repair of the church to which the estate belongs, in the proportion that the rest of the population do, each according to the extent of his property; and he shall duly pay the church-scots and perform (?) military service and the construction of bridges and fortresses, as is done throughout the whole nation. And this was done with the cognisance and permission of the councillors whose names are written below, in the nine hundred and second year after Christ's birth and in the famous foundation at Winchester.

The bishop gave permission to his kinsman Beornwulf to take into his service (?) the persons born on the estate at Ebbesbourne. I have now taken them into my service (?)—Lufu and her three children and Luha and his six children. Now the community at Winchester had begged from me that these persons might remain on the estate, whether I had it or any of my friends. Moreover there were on it three penal serfs of peasant birth and three persons of servile birth; these the bishop and the community gave me as my rightful property, with their offspring. This was done when the church at Hurstbourne was consecrated, with the cognisance of the men whose names stand written below.

## XVIII

SIRE, I will inform thee what has taken place with regard to the estate of five hides at Fonthill, about which Aethelm Higa has a suit. When Helmstan committed the crime of stealing Aethelred's belt, Higa, together with other claimants,

proceeded forthwith to make a claim against him, desiring to obtain the estate from him by litigation. Then Helmstan came to me and begged me to be his advocate, because I had stood sponsor to him before he committed that crime. Then I pleaded and interceded for him with King Alfred. Then, may God reward his soul! the king gave him leave to avail himself of the protection of the law against Aethelm, with regard to the estate, because of my advocacy and the correct account [which I had given of the history of the estate]. Then he commanded that an arbitration should be made between them, and I was one of the persons who were nominated for this purpose, together with Wihtbord and Aelfric, who was at that time keeper of the wardrobe, and Byrthelm, and Wulfhun the Black (?) from Somerton, Strica, and Ubba and more men than I can name now. When both of them had stated their cases, we all decided that Helmstan might come forward with the title-deeds and claim the estate as his own, his claim to the possession of it being that Aetheldryth had made it over to Oswulf for a fair price, and that Aetheldryth had told Oswulf that it was fully in her power to sell it to him, because it had been her "morning-gift" when she first came to Athulf. And Helmstan included all this in his oath. And when Oswulf had bought the land from Aetheldryth, King Alfred had given him his sign-manual that the sale should hold good, and so had Eadweard and Aethelnoth and Deormod and all those men whose signatures they then wished to have. Now when we were arbitrating between them at this time at Wardour, the deed was produced and read; then all the signatures were to be found there. Then all those of us who were at the arbitration decided that Helmstan should now be allowed to produce the oath.

But Aethelm did not wholly assent to this, until we went in to the king, and told him fully the decision to which we had come, and the reasons for it; and Aethelm himself was there standing with us. And the king stood washing his hands within the chamber at Wardour. When he had finished, he asked Aethelm why our decision did not seem to him just, adding that he could not imagine anything more just than that Helmstan

should produce the oath if he could. Then I said that he wished to make the attempt, and prayed the king to appoint a day; and he did so. Then on the appointed day Helmstan produced the oath in full. And he had begged me to support him, saying that he would rather give me the land than that the oath should fail or.....Then I said that I was willing to help him in a just cause (but never in an unjust one), on condition that he gave me the estate; and he engaged to do this.

Then, on the appointed day we rode [thither]; and Wihtbord rode with me, and Byrthelm rode there with Aethelm. And we all heard him produce the oath in full. Then we all said that the suit was settled, when the [king's] decision had been carried out. And, Sire, when will any suit be settled, if it cannot be settled either with money or with an oath? And if every decision which King Alfred gave is to be set aside, when shall we be done with negotiating? Then as soon as the oath had been produced, Helmstan gave me the title-deed, as he had previously engaged to do. And I promised him that he might have the use of the land during his lifetime, if he was willing to keep himself out of disgrace.

Then a year and a half, or perhaps two years afterwards, Helmstan stole the stray(?) oxen at Fonthill, thereby utterly ruining himself, and drove them to Chicklade; and he was caught there. And the man who tracked him rescued the cattle that had been driven off(?). As he fled, a bramble scratched him all over the face; and when he wished to deny the charge, this was brought forward as evidence against him. When Eanulf Penearding, who was reeve, intervened, he took from him all the property which he owned at Tisbury. When I asked him why he did this, he replied that Helmstan was a thief. And the property was confiscated to the king, because he was the king's man. And Ordlaf took his land; for since the land which Helmstan occupied was held on lease from him, he could not forfeit it. And then thou didst declare him an outlaw.

Then Helmstan made his way to thy father's body, and brought a signet to me, when I was at Chippenham with thee. Then I gave thee the signet. And thou didst give him back his



home and rights, and the estates to which he has now returned (?). But I took possession of my land, and then, with thy cognisance and that of thy council, gave it, namely five hides, to the bishop, in exchange for the estate of five hides at Lyddiard. And the bishop and the whole community gave me four hides [free of tithe]; but one was subject to tithe. Now, Sire, it is very necessary for me that both our recent proceedings and those of old should be ratified. If not, then I must and will be content with whatever voluntary gift is, in thy opinion, just.

*E. adorsed :*

And Aethelm Higa withdrew from this suit, when the king was at Warminster (?), with the cognisance of Ordlaf and Osferth and Odda and Wihtbord and Aelfstan the Bald and Aethelnoth.

## XIX

KING AETHELSTAN freed Eadelm immediately after he became king; the witnesses of this were Aelfheah the priest, the community, Reeve Aelfric, Wulfnoth the White, Provost Eanstan and Byrnstan the priest. May he who seeks to invalidate this incur the wrath of God and of all the relics which I obtained in England (?) by God's mercy. And I grant the children the same [boon] as I grant to the father.

## XX

HERE it is stated that King Eadred gave the estate of twelve hides at Wiley to the community at Old Minster for the provision of clothing.

Sire, I, Earl Aethelwold, declare to my dear and royal lord King Eadred, what are my wishes with regard to the estates which I have acquired from my lord. In the first place [I give] to God and to the holy foundation—the bishop and the community—at the episcopal see of Winchester the twelve hides of land at Wiley for the provision of clothing, so that they may remember me in their prayers, as I believe that they will. And to the king my heriot: four swords, four spears, four shields, four

bracelets, two worth one hundred and twenty mancuses, and two worth eighty mancuses, four horses and two silver cups. And to my brother Eadric the estates at Ogbourn, Ashdown, Cheam, and Washington. And to my brother Aethelstan the estates at Broadwater and Newton. And to Aelfsige, my brother's son, the estate at *Carcel*. And to the son of my brother Aelfstan the estate at Clere. And I desire that a distribution of all the property which I hold on lease be made for the good of my soul, according to the directions which I have just given to the friends to whom I have been speaking.

## XXI

IN nomine Domini. This is King Eadred's will. In the first place, he presents to the foundation wherein he desires that his body shall rest, two golden crosses and two swords with hilts of gold, and four hundred pounds. Item, he gives to Old Minster at Winchester three estates, namely Downton, Damerham and Calne. Item, he gives to New Minster three estates, namely Wherwell, Andover and Clere; and to Nunnaminster, Shalbourne, Thatcham and Bradford. Item, he gives to Nunnaminster at Winchester thirty pounds, and thirty to Wilton, and thirty to Shaftesbury.

Item, he gives sixteen hundred pounds for the redemption of his soul, and for the good of his people, that they may be able to purchase for themselves relief from want and from the heathen army, if they need [to do so]. Of this the Archbishop at Christ Church is to receive four hundred pounds, for the relief of the people of Kent and Surrey and Sussex and Berkshire; and if anything happen to the bishop, the money shall remain in the monastery, in the charge of the members of the council who are in that county. And Aelfsige, bishop of the see of Winchester, is to receive four hundred pounds, two hundred for Hampshire and one hundred each for Wiltshire and Dorsetshire; and if anything happen to him, it shall remain—as in a similar case mentioned above—in the charge of the members of the council who are in that county. Item, Abbot Dunstan is to receive two hundred pounds and

to keep it at Glastonbury for the people of Somerset and Devon; and if anything happen to him, arrangements similar to those above shall be made. Item, Bishop Aelfsige is to receive the two hundred pounds left over, and keep [the money] at the episcopal see at Winchester, for whichever shire may need it. Item, Bishop Oscytel is to receive four hundred pounds and keep it at the episcopal see at Dorchester for the Mercians, in accordance with the arrangement described above. Now Bishop Wulfhelm has that sum of four hundred pounds (?). Item, gold to the amount of two thousand mancuses is to be taken and coined into mancuses; and the archbishop is to receive one portion, and Bishop Aelfsige a second, and Bishop Oscytel a third, and they are to distribute them throughout the bishoprics for the sake of God and for the redemption of my soul.

Item, I give to my mother the estates at Amesbury and Wantage and Basing, and all the booklands which I have in Sussex, Surrey and Kent, and all those which she has previously had. Item, I give to the archbishop two hundred mancuses of gold, reckoning the hundred at a hundred and twenty. And to each of my bishops one hundred and twenty mancuses of gold. And to each of my earls one hundred and twenty mancuses of gold. And to each [duly] appointed seneschal, chamberlain and butler, eighty mancuses of gold. And to each of my chaplains, whom I have put in charge of my relics, fifty mancuses of gold and five pounds in silver. And five pounds to each of the other priests. And thirty mancuses of gold to each [duly] appointed steward, and to every ecclesiastic who has been appointed (?) since I succeeded to the throne, and to every member of my household, in whatever capacity he be employed, unless he be.....to the royal palaces.

Item, I desire that twelve almsmen be chosen on each of the estates mentioned above, and if anything happen to any of them, another is to be appointed in his place; and all this is to hold good so long as Christianity endures, to the glory of God and the redemption of my soul; and if any one refuses to carry it out, his estate is to revert to the place where my body shall rest.

## XXII

(I) THOU Living God, be Thou mindful of Eadfrith, Aethelwald, Billfrith and Aldred peccatorem: these four have, with God's help, been engaged upon this book.

(II) Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, wrote this book, at the first, in honour of God and St Cuthbert and all the saints in common who are on the island. And Aethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne, bound it on the outside and covered (?) it, as he was well able to do. And Billfrith, the anchorite, wrought the ornaments upon the outside and adorned it, this unalloyed metal gilded over, with gold and gems and also with silver (?). And Aldred, presbyter indignus et miserrimus, with the help of God and St Cuthbert, wrote an English gloss above, and obtained for himself a home (?) with the three parts; [he glossed] Matthew's part for God and St Cuthbert, Mark's part for the bishop, and Luke's for the community, paying, in addition, eight "ores" of silver for his admission (?). And St John's part [he glossed] for himself, namely, for the good of his soul, and has offered to God and St Cuthbert four "ores" of silver besides; that he may receive admission in Heaven through God's mercy, and have happiness and peace upon earth, promotion and honour, wisdom and prudence, through the merits of St Cuthbert. Eadfrith, Aethelwald, Billfrith, Aldred hoc evangeliarium Deo et Cuthberhto construxerunt vel ornaverunt.

## XXIII

EADGIFU informs the archbishop and the community at Christ Church how her estate at Cooling came [into her hands]. The fact is that her father left her the estate and the title-deed having lawfully come into possession of them, as an inheritance from his ancestors. It came to pass that her father borrowed thirty pounds from Goda, and handed the estate over to him as security for the money; and Goda had it for seven years. When it befel, about that time, that all the Kentish troops were summoned to battle at "Holm," her father Sigelm was not



willing to go to battle leaving any man's money unpaid; and he paid Goda thirty pounds and bequeathed the estate to his daughter Eadgifu, giving her the title-deed.

When Sigelm had fallen in battle, Goda denied that the money had been repaid him and refused [to restore] the estate until six years later. Then Byrhtsige Dyring protested constantly, until the council of that time directed Eadgifu to clear her father by [an oath equivalent in value to] the sum involved; and she thereupon produced the oath at Aylesford in the presence of the whole assembly, and there cleared her father with respect to the repayment by an oath of thirty pounds. Even then she could not get possession of the estate until her friends induced King Edward to declare that Goda must restore the estate, if he wished to hold any land at all; and so he relinquished it.

Then, in course of time, it came to pass that the king became so indignant with Goda, that all the deeds and lands which he possessed were declared forfeit; and then the king gave him and all his property, with deeds and with lands, to Eadgifu, to deal with as she pleased. Then she said that she dared not, for fear of God, requite him as he had deserved of her, but she restored to him all his lands, with the exception of two ploughlands at *Osterland*; but she refused to give back the title-deeds until she knew how faithfully he would behave towards her, with regard to the lands.

Then King Edward died and Aethelstan succeeded to the throne. When Goda thought he had a favourable opportunity, he made his way to King Aethelstan and begged that he would intercede for him with Eadgifu for the return of the title-deeds. And then the king did so. And she restored them all except the title-deed of *Osterland*; and he willingly abandoned that deed to her, and humbly thanked her for the rest; and moreover, with eleven others, he swore to her an oath, on behalf of those living and those yet to come, that this suit should be for ever settled. And this was done with the cognisance of King Aethelstan and his councillors at Hamsey, near Lewes. And Eadgifu had the estate together with the title-deeds during the lifetime of the two kings who were her sons.

When Eadred died and Eadgifu was despoiled of all her property, two of Goda's sons, Leofstan and Leofric, took from Eadgifu these two above-mentioned estates at Cooling and at *Osterland* and told the young prince Eadwig, who had then been proclaimed king, that they had a juster claim to them than she. Matters stood thus until Eadgar obtained full power (?). And he and his council declared that Goda's sons had committed wicked robbery, and declaring that the property was hers, restored it to her. Then Eadgifu, with the leave and cognisance of the king and all his bishops, took the deeds and gave the estates to Christ Church, and with her own hands laid them upon the altar for the perpetual benefit of the community and for the repose of her soul; declaring that Christ Himself with all the heavenly host would curse to all eternity any man who should ever divert or curtail this gift. Such was the manner in which this benefaction came to the community of Christ Church.

## NOTES

### I

THIS document is erroneously described as the Will of Oswulf in Dr Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*. That Oswulf did make a will is clear from the account given in B. 445 of the proceedings at an assembly of clergy and laity held at Canterbury in 844. The subject of discussion was a claim made by a certain Aethelwulf to the inheritance of Oswulf. Disputes as to the disposal of Oswulf's property had arisen after his death, and had been referred to a synod at Aceah in 810; it was then decreed that Oswulf's will should stand. By 844 his estates had come into the possession of the Kentish monasteries of Christ Church, Folkestone, Dover and Lyminge, and Aethelwulf put forward a claim to this property on the ground that his father Aethelheah had purchased it. After Archbishop Ceolnoth and the community at Christ Church had been questioned about the decree of the synod at Aceah, thirty members of the four communities concerned defended their claim by an oath. It was finally decided that the provisions of Oswulf's will were to hold good and that all litigation should cease, under penalty of excommunication.

Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, III. p. 568) seem to consider that the subject of this litigation was Oswulf's grant to Christ Church of the Stanstead estate. But a comparison of this grant with the account of Oswulf's will given in the document described above, shews that this is not the case. The passage is as follows: *Et hoc [Oswulf] coram beatae memoriae Wlfredo Archiepiscopo, coramque abbatis Wernotho atque Feolgeldo...nec non saepe coram sociis suis et amicis fidissimis, qualiter post discessionem suam circa hereditatem suam imposterum agere voluisse, id est, ut post dies uxoris suae et filii ejus Eardwulfi, filiae quoque suae Ealfthrythae, ad Ecclesiis Dei omnia dare Deo et sanctis ejus sibi in sempiternam hereditatem sub eorum testimonia dare praecepit, sicut in altera kartula manifeste et*

*lucide comprobatur.* This *altera kartula*, in which Oswulf bequeathed his property to his wife and children, with reversion to various churches, is evidently lost.

There seems no reason for doubting that this grant of the Stanstead estate to Christ Church was to take effect during Oswulf's lifetime. His request that the anniversary of himself and his wife may be celebrated annually is not opposed to such an interpretation, since this honour was frequently accorded by monasteries to their benefactors. The record of a similar grant by Oswulf to a monastery is still extant (B. 289). Coenwulf of Mercia, in 798, grants land in Kent to Oswulf *duci et ministro meo* in exchange for another estate, also in Kent. Oswulf thereupon gives his newly-acquired estate to the monastery of Lyminge, for the salvation of his soul and that of his wife Beornthryth, on condition that their anniversary be celebrated annually with masses and prayers and a refecton of the community. There is nothing in this grant to suggest that the gift was not to take effect during the lifetime of the donor.

*Date.* If both parts of this document date from the same occasion, this agreement must have been drawn up between Wulfred's accession to the archiepiscopate in 805 and the synod of Acleah in 810, when it was decreed that Oswulf's will should stand. The date 806 of the endorsement seems quite reasonable and may possibly be correct. A somewhat different view is taken by Keller (*Angelsächsische Palaeographie. Palaestra* XLIII. 1906, p. 1), who suggests that the confirmation by Wulfred may have been added later, possibly in 810, after the synod of Acleah.

*Dialect.* Kentish. See Appendix.

p. 1, l. 4. *Oswulf aldormonn* is said to have been *Dux atque Princeps Provinciae Orientalis Cantiae* (B. 445). He appears for the first time in 798, which was probably the year in which Coenwulf of Mercia gave the kingdom of Kent to his brother Cuthred. Oswulf exchanges land with Coenwulf and gives his newly-acquired estate to the monastery at Lyminge (B. 289). He signs Kentish charters in 801, 804, 805 (B. 303, 316, 319). He also witnesses a grant by Coenwulf and Cuthred to the Reeve Aethelnoth (B. 318), which is to be dated after 805. Oswulf must have died before 810, the year of the synod at Acleah (see above).

1. 5. *to Cantuarabyrg to Cristes cirican.* *to Cantuarabyrg* appears to be locative; cf. p. 7, l. 5 ff.: *willa ic gesellan...ðem higum to Cristes cirican.* The monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, was



founded by St Augustine as a residence for himself and his successors. (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* I. c. 33.) It is uncertain whether the monastery originally contained both monks and clerks, or only monks. Bede says nothing on this subject and stories current later are untrustworthy, since they are obviously coloured by the controversies between the monastic and the secular clergy (cf. *Chron. ann.* 995 E.). In any case this monastery seems to have shared in the decline in English monachism which characterised the eighth century, and by the beginning of the ninth, monastic discipline seems at Christ Church to have been almost extinct. In a charter of 813 (B. 342) on the occasion of the rebuilding of the monastery, Archbishop Wulfred speaks of the inmates as priests, deacons and clerks (cf. p. 2, l. 18 ff., of the present text). Haddan and Stubbs (*op. cit.* III. 576) observe that the inmates of the monastery seem to be in a condition far more resembling that of canons than of monks. The only rules of monastic discipline mentioned by Wulfred as incumbent upon the community, are attendance in church at the canonical hours and the use of a common refectory and dormitory.

l. 6. *æt Stanhamstede.* Stanstead, Kent. This gift to Christ Church was confirmed in 844, the year in which it was decreed that Oswulf's will should stand (B. 446).

*xx swuluncga.* *sulung* is a term used only in Kent to denote the amount of land which a team of oxen could plough in a year. It is evidently derived from O.E. *sulh*, 'plough,' which is cognate with Lat. *sulcus*, 'furrow.' At the beginning of the ninth century, the *sulung* seems to have been equivalent to two hides (B. 321, 341). But the size of the Kentish hide was doubled between 850 and 950, and in charters of the tenth century, the *sulung* is equated with one hide (B. 1295).

l. 9 ff. *biddað ðæt wit moten bion on ðem gemanon ðe ðær Godes ðiowas siondan.* The violent change of construction from the nominative in *ðe ðær Godes ðiowas siondan 7 ða menn*, to the genitive in *ðara monna ðe*, makes the translation of this sentence difficult, although the meaning is fairly clear. *on ðem gemanon...siondan*, lit. 'in that fellowship who are God's servants,' etc., i.e. 'in the fellowship of those who are,' etc.

The nature of the request made by Oswulf is somewhat obscure. A possible interpretation is that he is petitioning that he and his wife may be buried among the inmates of Christ Church; but the unusual wording of the request is somewhat against this interpreta-

tion. May not this be, as Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, II. p. 63 ff.) suggested, an early example of the wide-spread custom of admitting laymen to the privileges and spiritual benefits to which professed members of a monastery were entitled? If this supposition is correct, the phrase discussed above would mean, 'that we may be admitted to membership with those who are God's servants there,' etc.

There are many instances of the practice of admitting to confraternity persons who were not inmates of the monastery, both in England and on the Continent. Bede requested of the bishop and monks of Lindisfarne, at whose request he had written his prose life of St Cuthbert, that prayers and masses might be offered for his soul, and his name enrolled among theirs (Bede, *Præf. ad Vitam S. Cuthberti*, ed. Giles, iv. p. 206). In 929, King Aethelstan was accorded rights of confraternity at St Gallen (cf. *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, R.S. p. lxxv, note 8). A memorandum of the admission of Cnut to confraternity at Christ Church, written in a volume of Gospels, is quoted by Wanley (p. 181). Another instance of the same practice dates from the reign of Edward the Confessor, when a certain Oswulf and his wife made gifts of land and money to the monks, on being admitted to confraternity at St Albans (K. 945).

The benefits to which lay-members or *familiares* were entitled are enumerated in a grant of a letter of fraternity in the Newminster Cartulary (ed. Stevenson, Surtees Society, 1876, p. 120). They were to have *commune beneficium domus nostrae in missis et matutinis, in elemosinis et oracionibus, et in omnibus beneficiis quae in ea fiunt usque in finem saeculi plenarie sicut nobis ipsis*. Their names were written, together with those of professed members and benefactors of the monastery, in the *Liber Vitae*, which was placed upon the altar, that the priest might remember them during Mass. An extant list of this kind is the well-known Durham *Liber Vitae*. In order that their anniversary might be suitably commemorated, the date of their death was noted in a calendar.

If this explanation of the request made by Oswulf is the correct one, the grant to Christ Church of the Stanstead estate is probably to be regarded in the nature of an admission fee. A parallel instance is quoted by Ducange (s.v. *fraternitas*) where a certain Arbertus and his wife bestow an estate on the monastery of St Andrew, Vienne, on their admission to confraternity. A similar instance is found among the records of the Welsh monastery of St Cadoc (cf. Seebohm *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 212).

1. 15. *Uulfred*. Archbishop of Canterbury, 805—832.

1. 19 ff. *Ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle...æt Stanhamstede*. The revenues derived from the land at Stanstead would probably be applied to the general purposes of the monastery. A certain proportion of the produce was, however, set aside to provide a feast for the community on the anniversary of their benefactors.

Food-rents paid to religious houses were usually measured by the amount of provisions required to support the community for one day. The amount specified by Wulfred appears to have been three or four times the quantity described as *æne dæg feorme* for Christ Church in the middle of the tenth century (B. 1010); it was perhaps 'three days' *feorm*.' Wulfred directs that these payments from the estate at Stanstead are to be collected at Lympne (*Liminum*). The official responsible would probably be the archbishop's reeve.

1. 23. *gif hit fuguldaeg sie*. *fuguldaeg* is not recognised by Bosworth-Toller, but from the fact that it is contrasted with *festendæg*, it evidently means a day on which poultry, and presumably meat, might be eaten.

p. 2, l. 1. *uuege cæsa*. The earliest evidence as to the weight of the Anglo-Saxon *wæg* is supplied by the *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon* (ed. Stevenson, R.S., 1858, I. p. 345), which states that in the tenth century the *pondus*, or wey, contained twenty-two stone. The fact that this amount is called the *pondus Abbendunense* suggests that other standards may have been in use. In the tenth century, a wey of cheese lasted the community at Abingdon five days.

1. 2 f. *XXX ombra godes uuelesces aloð, ðet limped to XV mitum*. The capacity of the amber, which was used both as a liquid and as a dry measure, is altogether unknown. According to the Register of Richmond of 1280, twenty-four ambers of salt were equal to twelve London quarters of eight bushels, so that an amber contained four bushels in the thirteenth century (cf. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, II. p. 383). Kelham<sup>1</sup> states that the amber contained five bushels. Robertson (*Historical Essays*, I. p. 68) computes that, by the lower standard, the thirty ambers of ale, specified by Wulfred, would contain six hundred imperial gallons. According to Robertson, the ordinary daily allowance of a monk at Abingdon was a gallon of ale. The amount consumed at festivals would, of course, be much greater, but even so, the proportion of liquid seems

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Robertson.



incredibly large. It seems hardly possible that, in the ninth century, the amber could have been a measure of four bushels<sup>1</sup>. The amber seems originally to have been an adaptation of the Roman *amphora*, which was equivalent to about six gallons. In the ninth century, the amber may have approached more nearly to the Roman standard. It is to be remembered that the *sester* seems in several passages to be equivalent to the Roman *sextarius* (cf. note on p. 79).

The difference between the several kinds of ale mentioned in Anglo-Saxon literature is never specified. 'Welsh ale' is first mentioned in the Laws of Ine (c. 70, 1). Prof. Liebermann (*op. cit.* II. p. 312) suggests that in this case 'Welsh ale' may have been the product of districts cultivated by the Celts. In later times, the term must have merely denoted some particular kind of ale.

1. 6. *CXX gesuflra hlafa. gesufl* is obviously connected with *sufl* (cf. p. 2, 1. 13), the term applied to anything eaten with bread, such as cheese, bacon, beans or whey. Zupitza and Kluge in their glossaries give *gesufl*, 'zur Zukost gehörig.' Or were the *gesuflra hlafa* loaves supplied with *sufl*?

1. 8. *ðem reogolwarde*: lit. 'guardian of the (monastic) rule.' He was so called because the discipline of the monastery was in his hands, subject, of course, to the authority of the abbot. To the *reogolward*, or provost, was given in later times the title of 'prior.' In the Cathedral monastery of Christ Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury occupied the place of Abbot.

1. 9 ff. *mon ðæt weax agæfe to cirican...doed*. Was this wax for the general use of the church, or was it the wax required for some special ceremony connected with the anniversary? A tax called *leohtgesceot* was levied, in the reigns of Aethelred II and Cnut, for the provision of lights for ecclesiastical purposes; cf. Laws of Cnut, 1. 12: *and leohtgesceot þriwa on gear...healspenigwurð weaxes æt ælcere hide*. Voluntary gifts for the illumination of the church were also recommended as a pious duty by Wulfstan in his homilies.

1. 11 f. *ðæt lond...æt Burnan*. Perhaps the estate *æt Burnan* recovered for Christ Church by Archbishop Aethelred in 805

<sup>1</sup> Another consideration makes it difficult to believe that the amber contained as much as four bushels. The monthly allowance given to each *earn Engliscmon* maintained by King Aethelstan was to consist of an amber of meal, a shank of bacon and a ram worth four pence (Aethelstan, II. i. 1). It seems quite incredible that these persons should have been given forty-eight bushels of meal every year. On the amount of barley and other grain consumed annually, see Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 436 ff.



(B. 319). The community had been deprived of this estate, which was evidently at Bishop's Bourn, near Barham, Kent, and it was now restored to them by a synodal decree.

l. 13. *swae feola sufla*. See note on p. 2, l. 6. The word still survives in northern dialects with the same meaning as in Anglo-Saxon, i.e. anything eaten with bread, cf. Wright, *Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *sowl*. According to the priest Werhard (B. 402) Archbishop Wulfred gave directions in his will that doles should be distributed annually on his anniversary; to each poor man was to be given a loaf and cheese, or bacon and a penny.

l. 15 f. *him se reogolweord on byrg gebeode...sie*. *gebeode* must be taken with *on byrg*, i.e. 'make a public proclamation to the city'; *him* seems to refer to the people for whom the doles are intended. We get this sense from *aelmessan* in l. 14.

l. 18. *messepreost*. The word *preost* has quite a general meaning and can denote a member of any of the seven orders of the priesthood; but *mæssepreost* is only used to denote those qualified to perform the sacrifice of the mass.

l. 20. *aeghwilc diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle*. A 'deacon' was a member of the sixth order of the priesthood and ranked immediately below the *mæssepreost*. The word *passione* is not recorded by B.-T. It corresponds to L. *passio*, used in the special sense of passages in the Gospels narrating Christ's Passion (cf. Ducange, s.v. *passio*). The intercessory use of these passages seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

l. 21. *eghwilc Godes ðiow gesinge twa fiftig fore his sawle*. *Godes þeowas* denotes the whole of the clergy, both secular and regular. In this context the term refers to every member of the community not included in the foregoing. A *fiftig* was one of the three sections into which the Psalms were divided. Plummer (*Hist. Eccles. Bedae*, II. 137) gives many instances of the use of the psalter and of particular psalms, as a form of intercession for the living or dead; cf. also p. 9, l. 19 f., and p. 23, l. 9 ff.

## II

*Date*. The date of A.D. 835 is assigned to this will in an endorsement in a hand of the fourteenth century. This date seems perfectly reasonable, although the grounds on which it is based are unknown. The will must be dated after 833, since Archbishop

Ceolnoth appears among the signatories. The list of witnesses corresponds very closely with the list of ecclesiastics signing Kentish charters of 838 and 839 (B. 419, 426). The date of the will is before 839, since by that year Nothwulf, who signs as subdeacon, had become a deacon (B. 426).

*Dialect.* Kentish. See Appendix.

p. 3, l. 3. *Abba geroefa* is otherwise unknown.

l. 13. *Alchhere*. See note on l. 21.

*þæt lond hire nytt gedoe*: lit. 'make the land profitable to her,' i.e. 'see that she gets the profits.'

l. 14. *an half swulung an Ciollandene*, i.e. Chillenden, near Eastry, Kent. For note on *swulung* see p. 71.

l. 16. *mon selle him to ðem londe IIII oxan*. Four oxen would be the usual equipment of a *half swulung*, since the plough seems to have been commonly drawn by a team of eight oxen.

7 *ænne horn*. Bequests of horns are sometimes found in Anglo-Saxon wills. Aethelstan, son of Aethelred II, bequeathed to Winchester *þone drenchorn þe ic ær at þam hirede gebohte on Ealdan Mynstre* (K. 722).

l. 19. *hire agefen hire agen*. Her own property included, perhaps, the land at Challock (p. 5, l. 3).

l. 20. *suð to faranne*, i.e. to go on pilgrimage to Rome.

l. 21. *twægen mine megas Alchhere 7 Aedelwold*. It is tempting to identify Alchhere with the Kentish earl of that name. (See note on p. 83.) But this identification is perhaps too hazardous, since Alchhere is not an uncommon name in charters of the ninth century. Moreover, if Earl Alchhere was his kinsman, Abba must have been a Kentish noble, whereas his wergeld would lead us to believe that he was a ceorl (cf. p. 4, l. 8 and note).

l. 22. *fon him to ðem londe* must mean 'let them take possession of the land.' This use of *him* with *fon* is unusual; *him* is perhaps reflexive.

*to Liminge*. According to Canterbury tradition, the monastery at Lyminge, Kent, was founded, soon after 633, by Aethelberg, daughter of Aethelberht, King of Kent, and widow of Edwin, King of the Northumbrians. Bede (*Hist. Eccles.* II. 20) and the Chronicle (*ann.* 633 E.) mention the return of Aethelberg to Kent after the death of Edwin, but say nothing of her life during her widowhood. The tract on the Saints of England (*Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. Liebermann, p. 1), and Thomas of Elmham (ed. Hardwick, R.S.,

p. 177) state that Eadbald, who was then King of Kent, gave to his sister Aethelberg land at Lyminge, on which she built a monastery and where she was afterwards buried. The community at Lyminge appears to have included both monks and nuns (cf. Miss Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism*, p. 84). Cuthberht, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been Abbot of Lyminge (B. 160, 161). The monastery, which had suffered greatly during the Danish invasions, was in 964 suppressed, and its lands and possessions given to Christ Church (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I. 452).

1. 23. *to Folcanstane*. This monastery is said to have been founded by Eanswith, daughter of Eadbald, King of Kent. Eanswith is not mentioned by Bede, or in the Chronicle, and of her life nothing certain is known. The foundation of the monastery at Folkestone is ascribed to her in an Anglo-Saxon fragment dealing with St Mildred's Minster in Thanet (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, R.S., III. p. 422). The tract on the Saints (p. 1) states that she was buried at Folkestone. The monastery was destroyed or deserted during the Danish invasions. A charter of King Aethelstan (B. 660), dated 927, gives to Christ Church, Canterbury, the land at Folkestone *ubi quondam fuit monasterium et abbatia sanctarum virginum, ubi etiam sepulta est Sancta Eanswitha*, for the reconstruction of the monastery which had been destroyed by *pagani*. According to Capgrave, the site was swallowed up by the sea, and the relics of St Eanswith transferred to the church of St Peter (Eckenstein, *op. cit.* p. 83).

1. 25. *D pend*, sc. *pendinga*. This is the first instance in Anglo-Saxon charters of the use of the word *pending*, though it is found also in the Laws of Ine. The Anglo-Saxon penny was the universal silver coin.

1. 27. *Gif higan ðonne oððe hlaford*. The meaning of *hlaford* in this context is not clear. It may refer (1) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, cf. p. 4, ll. 18, 21, (2) to a patron or lay abbot of the convent, (3) to the head of the community, who, however, in this case, was probably an abbess.

p. 4, l. 3. *ic bidde 7 bebeode swælc monn se ðæt min lond hebbe*. *swælc* is attracted into the sentence beginning with *se* and is in the nominative instead of the dative, the case which *bebeodan* usually governs.

1. 7. *alcum messepreoste binnan Cent mancus goldes*. The *mancus*, the only gold coin of the Saxon period, was always equated with thirty pence. It was similar in weight (70 grains)



to a half-sovereign (60 grains). The earliest of these coins dates from the time of Offa; in addition to the legend *Offa Rex*, it bears also a long Arabic inscription and is clearly copied from a Mohammedan coin. The name, too, is Arabic in origin and represents the Arabic *man-kush*, lit. 'stamped.' Cf. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 10 ff. For *messepreost* and *Godes ðiow* (l. 8) see note on p. 75.

1. 8. 7 to *Sce Petre min wærgeld twa ðusenda*. From the fact that this payment is mentioned in connection with benefactions in Kent, it is possible that some local church or monastery is meant. According to a late and legendary life of St Eanswith (Hardy, *Catalogue of Materials*, I. p. 228 ff.) Eadbald of Kent built a church at Folkestone and dedicated it to St Peter. An instance of the payment of a wergeld to a monastery occurs in a charter of Earl Godwin (Thorpe, p. 349) in a passage which is unfortunately corrupt: 7 se abbot cænde þæt Cnut cing gelogode ða halig...e...ra eama wergeld wæs into *Sce Augustine unawendedlice ðam Godes þyowan bi to libbanne*. But cf. p. 13, l. 21 f., where *Sce Petre* almost certainly means St Peter's, Rome.

The only monetary unit mentioned in this document, beside the mancus, is the penny. It seems likely therefore that the wergeld of Abba was two thousand pence or one hundred Kentish shillings, the wergeld of the Kentish ceorl. The only other possibility is that the word *trymsa* is to be supplied; two thousand *trymsas*, or three hundred Kentish shillings, was the wergeld of the Kentish noble. It is difficult to determine to which class Abba belonged. Very little can be deduced as to the size of his estate from the amount of the charges imposed by him. The food-rent to be paid to Folkestone seems to be somewhat larger than the charges imposed by Ealhburh (p. 8, l. 22 ff., p. 9, l. 15 ff.), who certainly belonged to the nobility of Kent. But Abba appears to be disposing of the whole of his property, whereas in other cases, as in Oswulf's grant, the arrangements for the payment of a food-rent refer only to one single estate. Ealhburh made at least two such grants of food-rents. On the whole, it seems more probable that Abba was a ceorl. He certainly had a considerable amount of money and live-stock at his disposal, but there are indications that the social position of the Kentish ceorl was higher than that of the ceorl in Wessex (cf. Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 22, footnote, and p. 113). It is inconceivable that a ceorl should have held *bocland* and made a will, except in Kent.



l. 9 ff. *Freoðomund foe to minum sweorde...pending.* The reason for this transaction is altogether obscure. Freothomund had apparently only the right of pre-emption. It is to be noted that the amount at which the sword is valued is extraordinarily high.

l. 13 f. *him sylfum elles hwæt sele.* It is uncertain whether *him sylfum* refers to the brothers, or to their heir or heirs.

l. 15 ff. *ðonne ann ic his minra swæstarsuna swælcum...gifeðe bið.* *swæstarsuna* is apparently a compound noun; it is not clear whether *swæstar* is to be regarded as sing. or plur. The verb *geðian* is otherwise unknown. Sweet (O.E.T. p. 631) conjectures that it means 'receive,' 'accept.' 7 *him gifeðe bið* may mean (1) 'and it shall be granted him,' (2) 'and succeeds in getting it.'

l. 20 ff. *se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie, se min...forespreoca.* *Kristes cirican hlaford*, probably the Archbishop of Canterbury. During the Anglo-Saxon period, every man had to be under the protection of a lord. There appears to have been a certain power of choice; Abba seems to be transferring his allegiance.

p. 5, l. 3. *et Cealflocan.* Challock, Kent.

l. 5 f. *fewer weðras, an swin, oððe sex weðras.* In Anglo-Saxon times a pig was worth two sheep, so that four sheep and a pig would be equivalent in value to six sheep.

l. 7. *sester fulne huniges.* The sester was used both as a dry and as a liquid measure. According to Domesday Book, there were in the eleventh century sesters of different capacities. The sester of honey was measured *ad mensuram burgi* (Gloucester), *ad mensuram regis*, and *cum majori mensura* (D.B. i. 162, 166, 238). The capacity of the sester seems to have varied also during the Anglo-Saxon period. According to *Leechdoms* (ed. Cockayne, III. p. 92) *se sester* (of honey, soap or vinegar) *sceal wegan twa pund be sylfyrgewyht.* In this case the sester seems to correspond to the Roman *sextarius*, which was equal to nearly a pint, or perhaps to the *sextarius* of the ecclesiastical Roman standard, which seems to have been slightly larger<sup>1</sup>. A sester of the same capacity was in use in the middle of the eleventh century. A certain Tova arranged, between 1049 and 1052, to pay annually to the Abbey of St Albans as the rent of an estate *unum sextarium mellis triginta duarum unciarum* (K. 950). A different standard is indicated by another passage in *Leechdoms* (II. 298), which states that *xv pund wætres gaþ to sestre.* In the

<sup>1</sup> According to Robertson (*op. cit.* p. 2 footnote), the Roman *sextarius* of honey weighed thirty ounces. See also *ibid.* p. 69.

tenth century, a sester of still greater capacity seems to have been in use. The *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon* (ed. Stevenson, R. S., i. 346) states that on feast days Aethelwold allowed the monks a *sextarius* of mead at dinner between six, and the same amount at supper between twelve.

A sester of much greater capacity than the Roman *sextarius* has been in use throughout Western Europe. In the fourteenth century, the sester of London was a measure containing four gallons, according to Fleta. In Germany the sester is a measure of grain of twelve bushels, a measure of liquids of sixteen quarts. The Welsh *hestawr* contains two Winchester bushels. It cannot be determined whether the fourteenth century sester of four gallons goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, or whether it was adopted later. In any case, the sester of honey mentioned by Heregyth was probably a considerable quantity. In medieval times, before the introduction of sugar, there was an enormous consumption of honey, which was used for sweetening purposes, as well as for brewing mead. This is illustrated by a passage in the Welsh Laws (Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, p. 139) specifying the food-rents due from a certain district. Among the items is a quantity of honey amounting to thirty-two *grenneit*, each *grenn* being a load for two men on a pole.

l. 11 f. *to higna blodlese*. A short Latin tract on bloodletting, *De Minutione Sanguinis sive de Phlebotomia*, has been ascribed to Bede (ed. Giles, vi. p. 349). This tract lays down which are the right days for bleeding and warns against the letting of blood on certain unlucky days.

l. 12 ff. *se mann se to londe foe...ðy soel gelæste*. Heregyth has imposed on this estate a food-rent to be paid annually to Christ Church by her successors. She now stipulates that the person who succeeds to this property is to pay twenty-eight pounds to her *erfehond*; but of this she remits fifteen pounds, in consideration of the fact that a food-rent has to be paid. It is difficult to see why the transaction should be described in this way. We may compare the arrangement made by Abba for the purchase of his sword by Freothomund in p. 4, l. 9 ff. above.

Who the *erfehond* was, is not clear. *Hond* is sometimes used in compounds in the sense of 'person inheriting,' cf. *meghond* (p. 10, ll. 17, 25). If this were its force here, *erfehond* would be equivalent to *erfeweard*, i.e. heir. But this is scarcely possible, since the successor to the property is already indicated in the words, *se monn se to londe*

foe. B.-T. suggests 'administrator.' It seems likely that someone would be appointed to arrange for the disposal of the personal estate, and for the payment of bequests, but there is hardly sufficient evidence to enable us to decide this point.

## III

*Date.* Birch dates this charter 'A.D. 848 or later,' presumably because Florence of Worcester states that Alhhun (cf. l. 9) became Bishop of Worcester in that year. It would seem, however, that the date of the present text falls between Dec. 25th, 845 (i.e. 844, since the year began on Dec. 25th), the date of the last signature (B. 450) of Alhhun's predecessor Heaberht, and Nov. 8th, 845, when an exchange of lands (B. 448) was witnessed by Alhhun and by Tunberht, the successor of Cyneferth (l. 8) in the see of Lichfield.

*Dialect.* See Appendix.

l. 26. *Berchtwulf cyning.* King of the Mercians c. 839—852. Forthred is otherwise unknown.

l. 27. *nigen higida lond in Wudotune.* Dr Birch suggests Wootton, Gloucestershire; but there are several other places of this name in the territory of the Mercian kingdom. The other localities mentioned are likewise still unidentified.

l. 28. *to hiobbanne 7 to siollanne.* These forms have not been satisfactorily explained. With the latter we may compare Late North. *seolla, sealla*; cf. Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, I. p. 101 f.

l. 29 f. *Cisseðebeorg...ut bi Geht.* These are presumably points on the boundary of the estate. *Geht* is possibly the name of a river, though Sweet in his Glossary (O.E.T. p. 637) takes *Utbigeht* as a proper noun.

p. 6, l. 1. *tu higida lond.* This can hardly be 'an estate of two hides,' since, in that case, we should expect *tu* to be inflected. Is it possible that *tu* may have arisen through some misunderstanding of *iii*? The objection to this is that the MS. appears to be the original document.

l. 2. *xxx mancessan 7 nigen hund scill*: i.e. thirty mancuses in gold, and the rest in silver.

l. 5. *in his ðaere haligran* ✓✓ *a*, cf. l. 25 and l. 27 below. Sievers (*Angelsächs. Gramm.* § 304, n. 2) seems to regard *haligran* as an isolated gen. plur., but is it not more probable that the



explanation is to be found in a misunderstanding of some Latin formula?

The hieroglyphics following *haligran* are unexplained. They can hardly be a later insertion to fill a blank space, since they are in exactly the same ink as the rest of the text.

l. 8 ff. *Cyneferð episcopus*, Bishop of Lichfield; Alhhun of Worcester, Berchtred of Lindsey, Ceolred of Leicester. A certain Deorlaf was Bishop of Hereford c. 862—c. 886, but cannot, of course, be identified with the Deorlaf of this text, whose see is unknown.

l. 15. *Mucel dux*, cf. *Mucel dux*, l. 23 below. Mr Stevenson (*Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. 229 f.) suggests that the younger of these, who were probably father and son, may well have been the father-in-law of King Alfred. Prof. Stenton (*The Early History of Abingdon Abbey*, p. 26 footnote) identifies the elder Mucel with the Mucel Esning who received ten hides at Crowle, when the monastery at Hanbury obtained certain exemptions from King Wiglaf (B. 416). See Appendix.

#### IV

*Date.* This charter is assigned to 832 in an endorsement in a hand of the twelfth century. From a comparison of the names of the witnesses with those of other Kentish charters, the correct date would appear to be somewhat later. Werbald, who signs a charter of 843 (B. 442) as *subdiacon* appears as *diacon* among the witnesses of Lufu's grant, which must therefore have been drawn up after 843. The date cannot be later than 863, since in that year Aethelwald and Sifreth, who were both deacons at the time of Lufu's grant, sign a Kentish charter of Aethelberht (B. 507) as priest and archdeacon respectively.

*Dialect.* Kentish. See Appendix.

p. 7, l. 3. *Lufu* for *Lufu*; see Appendix.

*ancilla Dei*, cf. *Godes ðiwen*, l. 24. This phrase is sometimes used of nuns, and this may be its meaning here; or it may mean simply 'religious woman.' It was perhaps not unusual for women to lead a religious and celibate life outside a convent. Aethelstan frequently makes grants of land to *religiosae feminae* who may or may not have been cloistered nuns. Cf. J. L. André, 'Widows and Vowesses,' *Archæological Journal*, 1892, p. 69 ff.



l. 4. *Ceolnōðes ærcebiscopes*, Archbishop of Canterbury 833—870.

l. 7. *elmeslafes* does not occur elsewhere. It probably means 'bread given as alms.'

l. 9f. *ðe me to gode gefultumedan*. *to* seems here to be an adverb, cf. l. 6 above: *mine friond to gefultemedan*; in that case, *gode* is perhaps instrumental, i.e. 'generously,' cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 20, 956. There is also a possibility that *to gode gefultumedan* may mean 'helped me in a good course.'

*to adsumsio Scæ Marie*. August 15th.

l. 25. *ob minem erfelande et Mundlingham*, i.e. Mongeham, near Deal, Kent. The curious form *minem* is unexplained, cf. p. 8, l. 25, and *ænigem*, p. 11, l. 26.

## V

*Date*. This charter bears no date, but is assigned to 'about A.D. 831' by Kemble, Thorpe and Sweet. From its linguistic characteristics, it would seem to belong to the same period as Lufu's grant (IV), and the agreement between Eadweald and Cynethryth (VII), the former of whom was probably identical with the Eadweald of the present text. If the Ealhhere mentioned in p. 9, l. 1, is to be identified with the Kentish earl of that name, the charter must have been drawn up before 853, the year in which Earl Ealhhere died.

*Dialect*. See Appendix.

p. 8, l. 19. *Dis sindan geðinga*. The plural (*geðinga* for earlier *-u*) is used here (as elsewhere) in specifying the terms of an agreement.

*Ealhburge 7 Eadwealdes*. Ealzburg was perhaps the wife of Ealdred (l. 21 below). From the fact that Ealh- occurs in both names, we may perhaps infer that she was a member of the family to which Ealhhere belonged. All these persons seem to have belonged to the Kentish nobility, since Eadweald, the kinsman of Ealzburg, was also the grand-nephew of Aethelmod (p. 10, l. 25), and Aethelmod was, in all probability, the Earl of Kent of that name (see note on p. 86).

l. 20. *et Burnan*. Identified by Dr Birch with Bishop's Bourn, Kent. 'Bourn' is, however, a common element in Kentish place-names.

l. 25. *minem mege*. See note above.

p. 9, l. 1. *Ealhhere* was probably a near relative of Ealzburg and therefore a member of the Kentish nobility. He was perhaps identical

with the earl of this name who signs Kentish charters from 841 to 850 (B. 417, 437, 442, 449, 460). He appears to have been Earl of West Kent. In 851, Earl Ealhhere, with Aethelstan of Kent, defeated the Danes at Sandwich. Two years later, he led the forces of Kent in a battle against the Danes and was there killed (cf. *Chron. ann.* 851, 853 A, 852 E).

1. 2. *et Denglesham.* Finglesham, near Deal, Kent.

## VI

*Date.* Thorpe assigned this charter, which bears no date, to A.D. 860. It is printed in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* with charters of that year, but Dr Birch (B. 501, footnote) seems inclined to date it some twenty or thirty years earlier. He remarks upon its obvious connection with the other grant of Ealzburg (V), to which Kemble assigned the date of 'about 831,' but which probably belongs to a considerably later period (see p. 83).

Dr Birch adduces as evidence for the date of this charter the fact that the signature of 'Drihtnoth, pr. abbot of St Augustine's,' occurs again in 833 (B. 411). But there is no evidence to shew that the *Drihtnoth abbas* who signed this charter was connected with St Augustine's, Canterbury. According to Thorne's Chronicle of St Augustine's (c. v. 2) a certain *Diernodus* was abbot of that monastery from 844 to 864. This grant of Ealzburg is included by Thorne among the donations to the monastery during the abbacy of *Diernodus*, and Wanley (p. 151) suggested that this name might be a corruption of *Drithnothus*, for *Dryhtnoth*, the name which heads the list of signatories to this grant. If so the document is to be assigned to the period 844—864. This date is fully borne out by a comparison of the signatures with those of contemporary Kentish charters. The priest Osmund (l. 26) whose signature is mentioned by Dr Birch as evidence for an earlier date, signs a Kentish charter (B. 516) as late as 867.

The *Chronologia Augustinensis* prefixed to the Chronicle of Thomas of Elmham has the entry: *Ethburga dedit redditum de Braburne* under the year 850. This we may probably accept as indicating approximately the date of the grant, though scarcely the exact date, as the dates given in this table differ in many instances, by a year or two, from the accepted chronology of the period. The reference to the *hæpen folc* in p. 10, l. 6, would have

had special significance between 850 and 860, when Kent suffered greatly from inroads of the Danes.

*Dialect.* This text is preserved only in a later copy. The use of *y* for *i*, and such forms as *wudes* (l. 17), *þæne* (l. 19) are characteristic of a later stage of the language. The only distinctively Kentish form is *hia* in l. 20.

l. 13. *Ealzburg*. Probably the person of this name who arranged for the payment of a similar food-rent from an estate at Bourn (V).

l. 14. *to Sœ Agustine*. This monastery was founded by Augustine and Aethelberht, King of Kent, and dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. It was intended by Augustine to serve as a place of burial for himself and his successors, and for the Kings of Kent (Bede, i. c. 23). In course of time it came to be known as St Augustine's.

l. 15. *æt Bradanburnan*. Brabourne, Kent. It is curious that in a Kentish charter of 863 (B. 507) the phrase *ab aquilone et ab oriente Eadwealdes bocland to Bradeburnan* occurs in the boundaries of an estate at Mersham, Kent. This Eadweald was perhaps Ealzburg's kinsman (cf. p. 8, l. 24).

*XL ambura mealtes*. It is to be noted that the items correspond exactly with those of Ealzburg's other grant (V), except that the 'ten geese' are here omitted.

l. 19. *æfter hyra ferse*. The term *fers*, L. *versus*, was applied to sentences from the Scriptures, most often from the Psalms, which were said at various stages of the hour-offices, and especially following the 'responsory' after a lesson; cf. Benedictine Rule (ed. Grein, *Bibl. der Angelsächs. Prosa* II.), XI. 10, *singan opre syx sealmas mid þrim antefenum and fers æfter þam*. It was also applied more particularly to the sentence following the short antiphon or 'responsory,' which was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel in the office of Mass (*Century Dictionary*, s.v. *verse*).

*þæne sealm...* 'Exaudiat te Dominus.' Ps. xx.

l. 22. *þan halgan were*. We may perhaps compare North. *halgawaras*, *haligwaras*, 'holy people,' 'saints' (B.-T.).

p. 10, l. 5 f. *þæt hwylc broc on become þurh hæþen folc*. The reference is probably to the Danish ravages in Kent between 850 and 860. Earl Ealhhere, who with Aethelstan of Kent defeated the Danes off Sandwich, and who was killed in 853 in a battle in Thanet, was possibly a near relative of Ealzburg (see note on p. 83). In 851, the Danes for the first time remained over the winter in Thanet; they first wintered in Sheppey in 855.



## VII

*Date.* The date 831, assigned by Kemble to this charter, is quite impossible, if the Earl Aethelmod mentioned in l. 15 is to be identified with the Kentish earl of that name who died in 859. There can be little doubt that this identification is correct, since King Aethelwulf, in 843, granted an estate at Chart to his *minister* Aethelmod (B. 442). This agreement must have been drawn up after 859, as Cynethryth was a widow at the time. It must be dated some years later, if Seferth *subdiacon* who signs a Kentish charter (B. 507) of 863, is the Seferth *presbyter* who appears here among the signatories. On the other hand, the date cannot be later than 870, the year of the death of Archbishop Ceolnoth, who was one of the witnesses.

*Dialect.* Kentish. See Appendix.

l. 14f. *Dis is geðinge Eadwaldes Osheringes. Oshering*, 'son of Oshere.' Eadwald Oshering is probably the Eadweald who was a kinsman of Ealzburg (p. 8, l. 24). A certain Eadweald signs a grant of King Aethelberht in 858 (B. 496), and the record of a grant of land by Eadweald to St Augustine's, Canterbury, is to be found at the end of a charter of 863 (B. 507). These may both refer to the same person; he is otherwise unknown.

*Eðelmodes aldormonnes.* See above. He is probably the Aethelmod *minister* to whom King Aethelwulf gave an estate at Chart in 843 (B. 442), and who signs a Kentish charter of Aethelwulf in 845 (B. 449). Aethelmod was earl of one of the divisions of Kent, probably West Kent, from 853 to 859. He signs Kentish charters as Aethelmod *dux* in 853 and 858 (B. 467, 496). A charter (B. 497) recording a grant by Aethelmod to Plegred is dated 859. This date is certainly wrong<sup>1</sup>, but the charter seems otherwise to be authentic. Aethelmod must have died about this time, since his successor Dryhtwald appears in 860.

l. 15. *et Cert.* Chart, near Ashford, Kent.

l. 17. *neniggra meihanda.* This is perhaps to be emended to *nenig(g)re*, D. sing. fem. agreeing with *meihanda*, which is a feminine noun, although it here refers to persons of either sex. *meihand*, cf. l. 25, is compounded of *mæg*, kinsman, and *hond*, used in the sense of 'person inheriting.' See note on p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> The charter is signed by King Aethelwulf, who died in 858.



l. 18f. *swe hit him boem rehtlicast...were*, i.e. for Aethelmod and Cynethryth.

l. 20. *Cyne*. Perhaps an abbreviation in common use. It can hardly be merely a scribal contraction, since there is no mark of contraction in the MS.

l. 21f. *Gib Eadweald leng lifige...X ðusenda*, i.e. 10,000 pence. Eadweald had simply the right of pre-emption. The money was presumably to be used to purchase spiritual benefits for the souls of Aethelmod and Cynethryth. A somewhat similar arrangement was made by the Reeve Aethelnoth (B. 318).

l. 22. *Gif he gewite er ðonne hia, his barna...begetan*. This is to be done on the death of Cynethryth, if she survives Eadweald.

## VIII

*Date*. This charter bears no date. Two middle English versions in Canterbury chartularies (cf. B. 530), the earlier of which dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, are dated 871<sup>1</sup>. This date seems perfectly reasonable and is probably correct for the negotiations recorded in the text.

p. 11, l. 22. *Ælfred dux*. See IX. and X. and note on p. 88. Aethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, 870—889.

l. 24. *an Certham*. Chartham, Kent.

l. 28f. *ðe he...aræde swæ an feoh swæe an feorme*. Land was often leased in consideration of a rent in money, cf. p. 29, l. 4ff.; sometimes for a food-rent, cf. B. 622. For an instance of a single payment in return for a lease of land, cf. p. 21, l. 4ff.

l. 30. *æt Crogdene*. Croydon, Surrey.

p. 12, l. 3ff. *ðonne hæfð Ælfred gehaldene Herewinne...geðafigan wolde*. Herewyn is otherwise unknown. Was she the daughter of Earl Aelfred, referred to in p. 11, ll. 27, 31, above? From Earl Aelfred's Will (X) and the entry in the Codex Aureus (IX) it appears that he had a daughter called Alhthryth. His wife's name was Werburg.

*an æghwelcre wihte ðæs ðe hio an geworden wæs*. There are numerous examples of the impersonal use of *geweorðan*, 'to agree,' governing the accusative (*hio*); but no instances with *an*, referring to the subject of agreement, are recorded by B.-T.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this information to the Rev. C. E. Woodruff.

## IX

1. 17. *Aelfred aldormon* is undoubtedly the earl of this name, whose will is to be found on p. 13 ff.

1. 18. *ðas béc*. The use of the plural is somewhat surprising. Is it to be explained by the fact that the Codex Aureus is a volume of Gospels? If so, *béc* stands for *Cristes béc*, i.e. the four Gospels, cf. Aelfric, *On the Old and New Testament* (ed. Grein, *Bibl. der Angelsäch. Prosa* 1. p. 12): *Feower Cristes bec sindon be Criste sylfum awritene. An þara awrat Matheus*. Or are we to suppose that the Codex Aureus was only one of a number of books recovered by Earl Aelfred, and presented by him to Christ Church?

*æt hæðnum herge*. Doubtless from one of the Danish armies by which England was ravaged about this time.

p. 13, l. 1. *ða hwile ðe God geseogen hæbbe ðæt...mote*. This use of *seon* is peculiar; it can hardly mean anything else than 'foresee,' 'provide.'

1. 5. *ða hwile ðe fulwiht stondan mote*. The same phrase occurs in Earl Aelfred's Will, p. 14, ll. 23, 28.

## X

*Date*. Between King Alfred's accession (871) and Archbishop Aethelred's death (889).

*Dialect*. See Appendix.

1. 9. *Ælfred dux*. *dux* is the usual equivalent for *ealdorman* in Latin charters, and sometimes, as here, in Anglo-Saxon documents. Aelfred was probably Earl of Surrey; he had estates both in Surrey and in Kent. He must have received this earldom some time after 853, when Huda, Earl of Surrey, was killed in a battle in Thanet against the Danes (*Chron. ann.* 853 A, 852 E).

1. 10. *allum his weotum 7 geweotan*. *geweotan* is probably of wider signification than *weotum*, the term regularly applied to the king's councillors.

1. 12. *mines boclondes*. *bocland* was land held by *boc* or charter, as opposed to *folcland*, land held in accordance with national custom. Grants of *bocland* appear after the introduction of Christianity, at first only for the endowment of churches and monasteries. There are no grants of *bocland* to laymen, except for ecclesiastical purposes, until the second half of the eighth century. Land held by

*boc* was privileged and exempt from many of the burdens which lay upon *folcland*.

l. 13 ff. Sanderstead, Selsdon, Clapham, and Horsley, Surrey; Westerham, and Nettlestead, Kent. *Leangafelda* is usually identified with Longfield, Kent. This identification is possibly correct, but the name cannot etymologically be connected with O.E. *lang*.

l. 18. *mid allum ðingum ðe to londum belimpað. to londum* perhaps means estates in general, and not merely those mentioned in the preceding lines.

l. 21f. *7 hio gebrenge et Sancte Petre...fereld age*. The reference seems to be to St Peter's, Rome<sup>1</sup>. It is scarcely likely that *min twa wergeld* means 'twice my wergeld'; the more natural meaning is 'my two wergelds.' According to the *Northleoda Lagu* and the document called *Be Myrcna Lage*, the king had a double wergeld. Beside the sum which went to his relations, a similar amount was paid to his dependents. In the former document, the wergeld of the aetheling, or member of the royal family, is stated to be 15,000 *trymsas*, just half that of the king. It seems, therefore, that the king's wergeld was doubled in virtue of his office; and such may also have been the case with the earl. The amount of the earl's wergeld is unfortunately never stated in the Kentish or West Saxon laws. According to the *Northleoda Lagu*, the wergeld of the earl (*earldorman*) was 8000 *trymsas*, but this represents Scandinavian custom. We know that occasionally, at least, West Saxon earls were members of the royal family.

l. 26. *sio neste hond*. See note on p. 101.

p. 14, l. 2f. *þ hine to ðan gehagige...wille*. B.-T. gives the meaning of *gehagian*<sup>2</sup> as 'to please,' by analogy with *onhagian*, 'to be within one's power,' and translates 'whoever it be that is ready to take the other lands.'

l. 6. *to Ceortesege...to feormfultume*. The monastery at Chertsey was founded by Erconwald, Bishop of London, before 675 or 676 (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6). It is said to have been destroyed during the Danish invasions in the latter part of the ninth century. If the date 884 assigned to this event in a Chertsey chronicle (cf. Dugdale,

<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps compare the opening lines of B. 192, a charter dated 762: *Ego Dunwald minister, dum adviveret, inclitæ memoriæ regis Ethelberti, nunc vero pecuniam illius pro animæ ejus salute ad limina apostolorum Romæ cum aliis perferre desiderans.*

<sup>2</sup> This word occurs again in B. 566: *Denne an hio his ðam hiwum to Wintanceastre æfter hire dæge into hære beddarn æt ðam bisceopstole, mid swelcan yrfe swelcan hi Denne to gehagað.*

*op. cit.* i. 422) is correct, it would seem probable that Earl Aelfred's Will belongs to the early years of Alfred's reign<sup>1</sup>.

Only one instance of the word *feormfultum* is recorded by B.-T. Another is quoted by Prof. Napier, *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (*Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1906), p. 286, in the following passage from a Bury St Edmund's document: *Her stent ða forwarde ðe Æþeric worhte wið þan abbode on Niwentune, þæt is III sceppe mealtes, 7 healf sceppe hwæte, an slægryðer, V scep.... Leofstan abbod doð to þis fermfultum an sceppe malt 7 III hund hlafe 7 VI flicce 7 oðer VI to fyllincge into þan ealdan fyrme*; where *fermfultum* means 'a contribution of provisions.' We may compare the charges imposed on various Kentish estates in favour of monasteries (p. 1, l. 21 ff.; p. 3, l. 22 ff.; p. 8, l. 22 ff. etc.). In Earl Aelfred's Will money payments take the place of payments in kind.

1. 8. *Æðelwalde minum sunu*. Probably the Aethelwald *dux* who witnessed the exchange of land between Earl Aelfred and Archbishop Aethelred (p. 12, l. 9). He may possibly have been the Earl Aethelwald, whose death is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 888, and who is said by the chronicler Aethelward to have been Earl of Kent.

1. 9. *on Hwetedune*. This is probably Waddon, near Coulsdon, Surrey. The place is not mentioned in D.B., but it appears in 1127 as *Wadonam*, in a charter of Henry I to the Abbey of Bermondsey (*Dugdale, op. cit.* v. 97). The modern form Waddon occurs at the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Feudal Aids*, 1316), and is the one most usually found. The spelling *Whatedone* (*Surrey Fines*, Surrey Archaeological Society, pp. 64, 156) also occurs, while the form *Whaddon* is not unusual.

*an Gatatune*, Gatton, about eight miles from Waddon.

1. 10. *gif se cyning him geunnan wille...boclonde*. The *folclond* mentioned here was perhaps an estate of *cyninges folcland* granted to Aelfred for his lifetime (cf. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 171 footnote, p. 367). The question whether Aethelwald should be allowed to hold this estate would naturally be for the king to decide. Maitland (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 246), and many others, explain Aelfred's doubt upon this point by the assumption that Aethelwald was of questionable legitimacy. But the fact that Alhthryth is

<sup>1</sup> If the date 884 is right, the chronicler is clearly wrong in saying that the monastery was destroyed *tempore Ethelredi regis filii regis Ethelwulfi*.



described as 'the child of us both' is not sufficient to prove this, though we may perhaps infer from it that Werburg was not Aelfred's first wife. Maitland says that 'we can see that [Aelfred] does not feel called upon to do very much for this son of his.' May not the explanation be that Aelfred considered that his son was already sufficiently provided for? Aethelwald may have been Earl of Kent. (See note on p. 14, l. 8, above.)

1. 14. *on Lencanfelda*. Probably Lingfield, Surrey.

1. 15. *geselle hio C swina*. It is not clear whether *hio* refers to Werburg or to Alhthryth.

1. 16 ff. *þone oferecan mon gedele...willen*. *þone oferecan*, what remains of the original stock of swine after the bequests already enumerated have been paid. Does *þa hwile þe hio lestan willen* refer to the *mynsterhamas*, i.e. 'as long as they shall endure,' or 'as long as they are willing to render certain services' (?); or can it refer to the pigs, and mean 'as far as they will go'?

1. 24 ff. *ic sello Eadrede...gif he hit to him geearnian wile*. *on Fearnlege*, probably Farley, near Sanderstead, Surrey. For the phrase *gif he hit to him geearnian wile*, cf. p. 5, l. 28 f.; *to him* must mean 'from Aethelred.' Aelfred is willing that Aethelred should leave his land to Eadred, if he is satisfied with his conduct.

1. 27. *to Hrofescestre*. The church at Rochester was founded by Aethelberht, King of Kent, and dedicated to St Andrew. Aethelberht made Rochester a bishop's see, and Justus became its first bishop (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* II. c. 3).

1. 29. *fulwihte*. This nominative form with *-e* is curious.

1. 30. *Ðeos foresprec 7 þas gewriotu*. Does this mean 'this declaration and the writing of it,' or does it mean 'the preface and the various articles which follow'?

1. 33. *me þæt on lene gelið*. The verb *gelēon* is not recorded in the dictionaries. It evidently means 'to give, lend,' cf. *lēon*, < \**liōhan*, and Gothic *leihwan*.

## XI

The earliest known copy of King Alfred's Will is to be found in the Hyde Register, and dates from the beginning of the eleventh century. See p. 15. A later version is included among the documents in the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, which was compiled some time after 1354 and which is written in a hand of the close

of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century (cf. Edwards, *Liber de Hyda*, p. xix ff.). This latter text is full of inaccuracies and corrupt spellings; the scribe frequently writes *ri* for Anglo-Saxon *ſ*. The *Liber de Hyda* also contains a Latin and a Middle English version of the will, both of which abound with mistranslations of the Anglo-Saxon; some passages, indeed, are quite unintelligible. There is a very close connection between the two later versions, the same mistakes being common to both.

*Date.* Kemble, followed by Earle and Birch, assigned to this will the date A.D. 880—885. Mr Stevenson (*op. cit.* p. lxxvii) points out that the latter date is due to the erroneous identification of the Bishop Esne mentioned here with Esne, Bishop of Hereford, whose death was assigned by Bishop Godwin to 885, but who really died in 787 or 788. The will cannot be earlier than 873, the year in which Bishop Werferth succeeded to the see of Worcester. It must have been drawn up before 889, since Archbishop Aethelred died in that year.

p. 15, l. 26. *Ic Ælfred cingc mid Godes gife*, cf. p. 17, l. 13. The most natural way of translating this phrase would be to take *mid Godes gife* with *Ælfred cingc* and to translate 'I Alfred, by God's grace king.' In some of Alfred's Latin charters, the king styles himself *Ego Ælfred gratia Dei Saxonum rex* (cf. B. 550, 564). Another example of the same usage occurs in the opening clause of the Laws of Ine: *Ic Ine, mid Godes gife Westseaxena kyning, mid geþeahte 7 mid lare Cenredes mines fæder*, etc. But in King Alfred's Will, the phrases *mid Godes gife* and *mid geþeahtunge Æþeredes ercebisceopes* seem to be parallel, and unless the 7 which joins them is due to a scribal error, we are bound to take them together. In that case, we must suppose that by Alfred's time the original meaning of the phrase *mid Godes gife* had been forgotten, and that its use had become merely conventional.

*Æþeredes ercebisceopes.* Archbishop of Canterbury, 870—889.

p. 16, l. 1. *ymbe þæt yrfe þæt Aðulf cingc...us þrim gebroðrum becwæð.* This part of Alfred's inheritance receives special mention because it had been the subject of agreements made at different times between the sons of Aethelwulf. These are described in the lines following.

It is to be noted that Aethelberht is excluded from this particular portion of the inheritance of Aethelwulf. Aethelberht may have been the eldest of the four brothers. He became King of Kent

during the lifetime of his father, perhaps as early as 853, if the grant of Aethelwulf to Ealdhere (B. 467) which is signed by Aethelberht as *rex* is rightly assigned to that year. After the death of Aethelwulf, Aethelbald and Aethelberht appear to have ruled over their respective kingdoms independently of one another.

l. 4. *Ac hit gelamp þæt Æþelbold gefôr.* Aethelbald died in 860, and Aethelberht then added Wessex to his kingdom of Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Essex. Aethelbald must have had possession during his lifetime of the property which belonged to himself and his two brothers conjointly. After his death it was handed over to his successor.

*mid ealra Westseaxena witenas gewitnesse.* It is questionable whether the emendation to *ealra* is really necessary, as confusion of *-re* and *-ra* is not rare; cf. *neniggra*, p. 10, l. 17 and note.

l. 8. *ge þæt yrfe.* The joint inheritance of Aethelred and Alfred. *ge þæt he mid uncre gemanan begeat. mid uncre gemanan* seems to mean 'by means of our joint property.' The use of *gemana* with this concrete meaning is not recognised by B.-T., but it is supported by the occurrence of the phrase *him to gemanan* in the will of Aelfgyfu (Thorpe, p. 554), where it can hardly mean anything else: *And ic ann...þæs landæs æt Mundingwillæ 7 æt Beorh..., Ælfwerdæ 7 Æðelwærdæ 7 Ælfwæræ, him to gemanan hira dæg.*

l. 10. *þa hit swa gelamp þæt Æþered to feng.* Aethelred became king in 866.

l. 12f. *þa sæde he me þæt he naht eaðe...ongefangen.* The meaning of this sentence is not clear. It may simply refer to the difficulty of making a fair division of the estates, in which case *forþon he hæfde ful oft ær ongefangen* may be translated 'for he had already many times attempted to do so.' If this was more than a pretext to make Alfred waive his claim, it may mean that Aethelred had attempted to make a hypothetical division of the property in the past, perhaps with a view to inducing Aethelberht to part with it. This interpretation of the passage raises the difficulty that although *onfon* does sometimes mean 'to try, undertake,' it occurs only with a noun object. Its most usual meaning is 'to take, receive.' If that is its meaning here, the sentence must be translated 'since he had often received additions to it.'

l. 13. *he cwæð þæs þe he on uncrum gemanan gebruce 7 gestrynde.* *þæs* is genitive, governed by *gebruce*. The whole sentence is clearly parallel to ll. 8, 9 above. *7 gestrynde* probably means, as in l. 9, 'what he had by his own means acquired.'



l. 16 ff. *Ac hit gelamp...swa unc sælde.* In 866, the year of Aethelred's accession, the most important of the Scandinavian invasions of this country took place. The invaders, led by the sons of Ragnarr Lothbrok, defeated and killed the two rival kings of Northumbria who had united against them. They then made an attack on Mercia, and compelled Burgred of Mercia to come to terms. The presence of the Scandinavians in England must have brought home to Aethelred and Alfred the necessity of making some provision for their children, of whom no mention had been made in the previous agreement. The second agreement was probably made in the interval between Alfred's marriage, which took place, according to Asser (cap. 29), in 868, and the death of Aethelred in 871.

l. 19. *æt Swinbeorgum.* This place has been identified by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins (*Academy*, 24 May, 1884; p. 368) with Swanborough Tump between Woodborough and Pewsey, Wilts.<sup>1</sup>

l. 22. *þara landa þe unc Aðulf cingc forgeaf þe Aðelbolde lifendum.* Aethelwulf made over Wessex to Aethelbald on his departure to Rome in 855. This provision for Aethelred and Alfred was possibly made at the same time.

l. 28. *þa ne cydde me nan mann nan yrfege writ ne nane gewitnesse...wære.* The nouns *yrfege writ* and *gewitnesse*, which are properly the subject of the dependent clause *þæt...wære*, are brought into the principal clause as direct object of the verb, and replaced in the dependent clause by the impersonal *hit*.

l. 30. *þa gehyrde we nu manegu yrfegeflitu.* This would seem to suggest either that Alfred had kept back some part of the property which he had promised to make over to the children of Aethelred, or else that there was some dispute concerning the joint property which now lawfully belonged to Alfred, the sole survivor of the three brothers. Possibly one of Aethelred's sons may have demanded a more adequate portion of his father's possessions. At a later date, when Edward became king on Alfred's death, Aethelwold (cf. p. 99) took up arms (*Chron. ann.* 901), probably with a view to asserting his own claim to the throne, to which, according to modern ideas of strict hereditary succession, he certainly had a greater right.

l. 31. *Aþulfes cinges yrfege writ.* The will of King Aethelwulf

<sup>1</sup> The references given by Dr Birch (B. 553 footnote) to Mr Tomkins' articles in the *Academy* are incorrect.



is no longer extant, but Asser (cap. 16) has preserved some details which are clearly taken from it. His account of Aethelwulf's directions for the disposal of his property, is given only in general terms: *et regni inter filios suos, duos scilicet seniores, et propriae hereditatis inter filios et filiam et etiam propinquos, pecuniarum, quae post se superessent, inter animam et filios et etiam nobiles suos, divisionem ordinabiliter literis mandari procuravit.*

l. 32. *æt Langandene.* This place has been identified by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins (*Academy*, 13 June, 1885) with Long Dean, about three miles from Swanborough Tump. I have not succeeded in finding this on the 6-in. Ordnance Map. *Thonon on landscore to Langandene* occurs in a list of boundaries of an estate near Totnes, Devon, in a charter of Eadwig (B. 952).

p. 17, l. 4. *þy læs ænig man cweðe þæt ic mine mægild...mid wó fordemde. mægild,* lit. 'young kinsmen,' probably refers more particularly to Alfred's nephews. Perhaps such rumours were already afloat, cf. p. 16, l. 30, above, and note.

l. 15. *Eadwearde minum ylðran suna.* Edward the Elder, who succeeded his father.

l. 16. *Strætneat on Triconscire,* cf. l. 34 below. Stubbs (*Constit. Hist.* i. § 45) identified *Triconscir* with the *Trigerscire* hundred of the Pipe Roll of 1130, and the modern hundred of Trigg, in Cornwall, the district north of and including Bodmin. If, however, *Strætneat* is to be identified with St Neot, to the north-west of Lisceard, *Triconscir* must have embraced a larger area. *Strætneat* is usually identified with Stratton, Cornwall, but the two names can hardly be identical.

*Heortigtunes.* Identified by Manning, followed by the other editors, with Hardington, Somerset. Earlier forms of Hardington, e.g. *Herdinton* (Rot. Hund.) and *Hardintone* (D.B.), are against this derivation. There is a place-name *Hertitone* in D.B., identified in the *Victoria County History* with the modern hundred of Hartland, in Devonshire. This appears as *Hertiland* in Rot. Hund. Is this the *Heortigtun* of King Alfred's Will?

l. 17f. *æt Cylfantune.* Identified by Dr Birch (*Hyde Register*, p. 203) with Chelvy, near Bristol, and by Edwards with Chilton, Somerset. But if the identifications in the V.C.H. are correct, these go back to D.B. *Calviche* and *Childetone* respectively, neither of which can be connected with O.E. *Cylfantun*. Is this perhaps to be identified with D.B. *Chilvetune*, now Kilton, Somerset?

Carhampton, Burnham, Wedmore, Cheddar (Somerset).

l. 18. *ic eom fyrmdig to þam hiwum æt Ceodre þæt hy hine ceosan*, i.e. as their lord. *þa hiwan* is frequently used to denote the inmates of a religious house. The only evidence for the existence of a monastery at Cheddar is a reference in a charter attributed to Edgar (B. 1219, 1220), which is stigmatised as spurious by Kemble. The Anglo-Saxon version of this charter states that *Eadward cyning gesealde þæt lond æt Cumbtune 7 æt Bananville þan hiwon æt Ceodre*. The corresponding passage in the Latin version has *familis famulabusque Domini on Ceodre degentibus*. In a later passage in the will (p. 19, l. 24) reference is made to *þam hiwum æt Domrahamme*, who, like the *hiwan* at Cheddar, are accorded the privilege of choosing their lord. Nothing, however, is known of a religious house at Damerham.

But does *þa hiwan* necessarily denote members of a religious community? The term is used in the Chronicle *ann. 757 E* with reference to the king's household. The charter of Edgar referred to above is dated from the royal palace at Cheddar. This *sedes regalis* is also mentioned in a grant of Edwy (B. 966). Eadred had a *ham* at Damerham (p. 34, l. 7).

l. 20. *æt Ciwtune 7 þam þe þærto hyrað*, i.e. Chewton Mendip, Somerset. This must refer to lands, the revenues of which went to the king and were collected by the king's reeve at Chewton.

l. 21 ff. *æt Cantuctune*. This site has not been identified. It is obviously in the neighbourhood of the Quantock Hills.

Bedwin and Pewsey (Wilts.), Leatherhead (Surrey), Sutton (Hants. or Surrey), Alton (Hants.), or Alton Priors (Wilts.). 7 *Hysseburnan*, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hants. *æt þam nyðeran Hysseburnan*, l. 24 and l. 27 below, is Hurstbourne Priors, which is farther down the 'burn,' a branch of the Test, from which both places take their name. According to Stevens (*History of St Mary Bourne*, 1888, p. 2) these two villages are still called Up and Down Hurstbourne, the local pronunciation being Uphusband and Downhusband. They appear in D.B. as *Esseburne* and *Eisseburne*. The usual form of the name in documents of the twelfth and thirteenth century is *Husseburne*, but *Hurseburne* is found as early as 1285 (Charter Roll 13 Edw. I, mem. 27). *Hurst-* seems to be a still later innovation.

l. 25. *æt Cyseldene*. Chiseldon, Wilts.

*agafe man in to Wintanceastre.....gecwæð*, i.e. to the Cathedral at Winchester, which had been built by Cenwalh, King of

the West Saxons, and the consecration of which is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 648 F. After the beginning of the tenth century it was often called the Old Minster, to distinguish it from the New Minster built by Edward the Elder.

In three charters of very doubtful authenticity in the Codex Wintoniensis (B. 565, 592, 594) it is stated that Aethelwulf had arranged that Alfred should have the estates at Chiseldon and Hurstbourne on condition that he left them after his death to Winchester.

l. 26. 7 þæt min sundorfeoh. Perhaps the live-stock belonging to Alfred on this estate.

l. 28. þam gingran minan suna. Aethelweard, of whom very little is known. Asser (cap. 75) speaks of his progress in learning. An entry in Florence of Worcester, which is not found in any existing MS. of the Chronicle, states that the Clito Aethelweard, brother of King Edward, died on October 16th, 922, and was buried at Winchester (Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 299).

*æt Eaderingtune.* Identified by Manning and others with Adrington, Som., which I have not succeeded in finding. Is *Eaderingtun* perhaps to be connected with D.B. *Adrintone* (i. 39*b*), mentioned in the Hampshire Survey as having been royal demesne T.R.E., and identified in the V.C.H. (i. p. 457) with Arreton, in the Isle of Wight?

l. 29. *æt Dene.* In Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (cap. 79. 7) the author states that he first saw the king in the *villa regia quae dicitur Dene*. This place, which is identified by Mr Stevenson (*op. cit.* p. 312) with Dean (East Dean and West Dean), near Eastbourne, Sussex, is no doubt the *æt Dene* of this will.

*æt Deone* is perhaps Dean, near Salisbury, on the borders of Hampshire and Wiltshire. This appears as *Dene* in D.B. (i. 38*b*, cf. V.C.H. Hants, i. p. 453) and in Testa de Nevill. The name is, however, written *Deone* in the fourteenth century (Feudal Aids, v. pp. 216, 228).

l. 29 ff. Meon, Twyford (Hants); Amesbury (Wilts); Sturminster (Dorset); Yeovil, Crewkerne and Milborne (Somerset); Axmouth, Branscombe, Cullompton, Exminster (Devon); Whitchurch (Hants, Devon or Somerset).

l. 32. *æt Suðeswyrðe.* Is this perhaps D.B. (Devon) *Sutreworde* (i. 111*b*), which is identified in the *Transactions of the Devonshire*



*Association*, 1897, vol. xxix. p. 236, with Lustleigh in Teignbridge hundred?

l. 33. *æt Liwtune...on Wealcynne...butan Triconscire*. Luton in Broadhembury, or Luton, near Dawlish, Devon. *on Wealcynne*, the Welsh of Cornwall and Devon. For the position of *Triconscir*, see note on p. 95.

l. 35. *minre yldstan dehter*. Aethelfled, wife of Aethelred, Earl of the Mercians. See note on p. 106.

*þæne ham æt Welewe*. Wellow, Somerset. The word *ham* as opposed to *land* (l. 15, above and *passim*) seems to lay special stress on the idea of residence and to denote more particularly the dwelling of the owner of the estate. The nearest Modern English equivalent is perhaps 'residence.'

*þære medemestan*. Aethelgifu, who became a nun. Asser (cap. 98) states that Alfred made her abbess of the monastery which he had founded at Shaftesbury.

l. 36. *æt Clearan*. Kingsclere, Hants.

*æt Cendefer*. There are three parishes of this name in Hampshire, Brown Candover, Chilton Candover, and Preston Candover.

*þære gingestan*. Aelfthryth, who married Baldwin II of Flanders, the son of Alfred's step-mother Judith. A charter still extant (B. 661) records a grant made by Aelfthryth and her two sons to the Abbey of St Peter, Ghent, of land at Lewisham, Greenwich and Woolwich.

p. 18, l. 1. *æt Welig*. Identified by Dr Birch with Wiley, Wilts; but this is written *Wilig* in Earl Aethelwold's Will, p. 33, l. 13. There is a place-name *Welige* in D.B. Hants, identified in the V.C.H. (i. p. 517) with Wellow in the Isle of Wight.

The two places following are Ashton-Keynes and Chippenham, Wilts.

l. 1. *Æðelme mines broðer suna*. Perhaps to be identified with Aethelhelm, Earl of Wiltshire, who according to the Chronicle (*ann.* 887 A), *lædde Wesseaxna ælmessan 7 Ælfredes cyninges to Rome*. He was one of the three earls who defeated the Danes at Buttington (*Chron. ann.* 894 A). The Chronicle records his death *ann.* 898 A.

l. 2 ff. Aldingbourne, Beeding and Beddingham, Sussex; Thunderfield and Eashing, Surrey; Compton, Sussex or Surrey; Crodall, Hants.

l. 4 ff. *æt Burnham*. This place has not yet been satisfactorily



identified. Manning suggested Barnham (D.B. *Berneha(m)*), near Chichester, Sussex.

*Apelwolde mines broðor suna.* He was perhaps the son of Aethelred. After his unsuccessful rising against Edward the Elder (see note on p. 94) he fled to the Scandinavians settled in East Anglia and induced them to support him. Edward then ravaged East Anglia, and in the battle of the 'Holm' (cf. p. 37, l. 11 and note) Aethelwold was killed (Chron. *ann.* 901, 904, 905 A).

Godalming and Guildford, Surrey; Steyning, Sussex.

1. 6. *Osferðe minum mæge.* His exact relationship to Alfred is unknown. It is to be noted that his name begins with the stem *Os-*, which is also found in the name of Alfred's mother Osburh and of her father Oslac. Pauli (*König Aelfred*, p. 288) suggested that Osferth may have been a member of the Hampshire family to which they belonged. Osferth signs charters of Edward the Elder and Aethelstan as *propinquus regis* and *dux* (cf. B. 620, 663, 669, etc.).

1. 7f. Beckley, Rotherfield, Ditchling, Angmering, Felpham and Sutton, Sussex.

1. 8. *æt Lullingmynster.* Manning and others identify this with Lullington, Sussex. But it is clearly to be identified with D.B. *Lolinminstre*; this, according to the V.C.H. Sussex (i. 428 b), is Leominster or Lyminster, Sussex.

1. 9. *Ealhswiðe*, the wife of Alfred. According to Asser (cap. 29) she was the daughter of Aethelred, *Guinorum comes*, and of Eadburh, who belonged to the royal family of Mercia. The district or people under Aethelred's rule are otherwise unknown. The death of Ealhswith is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 905 A.

*æt Lambburnan.* Lambourn, Berks.

1. 10. *æt Waneting.* Wantage, Berks, the birthplace of Alfred according to Asser (cap. 1, 3). It occurs again in the will of King Eadred (p. 35, l. 11).

*æt Eðanduns.* This was the site of Alfred's great victory over the whole of the Danish army under Guthrum in May, 878. It is most probably to be identified with Edington, Wilts., though various other identifications have been proposed (cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 273 ff.).

1. 11. *æn þusend punda.* The Anglo-Saxon *pund* was a pound of silver. It contained 240 (silver) pence, the weight of each being approximately a pennyweight.

l. 14. *an hund mangcusa*. See note on p. 77.

l. 15. *Æperede ealdormenn*. See note on p. 103.

l. 16 f. *þam mannum þe me folgiað. folgiað*, lit. 'serve,' i.e. 'form my court.' Asser (cap. 100) describes the rotation of service observed by Alfred's personal attendants. They were in attendance on the king for one month out of every three; the other two they spent upon their own estates. Asser also says that Alfred set apart a certain proportion of his revenue for the members of his court, and this probably formed the substance of the gifts mentioned in the will.

l. 20. *Esne bisceope*. This name does not occur in lists of bishops of the time; there are, however, many gaps in the records of the episcopal succession during Alfred's reign. Esne was probably one of the bishops whose names have not been recorded. He may have been bishop of one of the southern sees, possibly of Selsey, the history of which is a blank between 862 and 904. There is, however, also the possibility that he was one of the bishops of the Danelaw, and that he had been ejected from his see by the Danes.

l. 21. *Wærferðe bisceope*. Werferth was Bishop of Worcester from 873 to 915. According to Asser (cap. 77) he was one of Alfred's literary assistants, and it was at the king's suggestion that he translated the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great into Anglo-Saxon.

*þam æt Scireburnan*. It is curious that Esne and Werferth should be mentioned by name, while the name of the Bishop of Sherborne is omitted. Are we justified in supposing that the gifts to the two former were of a more personal character? It is to be remembered that two of Alfred's brothers were buried at Sherborne (Chron. ann. 860 A); this would probably account for his interest in that church. Edgar made a grant of land to St Mary's, Sherborne, *for me sylfne 7 for mine yldran the thar restat æt Scirburnan, Athelbold cing 7 Æthelbyrht cyng* (B. 1308). Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, appears to have been a personal friend of Alfred, but the will may have been drawn up before his succession to that see, the date of which is unfortunately unknown. A Bishop Wulfsgie, who may have been Asser's predecessor, signs a Worcester charter dated 889 (B. 561) which Mr Stevenson is inclined to think is genuine; cf. Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. lxvi.

l. 23 f. *fiftig mæssepreostum...Godes þeowum*. See notes on p. 75.

l. 25. *fiftig to þære cyrican þe ic æt reste.* The *Hyde Register* (p. 5) states that Alfred was buried in the Cathedral or Old Minster at Winchester, and that after the completion of New Minster, Edward the Elder removed his father's remains from the Cathedral to the new church. William of Malmesbury (i. 134 f.), who is followed by the *Liber de Hyda*, gives the following reason for this re-interment: *pro deliramento canonicorum, dicentium regios manes, resumpto cadavere, noctibus per domos oberrare.* In 1110, when the New Minster was transferred to Hyde, Alfred's remains were again removed and buried in Hyde Abbey.

l. 29. *þæt...mine þenigmenn þær ealle mid syndan,* i.e. the officials referred to in l. 16 f. above. *syndan* must be the 3 pl. Opt. of the verb 'to be,' but the form seems not to occur elsewhere in this sense. The sentence admits of two interpretations: (1) that they should all be present at the time of distribution; (2) that they should all have their part in it.

l. 32. *on as ylcan gewitnesse.* This seems to refer back to the *monegum mannum* in the preceding clause.

p. 19, l. 1. *on mines fæder yrfegewrite,* cf. p. 16, l. 31, above and note.

l. 2. *gif ic ænigum menn ænig feoh unleanod hæbbe....geleanian.* Directions for the payment of debts are sometimes found in Anglo-Saxon wills. They seem to shew that a man's debts were at this time considered to be cancelled by his death, and could not legally be demanded from those who succeeded to his property (cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, II. p. 258).

l. 3 ff. *ic wylle þa menn...asyllan of minum cynne ofer heora dæg.* A passage in Alfred's Laws (cap. 41; cf. Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. 325) states that bookland is not to be alienated, if it has been stipulated that it should remain in the family of those who first acquired it. The earliest charters containing a condition limiting the succession to an estate to members of the family of the grantee, date from the reign of Offa of Mercia (B. 230, 244, 254).

l. 5. *þæt hit gange on þa nyhstan hand me.* *hand* is used to denote the person inheriting, cf. *sio neste hond* (p. 13, l. 26), *on lædu hand* (p. 26, l. 7). Another instance occurs in the will of Leofwine (Crawford Charters, IX. l. 9): *þæt god wille sylle hit on þa hand þe hire æfre betst gehyre on uncer bega cynne.* *Hand* is used in compounds with the same force; cf. *ænigre wifhanda* (l. 10, below),



*swa wifhanda swa wæpnedhanda* (l. 14), *meghond* (p. 10, ll. 17, 25), *erfehond* (p. 5, l. 13).

l. 8. *min yldra fæder*. Ecgberht, King of the West Saxons, 802—839. His will is not extant.

l. 9. *on þa sperehealfe næs on þa spinlhealfe*. Grimm (*Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, i. pp. 225, 236) gives many instances of the use of 'spear,' with the meaning 'man,' 'male line,' in contrast with 'spindle,' the symbol of the woman. See also *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 83 ff.

l. 11. *7 gif hy hit be þan libbendan habban wyllan*. *hy*, i.e. *mine magas*; *be þan libbendan*, pl., referring to *ænigre wifhanda* in l. 10. The 7 seems to have been wrongly inserted.

l. 16. *þæt minra maga nan...ne geswence nan nænig cyrelif þara þe ic foregeald*. *cyrelif* seems to mean (1) 'a state of dependence on a lord whom one has chosen,' (2) 'a dependent (or community of dependents) who has the right to choose his lord' (cf. B.-T. Suppt, s.v. *cyrelif*). In this passage, it is used with the latter meaning. The persons referred to must be men who, from poverty or some other cause, had given themselves up to Alfred, while he, in return, discharged their obligations. That they had parted with their freedom is shewn by his statement that it is in his power to decide whether they are to be bond or free.

l. 24. *þam hiwum æt Domrahamme*. Damerham, Wilts. There is no mention of a religious house at Damerham in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* or in Dr Birch's *Fasti Monastici* (see note on p. 17, l. 18, above). King Edmund gave an estate at Damerham to his wife Aethelfled *æt Domrahamme*, on condition that she left it after her death to the Abbey of Glastonbury (B. 817). This land was bequeathed by Aethelfled to Glastonbury in her will (K. 685) and remained in the possession of the abbey until the dissolution of the monasteries. Eadred also had a *ham* at Damerham (p. 34, l. 7).

l. 25. *hyra freols swylce hand to ceosenne*. *hand* is used here in the sense of lord (cf. O.E. *mund*).

l. 26. *for Ælflæde*. Aelflæd is otherwise unknown. She was evidently a near relative of King Alfred, since she interceded in prayer for the persons for whom he interceded. She may have been the wife of one of his brothers. The name of Aethelberht's wife is not recorded. A person named Wulfthryth signs a charter of Aethelred (B. 520) in 868 as *regina*. She is otherwise unknown,



and the charter is found only in the Codex Wintoniensis, which contains many spurious documents. But even if this charter is genuine, Aethelred may have married again before his death in 871.

l. 27 f. *sec man...ymbe minre sawle þearfe*. If the text is not corrupt, *sec* must be 2 sing. Imper. used for 3 sing. Opt. The allusion is to the practice of making gifts of live stock to monasteries in return for spiritual benefits, cf. Earl Aelfred's Will, p. 14, l. 15, and *passim*.

## XII

*Dialect.* See Appendix.

p. 20, l. 14. *Ic Æðelræd ealdorman...mid sume dæle Mercna rices*. The famous Earl of the Mercians who married Aethelfled, daughter of King Alfred. Aethelred appears to have held the office of earl already under Burgred of Mercia (B. 537). When English Mercia became subject to Alfred after the death of Ceolwulf, which probably took place 878—879, Aethelred retained the title of earl. He and Aethelfled seem, however, to have enjoyed a semi-royal position; they are described in B. 608 as *Myrcna hlafordas*. In some of his charters, as in the present text, Aethelred states that he is acting with Alfred's leave and cognisance; others (B. 552, 557) contain no mention of the king's consent. The death of Aethelred is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 910 C, 912 A.

l. 17. *abbodes 7 þære heorædene æt Berclea*. The date and circumstances of the foundation of this abbey are unknown. Tilhere, who signs Hwiccian charters as *abbas* as early as 759 (B. 187, 218) and who became Bishop of Worcester, is said by tradition to have been Abbot of Berkeley (Dugdale, *op. cit.* i. 568). It is to be noted also that Aethelhun, Abbot of Berkeley (p. 22, l. 7), succeeded in 915 to the see of Worcester. The abbey was certainly in existence in 807, when Ceolburg, Abbess of Berkeley, died (Chron. and Flor. Wig. *ann.* 805). It appears to have been destroyed before the Conquest, cf. D.B. (Glouc.) i. 164: *Gueda mater Heraldī tenuit Udecestre* (Woodchester). *Godwin emit ab Azor et dedit suae uxori ut inde viveret donec ad Berchelai maneret; nolebat enim de ipso manerio aliquid comedere, pro destructione abbatiæ*. This would seem to suggest that Earl Godwin had had a share in the destruction of the abbey; cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, II. Note E.

*for ealre Merce*. The usual phrase is *for ealle Merce*, cf. p. 21,

l. 19, below. Is *ealre* here a mistake, or is *Merc* D. sing. of *Mearc*, i.e. the March, Mercia? The word is not recorded as a proper name in B.-T.

l. 18 ff. *þæs gafoles...þære cyningfeorme...on sceapum*. This is not the only case in which the payment of *cyningfeorm* is mentioned among burdens from which privileged *bocland* was exempt (cf. B. 370, 450). The *cyningfeorm* may perhaps be best described as a species of land-tax. It seems usually to have been paid in kind, although it was sometimes (cf. B. 309) commuted for money. In B. 273 we are told that the following items had been paid to the royal official as *cyningfeorm* from an estate of sixty hides at Westbury in Gloucestershire; two barrels of clear ale, a comb of mild ale and of Welsh ale, seven bullocks, six sheep, forty cheeses and six *lang þero*, thirty ambers of corn and four ambers of meal. We may compare the payments specified in Nos. I, II, IV, V and VI from various Kentish estates to religious houses. The origin of the impost known as *cyningfeorm* is lost in antiquity. According to Maitland (*op. cit.* p. 236 ff.) it was a tax paid by free landowners in commutation of the king's right to quarter himself and his retinue on his subjects. Parallels to such a system are to be found in Wales as well as in Germany and the North (cf. Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. 420). So far, however, as our evidence goes, it would seem that the persons from whom this payment was exacted were tenants on the king's *folcland* rather than 'free landowners.'

l. 24. *æt Stoce twelf hida*, i.e. Stoke Bishop, Glos. This estate seems to have been part of the inheritance of Aethelric, son of Aethelmund, who in 804 bequeathed to his mother Ceolburg, afterwards abbess of Berkeley, forty-three hides *æt Westmyuster* (the monastery at Westbury) 7 *æt Stoce*, for her lifetime, with reversion to Worcester (B. 313, 314). The manor of Westbury, including Stoke Bishop, was in the hands of the Bishop of Worcester at the time of the Domesday Survey (D.B. I. 164 b).

l. 25. *fram æghwelcum gafolum...ge uncuðes*. The nature of the payment and services due to the king may be inferred from certain charters of Berhtwulf and other Mercian kings of the ninth century (cf. B. 443, 450, 454, 488), which specify with some detail the burdens from which the estates mentioned in them are exempted. Among these burdens are included the entertainment of messengers, the maintenance of *fæstingmen* and of royal servants, especially huntsmen and falconers, and the keeping of horses, falcons and dogs.

l. 27. *butan angilde wið oðrum*, cf. p. 21, l. 9: *angylde wið oðrum 7 noht út to wite*. *angilde* is the simple compensation that the person wronged is entitled to receive when a crime has been committed (cf. Maitland, *op. cit.* p. 274 ff.). Some crimes involved the payment of more than simple compensation (cf. B.-T. s.v. *twigilde*, *prigilde*). In addition to the compensation paid to the person wronged, a *wite* or fine was paid to the king. When, however, it is stated that an estate is to be exempt from all burdens except *angilde*, no *wite* need be paid from that estate when a crime has been committed, i.e. (presumably) the possessor of the estate was to keep such fines for himself, as one of the rights which he had acquired.

*fæstengewerce 7 fyrdsocne 7 brycggeweorce*. The obligation of military service and of contributing to the construction and repair of bridges and fortresses was a universal burden, immunity from which was very rarely granted.

p. 21, l. 5. *ic sylle Cynulfe...in ðreora manna dæg*. See notes on pp. 87, 112.

l. 6. *æghwelces þinges to freon*. The same phrase occurs in a charter of Bishop Werferth (B. 560): *7 heo hit hæbben eghwæs to freon butun agefen elce gere ðreo mittan hwætes to ciricsceatte*; cf. also B. 909, K. 675, 676.

l. 10. *on Ceoluhte*. Is this a mistake for *Cynulfe*? Cf. l. 5, above.

l. 18. *to Wigornacestre þam bisceopstole*. See note on p. 106.

p. 22, l. 11. *Terra autem ista hiis circumcingitur terminibus*. The boundaries here given are not easy to identify, since most of the names have disappeared. It seems tolerably certain that the boundary line from the river Avon through *Hricgleag* and *Penpau* (probably Penpole) to the river Severn (l. 14 ff.) forms the eastern boundary of the present tithing of Shirehampton, near Bristol, and the southern boundary of the parish of Henbury. Kerslake in a paper in the *Antiquarian Magazine*, vol. III. p. 279 ff., maintains that the estate here defined corresponds to the modern parish of Henbury. If his contention is correct, it is curious that the estate should be said to be at Stoke and not at Henbury, since there is no evidence to shew that Henbury was ever regarded as part of Stoke. It is much more likely that the twelve hides at Stoke are to be found in the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton, as was suggested by the Rev. C. S. Taylor in a paper on the Pre-Domesday Hide of Gloucester (*Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xviii. p. 297 ff.).



## XIII

*Date.* This charter was evidently issued after the marriage of Aethelred and Aethelfled, which seems to have taken place soon after 884 (see note on l. 25, below). The date of the charter cannot be later than the death of King Alfred, the latest date for which is 901, the exact year being uncertain. See note on p. 110.

*Dialect.* See Appendix.

l. 25. *Æðeldred ealdorman 7 Æðelflæd.* See note on p. 103. The marriage of Aethelred and Aethelfled would seem to have taken place after 884, since the signature of Aethelfled is not found in two charters of Aethelred dating from 883 and 884 (XII and B. 552). She first appears in a charter dated 880 (B. 547), which, if the indiction is correct, must be corrected to 887. After the death of Aethelred, Aethelfled seems to have succeeded to her husband's power except in the south-east of Mercia. She took an active part in the struggle against the Danes. Her death is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 918 C.

for *Sce Petres 7 ðære cyricean æt Weogernaceastre*, i.e. the church of St Peter, to which a monastery was attached. The bishopric of the Hwicce, later known as the bishopric of Worcester, was founded towards the end of the seventh century. St Peter's seems to have been regarded as the cathedral church until the time of Bishop Oswald, who transferred the bishop's seat to the rival foundation dedicated to St Mary. Stubbs, in a paper in the *Archæological Journal* (xix. p. 236 ff.), argued that the community at St Peter's was probably, from the middle of the eighth century onwards, a college of secular priests.

l. 26. *Wærferðes þpes.* See note on p. 100.

l. 27. *hehtan bewyrcean þa burh...eallum þæm folce to gebeorge.* The building and strengthening of strongholds was probably the most important feature of Alfred's policy in his struggle against the Danes. Asser (cap. 91) describes the king's efforts to induce his bishops and earls to construct fortifications (*arces, castella*) and their reluctance to adopt this mode of defence. It is stated in B. 577 that in 898 a conference was held at *Celchyth* between Alfred, Plegmund, Aethelred and Aethelfled concerning the fortification of London (*de instauracione urbis Lundonie*). Alfred's policy was completed by his son and daughter (Aethelfled), who built a line of fortresses to secure the country that they had won from the Danes.



p. 23, l. 4. *þære cyrcean hlaforde*, i.e. the Bishop of Worcester.

l. 12 f. '*De profundis*' *ðone sealme*, Ps. cxxx. *Laudate Dominum*, Ps. cxlvii. or cxlviii.

l. 14. *ðrittig sealma*. For the intercessory use of the Psalter, cf. p. 2, l. 21, and note.

l. 20. *butan þæt se wægnsçilling 7 se seampending...æt Saltwíc*. Identified by Dr Birch with Droitwich (D.B. *Wich*), Worcestershire, where the salt-works were of very great importance at the time of the Domesday Survey. It is clear from a charter of Earl Aethelred dated 884 (B. 552), in which a certain Aethelwulf is granted leave to have six salt-pans *sine aliquo tributo dominatoris gentis...sive ducum iudicumve et præsidum, id est statione sive inoneratione plaustorum*, that the king had the right to levy toll on the waggons as they stood at the salt-pans, and upon the loads being placed in them. From the present charter it appears that the toll amounted to a shilling on every waggon, and a penny on every load; cf. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, II. p. 70 ff.

l. 22. *landfeoh*. According to Kemble (*op. cit.* p. 329), 'a recognitory rent for land.'

*fihthewite*. A fine payable to the king in all cases of manslaughter. According to West-Saxon law, the *fihthewite* amounted to 120 shillings (Ine, 6).

*stale*. In cases of theft, a fine amounting in Wessex to 60 shillings was paid to the king (Ine, 7, 10, 46, 53).

*wohceapung*. Explained by Kemble (*op. cit.* p. 329) as 'buying or selling contrary to the rules of the market.'

l. 23. *burhwealles sceatinge*. This word is not known. B.-T. suggest an emendation to *sceapung*.

#### XIV

*Dialect*. See Appendix.

p. 24, l. 8. *ðy feowerteopan gebonngere*, cf. p. 21, l. 28: *anno dominice incarnationis DCCCLXXXIII, Indictione autem 1*. The term *indictio* was applied to constantly recurring cycles of fifteen years. For purposes of dating, however, it was applied to any particular year in each cycle. This method of fixing the year is said to have had its origin in the Roman practice of announcing by public notice (*indictio*) the tribute due from public lands, which was newly assessed every fifteen years. Under this system,

the year began on September 1st; cf. Earle, *Land Charters*, p. xxxv.

It is to be noted that, if carried back to the beginning of the Christian era, the first indiction would begin not in A.D. 1, but in B.C. 3. Hence to find the place of any year in the indiction, add 3 to the year in the era of the Incarnation and divide by 15; the remainder gives the indiction.

l. 9. *Æpelred alderman*. See note on p. 103.

l. 14. *ge on londum...þe heo on forhaldne weran*. Plummer (*Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, p. 13) translates 'in respect of lands [wrongfully] withheld from them,' taking *þe heo* as nominative referring to *lond* and *þing* (but cf. *Beow.* 2381). He suggests that this action of the council may have been necessitated by the confusion caused by the inroads of the Danes between 892 and 895.

l. 16. *Werferð biscop*. See note on p. 100.

l. 17 ff. *þæt wudulond...þe to Wuduceastre belomp...to mæstlonde 7 to wudulonde*, i.e. Woodchester, Gloucestershire. Heming's chartulary contains copies of what was perhaps the original grant of Aethelbald of Mercia to Bishop Wilferth (cf. B. 164). Wilferth was Bishop of Worcester 717—743.

l. 20 f. Bisley, Avening and Thornbury, Glos. *Scorranstan* has not been identified.

l. 25. *Alhhun biscop*, the predecessor of Werferth. He seems to have succeeded to the bishopric of Worcester in 845 (cf. p. 81); he died in 872.

l. 26. *þæt he ælcra circan áá his dæla ryhtes uðe*. Is *áá* to be taken with *his dæla*, i.e. 'in all cases where he was concerned'; or could *his dæla* mean 'within his means,' 'to the best of his ability'?

l. 28. *his geneat, Ecglaf hatte*. The *geneat* was, in general, apparently, a member of the free peasant class, who had a holding and paid to his lord both food-rent and services. One of his duties was to ride on his lord's errands (*Rectitudines* 2).

*mid Ceastersetna preoste*. *ceaster* denotes a Roman fortified post, whether small or great. In the Saxon period many of these places came to be centres of administration, partly, no doubt, owing to the protection which their walls still afforded. By itself, the word is used now only of Chester on the Dee and of The Chesters in Northumberland. In the Chronicle, however, we find the word applied also to York and Winchester, cf. *ann.* 685, 762, 779 E and

964 A. In this context, the allusion may be to Woodchester, but it is more probable that the *ceaster* is Worcester; cf. B. 386: *He rad ðæt he wæs et Ceastre*, i.e. Worcester. If this is so, *Ceastersetna preost* would literally mean, 'priest of the inhabitants of Worcester,' i.e. of the monastic community and their dependents.

l. 29. *7 he hine þa gelædde all ða gemæru.* In this passage *gelædde* seems to take two accusatives, a usage which is not recognised by B.-T.

p. 25, l. 1. *heo Alhmund.* For the construction, cf. *wyt Æþered*, p. 16, l. 4.

l. 4. *on Longanhrycg.* Longridge, Gloucestershire.

*þe hine God him salde.* *hine* seems to refer to *Longanhrycg*.

l. 6. *þære circan hlaforde.* The Bishop of Worcester.

l. 7. *on ðam geran þe* is emended by Kemble in a footnote to *on ða gerad þe*. But is the emendation really necessary? It is much simpler to emend *þa* to *þā* and to translate 'for as long as.'

l. 10. *oððe hine mon oferricte þæt he ne moste londes wyrðe beon.* In Anglo-Saxon law, a man guilty of certain crimes forfeited his land to the king, cf. Ine, 51: *Gif gesiðcund mon landagende forsitte fierd, geselle CXX scill: 7 þolie his landes.* Other crimes involving the confiscation of the criminal's estates were fighting in the king's house (Ine, 6), plotting against the king's life (Alfred, 4) and theft, cf. p. 32, l. 1 ff. Instances of forfeiture for crime are to be found in charters; cf. K. 1307, where a certain Leofric forfeited his land *impie vivendo, hoc est rebellando meis militibus in mea expeditione ac rapinis insuetis et adulteriis multisque aliis nefariis sceleribus.*

l. 20 ff. *Ærost on Gemyðlege.* This list of boundaries differs in several respects from those given in the grant of King Aethelbald referred to above (see note on p. 24, l. 17). *on Roddanbeorg silfne*, i.e. possibly Rodborough Hill, between Woodchester and Stroud. *Nægtesleg* was probably in the vicinity of Nailsworth, between Woodchester and Avening. The other localities are still unidentified.

## XV

*Date.* See note on p. 26, l. 22, below. For dialect, see Appendix.

l. 29. *Werferth bisceop.* See note on p. 100. For Alchun, see note on p. 108. Milred (p. 26, l. 1) was Bishop of Worcester 743—775.

p. 26, l. 1. *Eanbald* is otherwise unknown. Eastmund (l. 3)

was perhaps the priest of that name who was present at the Synod at Clovesho in 824 (B. 379).

l. 2. *Soppanbyrg*. Sodbury, Gloucestershire.

l. 17. *Heaberht bisceop*. Bishop of Worcester, 822—845.

l. 20. *ær Æðelred wæs Myrcna hlaford*. See note on p. 103.

l. 22. *þa gesamnode he Mercna weotan to Saltwic*, i.e. Droitwich, Worcestershire. A grant (B. 557), dating from a meeting of the Mercian council at *Saltwic* in 888, is signed by Bishop Werferth, and by *Eadnoþus and Ælfredus* (cf. l. 25). If this is the meeting referred to in the text, the agreement between Werferth and Eadnoth cannot have been made before 888. It would seem, however, to have been made at a considerably later date, if the evidence of the signatures of Eadnoth, Aelfred and Aelfstan in other Mercian charters is to be trusted. Eadnoth and Aelfred usually sign together (cf. XII, XIV). Eadnoth signs for the last time in 903 (B. 603), or possibly in 904, if that is the correct date for B. 607. The signature of Aelfstan first appears in 904 (B. 608). Are we justified in inferring from this that the meeting of the council at which Eadnoth, Aelfred and Aelfstan were present is to be dated 903—904?

l. 32. *Æðelnoð*. Possibly the Earl of Somerset who fought against the Danes at Buttington (Chron. ann. 894).

p. 27, l. 3. *to Tettanbyrg þam bisceope*, i.e. Tetbury, Gloucestershire. According to the Calendar of lands granted to Worcester (B. 1320) this estate had been given to the bishopric by Offa.

*7 him eac þone scrift healde*, cf. *scrift ihalden*, 'to carry out the penance imposed' (O.E. Homilies, ed. Morris, i. 9, 31). Or does *scrift healde* mean 'make his confession'? (Cf. B.-T. s.v. *scrift*.)

## XVI

*Date*. The transactions recorded in this document probably took place soon after the accession of Edward the Elder. The vexed question of the date of his accession, whether 899, 900 or 901, is discussed by Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II. p. 112.

l. 24. *Denulfþe biscepe 7 æt ðæn hiwun on Winteceastre*, i.e. the community at the Old Minster. See note on p. 97. Denewulf was Bishop of Winchester, 879—909.

l. 25. *þa Windcirican 7 ðæt stænne slapern*. The curious name *Windcirice* has not been satisfactorily explained.

According to the *Liber de Hyda* (p. 51) Alfred, in the last year of his reign, imparted to Grimbald his intention of building a new



monastery at Winchester, and purchased land for a chapel and dormitory. A later passage (p. 80) in the same work states that Edward determined to carry out his father's project, which had been frustrated by his death, and that he purchased the chapel and dormitory which Alfred had ordered to be built. It is tempting to connect these with the *Windcirice* and 'stone dormitory' of this charter. But the statements in the *Liber de Hyda* with regard to the chapel and dormitory, which find no mention in the account given in the *Hyde Register* (p. 4 ff.), may have been founded on the present text, the latter part of which is quoted there in a very corrupt form.

p. 28, l. 2. *XXIII gerda on lange*. The *gierd*, 'rod,' 'pole' or 'perch,' as a measure of land, varied according to Maitland (*op. cit.* p. 370 ff.) from twelve to twenty-four feet. The figures given in this charter are unfortunately not sufficient to enable us to determine its length here, but a careful investigation of the locality might perhaps settle the question.

l. 3 ff. *to ðæn ðæt ic...Ælfredes cyninges*. This monastery was the New Minster at Winchester, so called to distinguish it from the Cathedral or Old Minster. Its consecration is recorded in the *Chronicle ann.* 903 F.

l. 6. *See Andreas cirican*. A church dedicated to St Andrew is mentioned by Milner (*History of Winchester*, p. 308) in his 'list of churches extracted from Bishop Orlton's register, about the year 1340.' It was situated in *Gar-strete*, now Trafalgar Street.

l. 11. *Ærest subðrichte fron ðan beodærn*. It seems impossible to determine the exact position of this land acquired by Edward for his new monastery, no trace of which remains. New Minster seems to have been situated to the north of the Cathedral, which has been rebuilt at least twice, once in 963 by Bishop Aethelwold, and again in 1079, when it was built on new foundations by Bishop Walkelin, the old church being subsequently pulled down (cf. *Annales de Wintonia* (R.S.), pp. 32, 37)<sup>1</sup>.

We may, however, conjecture that the 'north street' (l. 14) was the main street of the city, running as now from east to west, or rather east-north-east to west-south-west. The 'east street' (l. 14) may have been the present Colebrook Street, but this is extremely doubtful. These streets are not mentioned, at least

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Victoria County History of Hampshire* (v. p. 2) New Minster was situated close to the site of the present St Maurice Church.

under their Anglo-Saxon names, in the two Surveys of Winchester, usually known as the Winton Domesday, which were made in the early years of the twelfth century.

l. 12. *See Gregories cirican.* The position of this church is not known. It is mentioned by the biographers of St Dunstan (cf. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, pp. 15, 261), who is said to have entered St Gregory's Church in company with Bishop Aelfheah, when returning from the consecration of a church near the west gate of the city. Trussell, a local historian, mentions St Gregory's in a list of 'churches which had fallen into ruins, and which were probably in existence in the fourteenth century' (Milner, *op. cit.* p. 308).

l. 19 ff. The list of signatures in the fragment of this charter in the Hyde Register is considerably longer than the one here given. It contains seventeen additional names, comprising two priests, two deacons, and thirteen persons of rank not specified. The names of witnesses in the present charter are shewn to be extremely corrupt. The most important of these corruptions are *Eaðwearð* (Eadward), *Ealdereð* (Aethelward), *Plemunð* (Plegmund), *Wilfærd* (Wilferth), *Wulfrige* (Wulfsige), *Wighen* (Wighelm) and *Eodmund* (Ceolmund).

The sees represented in this list are Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester (?), London, Sherborne, Selsey (?), Rochester and Hereford. Wimund appears to have been bishop of one of the Mercian sees.

## XVII

p. 29, l. 4. *Denewulf bisceop 7 þa hiwan in Wintanceastre.* See note on p. 110.

l. 5. *leton tó Beornulfa hiora landes XV hida æt Ebbesburnan,* i.e. Ebbesbourne Wake, Wilts. Beornulf (cf. l. 17, below) is otherwise unknown.

From early times it was customary for churches to let estates to private individuals, usually for one or more lives (cf. Maitland, *op. cit.* p. 302 f.). The word *læn* was commonly used to denote lands leased by the owner to others. In some cases it is stated that the man who receives the *læn* has paid a sum of money for this concession; in others, he engages to pay an annual rent. See note on p. 87.

l. 6. *wið þam gafole...to hærfestes emnihte síe simle agyfen,* i.e. on September 24th. A similar stipulation is made in another grant by Denewulf (B. 617): *ælce gearo to hærfestes emnihte ðreo pund to gafole*

7 cyresceattas 7 cyresceatweorc 7 þenne þæs nud bið, his men beon gearuwe ge to ripe ge to huntode.

l. 9. *ælce gearu fultumien to þære cyrican bôte...be his landes meðe.* The duty of contributing to the repair of churches is enjoined in the Laws of Cnut (II. 65, 1): *To cyricbote sceal eall folc fylstan mid rihte.* In a passage in the Laws of Edmund (I. 5) the bishop is required to keep the churches on his own estates in good repair, and to induce the king to do the same for those churches which are not on church lands (cf. Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. 536). The upkeep of churches was one of the three purposes to which the revenue from tithes was devoted (Laws of Aethelred, VIII. 6; cf. VII. a, 2, 3).

l. 11. *þa cyricsceattes mid rihte agyfe.* The *cyricsceatt* was a tax which from early times was paid to the church on St Martin's Day (November 11th). On an estate of three hides belonging to Worcester Cathedral, the *ciricsceatt* amounted, in 889, to three *mittan* of wheat (B. 560), while 2 *modii de mundo grano* were paid from an estate of two hides in 962 (B. 1087).

Kemble (*Saxons*, II. p. 490) suggested that the payment of *ciricsceatt* was enforced, at first, chiefly from lands under the lordship of the church. The passages in the Laws of Ine and Aethelstan (Ine, 4, 61; Aethelstan, I. 4), where the tax is mentioned, are not conclusive upon this point. But by the middle of the tenth century it appears as a general tax on all lands (Edmund, I. 2; Edgar, II. 2; Cnut, I. 10). The penalty incurred by neglect to pay the *ciricsceatt* consisted of a fine of 60 shillings, increased under Aethelred II to 120 shillings, and in addition the twelvefold payment of the tax (Ine, 4; Aethelred, VIII. 11; Cnut, I. 10).

l. 12. *7 fyrde 7 brycge 7 festengeweorc hewe.* See note on p. 105. Prof. Liebermann (*op. cit.* II. 331) takes *hewe* as equivalent to *heawe*, in which case the verb will apply properly only to the second and third of the objects. His statement, however, that this verb (necessarily) implies a construction of wood seems to me to go somewhat beyond what the evidence warrants; cf. the Old English Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV. 11 (E.E.T.S. p. 296).

l. 22. *ðreo witeðeowe mén burbærde 7 ðreo ðeowberde*, i.e. *ðreo [mén] ðeowberde*. Prof. Liebermann (*op. cit.* II. p. 694) takes both groups as *witeðeowe mén*, a suggestion which seems hardly necessary.

The *witeðeowe mén burbærde* must have been persons of the free labouring class, who had been reduced to slavery as a punishment



for crime, or from inability to pay the fines incurred by violation of the law.

l. 24. *æt Hysseburnan.* Hurstbourne, Hants. See note on p. 96.

p. 30, l. 8. A second list of signatures begins here. Do the two lists refer respectively to the different transactions recorded in the text, which took place on two different occasions? Or has one of the lists been taken from some other charter? It is to be noted that *Wigea diaconus* of the first list appears as priest in the second.

### XVIII

*Date.* Thorpe assigned this document, which bears no date, to 900—924, the duration of the reign of Edward the Elder. Middendorff (*Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*, p. 134) and Liebermann (*op. cit.* II. 566) date it 'about 907,' I do not know upon what grounds.

l. 17. *Leof, ic ðe cyðe...æt Funtial,* i.e. Fonthill, Wilts. The person addressed appears to be King Edward the Elder. The date of his accession, for which Thorpe (see above) accepts the date 900, is uncertain. See p. 110.

l. 19. *ða ongon Higa him specan.* Brunner (*Rechtsgeschichte der Urkunde*, p. 205, footnote) suggests that Aethelm Higa may have claimed this estate as heir of Aetheldryth (p. 31, l. 3).

l. 24 ff. *ðæt he moste beon ryhtes wyrðe...ymb ðæt lond.* Is *wið Æðelm* to be taken with *ryhtes wyrðe*, i.e. 'gave him leave to avail himself of the protection of the law against Aethelm,' etc.? Or is it to be taken with *ryhtrace*, i.e. 'to avail himself of the protection of the law, because of my advocacy and the correct account which I had given, as against Aethelm, of the history of the estate'?

l. 27. *hrælðen.* See note on p. 122.

l. 28. *æt Sumortune.* Probably Somerton, Somerset.

p. 31, l. 5. *hire morgengifu ða heo æ[re]st to Aðulfe com.* The *morgengifu* was a gift regularly made by the husband to his wife on the morning after their marriage; cf. Liebermann, *op. cit.* p. 588, and the references there given.

l. 10. *æt Weardoran.* Wardour, Wilts.

l. 12. *ðæt Helmstan wære aðe ðæs ðe near,* i.e. that Helmstan should now proceed to produce a number of 'oath-helpers' prepared to swear to the truth of his own oath (l. 6 above). For the phrase *aðe near*, cf. Ll. Hen. 64. 6, and Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. 310. This suit is regarded by J. L. Laughlin in his essay on 'The Anglo-Saxon



Legal Procedure' in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1876, p. 244 f. as a compromise conducted after the manner of the regular legal procedure.

l. 29. *ða se dom wæs gefylled*, i.e. the king's decision that Helmstan should produce the oath if he could (l. 18 f. above).

p. 32, l. 3. *to Cytlid* is not regarded as a proper name by Earle and Dr Birch, but there can scarcely be any doubt that the reference is to Chicklade, Wilts., about three miles south of Fonthill. It is uncertain whether this is D.B. *Chigelei* (cf. *Domesday Book for Wiltshire*, ed. W. H. Jones, 1865, p. 206). Later forms are *Ciklet* (T. de Nevill), *Chicklaude* (Feudal Aids), *Chyclet* (Rot. Hund.), and *Cheklade* (Cal. Inquis. post Mortem). These forms rather suggest that *Cytlid* should be emended to *Cyclid*; the confusion of *c* and *t* is not rare.

l. 6 f. *Penearding...to Tyssebyrig*, i.e. Tisbury, Wilts. *Penear(d)ing* is perhaps to be regarded as a (Celtic) place-name.

l. 8 f. *ða cwæð he ðæt he wære ðeof...mon*. The penalty for certain crimes, including theft (cf. p. 109), was the confiscation of the bookland of the criminal to the king. We may compare a passage in a charter of Aethelred II dated 995 (K. 692), describing how an estate *æt Dumaltune* was confiscated in consequence of theft. Other instances are enumerated in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 65, 66. See also Cnut, II. 13, 77.

l. 10 f. *Ordlaf feng to his londe...forwyrcan*. See Laughlin, *op. cit.* p. 250 f., and Liebermann, *op. cit.* II. p. 564. For *læn* see note on p. 112. The signature of *Ordlaf dux* is found in charters of Alfred and Edward the Elder. See note on l. 14 below.

l. 12 ff. *ða gesohte he ðines fæder lic...7 ðu him forgeafe his eard*. The meaning of this passage is altogether obscure. A curious passage in the *Laws of Ine* (cap. 53) states that when a man has received a stolen slave from a man who has since died, he is to take the slave to the grave of the dead man, and there prove by an oath of sixty hides that the dead man had sold the slave to him.

l. 13. *æt Cippanhomme*. Chippenham, Wilts.

l. 14 f. *ic feng to minan londe...æt Lidgeard*. Probably Lyddiard, Wilts. According to a charter in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, dated 900 (B. 590), Bishop Denewulf granted ten hides of land *æt Lidgerd* to *Ordlaf comes* in exchange for ten hides at *Funtgeall*. Mr Stevenson (*E.H.R.* XIII. p. 73, footnote) thinks this charter suspicious. It is tempting to suggest that *Ordlaf*, the owner of the estate *æt Lidgerd*,

was the author of this letter, but the fact that he is mentioned in the third person in l. 10 presents rather a serious difficulty in the way of this explanation.

## XIX

The volume of Latin Gospels in which this memorandum is inscribed, formerly belonged, according to Wanley (p. 181), to Christ Church, Canterbury. It is assigned by Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*Catal. of Anc. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* II. p. 19) to the eighth century; the Anglo-Saxon entry is in a tenth century hand.

Almost all the records of manumission extant are written in the margins or on blank spaces of Gospels and missals. From these records it appears that the ceremony often took place at the high altar, but sometimes at the church door, and that a memorandum of the act and of the witnesses was then made in some book belonging to the church; cf. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, I. p. 224.

l. 28. *Æðelstan cyng...æræst cyng wæs.* There is unfortunately some doubt as to the year of Aethelstan's accession; cf. Plummer, *Chron.* II. p. 132 f., where the date 924 is preferred.

p. 33, l. 3. *galles ðæs haligdomes ðe ic on Angelcyn begeat.* The use of *on* with the accusative in such a case as this is rare. Possibly the correct translation of *on Angelcyn begeat* may rather be 'brought into England,' or 'procured for the use of the English.' Aethelstan is known to have brought many relics from the Continent. The introductory note to a list of relics (B. 693) said to have been given by Aethelstan to St Peter's, Exeter, states that the king sent messengers over the sea to seek out and purchase relics. According to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, R.S. pp. 186, 200, 398) Aethelstan gave to Malmesbury Abbey many relics from Normandy and Brittany, and also made similar gifts to the abbeys of Milton and Michelney.

## XX

*Date.* The date assigned to this will by Earle and Dr Birch is A.D. 946—955, the duration of the reign of Eadred. It is pointed out by Napier and Stevenson (*Crawford Charters*, p. 74 footnote) that estates at *Aysshedoune* and *æt Wassingatune* were confirmed or granted to Eadric by Eadred in 947 (B. 828, 834). If these were

identical with two of the estates bequeathed by Aethelwold to Eadric (l. 19 below), the will must have been executed between the accession of Eadred in 946 and the confirmation of the estates to Eadric in 947.

l. 7. The first sentence has been added, possibly by the scribe who drew up the Codex.

l. 9. *Leof, Æþelwold ealdarman*. Thorpe and Dr Birch take *leof* as a prenomem. Earle rightly explains it as 'an epistolary address to the king,' meaning 'Sire, my lord' (cf. p. 30, l. 17), a usage not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon wills, many of which are addressed to the king. These documents also contain parallels to the sudden change from the third to the first person in ll. 9—11 (cf. K. 694, 721).

Aethelstan, the brother of Aethelwold mentioned in l. 19, is generally thought to be Aethelstan Half-King, Earl of East Anglia. Aethelwold was, therefore, probably a member of the royal family (cf. *Crawf. Ch.* pp. 74, 82 f.). He signs from 931 to 946. His death may have taken place in the latter year. See note on date (above).

l. 11 f. *þære halgan stowe...hivum*. The Cathedral or Old Minster at Winchester. See note on p. 97.

l. 13. *þæt land æt Wilig...to scrudfultume*, i.e. Wiley, Wilts. This was probably land, the produce or rent of which was used to defray the cost of clothing.

l. 15. *þam cinge minne hæregeatwa*. This is one of the earliest references to the heriot in Anglo-Saxon wills. It was customary from very early times for a man to leave to his lord horses, armour and weapons, which, in theory at least, he had received from him. Beowulf begs Hrothgar to send back to Hygelac his coat of mail, which had formerly belonged to Hrethel, the father of Hygelac (Beow. ll. 452—455). Besides the usual articles of military equipment, land, ships, dogs, horns, cups and bracelets are included in the heriots mentioned in Anglo-Saxon wills (B. 812, 1008, 1132, 1174, 1288; *Crawf. Ch.* x.). In Cnut's Laws (II. 71) the heriot of an earl consists of eight horses, four saddled and four unsaddled, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight shields, four swords and two hundred mancuses of gold.

l. 18 f. *minum bræðer Eadrice*. Probably the earl of this name who signs regularly from 942 to 948, and once in 949 (B. 875).

Ogbourn, Wilts; Cheam, Surrey. Mr Stevenson (*op. cit.* p. 235) points out that the name *Æscesdun* still survives in



Ashdown Park, in the manor of Ashbury, Berks. In a note in the chartulary following Eadred's grant to Eadric of land at *Aysshedoune* (B. 828, see above), it is stated that this estate, which was then called *Aysshebury*, was subsequently given by Eadric to the Abbey of Glastonbury.

l. 9. *æt Wessingatune* is identified by Dr Birch with Wasing, Berks.; but the earlier forms of this name, as given by Skeat (*Place-names of Berkshire*, p. 70), e.g. *Wausynge* (Feudal Aids), *Wawesenge* (T. de Nevill) and *Walsinge* (D.B.) make this identification impossible.

Aethelwold's estate *æt Wessingatune* is probably to be identified with the land *æt Wassingatune* or *Wasingatune* granted to Eadric in 947 (see above). This place-name occurs again in two charters attributed to Edgar as *æt Wasingatune* (B. 1125) and *in Wassengatune in Sudsexon* (B. 1297). This is clearly Washington, Sussex, which appears in D.B. as *Wasingetune*, in Feudal Aids as *Wassington* and in Inquis. Non. as *Wassynhton*. Earle's alternative suggestion of Wiston, Sussex, is shewn to be impossible by the forms *Wystneston* (Inquis. Non.), *Wysteneston* (Feudal Aids), and *Wistanestun* (D.B.). These clearly go back to O.E. \**Wigstanestun*.

l. 19 f. *Æpelstane minæ breðer*. The form *minæ*, cf. *mine*, l. 21, in place of *minum* is remarkable.

There were two earls named Aethelstan in the first half of the tenth century. Aethelstan, Earl of East Anglia, called 'Half-King' because of his great power, who signs from 923 to 956, was probably the brother of Aethelwold. At some time after 956, he resigned his power and became a monk at Glastonbury<sup>1</sup>.

Broadwater, Sussex. *æt Niwantune* is possibly Newton, Wilts.

l. 21 f. *Ælfsige mine broðorsuna*. Napier and Stevenson (*Crawf. Ch.* p. 83 footnote) seem to include Ælfsige among the brothers of Aethelwold. In that case, the passage must be emended differently. Ælfsige is probably the earl of that name who signs in 956, 957 and 958.

*æt Carcel*. This place has not been identified.

*Ælfstanes suna mines broþor*. Probably the Ælfstan *dux* who

<sup>1</sup> According to Napier and Stevenson (*op. cit.* p. 82 f.) the signature of Aethelstan occurs also in 957 and 958. Both names occur together in B. 987, dated 957, which can hardly be trustworthy, since it bears the name of King Eadred. I have not succeeded in finding any charter of 958, signed by both earls.



signs from 930 to 934. Since the bequest is made not to him, but to his son, we may perhaps conclude that he was dead at this time.

l. 22. *æt Cleran*. Kingsclere, Hants; cf. p. 17, l. 36 and p. 34, l. 9.

l. 22 ff. *eall þæt yrfe þæ ic hæbbe on lænlandum...for mine sawle*. The term *lænland* first appears in the middle of the tenth century, and denotes lands let out on lease by the owner to others. See note on *læn*, p. 112.

Does this mean that the estates held by Aethelwold on lease were to be transferred to religious houses or persons nominated by them? Or was the church now to become the owner of estates belonging to Aethelwold which had been leased to others?

## XXI

The Anglo-Saxon text of this will is followed in the *Liber de Hyda* by Latin and Middle English versions, which, like the later versions of King Alfred's Will, contain many corrupt spellings and mistranslations. See note on p. 91.

*Date*. Dr Birch dates this will 'before 23<sup>rd</sup> November A.D. 955,' the day of Eadred's death. The mention of Aelfsige, Bishop of Winchester, shews that the date cannot be earlier than 951. Plummer (*Chron.* II. ix.) is inclined to assign to the end of 954, or the beginning of 955, the transference to York of Oscytel, who was still presiding over the see of Dorchester (p. 35, l. 2); but since the exact date is uncertain, the will must be dated 951—955.

p. 34, l. 4. *in to þære stowe þær he wile þæt his lic reste*. Eadred was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester; cf. *Chronicle ann.* 955 D.

l. 7 ff. Downton, Damerham and Calne (Wilts.); Wherwell, Andover and Kingsclere (Hants).

l. 10. *to Nunnanmynstre*, cf. l. 11 below; *to Nunnanmynstre to Ceastre*. The nunnery at Winchester, often called Nunnaminster, was founded by Ealhswith, wife of King Alfred, perhaps with the co-operation of her husband, and completed by Edward the Elder. It became greatly impoverished and was refounded by Bishop Aethelwold (cf. *Chron. ann.* 963 E). For the use of *Ceaster*, meaning Winchester, see note on p. 108.

Shalbourne and Bradford (Wilts.).

*and þæcham*. Edwards, followed by Dr Birch, has *þæt ham*, which can hardly be right. *þæcham*, now Thatcham, Berks., is

mentioned in the will of Earl Aelfheah (B. 1174) who bequeathed land there to his lord King Edgar. According to D.B. (i. 56 b) *Taceham* was held in demesne by Edward the Confessor. Later forms of the name, according to Skeat (*Place-names of Berkshire*, p. 59), are *Thachame* (Tax. Eccles. 1291) and *Taccham* (Rot. Chart.).

l. 12. *to Wiltune*. Wilton, Wilts. According to Dugdale (*op. cit.* ii. p. 315) the nunnery here was founded soon after 802 by St Alburga, widow of Weohstan, Earl of Wiltshire, and half-sister of King Egbert, on the site of a chantry of secular priests established at Wilton by her husband in 773. King Alfred is said to have built a new nunnery on the site of the royal palace at Wilton, to which he transferred the nuns from the older foundation.

*to Sceaftesbirig*. Shaftesbury, Dorset. See note on p. 98.

l. 14. *to þan ðæt hi mege magan hungor and hæpenne here him fram aceapian*. If the text is right, *magan hungor*, 'hunger of the stomach.'

The policy of buying off the Danes appears to have been adopted as early as the reign of Alfred (cf. *Chron. ann.* 865, 872, 876), though the Chronicle (*ann.* 991) wrongly assigns the first payment of tribute to the Danes to the reign of Aethelred II.

l. 16. *se ercebiscop æt Cristes cirican*. Oda, who was transferred from Ramsbury to Canterbury in 942, and died in 958 (*Stubbs, Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. xciv f.).

l. 20 f. *Ælfsige biscop...to Winteceastre*. Aelfsige was Bishop of Winchester from 951 to 958, when he was transferred to Canterbury, in succession to Oda. He died soon afterwards on a journey to Rome. *scir* (l. 24) may possibly mean a group of counties (cf. ll. 21, 22).

l. 24. *Dunstan abbod...and healde æt Glæstingabirig*. Dunstan became Abbot of Glastonbury in 946. He had previously undertaken the restoration of the abbey, which had fallen into decay. Dunstan was an intimate friend of King Eadred. His power was eclipsed during the reign of Eadwig and reached its zenith under Edgar. In 957 Dunstan succeeded to the see of Worcester and in 958 to that of London (cf. Plummer, *Chron.* p. 153); in 959 he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 988.

p. 35, l. 2. *Oscytel biscop...æt Dorceastre*. Oscytel became Bishop of Dorchester in 950, according to Stubbs (*Registrum Sacrum*). He was subsequently transferred to York, probably in 954, or early in 955. His death is recorded in the Chronicle *ann.* 971 B.

l. 4. *Þænne hæfþ Wulfhelm biscop ðæt feower hund punda.* The only bishop of this name living at the time was Wulfhelm, Bishop of Wells, 938—955. Is it possible that the *ð* preceding his name in the MS. is an abbreviation for *Wellensis*, and has become displaced?

*ðæt feower hund punda* seems to refer to the four hundred pounds bequeathed to Oscytel (l. 2). We may perhaps infer that the money had been lent or entrusted to Wulfhelm, to be handed over to Oscytel on Eadred's death.

l. 5. *nime man twentig hund mancusa goldes and gemynetige to mancusan.* The verb *gemynetigan* is not recorded by B.-T., but there seems no reason to doubt that *gemynetige* is a genuine form. The term *mancus* (cf. p. 77) is here used both for the weight and the coin. There are only five of the latter in existence, but the mention of so large a number in this will seems to point to the existence of an extensive gold coinage.

l. 10. *minre meder.* Eadgifu, the third wife of Edward the Elder. See No. XXIII and notes.

l. 10 f. Amesbury, Wilts, and Wantage, Berks; both these estates are mentioned in King Alfred's will, cf. p. 17, l. 29 and p. 18, l. 10. Basing, Hants.

l. 13 f. *twa hund mancusa goldes, beo hundtwelftigum.* This instance of the use of the duodecimal hundred is probably to be regarded as a relic of an ancient English system of reckoning. We may compare O.N. *hundræð*, 120. The duodecimal or 'great' hundred is supposed to have existed by the side of the decimal hundred in Germanic (Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gramm.* § 168). There is, however, a possibility that its use in King Eadred's Will may be due to Scandinavian influence.

l. 16 f. *ælcæn gesettan discðegne.* This is the only passage which gives us any information as to the relative importance of the members of the royal household.

The first genuine reference in the charters to the office of *discðegn*, 'seneschal,' L. *discifer*, *dapifer* (cf. Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies* 126, 38), dates from the reign of Aethelstan, one of whose charters is witnessed by *Wulfhelm discifer regis* (B. 659). Charters of Eadwig and Edgar are witnessed by royal *disciferi*. See note on l. 21 below. Reference is sometimes made to the seneschals of members of the royal family other than the king, cf. *Æfic þara æþelinga discsten* (K. 693); *Ælmere minen discðene*



(Will of Aethelstan Aetheling, K. 722); *Lofwine æðelinges discðen* (K. 1302).

*gesettan hræglðene*. Larson (*The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 128) remarks that the title of *hræglðegn*, which is applied elsewhere to monastic officials, is a somewhat unusual one for a high official of the court. From the amount of the legacy bequeathed by the king to the holder of this office, it would seem that the position was one of considerable importance. Larson suggests that the term *hræglðegn* may here be applied to the official usually designated *burðegn*, 'chamberlain' (K. 489, 503, 572). It is not unlikely that the keeper of the royal apartments had charge of the royal wardrobe also.

*gesettan biriele*. The signature of a royal cupbearer, *Lat. pincerna*, occurs in a charter of A.D. 777—779 (B. 232) which may be genuine. Another early charter bearing the signature of a *pincerna* is dated 809 (B. 328). This office was held by Oslac, the father of Alfred's mother Osburh (Asser, cap. 2).

l. 20. *fif pund penenga*. It is tempting to suggest that *pund* is a scribal error for *hund*, as each of the other legacies is less than the preceding one.

l. 21. *ælcan gesettan stigweard*. This seems to be the earliest known occurrence of the word *stigweard*. It is evident from the comparatively small amount bequeathed to Eadred's stewards that this office was inferior to that of the *discðegn*. The two titles seem, however, to have been used without much discrimination. In a tenth century gloss we find *discoforus, discifer vel stiweard* (*Vocab.* 223. 7); while in Aelfric's Vocabulary (*Vocab.* 126. 38) *discifer vel discoforus* is glossed by *discpegn*. The *disciferi* who sign charters of Eadwig must have been officials of considerable importance, since their signatures occur between those of the *duces* and the *ministri* (cf. B. 941, 1035). It seems more likely that their office was that of *discðegn* than of *stigweard*. Larson (*op. cit.* p. 172) suggests that the title of *stigweard* may have been applied to the seneschals of persons of less exalted rank. Towards the end of the Saxon period, a certain Leofgifu bequeaths land to her three stewards (K. 931). This title is mentioned several times in the Chronicle (*ann.* 1093, 1096, 1120). It seems gradually to have superseded that of *discðegn*.

l. 22. *ælcan men preosthades þe gepeodad wæs*. A verb *gepeodian* seems not to be recorded. Edwards translates: 'every



priest that was associated,' etc., apparently taking *geþeodad* as the past part. of *geþeodan*.

l. 24. *buton he sy lit in bynde to þam cynestolum*. This passage seems to be corrupt. An obvious emendation is *inbyrde* ('serf born on the royal estates' (?) for *in bynde*, but *lit* presents difficulties. Edwards translates: 'unless he be little bounden to the throne.'

## XXII

*Dialect.* See Appendix.

*Date.* The Latin text of the Lindisfarne Gospels dates from the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth, century, if the account given by Aldred of the circumstances connected with its preparation is correct<sup>1</sup>. The Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss and these two Anglo-Saxon entries are assigned by Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*Catal. of MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* II. p. 16) to the tenth century, and by Skeat (*Gospel of St John in the Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, p. ix) to the latter half of that century.

p. 36, l. 7. *Eadfrið...avrát æt frvma. frvma*, with loss of *n* after *a*, as regularly in Northumbrian. The reference is to the Latin text. Eadfrith was Bishop of Lindisfarne from 698 to 721. Bede dedicated to him his prose life of St Cuthbert, which he had written at the request of the bishop and the community.

l. 8. *Scē Cvðberhte*, the famous saint and patron of the monks of Lindisfarne. The exact date of his birth is not known, but he entered the monastery of Melrose, of which he subsequently became provost, apparently about the year 651, while still a young man. In 664 he was made provost of Lindisfarne, and held this office for twelve years. He then retired to the island of Farne, where he remained until his death in 687, except for a short interval from 684 to 686, during which he presided over the see of Lindisfarne. The shrine containing the body of the saint accompanied the monks on their wanderings after their flight before the Danes in 875. From 883 to 990 it rested at Chester-le-Street, from whence it was subsequently removed to Durham.

l. 9. *Eðilvald, Lindisfearneolondinga bišc*, the successor of Eadfrith. The date of his consecration is given by Plummer (*Baedæ Hist. Eccles.* II. p. 297) as 721. He died in 740.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. R. A. S. Macalister (*Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, 1913, p. 299 f.) suggests that the MS. is really an Irish MS. of the ninth century and that Aldred's statements are erroneous.

l. 10. *hit 6ta giðryde*. This is wrongly connected by B.-T., and by Prof. Cook in his *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, with an infinitive (*ge*)þryccan. Prof. Napier in his *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (*Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1906, p. 328) takes *giðryde* as preterite of an infinitive (*gi*)þrȳn, 'to press, or bind.' It occurs again in the Anglo-Saxon gloss (St Matthew, ed. Skeat, p. 3, l. 7), where *geðryde vel avrat* glosses *expresit*. The past participle *geðryd* is recorded once. The form *a-þryd* is also found and glosses *expressum* and *expilatam* (cf. Napier, *l.c.*).

*gibelde*. The derivation and meaning of *gibelde* are altogether obscure. Skeat suggested 'covered.' According to the *New English Dictionary*, quoted by Skeat, 'bield,' which is connected with W.S. *bieldan*, Angl. *beldan* and Goth. *balþjan*, 'to make bold,' has in Scotch the meaning 'cover, cover over.' If this was the meaning of *gibelde* in Northumbrian it would give an intelligible sense. Prof. Cook in his Glossary has *gibelda*, (?) cover.

*Billfrið se oncre*. This name occurs in the list of anchorites in the *Durham Liber Vitae* (Sweet, *O.E.T.* p. 155, l. 54).

l. 11 f. 7 *hit gihrinade mið golde 7 mið gimmvm 6c mið svlfre of'gyldeð faconleas feh*. In three passages in the interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss (Matthew xii. 44; xxiii. 29; Luke xxi. 5) *gihriman* glosses Lat. *ornare*. This meaning is not recorded by B.-T. *gihrino* in l. 11 probably means 'ornaments.' In Mark xiii. 2 *vide has omnes magnas aedificationes* is glossed *gesih þas miclo gehrino vel glencas*.

Skeat translates this passage: 'and adorned it with gold and also with gems, overlaid with silver, unalloyed metal,' apparently regarding *faconleas feh* as an uninflected dative, in apposition with *svlfre*. An examination of the gloss suggests that the case-system had by this time broken down; cf. *to ðæm hælend, under hrof minum* (Luke vii.). The simplest translation perhaps would be: 'also with silvergilt, unalloyed metal.'

l. 13. *Aldred psbr...hit of'gl6esade 6n englisc*. The identity of Aldred, son of Aelfred and Tilwyn, who wrote the Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss in this volume of Gospels, is uncertain<sup>1</sup>. Aldred is sometimes identified with Aldred the Provost, to whom four collects inserted in the Durham Ritual have been attributed. But according

<sup>1</sup> Bouterwek (*op. cit.* p. xlvi) suggested that the marginal note *i. Tilw* was to be expanded to *i.e. Tilwyn*, an explanation which seems to have been generally accepted.

to Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*op. cit.* p. 16) an examination of the handwriting has shewn this identification to be unfounded. Dr O'Connor (*Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, 1818-19, II. p. 180) suggested that Aldred may be the bishop of that name who presided over the see of Chester-le-Street from 957 to 968.

l. 14. *hine gihamadi mið ðæm ðriim dælð*. Various interpretations have been proposed for *gihamadi*, which does not occur elsewhere. Skeat (*The Gospel according to St John in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, 1878, p. ix, note 1), followed by B.-T., translated 'made himself familiar with the three parts,' i.e. revised the gloss to the first three Gospels, which had been written under his supervision, the gloss to St John being his own work. The assumption that the Anglo-Saxon gloss is the work of more than one scribe is based on the fact that the first part, as far as John v. 10, is written in black ink, while the rest, together with certain corrections of the first part, is written in red ink. There are also variations in the handwriting. But Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*op. cit.* p. 16 f.) concludes that these variations are not more extensive than we should expect in the course of a work taken up by the same writer at different times, and considers that the whole gloss is the work of Aldred. He translates *hine gihamadi*, 'made for himself a home (in the monastery),' and explains the antithesis between 'the three parts' and 'St John's part' as being a distinction between 'work done for a home on earth, and work done to merit heaven.' Skeat, at a later date (*St Matthew, in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, 1887, p. vii), thought that this explanation might be correct. Prof. Cook gives *gihamiga*, 'establish in a home.'

l. 16. *æht ora seolfres mið tó inlåde*. The 'ore' was a standard of weight introduced by the Scandinavian invaders in the ninth and tenth centuries (O.N. *eyrir*). Originally the silver equivalent of the Roman *aureus* (whence the name), the *eyrir* varied from one period to another. In England it was sometimes reckoned to contain sixteen, sometimes twenty, pence.

### XXIII

A Latin version of this document (B. 1065) has an additional paragraph at the beginning, stating that Eadgifu in 961 gave certain estates, including *Culinges*, to Canterbury Cathedral. This version is followed by a confirmation by Aethelred II.



*Date.* The date 1050 in an endorsement assigned by Mr Sanders to the thirteenth century is obviously impossible. A grant by Queen Eadgifu to Christ Church of the estates of Cooling and Osterland (among others) is entered in the Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury quoted by Dugdale (*op. cit.* i. 96) under the year 960. This may be the date of the present document, which, in any case, must be later than the accession of Edgar (cf. p. 38, l. 15 and note)<sup>1</sup>.

p. 37, l. 5 f. *Eadgifu*, the third wife of Edward the Elder, and the mother of ~~Edmund and Eadred~~. The latter bequeathed to her extensive estates; cf. p. 35, l. 10 ff.

*hu hire land com æt Culingon*, i.e. Cooling, Kent. Is *hire* dat. or gen. sing.?

l. 10 f. *þa gelamp...to Holme*. This doubtless refers to the battle *æt þam Holme* between the Kentish troops and the Danes; cf. Chron. ann. 902 C. According to the fuller account given in the Chronicle ann. 905 A, Edward the Elder made an expedition against the Danes of East Anglia, who had been induced by Aethelwold to invade Mercia. When the order to concentrate for the homeward march was given, the Kentish troops disobeyed and were cut off by the Danes.

Plummer in his Index suggests that the site of the battle is to be identified with Holme, near Swaffham, Norfolk. But according to the Chronicle (ann. 905 A), the district harried by Edward lay *betwuh dicum 7 Wusan...oð ða fennas norð*. This would seem to point to some site between Huntingdon and Newmarket.

l. 11. *Sigelm hire fæder*. One of the two earls of Kent slain in the battle at the 'Holm' (cf. l. 14 below). He signs a Kentish charter of 889 (B. 562) as *dux*. In 898 King Alfred gave an estate at *Fearnleag* to *meo fideli duce Sigilmo* (B. 576). This estate appears among those given by Eadgifu to Christ Church in 960 (see above).

l. 16. *Byrhsige Dyrincg*. Possibly to be identified with Beorhtsige *minister*, who witnessed the above-mentioned grant to Sigelm. In the Latin version he is described as *quidam propinquus meus*.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the history of the estates given in the Latin version, which is dated 961, is addressed to Archbishop Oda, and the community at Christ Church. It is to be noted that the death of Oda is entered under the year 961 in the F MS. of the Chronicle. Stubbs (*Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. xcii ff.) and Plummer (*Chron.* ii. p. 153 f.) consider that this date is erroneous, and conclude that Oda died in 958.



l. 17 f. *þæt heo sceolde...be swa myclan feo*, i.e. that she should produce a number of 'oath-helpers' to swear to the truth of her own oath that the money had been repaid. The value of the combined oath of these persons was to be thirty pounds. The legal procedure is discussed by Laughlin, *op. cit.* pp. 250, 342.

l. 19. *to Æglesforda*. Aylesford, Kent.

l. 23. *þa gelamp...Godan oncuþe*. Probably after the marriage of Edward and Eadgifu. Edward died in 924 or 925 (cf. p. 38, l. 1).

l. 28 f. *buton twam sulungum æt Osterlande*. For *sulung* see note on p. 71. *Osterland* has not been identified.

p. 38, l. 8. *æt Hamme wiþ Læwe*; cf. Latin version, *Hamme juxta Læwes*; now Hamsey, a few miles north of Lewes, Sussex. This place appears in D.B. as *Hame*, in *Testa de Nevill* and *Inquis. Nonarum* as *Hammes*. According to *Testa de Nevill*, *Willelmus de Say tenet XIII feoda militum in Hammes de eodem honore*. Mr Round (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XLIV. p. 141) considers that the place subsequently became known as Hamsey from the family of Say.

l. 9 f. *þara twegea cyninga...hire suna*. Edmund and Eadred. The latter died in 955 and was succeeded by Eadwig (cf. l. 14 below).

l. 15. *op Eadgar astiþude*. The exact meaning is uncertain. B.-T. gives *astiðian*, 'to become strong, grow up,' and compares *gestiðian*, which has the same meaning. From the context, however, *astiþude* would seem rather to mean 'came to power, succeeded to the throne,' or perhaps 'increased in power' (through becoming king of the whole nation). The Latin version has *usque ad tempora Eadgari regis*. Edgar succeeded to the throne of Wessex on the death of Eadwig in 959. He had become king of the Mercians and Northumbrians in 957.

## APPENDIX

### KENTISH, MERCIAN AND NORTHUMBRIAN DIALECTS

#### I. *Kentish.*

1. The most striking feature of this dialect is the complete confusion between  $\bar{æ}$  and  $\bar{e}$ ; *e* is used for  $\bar{æ}$  in all positions; e.g. *Eðel-* (p. 10, 14, 15, 24), *gefestnie* (p. 7, 25), *weg* (p. 5, 5), and, on the other hand,  $\bar{æ}$  (or *ae*, *e*) is sometimes used for  $\bar{e}$ ; e.g. *swælc* (p. 4, 3, 6, 16), *ælls* (p. 4, 14), *seġle* (p. 3, 14), *tuælf* (p. 1, 12, 16, 20). This confusion is most prominent in V and VII, where *e* is universal. In I and II, which are earlier in date, and possibly influenced by Mercian orthography,  $\bar{æ}$  (*ae*, *e*) is frequently used, though in many cases incorrectly; e.g. *gæfe* (p. 1, 4, 15), *-cuaedenan*, *-cuędenan* (p. 1, 15, 20; p. 2, 7), *haer* (p. 2, 27).

2. The use of *e* for  $\bar{y}$ , characteristic of later Kentish, seems not to occur in these charters; but the sounds must have been confused about the middle of the ninth century, since we find *-styde* (for *-stede*) in X, as well as in a Latin charter of Aethelberht dating from 862 (Sweet, O.E.T. 29). So also *yfter* for *æfter* in VII (p. 10, 18).

3. *eo* and *io* are confused, *io* predominating; e.g. *điowas* (p. 1, 10), *Ciolnoð* (p. 4, 23).

4. Delabialisation appears

(a) In diphthongs. The earliest example occurs in II: *hia* (p. 3, 17); others are *wiaralde* (p. 8, 2), *hiabentlice* (p. 8, 4), *bebiade* (p. 8, 24).

(b) In simple vowels in unaccented syllables; e.g. *geornliocar* (p. 3, 15), *broðar* (p. 10, 25), *Lufa*, *Luba* (p. 7, 3, 24) beside *Lubo* (for earlier *Lufu*).

5. The preservation of  $\ddot{oe}$ , as in all non-West Saxon dialects, is found; e.g. *doed* (p. 1, 14), *geroefa* (p. 3, 3), *goes* (p. 7, 12; 8, 23), *dochter* (p. 9, 1); cf. also *solest* (p. 2, 9; 10, 24), *boem* (p. 10, 19).

6. *a/o*-umlaut of *i* occurs

(a) Before velar consonants; e.g. *geornliocar* (p. 3, 15).

(b) Before nasals; e.g. *niomanne* (p. 3, 18).

7. There is no trace of palatal diphthongisation due to a preceding palatal consonant; cf. *gere* (p. 4, 4), *ceses* (p. 7, 8).

These charters contain also certain archaic features:

(a) The archaic ending *-ae*, *-æ* appears sometimes in I, in final syllables; e.g. *geuueordixæ* (p. 1, 13), *fullixæ* (16).

(b) Archaic orthography is seen in the use of *u* for *p* in I; e.g. *Uulfred* (p. 1, 15), *tuælf* (p. 1, 16).

(c) A curious feature of the later Kentish charters (IV V, VII) is that *b* is not infrequently written instead of *f* following archaic orthography; e.g. *hiabentlice* (p. 8, 4), *Luba* (p. 7, 24), *agebe* (p. 9, 3), *ob* (p. 8, 20).

IX and X contain features characteristic of the Kentish dialect:

1. *e* is used for  $\ddot{e}$ , though not universally; e.g. *dege* (p. 13, 18), *gemene* (p. 13, 13).

2. *y* is used for *e* (cf. p. 128); e.g. *Sondemstyde* (p. 13, 24): *Sondenstede* (p. 13, 13).

3. The occurrence of labial umlaut is also to be noted; e.g. *gewriotu* (p. 14, 30; 15, 1), *begeotan* (p. 14, 2, 23), *awreotene* (p. 14, 30).

A peculiarity of these texts is the use of *eo* for Kentish *æ*, W.S.  $\bar{e}$ ; e.g. *gefeorum* (p. 13, 11), *seolest* (p. 13, 12), *beoc* (p. 12, 21).

In IX we find the curious form *deodan* (p. 12, 20), where W.S., Kent., and Vesp. Psalter have *dydon*. The *eo* in *deodan* is due, presumably, to labial umlaut of *e*; cf. *dede* in the Martyrology fragment (Sweet, O.E.T. p. 178, 36), which is generally considered to be East Saxon. This is probably an instance, not of Late Kentish confusion of *y* and *e* (cf. p. 128), but of the preservation of an older form; cf. O.H.G. *teta*.

Sweet (O.E.T. 45) considers the dialect of X to be that of Surrey. It is to be noted that Aelfred was probably Earl of Surrey (cf. p. 88).

## II. Mercian.

Charter III is usually regarded as early Mercian. Another example of the same dialect is to be found in the form of a note and endorsements added to a Latin charter of Wiglaf of Mercia (B. 416):

*Des friodom waes bigeten aet Wiglafe cyninge mid ðaem tuentigum hida aet Iddeshale, end ðaes londes friodom aet Haeccaham mid ðy ten hida londe aet Felda bi Weoduman, end Mucele Esninge ðaet ten hida lond aet Croglea.*

*Dis is Heanbirige friodom, se waes bigeten mid ðy londe aet Iddeshale 7 aet Heanbyrig ten hida ðaes londes 7 aet Felda ten hida on Beansetum. 7 biscop gesalde Sigrede aldormenn sex hund scillinga on golde. 7 Mucele aldormenn ten hida lond æt Croglea.*

The chief Mercian characteristics are:

1. *o* for *a* before nasals; e.g. *lond* (p. 5, 27).
2. *a* before *l* followed by a consonant remains unbroken; e.g. *salde* (p. 6, 2).
3. *i*-umlaut of *ǣa* before *r* followed by a consonant is *e*; e.g. *erfe* (p. 6, 2).
4. *i*-umlaut of *ǣa* before *h* is *ae*; e.g. *aelmaehtgan* (p. 6, 26).
5. *i*-umlaut of *ēa* is *ē*; e.g. *hernisse* (p. 5, 28).
6. *ē* for *ǣ* (Gmc *ē*); e.g. *werun* (p. 6, 24).
7. Monophthongisation through following guttural or palatal; e.g. *-ber(c)ht*. Note *ǣ* from *ǣa* (W.S. *ēa*) in *aec* (p. 6, 24).
8. The Merc. (and North.) form *mið* is found (p. 5, 28).  
*Note i.* For *hiobbanne*, *siollanne*, *sile*, see note on p. 81.  
*Note ii.* *higida* (p. 5, 27) is an archaic form.  
*Note iii.* *trymme* (p. 6, 4) seems to be an instance of a conjunctive form used as the indicative, as in West Saxon. It is, however, to be noted that isolated cases of the old indicative ending *-u* survive in later charters (B. 560, 636). But *faestna*



(p. 6, 4) can hardly be explained in the same way; it seems rather to be a formation by analogy from 2 and 3 Sing. Indic.

*Note iv.* Is *wotona* (p. 6, 5) for *wiotona*, owing to the influence of *w*; or have we to do with a scribal error, as suggested by Sweet?

Charters XII, XIII, XIV and XV contain traces of Mercian dialect, the most important of which are as follows:

1.  $\bar{x}$  (Gmc  $\bar{e}$ ) has become  $\bar{e}$ ; e.g. *Werferð* (p. 24, 16), *-setna* (p. 24, 28).

2. *a* appears as *o* before nasals; but the evidence is not entirely consistent. In XIV there are 17 examples of *o*, 2 of *a*; in XIII 14 examples of *o*, 9 of *a*; in XII and XV *a* predominates.

3. *a* remains unbroken before *l* followed by a consonant, but examples of *ea* are also found. In XIV there are 25 *a*: 2 *ea*; in XV 5 *a*: 12 *ea*; in XII 2 *a*: 8 *ea*; in XIII no examples of *a*, 11 of *ea*.

4. *i*-umlaut of  $\check{a}$  (from breaking of *a* before *r* followed by a consonant) is *e*,  $\text{æ}$ ; e.g. *erfe-* (p. 21, 17), *Mercna* (p. 26, 22), *ærfē-* (p. 20, 23).

5. *i*-umlaut of  $\bar{e}a$  (Gmc *au*) is  $\bar{e}$ ; e.g. *alesnessa* (p. 20, 16), *alefdan* (p. 24, 34).

6. Absence of diphthongisation of  $\bar{x}$  after *g* is seen in *geran* (p. 25, 7).

7. Monophthongisation (through following guttural or palatal) is found in *-gewerce* (p. 20, 27), *Berhthum* (p. 27, 17). Beside these we have the diphthongisation preserved (probably through W.S. influence) in *geweorce* (p. 21, 1); and also the later (W.S.) *geworce* (p. 21, 8) with monophthongisation through influence of preceding *w*.

8. Labial umlaut of *e*, *i* occurs not only before *u*, but also before  $\bar{a}$ ; e.g. *geofu* (p. 21, 14), *begeotan* (p. 26, 33), *weotan* (p. 24, 9).

9. Corresponding to W.S. *ælc* (Kent. *elc*), we have *eolc* (p. 23, 11) as well as *ælc*; cf. Vesp. Ps. *ylc*.

10. The form *þorh-* (p. 21, 16) occurs, as in the Vesp. Psalter, corresponding to W.S., Kent. *ðurh*, North. *ðerh*.

11. Traces of the reduplicating preterite are preserved in *forleortan* (p. 20, 23), *heht* (p. 24, 28).

12. Other Mercian forms are *walde* (p. 26, 5), *wyrðe* (p. 26, 6).

*Note.* No. XIV presents *e* for  $\bar{æ}$  in several cases; e.g. *Helendan* (p. 24, 1), *cweð* (p. 24, 26), and in one case, *geberie* (p. 25, 9), *e* for *y*. The former cases might be due to carelessness in transcribing *e* for *æ*. Or are we to suppose that the original scribe or one of his copyists was a Kentishman?

### III. Northumbrian.

XXII contains certain Northumbrian characteristics:

1. Loss of final *-n*; e.g. *frvma* (l. 7).

2. The form *eorðo* (l. 18); cf. Sievers § 276, 5.

3. Monophthongisation in *æht(v)* (l. 15), *-berhte* (l. 7), *ec* (l. 11).

4. *a* before *l* followed by a consonant (as in Mercian); e.g. *Aldred* (l. 12), *allvm* (l. 7).

5. *eo* for  $\bar{ea}$  in *eolond* (l. 8).

6. Note may also be taken of *mið* (cf. p. 130), *ðerh* (cf. p. 131), the ending in *feowero* (l. 4), the *-eo-* in *seolfne* (l. 16), the (North.) palatalisation in *forðgeong* (l. 18), and the unusual form *ymbweson* (l. 4).

The Dedication is also distinguished by the following orthographical peculiarities<sup>1</sup>:

(a) *æ*, *æ* are written for *e*; *milsæ* (l. 18), *fultvme* (l. 12).

(b) *gi-* occurs for *ge-*, as frequently in the gloss to the last chapters (ch. xx, 23 to the end) of St John's Gospel. Bülbring (*Anglia*, Beiblatt XII, p. 142 ff.) suggests that this is to be explained by the supposition that the glossator, in writing this part of the gloss, made use of a copy in which the archaic *gi-* was preserved.

Füchsel (*Anglia* XXIV, p. 1 ff.) offers a similar explanation for the writing of *-i* for other vowels in final syllables; e.g. *gihamadi* (l. 13), *Cvðberhti* (l. 14), *Sçi* (l. 19). He supposes that the old etymological *-i* was kept in the copy of these chapters used by the glossator, who, being ignorant of its origin, incorrectly substituted *-i* for other vowels.

<sup>1</sup> The letter *u* (sometimes used also for *w*) has in some cases a peculiar shape (printed *v* in the text).

## ADDENDA.

1. p. 4, l. 9 ff., and p. 79. Mr F. W. Stokoe has suggested to me that this transaction is to be explained by the wide-spread belief that it is unlucky to make a gift of a knife or other cutting instrument without receiving some present in return; cf. *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, 1913, vol. VI, p. 202, and the references there given.

2. p. 20, l. 24 ff. The translation of this passage presents difficulties. Is it possible that *þæt* here means 'further,' 'then'? If we suppose that 7 has been wrongly inserted, *þæt* must mean 'in order that,' and *gefreoge* must be subjunctive. But can *þæt* be used alone in a final sense? Another alternative is to suppose that *þæt* has been wrongly inserted by the copyist, and to take *gefreoge* as Pres. Indic.

3. p. 78. In a paper read by Mr J. Allan at a meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society (*Athenæum*, Jan. 3, 1914, p. 18), it is stated that 'although the value of Offa's dinar must have been about that of a mancus of silver, it must be called a dinar and not a mancus, which was a money of account.' Prof. Liebermann (*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol. CXXXI, p. 153) points out that in Alfred's time, at any rate, *mancus* denoted a gold coin. In Bishop Werferth's translation of Pope Gregory's Dialogues, *aureos* and *solidos* are translated by *mancussum* (cf. Grein, *Bibl. der Angelsächs. Prosa*, vol. V, p. 63 ff.). From a passage in the same work (p. 65), where *aureos ita fulgentes tamquam ex igni producti* is translated: *mancessas 7 þa wæron swa lizende, swa swa hi wæron on þa ylcan tid of fyre ut atogene*, it is clear that the translator understood by the term *mancus* a gold coin, and not 'money of account' or an equivalent weight of silver.

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